

STESAGORAS II

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By the name of Philaids we comprise two related branches of the famous family. One branch derives from the seventh-century archon Miltiades and passes by way of Cypselus, archon of 597/6, to Miltiades the Founder of the tyranny in the Chersonnese, who died without issue. The other branch begins for us with Stesagoras I who married the wife of Cypselus the archon and fathered Cimon *Koalemos*, the nit-wit, who in turn produced two sons, Stesagoras II and Miltiades the Victor at Marathon.¹ The name Stesagoras thus belongs in the Cimonian branch of the family, where it occurs three times in the course of the sixth century. Stesagoras I is known only as the father of Cimon *Koalemos* and grandfather of Stesagoras II, whose biography we know from Herodotus (6.38–39 and 103). When Cimon was murdered by the sons of Peisistratus soon after the tyrant's death, he was at the court of his maternal uncle Miltiades the Founder and became his heir and successor in the Chersonnese. He was in turn murdered there by a citizen of Lampsacus, and his younger brother Miltiades the Victor was sent by the Peisistratids to replace him. A third, still younger, Stesagoras was identified by Ernst Langlotz from two Attic red-figured vases which have the inscription "Stesagoras is handsome."² As we shall see, this man should not be identified with Stesagoras the

¹ See *RE* s.v. Stesagoras 2 (Fiehn, 1929); *RE* s.v. Philaidai (Schachermeyr, 1938) 2119–20; J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) No. 8429 and stemmatable 6.

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² E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei* (Leipzig 1920, reprinted Rome, 1968) 60–61. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vasepainters*² (Oxford 1963) 1609 (henceforth *ARV*²): RF cups, Copenhagen inv. 3789 and Villa Giulia. For the Copenhagen cup, see *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Copenhagen fasc. 3, pl. 139, 1a–b. The inscription is in each case Στεσαγόρα <ς> καλός; for the missing sigma, see below, note 3.

Tyrant as has been suggested by J. K. Davies in his recent book on the Athenian Propertied Families.³

Some ten years ago, the late Joannis Papademetriou found a magnificent black-figured pyxis in a tomb at Merenda in Attica, in the general vicinity of Brauron. The place is usually identified with ancient Myrrhinus. The vase, now in the Museum at Brauron, has been mentioned several times in the literature.⁴ Around the body of the vase is shown a procession: four naked grooms bring up a horse each; a servant pulls a chariot; a fifth naked youth, perhaps the charioteer, gesticulates to the right, where we find the leader of the procession, a youth draped in himation and holding a branch in his hand. This figure, of whom only a trace can be seen in the published photograph, has his name inscribed: ΣΤΕΣΑΓΟΡΑ with final sigma omitted as happens frequently with names ending in -agoras.⁵ Beazley has attributed it to Exekias, without qualification in *Attic Red-figured Vase Painters*, and as "probably" in *Paralipomena*. Miss Moore attributes the pyxis to the early career of Exekias: if so, the date would be close to 540 B.C.⁶

I believe that the young Stesagoras on the pyxis is certainly to be identified with Stesagoras II, who later became tyrant of the Chersonnese. Historical names appear on vases basically in two forms: first as *kalos*-names, where the statement "so-and-so is handsome" refers to some youth well-known about town, who is usually not depicted on the vase. Secondly, they appear as names of athletes, revelers, or the like, which are depicted on the vase, with the word *kalos* usually not added.⁷ The pyxis shows the second type of historical names:

³ Davies (above, note 1) 301.

⁴ To *Ergon* 1961, 38 fig. 43. G. Daux, *BCH* 86 (1962) 669, fig. 27. *ARV*² 1699. J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 61. M. B. Moore, "Horses in Exekias," *AJA* 72 (1968) 358 No. 14, and 362. The photograph published in *Ergon* and *BCH* shows only a trace of the front figure. The inscription is given correctly by Beazley. The *Kathimerini* of December 10, 1961, as cited in *BCH* 86 (1962) 664, note 1, wrongly referred the inscription to the owner of the vase, but it clearly refers to the front figure.

⁵ On the omission of the final sigma, see P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vasenschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (Gütersloh 1894) 184-85, and especially J. D. Beazley, *AJA* 54 (1950) 317 No. 11, who suggests that names ending in -agoras may have been liable to apocope.

⁶ Moore (above, note 4) 362.

⁷ See "A Projected Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions," *Acta of the Fifth International Congress on Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967* (Oxford 1971) 59, note 7.

Stesagoras is here actually depicted as a young man in the period 540–530 B.C. The dates for Stesagoras II and his brother Miltiades the Victor are not certain, but a birth date for Stesagoras II about 560 is the most generally accepted.⁸ This date dove-tails exactly with his age at the time of the vase, especially if we accept Miss Moore's attribution to early Exekias.

Furthermore, the subject of the vase suits well the known Philaid interest in chariot racing. A famous story in Herodotus (6.103) relates the three Olympic victories won by Stesagoras' father Cimon with the same team of horses. At the time of the first victory Cimon was in exile. He relinquished the second victory to Peisistratus, who thereupon allowed him to return to Athens. With reference to the third victory, Herodotus says: "and when he had won another victory with the same horses, it befell him that he died by the hands of the Peisistratids, when Peisistratus himself was no longer living." Cimon thus died after 528/7, the year of Peisistratus' death. Many scholars have assumed that he also won his third victory after the tyrant's death and, on the assumption that the victories must fall in successive Olympiads, have dated them in 532, 528, and 524. But it is clear the Herodotus puts only the murder, not the third victory, after the death of Peisistratus, and Wade-Gery's case for the earlier dating, 536, 532, and 528, is very strong.⁹ Cimon's horses were buried near the Cimonian

⁸ The absolute dates for Miltiades the Victor and his brother Stesagoras are uncertain. Those for Miltiades depend largely on his role at Marathon, his son Metiochus' command of a ship in 493, Miltiades' participation in the Scythian campaign, and his identification with the archon of 524/3 B.C. Some scholars put the birth of Stesagoras II in 550–545 and that of Miltiades the Victor about 545, but most put them about a decade earlier. See H. T. Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1958) 155–56 and Davies (above, note 1) No. 8429 VIII–IX. For the identification with the archon, see T. J. Cadoux, *JHS* 68 (1948) 110 and note 127. Differently, H. Berve, *Miltiades* (Hermes Einzelschriften 2, Berlin 1937) 5; Schachermeyr, *RE* s.v. Philaidai, col. 2116; Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1901, reprinted Berlin 1966) No. 10206, and B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 60. On the archon list, see now R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1969) p. 12, where the archon is identified with the Victor.

⁹ Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.* (last note) and Wade-Gery (above, last note) 156–58. It should be noted that Herodotus does not say explicitly that the third victory preceded the assassination *immediately*, but that is the most natural interpretation of the sentence from Hdt. 6.103 quoted in the text. Cimon was murdered in the prytaneum because as an Olympic victor he was feasted there. Is it possible that the assassination had a connection with his third victory which seems to have occurred shortly before? It is usually implied that the team would not have lasted for more than eight years, but I am

tomb in Koile (Hdt. 6.103), and Herodotus had no doubt seen their tomb. The vase contains a conspicuous advertisement of the famous Cimonian stables.

A third argument in favor of the identification is more uncertain. Myrrhinus is not very far from Brauron where Plutarch tells us the Philaids had their property, and where was located the Cleisthenic deme of Philaidai. Plutarch's statement has been rejected, however, since the family property is elsewhere located at Lakiadai, north of Athens, and since the Cimonian tombs too were not located near Brauron.¹⁰ The find spot of the pyxis does not furnish strong evidence in favor of Plutarch, but I think it should be noted. The Alcmaeonids too had property in different parts of Attica. The pyxis might conceivably have been a gift to a member of the Philaid family.

Historical names on vases are usually thought to celebrate young men about town. We may speculate then that Stesagoras was probably in Athens when the pyxis was made, although this cannot be proved. Stesagoras spent the last years of his life in the Chersonnese. Earlier, we hear that he was *trephomenos* at the court of his uncle in the Chersonnese (Hdt. 6.103). I would interpret this to mean that he had been adopted by his uncle at some unspecified time. Still earlier, Stesagoras must have been absent from Athens during his father's exile prior to the second Olympic victory in 532. We do not know the initial date of Cimon's exile, but Wade-Gery has made the attractive, if unprovable, suggestion that Cimon was exiled for the ostentatious use of horses about the time of the first victory, or shortly before 536.¹¹ It seems thus not unlikely that Stesagoras left Athens with his father *circa* 536 and that he was adopted by his uncle during that period. Miltiades the Founder may have wished to prevent the Peisistratids from laying hands on the succession in the Chersonnese, since he was childless. If this is arguable, we may imagine that the pyxis refers to the situation before 536, when Stesagoras was still in Athens. It is

told by those who know horses that they can be raced for considerably longer periods. Yet it is unlikely that a whole four-horse team would last very long.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Solon* 10.3. D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 12 (1963) 25 ff. For the Alcmaeonids, see C. W. Th. Eliot, *Historia* 16 (1967) 279-86.

¹¹ Wade-Gery (above, note 8) 158 and note 4. Differently Davies (above, note 1) 300.

less likely that the vase refers to a hypothetical return of Stesagoras after Cimon's second victory in 532. Is it too bold to suggest that the horses on the pyxis are the very team that later won three such spectacular victories?

The Exekias pyxis proves that we cannot identify Stesagoras II with the Stesagoras *kalos* in the two red-figured vases mentioned at the beginning of this paper. One of the vases, a cup in Copenhagen, has been published. The Interior shows a young warrior running to the right with drawn sword. From his face runs the inscription ΣΤΕΣΑΓΟΡΑ (again the final sigma is omitted), while *kalos* is written twice in the field. The vase can be dated about 520–510 or nearly twenty years later than the Exekias pyxis. Stesagoras III was thus born about 540 B.C. There is the possibility that he is alluded to in a confused notice in Cornelius Nepos who speaks of a SAGORAS (as the mss. have it) assisting his brother (*sic*) Miltiades during the trial of 489 B.C.¹²

By a curious coincidence the duplication of names may also have to be postulated for Miltiades the Victor and a Miltiades *kalos* who appears on a well-known red-figured plate in Oxford by the Cerberus Painter (Paseas). The plate is roughly contemporary with the Stesagoras cup in Copenhagen and shows a bearded archer in Oriental costume riding to the left. The inscription "Miltiades is handsome" starts from the head.¹³ Many scholars have assumed a connection between the archer and the inscription and have identified Miltiades with the Victor of Marathon. But the position of the inscription is probably purely conventional, and the archer is not Miltiades. We cannot derive an estimate of the age of the handsome Miltiades from the picture, and should assume that he was probably a young man around 520 B.C. If this is correct, a conflict arises between the date of the *kalos*-inscription and Miltiades' archonship in 524/3 B.C. Since the birth date of Stesagoras the Tyrant is now well fixed about 560 B.C., his younger brother Miltiades the Victor should have been born about 555 B.C. This

¹² Nepos, *Miltiades* 7.5: the story as given is of course impossible. Stesagoras, father of a Miltiades mentioned by Aeschines Socraticus in the late fifth century is later than our Stesagoras III; Davies (above, note 1) No. 8429 XV, p. 308. It is to be hoped that an early ostrakon from the Agora, which may have the name Stesagoras on it, will soon be published.

¹³ Oxford 310, *ARV*² 163 No. 8. See J. D. Beazley, *CVA* Oxford, fasc. 1, text to pl. 1.5. Langlotz (above, note 2) 58–60. Wade-Gery (above, note 8) 168–70. G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-figured Vases*² (New Haven 1958) 44 and note 21.

would allow him to be about 30 years old at the time of the archonship—a desirable age even if the 30-year limit for the archonship was not required in the sixth century.¹⁴ The great Miltiades was then about 65 by the time of Marathon. Thus the archonship fits well with the known career of Miltiades the Victor, but it is irreconcilable with the *kalos*-inscription when taken at face value. We may have to reckon with a third Miltiades in the sixth century, a contemporary of the third Stesagoras.¹⁵ Of the two, I regard Stesagoras III as certain, while Miltiades the *kalos* is still something of a puzzle, since we have only a single vase to attest him.

We learn from the vases, as we do also from fifth-century ostraka, that there existed many members of aristocratic families who did not acquire sufficient fame to be mentioned in the literary tradition. It is important that we should try to account for them in our stemmata in order to avoid confusing homonyms. Unfortunately, I have been unable to construct such a stemma in this case.¹⁶ *Kalos*-inscriptions do not give us the father's name, and our knowledge of the Philaid family in the sixth century is too incomplete to allow us to speculate much further than I have done in this paper.

¹⁴ Mr. J. K. Davies points out to me that the inscription from Marathon *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 10, No. 2B, dated soon after 490 B.C., gives the thirty-year limit for agonothetes of the local Heracleia and thus suggests that the thirty-year rule for archons precedes the reorganisation of the archonship in 486 B.C.

¹⁵ I do not follow N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* 50 (1956) 113 ff., who constructs a third Miltiades from certain passages in Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis*, Aelian, and Herodotus. See D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 206 ff.

¹⁶ Miltiades *kalos* and Stesagoras *kalos* cannot be sons of the Oecist, even if we accept Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.* 9, as we should not, in view of the clear statement in Hdt. 6.38.1 that the Oecist had no children. Nor can they be sons of the Victor from his first marriage (i.e. brothers of Metiochus) as Marcellinus 12 might allow, since he speaks of children in the plural from this marriage. The Oecist was born about 585 B.C. and the Victor about 555. Birth dates around 540 are thus too late on the first hypothesis and too early on the second.