

# AN EARLY RED-FIGURED CALYX-KRATER FROM ANCIENT CORINTH

(PLATE 72)

IN 1961, 1964, AND 1972, some fragments from an early Attic red-figured calyx-krater were found in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the slopes of Acrocorinth.<sup>1</sup> There were a few other pieces of early red figure in the sanctuary but none with so interesting a representation. I have published a fragment of Corinthian black figure from the sanctuary, a scene with Perseus; I am now able to add an Athenian fragment that shows Hephaistos.<sup>2</sup>

C-61-228 a–f. Six separate fragments      Pl. 72:a  
from a calyx krater

- a) P.H. 0.139, p.W. 0.11, Th. 0.006 m. Four joining fragments of the vertical wall and thickened rim.
- b) P.H. 0.04, p.W. 0.046 m. Three joining fragments of wall; beginning of offset for rim.
- c) P.H. 0.07, p.W. 0.08, est. outer D. 0.47, W. lip at top 0.016 m. One fragment of wall, rim, and lip.

- d) P.H. 0.061, p.W. 0.09 m. Three joining fragments of upper wall, rim, and lip.
- e) P.H. 0.048, p.W. 0.093 m. One fragment of rim, lip.
- f) P.H. 0.08, p.W. 0.061. Two joining fragments of upper wall, rim, and lip.

The profile of the wall is almost vertical, the rim vertical and thickened,<sup>3</sup> offset above and below, and the rounded lip is very heavy, outwardly thickened. The interior is glazed, with a reserved line at the top of the wall. The glaze on both the exterior and the interior is lustrous but sometimes thin, firing red in spots. On fragment *a*, a bearded male, dressed in tunic and short decorated cloak, rides to the right on an ithyphallic donkey. Incision distinguishes the hair from the background; diluted glaze appears on some inner markings of

<sup>1</sup> The fragments come from a number of areas in the Sanctuary but primarily from grids N–O–P:24–27. See the plan in N. Bookidis and J. Fisher, “The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth,” *Hesperia* 43, 1974 (pp. 267–307), pp. 268–269, fig. 1 and p. 274, fig. 3. That grid location is on the Middle Terrace.

The publication of the Greek pottery by E. G. Pemberton with K. W. Slane is forthcoming as *Corinth XVIII*, i.

Works frequently cited here are abbreviated as follows:

Boardman = J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period*, London 1975

Brommer = F. Brommer, *Hephaistos*, Mainz am Rhein 1978

Davies = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971

Kinzl = K. Kinzl, *Miltiades-Forschungen*, diss. Universität Wien, Vienna 1968

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<sup>2</sup> E. Pemberton, “A Late Corinthian Perseus from Ancient Corinth,” *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 64–69. For the excavations in the Demeter Sanctuary, see N. Bookidis and J. Fisher, *op. cit.*, with bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> I use the terms lip and rim according to the cataloguing practices in Corinth. The rim is the offset area at the top of the wall, the lip is the termination of the vessel. All vases will have a lip, but many, such as the skyphos or kotyle, do not have a rim.

the animal. There is heavy preliminary sketch on the body and right arm of the male and on the hindquarters of the donkey. The relief line is pronounced, and the contour line heavy. The right arm of the male figure is flung back and holds the reins of the animal, indicated by a faint red line which goes over the top of the donkey and the cloak of the rider. Above his head, which has an ivy wreath in added red (now faded), is a reserved line, representing either an ivy- or a grape-vine branch, with faint red dots for the leaves. It will be argued below that the rider is most probably Hephaistos.

On fragment *b* there is the head of a satyr, inclined to the left; his hair is also marked by incision. Red dots denote an ivy wreath in his hair, and in the field above is the same branch as on *a*. The four other fragments, *c*–*f*, come from the upper wall, rim, and lip. On *c* and *f* are tendrils, without leaves, possibly part of the volute in the handle floral. On *c* appears also the top of a palmette leaf. The rim on all four fragments has a zone of circumscribed palmettes of five petals, with buds between each palmette. Relief contour is used throughout for these palmettes. The calyx is rendered simply as an arc without additional embellishments. In general, the execution is mediocre, as contour lines and reserved areas often do not match, and the contour lines are often too thick and irregular.

There is, unfortunately, an insufficient amount of the vase preserved to allow calculation of profile and proportions, although a diameter of about 0.47 m. can be estimated from the surviving lip fragments.<sup>4</sup> The work must be dated on the basis of style. That it is fairly early is immediately apparent by the totally closed eye of the rider and the use of incision to separate hair from background. The artist also was not very careful: the reserved area of the shoulder and the contour line do not correspond. Many of his lines are quite uneven in thickness and unsure in direction. He is early, not of the first rank.

The fragments belong in the Pioneer Group. An amphora in Leiden,<sup>5</sup> recently cleaned, has a Dionysos that in eye, profile, and hair is similar to, but far better drawn than, the Corinth Hephaistos. In particular, note the lack of detail in the ear of our god. The border palmettes of the Leiden vase have more detail and are plumper; the purple leaves of the vine are more carefully formed, not mere blobs like ours. Our painter has a heavier hand with the relief line.

The design on the cloak resembles that on the garment of an oriental archer on a calyx-krater fragment in Bonn (Pl. 72:b).<sup>6</sup> The formation of the pattern by a horizontal line with thick vertical strokes is similar, as is the use of dots as an alternative motif; but on ours, dots appear only at the top; elsewhere simple lines are used. Greifenhagen compared the Bonn fragment to two amphorai in the Louvre, G 106 and G 107,<sup>7</sup> in the manner of Euphronios. Those designs are more carefully executed than on the Bonn fragment and are certainly

<sup>4</sup> This diameter is slightly smaller than that of most other calyx-kraters of the Pioneer Group. For Euphronios, Berlin 2180 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 13, no. 1) is smaller, D. 0.445; Louvre G 103 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 14, no. 2) is D. 0.55; Munich 8935 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1619, no. 3 *bis*) is D. 0.53; New York, M.M.A. 1972.11.10 is D. 0.5515; and Bunker Hunt krater (Herakles and Kyknos) is D. 0.551. For Pezzino Group, Agrigento (*ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 32, no. 2) is D. 0.51.

<sup>5</sup> Leiden PC 85: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 32, no. 1; *CVA*, Leiden 3 [Netherlands 5], pls. 116–119 [210–213] (Vos).

<sup>6</sup> Bonn 143 a: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 33, no. 2; *CVA*, Bonn 1 [Germany 1], pl. 16 [16]:6 (Greifenhagen).

<sup>7</sup> Manner of Euphronios: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 18, nos. 1 and 3; *CVA*, Louvre 6 [France 9], pl. 33 [412] (Pottier).

much more exact than ours. The Euphronios facial type is also very different. We may instead think of Euthymides. The pattern on Hephaistos' cloak (and on the Bonn archer) strongly resembles the designs on the cushions used by symposiasts on the volute-krater by Euthymides from Serra Orlando.<sup>8</sup>

The palmettes of the Corinth rim fragments resemble those on a calyx-krater in Copenhagen, attributed to the Kleophrades Painter.<sup>9</sup> Usually his palmettes are more elaborate, as for example on his two renderings of the Return of Hephaistos.<sup>10</sup>

In publishing the hydria from the Pioneer Group now in the Watkins Collection, Buitron cites Beazley's evaluation of the vase: "... to recall Euthymides and earliest Kleophrades Painter."<sup>11</sup> The same may be said about the Corinth fragments. The date should be in the last 20 years of the 6th century, perhaps *ca.* 510 B.C.

The depiction on the Corinth fragments strikes one as more in the spirit of black figure than red figure. It is certainly earlier than the early Kleophrades Painter's version at Harvard, and probably about contemporary with Epiktetos' example, now lost.<sup>12</sup> An ivy- or grape-vine must have been depicted above our scene, possibly held by Dionysos (missing); on several of the later black-figure representations, this is a customary element in the field.<sup>13</sup> It is also present in the Epiktetos vase, held by Dionysos, but does not completely encircle the upper area of the field. It has disappeared in the renderings of the scene by the Kleophrades Painter. In the version from Corinth, Hephaistos appears to be drunk (note the tilt of the head, the open mouth), retaining that spirit of the revel that appears in so many of the black-figure scenes, not as yet showing the dignity of so many of the red-figure versions.<sup>14</sup> How many figures appeared in this rendering of the procession, how closely spaced, one cannot say; there is no indication of anyone close behind the donkey, in comparison with the very close placement of figures on the Kleophrades Painter's krater at Harvard.

I have, without comment, identified the rider as Hephaistos. Dionysos is also a possibility, but although it is not uncommon to find Dionysos on an ithyphallic beast,<sup>15</sup> he is more usually dressed in a long chiton and mantle. Our figure wears the chitoniskos, more

<sup>8</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 28, no. 10: R. Stillwell, "Excavations at Serra Orlando, 1958," *AJA* 63, 1959, pp. 167-173, pls. 43:24 and 44.

<sup>9</sup> Copenhagen 13365: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 185, no. 32; Boardman, pl. 131:1.

<sup>10</sup> Cambridge, Harvard University, Fogg Museum 1960.236: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 185, no. 31; Boardman, pl. 130. Louvre G 162: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 186, no. 47; Brommer, pl. 7:1.

<sup>11</sup> D. Buitron, *Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections*, Boston 1972, pp. 80-81, hydria no. 37. *Paralipomena*, Oxford 1971, p. 324, Pioneer Group: sundry, no. 13 *bis*.

<sup>12</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 74, no. 42; Brommer, p. 12, fig. 2 (once Agrigento).

<sup>13</sup> *ABV*, p. 282, no. 6 and p. 283, Group of Toronto 305; *ABV*, p. 288, no. 19, Group of Würzburg 199; *ABV*, p. 332, no. 16, Priam Painter, etc.

<sup>14</sup> The early and fragmentary volute-krater by the Berlin Painter (Astarita Collection, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 1634, no. 132 *bis*; Brommer, pl. 5:1) also has a more archaic sense of the revel. The procession is on foot, however, and thus with a different spirit: Dionysos reaches out to help the faltering Hephaistos.

<sup>15</sup> See E. Bell, "Dionysos Rides Again: A Study of Dionysos as a Traveller in Attic Vase-Painting," *AJA* 84, 1980, p. 195 (abstract of paper presented at the General Meetings of the AIA, 1979): "The high point of these representations is the late sixth century. Perhaps they allude to Peisistratos' transference of the cult of Dionysos from Eleutherai to Athens in the 530's." Bell notes that some of the scenes are indistinguishable from Hephaistos' Return. See examples cited in footnote 13 above; some of these could be Dionysos.

customary for Hephaistos. He may also have held a pair of tongs or an axe in his (missing) right hand, which would have made the identification clear.

The cloak is not Hephaistos' normal attire in this scene. A survey of late black-figure and early red-figure representations of the Return shows that the smith god usually wears the softer mantle, the chlamys, and less often a himation, rather tightly wrapped about the short chiton. The early Epiktetos cup<sup>16</sup> has a beardless Hephaistos with an animal (panther?) skin, worn also by one of the satyrs. The only representation I know with a similar cloak is on the Hattatt black-figured amphora<sup>17</sup> of the last decade of the 6th century, probably slightly later than the Corinth fragments. Kurtz describes the costume as "... the customary travel dress—chlamys (foldless and patterned) over a short chiton."<sup>18</sup> Hephaistos wears the same outfit on our vase: both the front and the back edges of the chitoniskos are visible on either side of the right arm of the figure; a small line denoting the lower hem appears from under the cloak and disappears at the right. The cloak too is folded over and patterned: the double line at its right diagonal edge must represent that folding. The cloak is in fact not a chlamys but the *ζειρά*, adopted from Thracian dress.<sup>19</sup>

The Thracian peltast appears on vases soon after the mid-6th century.<sup>20</sup> The vase painters may have been inspired by the Thracian mercenaries used by Peisistratos. The dress, or at least the heavy cloak and often too the hat and boots, seems to have been adopted as a riding outfit, warm and practical, a garment that does not flutter and impede as would a regular chlamys. The boots and cap (*ἄλωπεκίς*) which complete the outfit appear on the Parthenon frieze.<sup>21</sup>

That such a riding dress became quite popular is clear from the large black-figured cup attributed to the Lysippides Painter, most recently discussed by D. Williams.<sup>22</sup> If, as he suggests, it does represent a Peisistratid muster after the battle of Pallene, then three of the

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 12 above.

<sup>17</sup> D. Kurtz, "Mr. Hattatt's Painter," *OJA* 1, 1982, pp. 139–167.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>19</sup> Herodotos, vii.75. On a standing figure, the cloak is fastened at the throat and falls on both sides. But our riding figure has shifted it so that the fastening is over the right shoulder, leaving the arm free. The upper edge of the cloak is not indicated, another example of the painter's carelessness.

<sup>20</sup> J. G. P. Best, *Thracian Peltasts*, Groningen 1969, chap. 1. See the neck-amphora Munich 1375, *ABV*, p. 297, no. 15, Painter of Berlin 1686 (Best, fig. 2) and the Little Master cup, Copenhagen 13966, signed by Epitimos, *Paralipomena*, p. 48 (Best, fig. 1:a–c). See H. A. G. Brijder, "A Pre-dramatic Performance of a Satyr Chorus by the Heidelberg Painter," *Enthousiasmos*, Amsterdam 1986, pp. 69–82, esp. p. 74, identifying the caps on a Siana cup in Amsterdam as related to the Thracian *alopekis*.

<sup>21</sup> E. Harrison, "Time in the Parthenon Frieze," *Parthenon-Kongress Basel*, Mainz 1984, pp. 230–234. The riders of the first rank on the south side wear the Thracian cap, chlamys, chiton, and high boots. Only the caps are unique to what: "... the Thracian caps of the first group of riders mark them as outsiders, although they are wearing what Athenian artists of the high-classical period regarded as Thracian dress. We may compare Orpheus in the famous Three-Figure relief" (p. 232). She identifies these riders as representatives of the tribe of Hippothoön; he was related to Eumolpos, regarded as Thracian.

The *stiff zeira* is not found in art after mid-century; although it may certainly still have been in use, artists did not represent it, perhaps because of its very stiffness and heaviness; it lacked the folds and movement of the chlamys so necessary for the Classical style.

<sup>22</sup> London, B.M. B 426: *ABV*, p. 256, no. 20. D. Williams, "Herakles, Peisistratos and the Alkmeonids," *Image et céramique grecque*, Lissarrague and Thelamon, edd., Rouen 1983, pp. 131–142.

sons of the tyrant appear to be wearing the *zeira*, one with a petasos and one possibly with the *alopekis*.<sup>23</sup> It is often difficult to tell whether a figure in Thracian dress is to be considered as a Thracian mercenary or as an Athenian equestrian using Thracian garb.<sup>24</sup> In her study of Thracian peltasts, Best seems to imply that in Attic vase painting horsemen in Thracian dress, even without pelta or other characteristic arms, should still be considered as Thracians, not as Athenians.<sup>25</sup> But I think that this is erroneous; sufficient numbers of vases show that Athenians did indeed use the foreign dress, as the London cup demonstrates.<sup>26</sup>

But why Hephaistos? He is not, to my knowledge, connected with Thrace; his home is Lemnos, among the Sintians, where he stayed during his nine-year exile from Olympus.<sup>27</sup> Is the cloak simply appropriate, fashionable, for his role as a rider, or might there be another reason?

Lemnos figured in Athenian history in the late 6th century, when it was captured by Miltiades and its inhabitants, the "Pelasgians", were expelled. Miltiades' expedition, however, departed not from Athens but from his base in the Thracian Chersonese. This was the fulfillment of the prophecy that the Athenians would take the island when they sailed to it in one day from their home, impossible, of course, from Athens itself.<sup>28</sup> The date of this capture has been much discussed, since unfortunately Herodotos is not clear about it. The episode is often thought to have occurred during the Ionian revolt of the early 490's.<sup>29</sup> But this is not likely, for reasons well summarized by Kinzl.<sup>30</sup> More likely it occurred late in the

<sup>23</sup> The vase is in poor condition; I depend on the drawing used by Williams (originally from Helbig), fig. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Villa Giulia 50407 by the Foundry Painter: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 402, no. 24; E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen*, Munich 1976, pl. 159. The rider of the Foundry Painter cup has the full Thracian garb, as well as the two peltast spears. Is he Greek or Thracian? Compare the Euphronios cup in Munich, *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, no. 17 (Simon, pl. 107), where the rider wears a petasos and is surely Greek. His Greekness is not, however, assured by the *kalos* inscription, which Simon believes identifies the rider as Leagros. For this problem see below, footnote 43.

<sup>25</sup> Best (footnote 20 above), p. 12, note 70: "The Thracian horsemen have also fallen victim to this *a priori* reasoning" (regarding Thracian peltasts as Greeks in Thracian guise, not as actual Thracians).

<sup>26</sup> See Simon (footnote 24 above) on the Foundry Painter rider: "Dennoch ist kein thrakischer, sondern ein attischer Reiter . . ." (p. 117).

<sup>27</sup> See Brommer, pp. 4–9. The references in the *Iliad* are somewhat ambiguous. In 1.593 Hephaistos lands on Lemnos after his fall and the Sintians nurse him. In xviii.394 he lives in Thetis' hollow cave, which one might conjecture to be under/in/by Lemnos, but in xxiv.78 Thetis is found by Iris between Samos and Imbros, which is more likely to be Lesbos than Lemnos (although Brommer identifies it as Lemnos, p. 5).

<sup>28</sup> Herodotos, vi.140.

<sup>29</sup> As for example A. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks*, London 1962, pp. 218–220: "... under cover of the Ionian revolt."

<sup>30</sup> Kinzl, pp. 60–61. For example, the lack of Pelasgian response: one might argue that they would have sought Persian aid against the Athenians or, conversely, that in an openly hostile situation Miltiades would not have attacked people who were potentially anti-Persian. Nor would it have been wise to take an island and attempt colonization in such a war situation. Kinzl believes that none of the ancient sources, including Herodotos, puts the conquest of Lemnos in the period of the Ionian revolt; moreover all of them, except Herodotos, who is chronologically vague, forbid such a dating (p. 62). R. Meiggs (*The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, p. 424) believes in the later dating of the expedition; he cites an inscription from Lemnos of ca. 500 listing Athenian names, suggestive that the island indeed had Athenian colonists established before the Ionian revolt. L. Jeffery (*Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, pp. 299–300) notes that the lettering of this inscription is similar in style to that on the Hekatompedon inscriptions. She suggests that these Athenians

penultimate or early part of the last decade of the 6th century, after the Scythian campaign in which Miltiades participated. The references in Herodotos imply that when Lykaretos became governor (*hyparchos*) of the island under Otanes, after the Scythian campaign, the Pelasgians were still there; Miltiades, we are told, expelled them.<sup>31</sup> So the conquest must have occurred some time after *ca.* 513 (Darius' Scythian expedition), and possibly before Hippias' expulsion in 510, probably about the time that the Scythians invaded Thrace and forced Miltiades to leave.<sup>32</sup> Miltiades was a creature of the sons of Peisistratos, a tyrant himself, serving at the pleasure of the Persians, but with some anti-Persian tendencies.<sup>33</sup> The taking of Lemnos can be viewed as less specifically anti-Persian<sup>34</sup> and more as pro-Athenian, not as a power play by Miltiades to gain territory for himself, but as a part of the growing policy of Athens to control certain parts of the Aegean, a policy which can be found under the tyranny and, later, the early democracy alike.

As the Corinth vase seems to be contemporary with these events, could the Thracian cloak which Hephaistos wears be a mythically disguised reference to the Thracian tyrant's Lemnian adventure?<sup>35</sup>

There is one very well known Miltiades vase, the plate by Paseas in Oxford, with *Μιλτιάδης καλός* written beside a Scythian archer on horseback.<sup>36</sup> There has been debate

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were from the mother city, fighting for Miltiades (but would that not contradict the terms of the oracle?) in the period of the Ionian revolt. R. S. Stroud reminded me of this discussion.

In 1982, a Corinthian helmet was found at Rhamnous, in a cistern, with an inscription punched into it: *Ῥαμνόσιοι οἱ ἐν Λέμνῳ [ἡ] νύ [θεσαν Νεμ]έσει*. Unfortunately the context does not help date the helmet and hence the date of the campaign: the cistern "... ne fonctionna jamais normalement à cause de l'existence d'une faille, qui laissait s'échapper l'eau, et elle fut entièrement comblée pendant la première moitié du v. siècle av. J.-C." (G. Touchais, "Chroniques des fouilles et découverts archéologiques en Grèce en 1984," *BCH* 109, 1985 [pp. 759–858], p. 769). This helmet then is to be associated with the one found at Olympia, inscribed *Ἀθηναῖοι [τ]ὸν ἐγ' Λέμνον* (E. Kunze, "Eine Waffenweiheung der Athener in Olympia," *Festschrift für Carl Weickert*, G. Bruns, ed., Berlin 1955, pp. 7–21).

<sup>31</sup> Herodotos, v.26: Otanes conquers Lemnos and Imbros, both still occupied by Pelasgians; v.27: Lykaretos is placed over them. He dies (but the specific date is not given); vi.136 ff.: the full story of the relations between Athens and Lemnos, leading up to Miltiades' capture of the island and giving of it to Athens; the Pelasgians are expelled.

<sup>32</sup> This date is also debated; but the invasion certainly occurred after the Scythian expedition and presumably as a consequence of it.

<sup>33</sup> Miltiades is supposed to have agreed with the Scythian suggestion that the bridge over the Ister be destroyed, trapping the Persians (Herodotos, iv.137). This is also questionable, for at the time Miltiades was technically an ally of the Persians. But it may indicate strong pro-Ionian (although not necessarily active anti-Persian) sentiment, leading up to the Lemnian adventure and ultimately his role in the Persian war.

<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Lykaretos had just died (he is not mentioned in the capture of Lemnos), creating an unstable situation for Miltiades to exploit. One can infer this from Herodotos, v.27: Lykaretos died while in office in Lemnos.

<sup>35</sup> There have been some scholars who have argued for the Thracian origin of Dionysos, but in Greek myth his home is Boiotia, especially Thebes. See E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, Munich 1969, p. 272. W. Burkert (*Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985, p. 162) traces to the work of E. Rohde the Thracian association of Dionysos. See also A. Henrichs, "Loss of Self, Suffering, Violence: The Modern View of Dionysos from Nietzsche to Girard," *HSCP* 88, 1984 (pp. 205–240), pp. 224–225. I owe this reference to R. S. Stroud. It would be going too far, I think, to see a Dionysos–Miltiades equation.

<sup>36</sup> Oxford 310: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, p. 163, no. 8. The figure lacks one identifying element, the characteristic Scythian beard; the cap is also a variant. It is conceivable that the figure is a Greek in Scythian dress, but the vase

as to the association of this vase with Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, the tyrant of the Chersonese, for according to standard chronology, he would be too old to be *kalos* on a vase of the penultimate decade of the 6th century. Miltiades was the eponymous archon in 524/3 and would be pushing forty or more by the time the plate was decorated. Vickers, for example, says it "... has been connected with the Chersonesan campaign of 516 ... but this is unlikely for this Miltiades would have been aged 38 at this time and would thus hardly qualify for a lover's inscription. ... Another must be meant."<sup>37</sup>

In fact, I doubt that another Miltiades is meant. We have no other *kalos* reference to the historical Miltiades who, with his older brother, would have been beautiful in the late 540's or early 530's, just when *kalos* names first appear.<sup>38</sup> His brother Stesagoras II is named on a black-figured pyxis from Merenda, attributed to the young Exekias,<sup>39</sup> probably of ca. 540. This dipinto is most likely not a *kalos* name but is a means of identifying a young man leading a procession of horses. Immerwahr has connected the scene with the famous Philaid stable.<sup>40</sup>

*Kalos* names first appear on a few Little Master cups, and on vases of Group E and Exekias,<sup>41</sup> becoming more popular in early red figure and in black-figure work of the Leagros Group, in the later 6th century. It is, I believe, more correct to view the *kalos* names as normally not referring to any figure on the vase;<sup>42</sup> hence, *Miltiades kalos* on the Paseas plate does not indicate that the archer is a "portrait" of the tyrant. Conversely, the figure on the Merenda pyxis is meant to be Stesagoras: *kalos* does not appear, and the name identifies him as would a name written beside a god, hero, etc.<sup>43</sup>

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painters were not entirely consistent. See G. F. Pinney, "Achilles Lord of Scythia," *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, W. G. Moon, ed., Madison 1983, pp. 127–146.

<sup>37</sup> M. Vickers, *Ashmolean Museum: Greek Vases*, Oxford 1978, no. 36. See also H. Shapiro, "Epilykos Kalos," *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 305–310.

<sup>38</sup> Davies, p. 301, Miltiades IV: "A birth year in the later 550s suits all available evidence and is now generally accepted."

<sup>39</sup> H. R. Immerwahr, "Stesagoras II," *TAPA* 103, 1972, pp. 181–186. Stesagoras is older than Miltiades but by how much is not known. He was probably born about 560, and hence the 540 date suits the image.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 183–184.

<sup>41</sup> *ABV*, under Sakonides, Strobilos (p. 675), Onetorides (p. 672), and Stesias (p. 674).

<sup>42</sup> Beazley (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1559) distinguished between the *kalos* and the tag-*kalos*. The latter would specifically refer to a figure on the vase beside which the name is placed. But the association of *kalos* inscription with the figure is not always certain.

<sup>43</sup> Identification of the figure by the *kalos* name written near it is one of the problems in the argument proposed by E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, "Leagros Kalos," *PCPS* 27, 1981, pp. 96–136. There are no grounds for assuming that the dipinto refers to either figure. The scenes with *Leagros kalos* vary from mythic to athletic. A few may be referential: the girl on the Leningrad psykter appears to be addressing Leagros directly. But on the Kiss Painter's cup, discussed by Francis and Vickers, one cannot assume that the bearded figure is Leagros. Moreover, the youth is no statue but a victorious athletic contestant, holding sponge bag and aryballos (hardly sculptural attributes in the late Archaic period), admired by trainer/father/lover. It is also, I believe, incorrect to assume that there ever were athletic statues in the Agora. The words of Lykourgos (*Leokrates*, 51) cited by Francis and Vickers to prove that there were such statues, in fact, very clearly state that there were not: ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τιμᾶν. εὐρήσετε δὲ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἀθλητὰς ἀνακειμένους, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ στρατηγούς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείναντας.

Whatever stood on the Leagros base, it was not a statue of an athlete. It may have been, depending on its date, a military dedication after a victory, fulfilling a vow, or perhaps a figure of a deity (*pace* Francis and

Stesagoras *kalos* does appear, however, on two other vases,<sup>44</sup> also too late for the Philaid to be truly beautiful. It has been assumed that this is not Stesagoras, brother of Miltiades, but a younger Stesagoras, otherwise unattested. But Stesagoras II, Miltiades' older brother, died without issue, and the names of Miltiades' sons do not include his brother's name (they are Metiochos and Kimon). Davies does suggest that the two cups praise this Stesagoras, although he is puzzled by the chronology: "It is very odd that he and his brother Miltiades are named as *kaloi* at about the same time (520–510) when both of them were well past their adolescence and young manhood. The two characterizations must, I think, be connected in some way, but we still know too little about *kalos*-naming to be able to guess usefully."<sup>45</sup>

I suspect that one may be *kalos* for a number of reasons, not limited to homoerotic interpretations. There is some evidence that in the 5th century *kalos* inscriptions may be associated with personal achievements;<sup>46</sup> why not in the 6th as well?

Could these vases in some way celebrate the achievements of the two brothers? Stesagoras continued the war with the Lampsacenes, in which he died, *ca.* 516;<sup>47</sup> thus the *kalos* name is written beside a hoplite on the Copenhagen cup. Miltiades participated in the Scythian campaign with Darius' army; and so he is named as *kalos* beside a Scythian archer.<sup>48</sup>

It should be clear from these tentative interpretations that the whole *kalos* phenomenon requires reconsideration. Probably many such designations, even the majority, were meant as tributes to beauty and good birth. But we create terrible tangles by insisting that each use of *kalos* should have such a meaning, that the term should refer to figures on the vase, and that it must specify a certain age. It is potentially more productive to study them as social phenomena and as a means of linking painters and workshops, politically inspired or not.<sup>49</sup>

Vickers, one certainly could dedicate a figure of one deity in the sanctuary of another). As the Shrine of the Twelve Gods stood in the heart of Athens, it would be a most conspicuous place for a dedication. The mystery concerning the base is not so much what the missing statue represented as why a base devoid of sculpture was allowed to stand empty for so long. No matter what its original date, it must have been for some considerable period without its statue in order to account for the wear on the surface. See L. Gadbery, "Moving the Leagros Base," *AJA* 90, 1986, p. 194 (abstract of paper given at the General Meetings of the AIA, December 1985).

<sup>44</sup> Copenhagen 3789 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 179), of the late 6th century, related to the Salting Painter; Villa Giulia (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1609), unattributed and to my knowledge unpublished.

<sup>45</sup> Davies, p. 301. Francis and Vickers (footnote 43 above), pp. 111–112.

<sup>46</sup> Some of the vases naming Euaion, son of Aischylos (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1579, especially the Agrigento calyx-krater or the Vatican hydria), might refer to theatrical accomplishments. And there is the fragmentary amphora in London with Glaukon as *kalos*, apparently recording a victory of the Akamantis tribe, to which Glaukon and Leagros belonged (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1581, no. 20; Davies, p. 91). Francis and Vickers use this vase as an important part of their chronological argument (footnote 43 above); there should be no consideration of date apart from what can be gleaned from the fragment itself. Certainly the Plovdiv pelike (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1562), by the Epimedes Painter, naming a citharode as Alkimachos *kalos*, with representations of four victories, must celebrate specific accomplishments. This same Alkimachos is commemorated on a number of vases by the Chicago and Lykaon Painters; and with his son Axiopieithes he is *kalos* on a vase by the latter in Warsaw (*ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 1568, no. 2). Hence one cannot view all *kalos* names as referring to youthful beauty. The prominence of the family explains such a span in the years covered by the *kalos* inscriptions. It is not, perhaps, necessary to create two different Alkimachoi, as Davies does (p. 13) to account for the time span.

<sup>47</sup> Herodotos, VI.38: he was hit on the head by an enemy with an axe during the Lampsacene War.

<sup>48</sup> I am at a loss, however, to give any specific meaning to the Villa Giulia vase with Stesagoras' name beside a satyr.

<sup>49</sup> See H. Shapiro (footnote 37 above) for this important approach to *kalos* names.



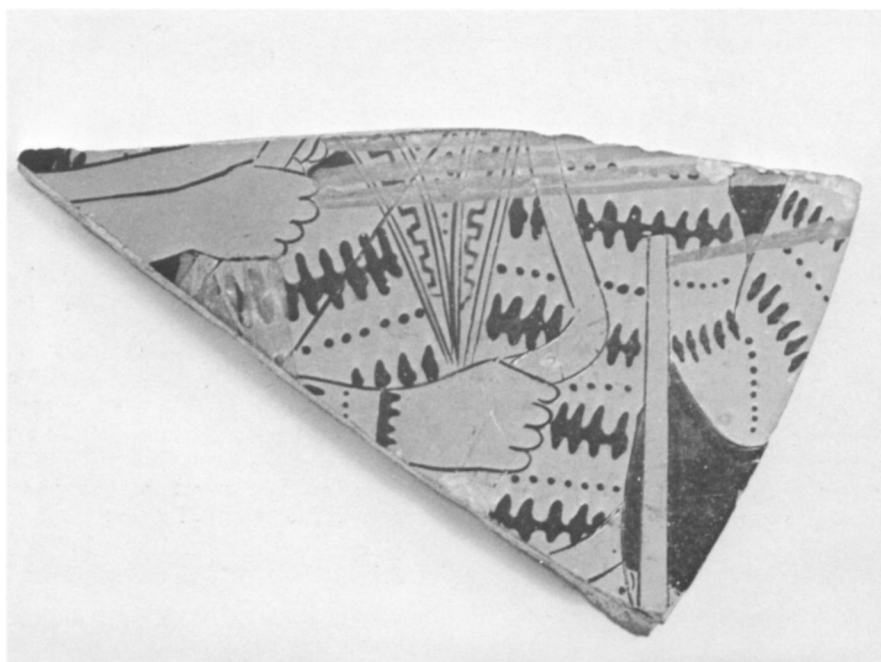
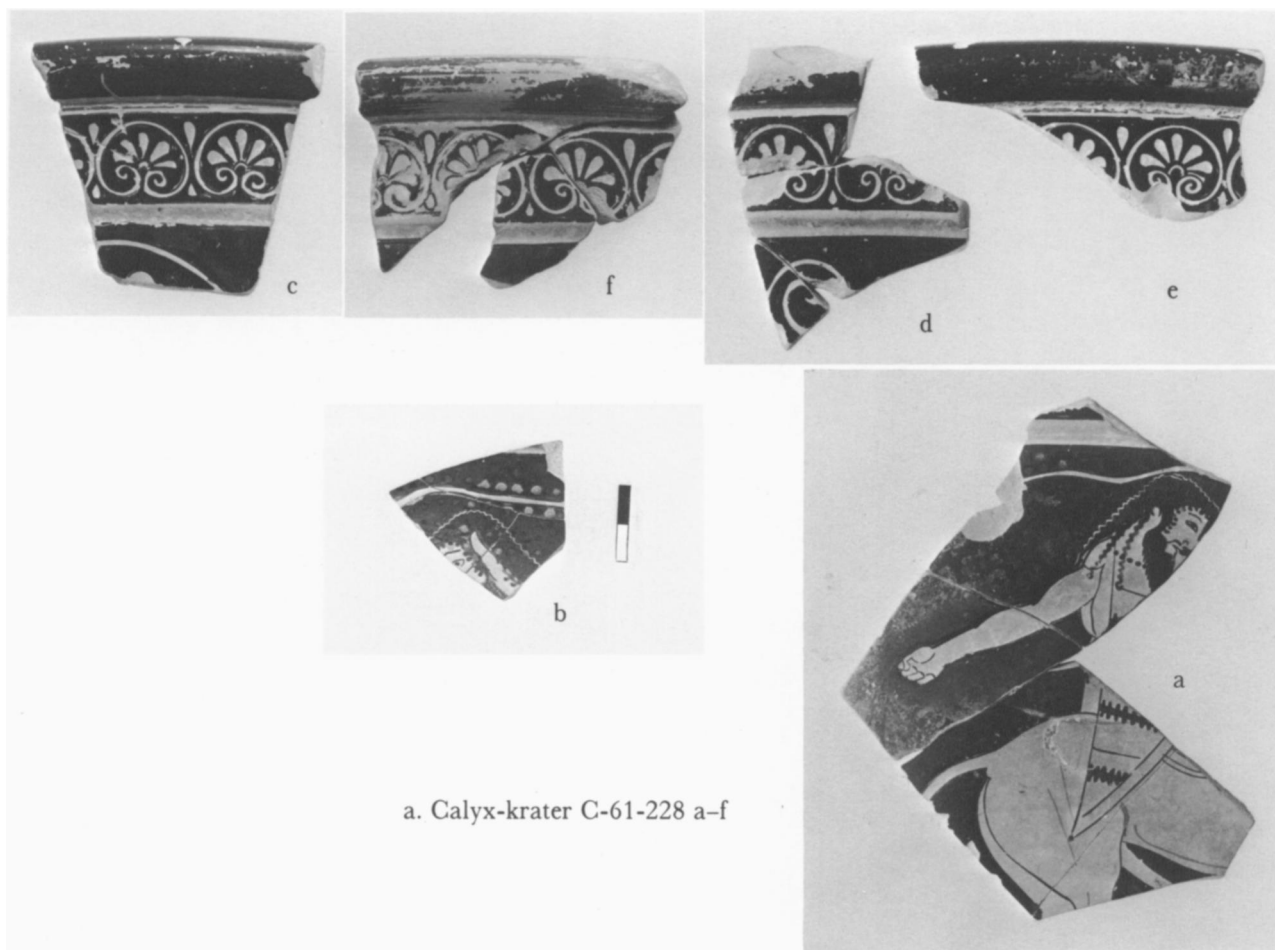
Our Corinth fragments suggest a variation on the well-known Return iconography, possibly motivated by a historical event. I would not view this divergence as pro-tyrant or anti-anything, but look at it as a slight alteration of a fairly standard theme by an imaginative (though somewhat clumsy) artist. It is a mistake to read too much into it, as neither the vase nor the Thracian-Lemnian events can be precisely dated. But it is not impossible to suggest that our Pioneer, in the workshop of Euthymides (?), was inspired by Miltiades' achievement to ring at least one change on the old theme. It might even be a jesting alternative to that other well-known procession, apparently beloved by the Peisistratids,<sup>50</sup> the Introduction of Herakles.

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<sup>50</sup> J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos, and Sons," *RA* 1972, pp. 57–72 and "Image and Politics in Sixth Century Athens," *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Amsterdam 1984, pp. 239–247.

PLATE 72



b. Calyx-krater fragment, Bonn 143 a (Courtesy Archäologisches Institut der Universität)