

Weiser, *sapiens*, σοφός, der *inter insipientes*, πρὸς ἀφρόνων, ist, erweist sich als um so weiser, *eximie sapiens* (vgl. Rumpel, *Lex. Pind.*, s.v. πεδά, wo Dissens Erklärung der pindarischen Stelle angeführt wird).

Von „durezza sintattica“ seitens des Alkman darf also kaum die Rede sein: die Verbesserung πρὸς ἀσόφοις ist sowohl grammatisch als semantisch einleuchtend, und wird durch die Kombination literarischer Zeugnisse (*Od.* XVII, 218, XVIII, 382 ff., *Pind.*, *Pyth.* VIII, 74) befürwortet.

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A NOTE ON THE EPONYMOUS ARCHON OF 490/89¹⁾

Five known and important men held the eponymous archonship between the fall of the tyrannis (511) and the introduction of election by lot (487²⁾). The other archons of the period are mere names to us but the tenure of the office by the five mentioned implies that it was politically significant, and that more significance would emerge if more were known about the others. In this connection the archon in the year of Marathon (a year of anticipated and actual invasion) Phainippos ὁ δευτερος ought to be of especial interest.

Hitherto, like the others, Phainippos has been a cipher. But the name is comparatively rare³⁾. Besides Phainippos

1) I am very much indebted to Dr. T. J. Cadoux for generous advice on this note. Mr. J. Davies kindly read the final draft and saved me from several errors.

2) Isagoras, Hipparchos, Themistokles, Aristides and probably Alcmaion.

3) Three Phainippoi 450–400, five in the fourth century, besides the earlier ones mentioned in the text; also four fourth century Phainippideis, one Phainippe. (See Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica.*) Φα ... (archon of 550/49 according to the reconstruction of Bradeen, *Hesperia* 32, (1963) p. 187 ff.) must also be mentioned. He could be a Phainippos, i. e. Phainippos ὁ πρῶτος but there are many other possibilities.

ὁ πρῶτος, archon in an unknown year before 490, there is only one Phainippos before this time, a member of the Kerykes, hereditary *δαδούχοι* and priests of the two goddesses of Eleusis⁴), and father of the first known Kallias of the family⁵). And these two, Phainippos ὁ πρῶτος and the father of Kallias, may be identical. In view of the rarity of the name, there is a strong probability that the archon of 490/89 was a Keryx⁶).

If this is so, then there remains the difficult question of his place in the family tree. At first sight the most obvious hypothesis (a) would be that he was the eldest son of Kallias and bore his grandfather's name in accordance with a common Greek custom which is known to have been in vogue among the Kerykes⁷). If this was his place in the family the further hypothesis that he died without a surviving son would explain why in Aristophanes' time it was almost proverbial that the names of the heads of the family, in each generation, were alternatively Hipponikos and Kallias⁸) even though the first Kallias was the son of a Phainippos, i.e. the oldest male line would have passed through Hipponikos Ammon, a known son of the first Kallias⁹), who would, in this case have been the second son of Kallias. Certainly there was an awareness in antiquity that the name Hipponikos had not always been in the family and required explanation¹⁰).

But two factors militate against this hypothesis. His age is embarrassing. The first Kallias won an agonistic victory in 564¹¹). He was therefore adult, i.e. at least eighteen in that year and the birth of his eldest son could not reasonably be placed much later than 550. This would give us an archon around sixty in 490/89, — not impossible, especially in a year of crisis, but somewhat surprising. A more serious difficulty is that Schol.

4) Kirchner, op. cit. on the various members of the family.

5) Hdt. 6. 121. 1.

6) Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, p. 38 n. 2 mentions this probability without further comment.

7) *Ar. Av.* 282f.

8) *ibid.*

9) Hdt. 1. c.

10) Schol. *Ar. Nu.* 64 has a foolish account. A Hipponikos is mentioned (*Plu. Sol.* 15) as a contemporary of Solon. This would make it possible (if Plutarch is right) for this man to have been the maternal grandfather of Hipponikos Ammon. But Plutarch was probably misled by a late c. 5 fabrication. Cf. P-W. s. v. Chreokopidae.

11) Schol. *Ar. Av.* 283.

ad Ar. *Nu.* 64 claims that Kallias *λακκόπλοτος*, son of Hippo-
nikos Ammon and, therefore, on this hypothesis nephew of
Phainippos, was already *δαδοῦχος* at the time of Marathon.
Plutarch¹²⁾ obviously shares this belief. If Kallias *λακκόπλοτος*
was in fact *δαδοῦχος* (and there was only one *δαδοῦχος*¹³⁾ by the
time of Marathon, Phainippos cannot have been of an elder
branch of the family and therefore this hypothesis would fail.

The scholion on Aristophanes is not in itself of much weight.
It is full of errors and this could be another. Likewise the evi-
dence in Plutarch loses weight because of its occurrence in the
context of a clearly false legend invented to explain Kallias'
nickname *λακκόπλοτος*. Both pieces of evidence could be based
on nothing more than the general ancient habit of describing
Kallias *λακκόπλοτος* as *ὁ δαδοῦχος*¹⁴⁾. On the other hand, in
their presence, no secure identification of Phainippos as son of
the first Kallias can be made although this hypothesis is the
most attractive and economical.

A second possible hypothesis (b) is that the archon was the
son of another Phainippos himself son of the first Kallias. This
would provide an archon of reasonable age but would be open
to the same objections as the first concerning the priesthood and
would run counter to the theory of alternating names in the
generations of the Kerykes.

Thirdly (c), Phainippos might have been a younger brother
of Kallias *λακκόπλοτος* so named after a paternal uncle who
had died without a surviving son. But in this case Kallias
λακκόπλοτος was already over 30 in 490 – and if it be assumed
that he also held the archonship he must have been at least
30 in 497/6 – the latest year for which an archon is not recorded.
Thus he must have been over 80 when he negotiated the Thirty
Year's Peace in 446/5 which is somewhat improbable. Of course,
none of these hypotheses need be true. Phainippos could have
been a more distant member of the *genos* (d)¹⁵⁾.

12) *Arist.* 5. Kallias' long hair and *στρόφιον* imply this.

13) Cf. Schol. *Arist. Fr.* 369, 479, *Suid.* s.v. *Διὸς κῶδιον*.

14) It is noticeable that no Kerykes before Kallias *λακκόπλοτος* are
described as *δαδοῦχοι*. A possible part or whole explanation might be that
they lost their priesthood under the tyrannis (see below).

15) Mr. Davies has suggested to me the attractive idea that Phainippos
belongs to the *genos* as the son of another daughter of the first Kallias than
the mother of Aristeides. This hypothesis as well as being free from the
difficulties of (a), (b) and (c), would conveniently bring him into the same
generation as *λακκόπλοτος* and Aristeides. *vid. inf.* and *esp. n.* 18.

Even if nothing but membership of the *genos* be considered probable, this still allows some political significance to be seen in Phainippos' archonship.

The first Kallias was celebrated not only for his agonistic victories but for his outstanding hatred of the Peisistratid tyranny which manifested itself in unspecified hostile actions as well as in the purchase of Peisistratos' property, confiscated and sold on the occasion of one of his two expulsions, and which resulted in Kallias being named *μισοτύραννος*¹⁶⁾. When Athens was armed to resist a Persian invasion led by the son of Peisistratos, no more fitting guide or symbol of public policy could have been found than a relative of the *μισοτύραννος*. Other political conclusions could be drawn from his relationship with Aristеides. Aristеides was cousin to Kallias *λακκόπλουτος*¹⁷⁾. His father Lysimachos must have married one of the three daughters of Kallias the tyrant-hater¹⁸⁾. Thus Phainippos was related to Aristеides, who was a general at Marathon and succeeded Phainippos as archon in 489/8 as a result of the anti-tyrannical victory. This tenure of the office over two years by one family may have been one argument of and stimulant to the reformers who altered the electoral system soon after. The nearer Phainippos' relationship was to the tyrant-hater, to *λακκόπλουτος* and to Aristеides, the more nearly all these considerations apply¹⁹⁾.

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16) Hdt. I. c.

17) Aeschin. Socr. ap. Plu. *Arist.* 25.

18) The account of their marriages (Hdt. I. c.) – (a suspected later edition to Herodotus' text) – is that Kallias provided his three daughters with dowries and a free choice of husband. It has a fairy tale air. The true version (and the reason for the invention of a fairy tale) is suggested by the marriage of one of them to Lysimachos, Kallias' fellow demesman from Alopeke (see D.M. Lewis (*JHS* [1961] p. 118)). It is that this irreconcilable enemy of the Peisistratids found difficulty in marrying his daughters with other noble families during the tyrannis and so was forced to place them among his own demesmen with large dowries as an inducement. Such an arrangement would also have strengthened his hold over his natural clientela.

19) Partial stemma of the Kerykes with alternative hypotheses for the archon of 490.