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ARISTEIDES' "BROTHER"

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An ostrakon from the Agora, P 9945, first published in 1957 and now included in M.L. Lang (ed.), *The Athenian Agora XXV. Ostraka* (Princeton 1990), no. 56, names the objectionable person and adds an abusive phrase:

Ἄριςτ[
τὸν δα[
ἀδελφ[

The group of 41 ostraka to which it belongs includes others directed against Themistocles, Callixenus, Hippocrates, and Aristeides, in descending order of occurrence (18, 9, 7, 5, and also one unknown): a typical pattern in the Agora. So this is surely another "Arist[eides]", making 6 in the group and 68 in the Agora overall (Lang, *Ostraka* nos. 21-88). It is generally thought that all the Agora groups in which Aristeides appears belong to some year earlier than 482, when he was the candidate of choice.

I

A total of six restorations have been proposed, as follows. The first three are to similar effect.¹

Ἄριςτ[εῖδεν
τὸν Δά[τιδος
ἀδελφ[όν

(Raubitschek)

Ἄριςτ[εῖδεν
τὸν Δά[τιδος ἰς-
ἀδελφ[όν

(Raubitschek)

Ἄριςτ[εῖδεν
τὸν Δα[ρείο
ἀδελφ[όν

(Bicknell)

Raubitschek's two proposals, "Aristeides the brother of Datis" or "Aristeides the one like a brother of Datis", were first in the field, and the former has enjoyed much favour. Bicknell offers a variation, "the brother of Dareius". Aristeides then is branded as a Medizer. That would certainly add some fresh colour to his rather etiolated portrait. It is true that according to Plutarch and others he was recalled by the Athenians lest he join the enemy; and true again that according to the *Suda* (*s.v.* Ἄριςτεῖδης) Xerxes offered him a huge sum of money, but he was too frugal to be even tempted.² Yet these are merely consequences, real or imagined, of his ostracism; they do not at all suggest that before this, as an Athenian

¹ A.E. Raubitschek in K. Schauenberg (ed.), *Charites. Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft E. Langlotz dargebracht* (Bonn 1957) 240-242; P.J. Bicknell, *Historia* 23 (1974) 158 n. 64.

² Furthermore, Aristeides is associated with Aegina and with the Alcmaeonids, and both are accused of Medizing. See Raubitschek, *Charites* 239-242; also Bicknell, *AntClass* 39 (1970) 433-436; L. Piccirilli, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 169-176.

politician, he was soft on Persia. Taken by itself, the phrase "the brother of Datis" or "the brother of Dareius" is far-fetched. We expect e.g. "friend" or "minion". Raubitschek himself felt this difficulty, as apparently no one since, and supplied an alternative, "the one like a brother of Datis."³ But ἰσάδελφος is a high-flown sentimental term that cannot be postulated for an ostrakon. Both restorations (with either Datis or Dareius) are unlikely, and should be abandoned.

T.T. Rapke offers two more versions.⁴

Ἄριςτ[εῖδεν τὸν Δα[μασίω ἀδελφ[όν	[Καλλίχενον] Ἄριςτ[ονύμο τὸν Δά[τιδος ἀδελφ[όν
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In the first, he makes Aristeides "the brother of Damasias" because, if we believe Plutarch (*Arist.* 22.1), Aristeides after the battle of Plataea, when the Athenians were newly confident, carried "a decree" to open the archonship to everyone, without qualification: whereas Damasias, the second of that name, was on record as an eponymous Archon of 582-580 B.C. who clung to office illegally ([*Arist.*] *Ath. Pol.* 13.2). There is no doubt, however, that this decree of Aristeides is a late invention, and quite unwarranted by any contemporary facts, since it conflicts sharply with the known history of the archonship.⁵ As a purported sequel to Plataea, it could not in any case bear upon our ostrakon, which dates to the 480's. As for Damasias, nothing indicates that he had any notoriety at all, unless it was among antiquarian students of the Archon list.⁶ And the figurative use of "brother", as between two figures a century apart, is worse than far-fetched; it is incomprehensible.

Rapke's second version introduces a different person, once again as "the brother of Datis", and thus a Medizer. The objection to this phrase is the same as before. The person, "[Callixenus son of] Arist[onymus]", is indeed represented in our group by 9 out of 41 ostraka, but here he is quite impossible. For the name Ἄριςτ[ε] is written right across the top of the sherd, in letters larger than those of the following two lines. The top edge is straight; it was the natural place to start. Afterwards the sherd was broken again only at the right.⁷ There was no other name before Ἄριςτ[ε].

Lang (*Ostraka* 38) prints Raubitschek's first proposal as the text of the ostrakon but adds one of her own by way of comment.

Αρίςτ[αιχμου
 τὸν δα[κὸν
 ἀδελφ[όν

She too suggests a different person as well as a markedly different phrase, "Aristaechmus the shaggy brother". Aristaechmus, appearing on only one ostrakon in the Agora but on 11 in the Cerameicus, is no doubt the "brother" of Cydrocles, appearing on 17 ostraka in the Agora and on 3 in the Cerameicus; for both are known as "son of Timocrates" and "of Crioa", a very small deme. The phrase sug-

³ If ἀδελφόν "seems too daring", one "may substitute" ἰσάδελφον. For the latter word he cites only Eur. *Or.* 1015, on the bond between Pylades and Orestes.

⁴ *Acta Classica* 24 (1981) 153-155.

⁵ See e.g. C. Habicht, *Hermes* 89 (1961) 34-35. According to Rapke (n. 4), Plutarch's γράφει ψήφισμα "implies" only that the decree was proposed, not that it was carried. But in this brisk review of Aristeides' achievements the latter is undoubtedly meant.

⁶ Of the antiquarian sources who mention this Archon, only [Aristotle] speaks of trouble. Cf. T.J. Cadoux, *JHS* 68 (1948) 102-103.

⁷ For drawings of the sherd, see Raubitschek, *Charites* (n. 1) 240; Lang, *Ostraka* Fig. 3. Admittedly, Lang, *Ostraka* 38, cites Rapke's "interpretations" without objection. But her description says, "broken at right"; i.e., it was not subsequently broken at the top. David J. Phillips in a draft (1990) of his unpublished work *Athenian Ostracism Candidates: 487-415 B.C. A Prosopographical Study*, p. 20, makes the same point against Rapke. I thank him for furnishing the page in photocopy and for sharing with me his unrivalled knowledge of ostraka prosopography.

gested by Lang seems to present the two brothers as Jacob and Esau, but she does not explain it, and its attraction is not immediately obvious.

The name "Arist[aechmus]" fits just as well as "Arist[eides]". But since Aristaechmus has just one other ostrakon in the Agora, and Aristeides has 5 in our group and 67 overall, the odds in Aristeides' favour are overwhelming. Now the probability would change if in fact the sole undoubted Aristaechmus ostrakon belonged to our group—and Lang says it does.⁸ But this is a mistake, on the showing of both the *Ostraka* volume and earlier publications of the material. Our group comes from an early-fifth-century deposit in the southwest branch of the Agora drain, due south of the Tholos.⁹ The Aristaechmus ostrakon was found far away and without any proper context, "in modern fill on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios".¹⁰ As was said, the four names in our group (Themistocles, Callixenus, Hippocrates, Aristeides) recur in other Agora groups of the early fifth century, and in about the same numerical proportion, as if they derived from the same year. There is no reason to thrust Aristaechmus in among them.

II

All these attempts must be set aside. I shall seek to justify the following restoration:

Ἄριστ[εῖδεν
τὸν δα[ιδόχο
ἀδελφ[όν

The meaning is "Aristeides the brother of a Daduch".

We start from the near certainty that the name is "Aristeides". With no less certainty the phrase describes him as someone's "brother", τὸν... ἀδελφόν. It has always been so restored, except in Raubitschek's τὸν... ἐλάδελφον, rejected above. The last word is likely to start with the line, and in any case none of the compounds of ἀδελφός is at all suitable.¹¹ We therefore ask: who might be opprobriously mentioned as Aristeides' "brother"? Plutarch's *Life* gives the answer, unmistakably. It is Callias son of Hipponicus of the deme Alopece, a near contemporary and neighbour and kinsman, a Daduch or "Torch-holder" of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and a purse-proud magnate of the silver mines (PA 7825, *LGPN* II Καλλίασ 82).

Plutarch would never have cast an ostrakon against Aristeides, and yet he records that the great man throughout his life was haunted by a family association with Callias. While Aristeides as a general was guarding the prisoners and spoils of Marathon, Callias surreptitiously helped himself to a trove of Persian gold (*Arist.* 5.6-8). And when Callias was being tried on a capital charge, Aristeides as a kinsman was summoned to testify (25.4-9). Aeschines the Socratic, Plutarch's source for this episode, turned it to Aristeides' own credit: his testimony was that whereas Callias had quite generously offered financial assistance, he still preferred to live in poverty. Both stories, of Callias' villainy at Marathon and of Aristeides' Pollyanna testimony, are no doubt fictitious. But the circumstances that they presuppose are real, in particular the close association between Aristeides and Callias.

Plutarch, after Aeschines, says that Aristeides was ἀνεψιός "cousin" of Callias (25.6). It has been plausibly conjectured that Aristeides' father Lysimachus married a sister of Callias' father Hipponicus, making Aristeides and Callias first cousins.¹² Whatever the degree of cousinhood, it would be under-

⁸ At *Ostraka* 35 the undoubted Aristaechmus ostrakon (no. 20, P 9378) is assigned to "E 5", our group. At *Ostraka* 38 it is said of the ostrakon we are discussing (no. 56, P 9945) that it "comes from the same group as the Aristaichmos ostrakon".

⁹ The provenance of our group, E 5, is correctly described by Lang, *Ostraka* 24, after H.A. Thompson's publication of the Tholos. Furthermore, she lists the names on the 41 ostraka in the group, and they do not include Aristaechmus.

¹⁰ So E. Vanderpool in *Papers in Memory of T. Leslie Shear* (*Hesperia* Supplement VIII, 1947) 396. Lang, *Ostraka* 35, even as she assigns the Aristaechmus ostrakon to our early-fifth-century group, describes the provenance as "modern fill": i.e., outside all the recognizable groups.

¹¹ ἐξάδελφος "cousin" is not Attic: see W.E. Thompson, *JHS* 91 (1971) 110.

¹² So J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971) 48-49, 256-257.

standable if someone with strong feelings against both chose to describe them, or maybe even thought of them, as brothers.¹³

Callias is the first known Daduch, δαιδούχος, an Eleusinian office second only to the Hierophant, hereditary in the *genos* Kerykes.¹⁴ And as a Daduch he was notorious. At Marathon, says Plutarch, a Persian saw him in his hieratic costume, and took him for a king, and therefore led him to the trove of gold—whereupon this worldly Daduch disposed of the Persian.¹⁵ It is a few years after Marathon that Aristeides appears to be derided as "the brother of a Daduch".

Thus restored, the ostrakon does not tell us something new, but reassures us about a notable element in Plutarch's *Life* of Aristeides. And that is a definite gain.

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¹³ It is also conceivable that the ostrakon is more accurate than Aeschines. Aristeides was probably born in the 520's, Callias just a little later, in c. 520 (so Davies). Aristeides may have been an only child, for no siblings are known, and no collateral line in later generations. If Lysimachus' wife, Aristeides' mother, afterwards married Hipponicus and bore Callias, her respective sons would be half-brothers, a relationship denoted by ἀδελφός.

¹⁴ For Callias as Daduch, see K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Philadelphia 1974) 47-48.

¹⁵ Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 64 improves on Plutarch in saying that Callias went into battle in hieratic costume and ἠρίκτευε against the enemy.