

# EPILYKOS KALOS

(PLATES 63 and 64)

IN TWO EARLIER PAPERS, the writer attempted to identify members of prominent Athenian families in the late 6th century using a combination of kalos names and ostraka.<sup>1</sup> In the second of these studies, it was observed that members of the same family occurred in the work of a single vase painter,<sup>2</sup> whether praised as kalos or named as participant in a scene of athletics or revelry.<sup>3</sup> The converse, i.e. that the same individual may be named on vases by painters who, on the basis of stylistic affinities, should belong to the same workshop, seems also to be true.<sup>4</sup> The present paper tries to demonstrate both these propositions by linking members of another important family, the Philaidai, to a circle of painters on whose vases they appear.

The starting point is Epilykos, who is named as kalos 19 times in the years *ca.* 515–505, 14 of them on vases by a single painter, Skythes.<sup>5</sup> Of the other 5, 2 are cups by the Pedieus Painter, whom Beazley considered might in fact be Skythes late in the latter's career;<sup>6</sup> 1 is a cup linked to Skythes by Bloesch,<sup>7</sup> through the potter work, and through details of draughtsmanship, by Beazley;<sup>8</sup> 1 is a cup placed by Beazley near the Carpenter Painter;<sup>9</sup> and the last is a plastic aryballos with janiform women's heads, which gives its name to Beazley's Epilykos Class.<sup>10</sup>

The close relationship of Epilykos and Skythes is especially striking in view of Skythes' small *oeuvre*, so that the 14 vases praising Epilykos account for fully half his total output. A similar devotion to one kalos, however, is familiar from this period, in such cases as Memnon kalos on nearly 40 vases by Oltos<sup>11</sup> and Hipparchos kalos on 12 by Epiktetos.<sup>12</sup> Skythes only once names a youth other than Epilykos.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Hippokrates Son of Anaxileos," *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 289–293; "Kallias Kratiou Alopekethen," *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 69–73.

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In addition to the usual abbreviations, note the following:

APF = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families: 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971

<sup>2</sup> The Ambrosios Painter; see *Hesperia* 51, 1982, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Instances where "kalos" seems to have been added to one of the persons represented were designated by Beazley "tag-kalos" in *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1559.

<sup>4</sup> This has long been recognized in some instances, such as that of Leagros, who is kalos on black-figured vases, all belonging to the Leagros Group (*ABV*, p. 669), and on red-figured vases mostly from the circle of the Pioneers (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1591–1594).

<sup>5</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1578.

<sup>6</sup> Louvre G14, Louvre G13: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 85–86.

<sup>7</sup> *Apud* Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> Mannheim 13: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> Louvre G11: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 180.

<sup>10</sup> Louvre CA986: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1530, no. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1599–1600, 1699.

<sup>12</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1584.

<sup>13</sup> Krates, on a cup, Cambridge 70: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 85, no. 23.

Carl Robert was the first to establish Epilykos' identity by associating him with Plutarch's reference (*Perikles*, 36) to Teisandros son of Epilykos, whose daughter married Perikles' son Xanthippos. The marriage probably took place not long after 443, when Teisandros was a candidate for ostracism.<sup>14</sup> Working backwards we may suppose that Teisandros was born about 490 and his father Epilykos about 530–525, which would be consistent with his appearance as a kalos youth about 510. That Teisandros' daughter married into a family as prominent as that of Perikles suggests that she, too, belonged to an important family, but her grandfather Epilykos is, apart from his appearances on vases, unattested in ancient sources. An earlier Epilykos is said by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 3.5) to have rebuilt the office of the polemarch in pre-Solonian times, giving it the name Epilykeion. This Epilykos, then, takes our knowledge of the family back to the late 7th century, and this could be the time of an earlier Teisandros, the father of Hippokleides who danced away his bride in the house of Kleisthenes of Sikyon (Herodotos, vi.129) and later was Archon of Athens, in 566/5.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, between Hippokleides and Epilykos kalos is a gap of probably two generations into which we can put no known members of the family.

With the help of Herodotos (vi.128.2) and a genealogy derived from Hellanikos and Pherekydes,<sup>16</sup> we can deduce that Epilykos' family was in turn part of the large and powerful genos Philaidai, better known to us from the branch which included Miltiades and Kimon.<sup>17</sup> Both branches were direct descendants of the Corinthian tyrant Kypselos, through a daughter who married the Athenian Agamestor, probably in the 630's. Their sons were Kypselos, Archon in 597/6, from whom is descended the Kimonian side of the family, and Teisandros I, father of Hippokleides.

The Philaidai are well represented in vase inscriptions from the mid-6th century to the mid-5th. Of the better known side of the family, Stesagoras II, who succeeded his uncle Miltiades III as tyrant of the Chersonese, is named on a vase by Exekias,<sup>18</sup> and a younger Stesagoras is kalos on two early red-figured cups.<sup>19</sup> One of these is perhaps by the Salting Painter, whom we shall encounter again.<sup>20</sup> The name Miltiades occurs on a red-figured plate of 520–510, although the association with the victor of Marathon is disputed.<sup>21</sup> And Elpinikos, who is kalos on red-figured cups of the last decade of the 5th century, should be related to Elpinike, sister of Kimon II.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>14</sup> C. Robert, in *RE* 6, 1909, p. 159, *s.v.* Epilykos. On the Teisandros ostrakon see R. Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism*, Copenhagen 1972, p. 82; cf. *APF*, pp. 91, 297.

<sup>15</sup> *APF*, p. 295.

<sup>16</sup> The genealogy is quoted by Markellinos, *Life of Thucydides*, 3; on the textual problems see *APF*, pp. 294–295.

<sup>17</sup> On the family see F. Schachermeyr, *RE* 19, 1938, pp. 2113–2121, *s.v.* Philaidai and, more recently, K. Kinzl, *Miltiades-Forschungen*, Vienna 1968, pp. 1–26, and *APF*, pp. 293–312.

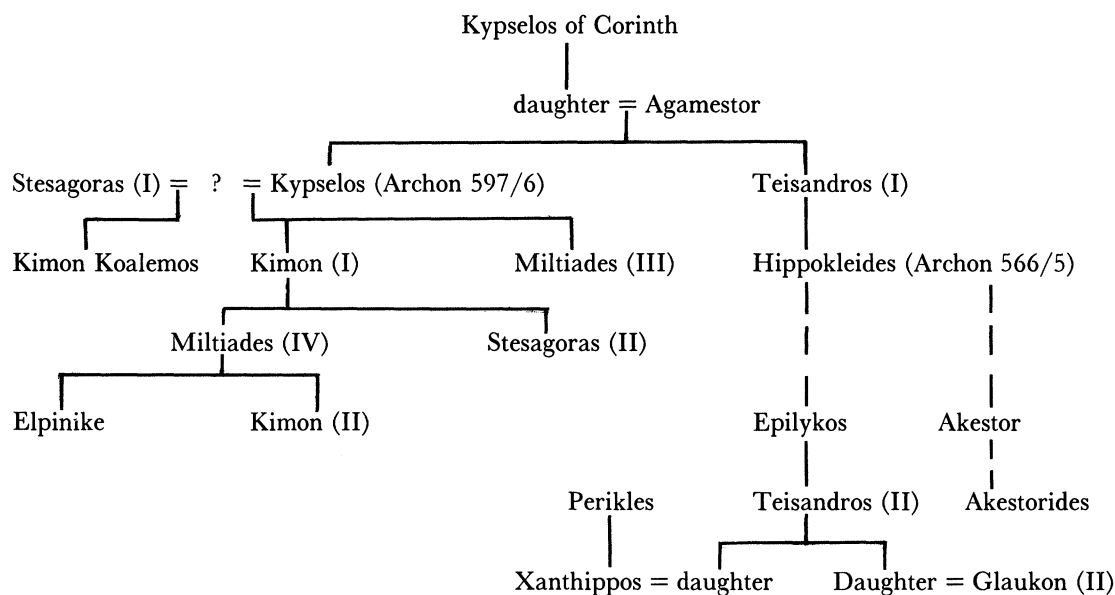
<sup>18</sup> Pyxis from Myrrhinous, now in Brauron; *Paralipomena*, p. 61; see H. R. Immerwahr, "Stesagoras II," *TAPA* 103, 1972, pp. 181–186.

<sup>19</sup> Copenhagen 3789: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 179; and Villa Giulia: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1609. See Immerwahr, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>20</sup> See *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 179 and below, p. 307.

<sup>21</sup> Oxford 310: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 163, no. 8. The association of this inscription with the famous Miltiades was accepted by Davies, in *APF*, p. 301, but rejected by Immerwahr, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), p. 185 and, most recently, by M. Vickers, *Greek Vases*, Oxford 1978, commentary on no. 36. Miltiades was born in the 550's and thus was probably too old to be kalos on a vase of 520–510.

<sup>22</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 119, nos. 1–3 and here below; *Paralipomena*, pp. 332, 506.



Several other kalos inscriptions probably refer to descendants of Teisandros I. A fragmentary black-figured Panathenaic amphora of the third quarter of the 6th century has the inscription  $\text{HIIIOKV}$ , which could be restored as  $\text{HIPPOKL [EIDES]}$ .<sup>23</sup> The names Akestor and Akestorides on several red-figured vases were associated with the family by Davies because Akestor appears in Pherekydes' genealogy of the Philaids.<sup>24</sup> An Akestor is kalos on a cup of 510–500 by the Salting Painter, the same artist who praises the younger Stesagoras.<sup>25</sup> He would be a contemporary of Epilykos, but it is impossible to say just how they might be related. Akestorides kalos occurs on three vases of about 470<sup>26</sup> and, without kalos, on one a little later.<sup>27</sup> Of the vases with Akestorides kalos, one is by the Timokrates Painter,<sup>28</sup> who also praises Glaukon the son of Leagros.<sup>29</sup> Both Leagros and his son were especially popular with the vase painters, but this combination is particularly interesting because Glaukon later married into the family of his contemporary Akestorides: his wife was a daughter of Teisandros II.<sup>30</sup> One last vase inscription we can confidently connect with this family is Epilyke kale, on a hydria in Berlin of about 520–510, related in style to the

<sup>23</sup> Or Hippokles; see *ABV*, p. 667 (Acr. 923).

<sup>24</sup> *APF*, p. 296.

<sup>25</sup> Once London, Mitchell (*sic* Beazley: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 178, middle, no. 5. On Stesagoras see footnotes 18 and 19 above.

<sup>26</sup> See *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1560.

<sup>27</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 781, no. 1 (name vase of the Akestorides Painter).

<sup>28</sup> Brussels A1020; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 743, no. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Harvard 60.355; *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 743, no. 4.

<sup>30</sup> *APF*, p. 91. For the Timokrates kalos who gives his name to the painter (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 743, no. 3), no certain identification is possible, since the name is very common in Classical Athens. One possibility would be that he is the son of  $\text{Κυδροκλῆς Τιμοκράτους Κριῶθεν}$ , who was a candidate for ostracism in the 480's; see E. Vanderpool *apud* H. A. Thompson, "The Excavation of the Athenian Agora, Twelfth Season: 1947," *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 194.

Dikaïos Painter.<sup>31</sup> On the analogy of Elpinikos/Elpinike discussed above,<sup>32</sup> Epilyke should be a slightly older contemporary and close relative, perhaps a sister, of Epilykos.

Taken together, these inscriptions suggest that the family of Epilykos and Teisandros was well known in Athens of the late Archaic and Early Classical periods, even if not as politically powerful as their Philaid cousins. Perhaps they were only better looking. We are fortunate in having one certain "portrait" of Epilykos, that is, an occurrence of his name without kalos in a scene where the inscription may plausibly be taken to identify the figure closest to it, and one questionable one. Thus we can also consider the circle in which he moved outside his own family and will find that this leads, by a different route, to further links among painters.

An inscription naming Epilykos was recently recognized on a cup in Berlin by the Thalia Painter (Pl. 63:a).<sup>33</sup> The interior of this well-known vase has a peculiar scene of love-making, and on both sides of the exterior is an erotic revelry of men and hetairai. Apart from the kalos name Leagros in the tondo, four of the hetairai and two of the men are named in inscriptions. [Smikr]a and Korone are already familiar as hetairai of the period; the other two are Thalia and ---os, restored by Greifenhagen as Aphros.<sup>34</sup> Megas is a youth wearing a cap and carrying a long knotty stick, while Epilykos is a bearded man, nude but for an embroidered flute case draped casually over his erect penis. The full beard makes it difficult to identify him with the Epilykos kalos on vases of the same date. We must assume either a slip on the part of the painter, for which there are parallels, or that an older member of the family is meant.

The other depiction of Epilykos is on a psykter by Phintias in Boston (Pl. 64),<sup>35</sup> which shows 12 athletes and trainers in the palestra, all of them named, although it is not always certain which name refers to which figure. Beazley identified Epilykos as one of two bearded trainers watching a wrestling match.<sup>36</sup> Here the beard is more problematical than on the cup in Berlin, because the vase should be dated "520 or a little later",<sup>37</sup> thus even earlier than the cups with Epilykos kalos. Beazley suggested the trainer could be an uncle of the younger Epilykos;<sup>38</sup> an alternative solution would be to take the inscription with the young wrestler along whose back it runs. Several of the other athletes, such as Phayllos, Sostratos,

<sup>31</sup> Berlin 1966.20: *Paralipomena*, p. 508.

<sup>32</sup> See above, p. 306.

<sup>33</sup> Berlin 3251: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 113, no. 7 and p. 1626; *CVA*, Berlin 2 [Germany 21], 56 [985]:4–59 [988]. At the time of Greifenhagen's publication of the cup in the *CVA*, the inscription was restored as E[ύνι]κος (*op. cit.*, p. 14). I am indebted to Robert Guy for his suggestion that the correct reading is Epilykos. Dr. Luca Giuliani, *per litt.* July 1, 1982, informs me that the gap in the inscription would accommodate more than three letters, probably four, or even five, but declines to speculate on a restoration.

<sup>34</sup> On the names see *CVA*, Berlin 2 [Germany 21], pp. 14–16. Smikra appears on Euphronios' psykter Leningrad 644 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, no. 15), where she greets Leagros. Korone kale is inscribed on a black-figured lekythos; see *ABV*, p. 677.

<sup>35</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 24, no. 11; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston II*, Boston 1954, pls. 31, above, and 32.

<sup>36</sup> Beazley, in Caskey and Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Xenophon, and Eudemos, are known from other vases of the Pioneer Group and on black-figured vases as well and can be connected with persons known from other sources.<sup>39</sup> The most interesting for us, however, is Philon, who is shown as a young akontist.

Philon's name occurs on six vases altogether, both black figured and red, between about 530 and 470. Beazley accordingly distinguished three individuals, of whom the Philon on the Boston psykter is the middle one.<sup>40</sup> Although the name is a relatively common one, it is likely that the family is one from the deme Melite known from other sources.<sup>41</sup> The earliest Philon could be a brother of Onetorides, who is kalos on several vases by Exekias<sup>42</sup> and whose name may be restored on the fragmentary archon list from the Agora, for the year 527/6.<sup>43</sup>

Philon II, who is pictured on Phintias' psykter, is praised as kalos on one roughly contemporary vase, a black-figured kyathos in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Pl. 63:b-d).<sup>44</sup> The scene, unusually full for a kyathos, includes six armed warriors, several with exotic touches such as a Thracian pelta or an Oriental pointed cap. In the field between and around the figures are inscriptions in large letters: in addition to Philon kalos, one names Skythes and a third names Smikythos, both without kalos. Skythes is surely the vase painter who was so fond of Epilykos, and it cannot be entirely accidental to find him named on a vase which praises one of Epilykos' companions, Philon.<sup>45</sup> Since, however, the inscriptions Skythes and Smikythos do not seem to refer to the warriors on the vase, nor are they kalos names, it is difficult to say exactly what they mean. But they are not meaningless or randomly chosen either, as the association of Skythes and Philon, through Epilykos, suggests. Besides, Smikythos also belongs to the circle of upper-class youths who, like Epilykos, were favorites of early red-figure vase painters. Outside this vase, Smikythos' name occurs once in the work of each of four leading artists: he appears as a flute player on a psykter by Oltos;<sup>46</sup> as a bearded lyre player on a hydria by Phintias;<sup>47</sup> as a youth playing the flutes at a

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 3–4. Another instance of the bearded/beardless problem arises with Eudemos, who is young here but a bearded reveler on Euthymides' amphora Munich 2307 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 26, no. 1). Cf. the same discrepancy in representations of Smikythos, footnotes 46–48 below. Surely the same person is meant in both these instances, and the painters have not been careful to be consistent. I believe the same is true in the case of Epilykos.

<sup>40</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1606.

<sup>41</sup> See *APF*, pp. 421–425.

<sup>42</sup> See *ABV*, p. 672. Onetorides kalos and Philon kalos occur together on a neck-amphora in the Villa Giulia, *ABV*, p. 693, foot. The suggestion that Onetorides and Philon are brothers is Davies', in *APF*, p. 422.

<sup>43</sup> B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 59, no. 21, line 3.

<sup>44</sup> Cambridge 04.22: *ABV*, p. 516, below, no. 1. The date of the vase varies considerably in the scholarly literature, from Paribeni's 520–510, in *EAA* VI, p. 126, to Miss Lamb's ca. 500, in *CVA*, Cambridge 1 [G.B. 6], p. 26. M. Eisman (*Attic Kyathos Painters*, diss. University of Pennsylvania 1971, p. 59) gives a date of 510–505.

<sup>45</sup> Apart from his signature on four of his cups (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 82–85, nos. 1, 4, 14, 17), Skythes' name occurs as the dedicator of a black-figured plaque from the Akropolis (*ABV*, p. 352) and as the painter of two other plaques (*ABV*, p. 352, nos. 1 and 2). Beazley (*ABV*, p. 352) was uncertain whether or not the painter of these plaques should be identified with the red-figure Skythes. J. Boardman (*Athenian Red Figure Vases*, London 1975, p. 60) believes that he should be.

<sup>46</sup> New York 10.210.18: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 54, no. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Munich 2421: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 23–24, no. 7.

symposium on Euthymides' hydria in Bonn;<sup>48</sup> and, in a single kalos inscription, on a hydria by Euphronios.<sup>49</sup> The last-named vase pictures two youths who are labeled Leagros and Antias, thus confirming Smikythos' association with this circle.<sup>50</sup> The fact that all three portraits characterize Smikythos as a musician argues strongly that the vase painters were not haphazard in attaching names to their figures, even if they were sometimes inconsistent in the matter of beards.

The only other thing we know about Smikythos is that he is probably the father of the vase painter Onesimos. An Onesimos son of Smikythos dedicated on the Akropolis seven marble perirrhanteria shortly before 480, and Raubitschek has argued that he should be identified with the red-figure painter whose career began about 505.<sup>51</sup> That successful potters and painters could afford to make dedications on the Akropolis toward the end of their careers is also attested by a pillar set up by Euphronios to the goddess Hygieia, perhaps only a few years after Onesimos' perirrhanteria.<sup>52</sup>

It would seem, then, that Smikythos' family was not aristocratic or politically prominent,<sup>53</sup> but rather known as professionals in the arts.<sup>54</sup> The vases and their inscriptions clearly show that the inclusion of musicians, poets, painters or other artists in the company of aristocrats was an acceptable social practice in the late Archaic period.<sup>55</sup> Another particularly striking example of this, contemporary with Skythes and Epilykos, is the appearance of Smikros, the vase painter, at an elegant symposium which decorated a calyx-krater by Euphronios in Munich.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Bonn 70: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 28, no. 12. This vase has a kalos inscription praising Megakles, no doubt the head of the Alkmaionid family who was ostracized in 487/6; see *APF*, p. 379.

<sup>49</sup> Dresden ZV.925: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, no. 13.

<sup>50</sup> On Smikythos' association with other youths favored by the Pioneers see H. R. Immerwahr, "A Lekythos in Toronto and the Golden Youth of Athens," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography*, Princeton 1982, p. 63. On Antias kalos see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1563.

<sup>51</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass. 1949, pp. 384–392.

<sup>52</sup> Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–258.

<sup>53</sup> Onesimos' name, meaning "profitable", suggests that he may not even have been Athenian; cf. Boardman, *op. cit.* (footnote 45 above), p. 9.

<sup>54</sup> Raubitschek, *op. cit.* (footnote 51 above), p. 217, conjectures that Onesimos' son Theodoros, who added his own dedication to a pillar put up by his father, was also a potter. He is not, however, otherwise attested.

<sup>55</sup> On the mingling of poets and musicians with young aristocrats, compare the appearance of Kydias of Hermione with Kallias and others on a cup by the Ambrosios Painter: Shapiro, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 72–73 and fig. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Munich 8937: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1619, 1705; *Paralipomena*, p. 332; E. Vermeule, "Fragments of a Symposium by Euphronios," *AntK* 8, 1965, pp. 34–39.



a. Berlin 3251



b.



c.

b-d. Cambridge 04.22.  
Fitzwilliam Museum,  
Cambridge



d.

H. A. SHAPIRO: EPILYKOS KALOS



Attic Red-figured Psykter (Phintias). Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

H. A. SHAPIRO: EPILYKOS KALOS