

Kalamis Atheniensis?

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LIPPOLD in 1919 wrote an authoritative and influential article on Kalamis “wahrscheinlich Boioter.”¹ He repeated his view thirty years later.² Handbooks perpetuate themselves. G. M. A. Richter in *OCD*³ calls Kalamis “perhaps from Boeotia.”³ P. Orlandini in the *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica* writes:⁴ “Originario forse della Beozia, K. lavorò soprattutto ad Atene, in Beozia e ad Olimpia.” In the most authoritative modern study of the sculptor, J. Dörig declares:⁵ “Kalamis war anscheinend Böoter, jüngere Landsmann seines Auftraggebers Pindar.” W. H. Gross in *Der Kleine Pauly* contains no surprises.⁶ He adduced one argument: “Da er viel für Boiotien geschaffen hat, war er vielleicht Boioter.” Lippold in *RE* had adduced none. There was only a reference to Franz Studniczka’s book of 1907.⁷ There Studniczka had devoted four pages and adduced ten⁸ arguments that claimed Kalamis a Boeotian. They are cited, approved and never read.

In his *Pindaros* of 1922 Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff⁹ argued the artistic dependence of Boeotia upon Athens. While his book was in the press, he read Studniczka and added a terse rebuttal that preferred Kalamis an Athenian.¹⁰ Wilamowitz’ protest necessarily was brief, even oracular, but I have never seen it cited by archaeologists,

¹ See G. Lippold, *RE* 10 (1919) 1532.61–62.

² See G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik (Handbuch der Archäologie III, Munich 1950)* 110: “ein wahrscheinlich aus dieser Landschaft stammender Meister . . . Kalamis.” [henceforth: *HdArch III*]. Cf. E. Berger, in *LexAltW* (1965) 1462: “wahrscheinlich aus Böotien.”

³ *OCD*² (Oxford 1970) *s.n.* CALAMIS.

⁴ P. Orlandini, *EAA* 4 (Rome 1961) 291–92. I have not been able to consult his monograph *Calamide* (Bologna 1950).

⁵ J. Dörig, *JdI* 80 (1965) 265.

⁶ W. H. Gross, *KIP* 3 (1969) 51–52.

⁷ See Franz Studniczka, “Kalamis: ein Beitrag zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte,” *Abh. Leipzig* 25.4 (1907) [henceforth: *STUDNICZKA*].

⁸ An unfortunate number. “Du sollst nicht glauben, daß zehn schlechte Gründe gleich sind einem Guten,” K. Lehrs, “Zehngebote für klassische Philologen,” *Kleine Schriften*, ed. A. Ludwig (Königsberg 1902) no.100 p.476.

⁹ See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 54–55 [henceforth: *WILAMOWITZ*].

¹⁰ Wilamowitz 506–07.

who read neither Pindar nor books about him.¹¹ In this article I shall argue that Wilamowitz is probably right and Studniczka probably wrong, that Kalamis probably was Athenian and not Boeotian. I shall present Studniczka's ten arguments in the order in which he presents them with an answer to each and shall conclude with a restatement of Wilamowitz' view and several new arguments intended to support it.

1. Studniczka, 39: "Er wirkte für Pindar . . . und dieser treue Sohn seines damals übel angesehenen Landes hat ausser ihm nur noch seine unmittelbaren Mitbürger Aristomenes und Sokrates beschäftigt. Schon regt den Gedanken an, daß auch unser Meister ein Böoter war."¹² Pausanias indeed attests (9.25.3) that Aristomenes¹³ and Sokrates¹⁴ were Theban. His further tale that Pindar hired the pair to do a throned Mother Dindymene of Pentelic marble in a sanctuary next to his house is a biographical fiction that does not survive criticism.¹⁵ I should query, therefore, the whole story (Paus. 9.16.1) of Pindar's hiring Kalamis to do a Zeus Ammon for him at Thebes. Rather a fiction by a Hellenistic biographer, based on *Pythian* 4.16 and the hymn to Ammon (fr.29 Turyn). His purpose is clear.¹⁶ Indeed the initial assumption that Pindar would hire only compatriots defies all we know of the internationalism of his work and his class.¹⁷ Pausanias' assertion that Pindar hired a sculptor of unknown origin is no proof that he was not Athenian.

2. Studniczka, 39: The supposition that Kalamis was Boeotian is supported by the contemporary "Wiederkehr" of almost the same or, when read with early Boeotian itacism, the same ("geradezu des-selbes") name, in the form *Καλάμμει* at Akraiphion. The reference is

¹¹ For archaeologists' Greek "not intended to be a complimentary expression," see B. L. Gildersleeve, *AJP* 18 (1897) 119–21 and *AJP* 35 (1914) 362.

¹² See Dörig, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 200: ". . . so ist doch die Begegnung von Pindar und Kalamis im Götterbild des Zeus-Ammon auch ein Grund für die Vermutung, daß Kalamis ein Landsmann Pindars war." At 209 Abb. one may see Dörig's restored Ammon "die eines Kalamis und eines Pindar wohl würdig wäre." *Cras credam*.

¹³ See C. Robert, *RE* 2 (1895) 947.4ff.

¹⁴ See G. Lippold, *RE* 3A (1927) 891.49ff; "wild theories," according to W. J. Slater, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 148 n.32.

¹⁵ See Slater, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.14) 148–50. Doubt had already been cast by Wilamowitz, 270 n.1.

¹⁶ W. J. Slater *per litt.* observes: "The connection with various gods is meant of course to prove his *εὐσεβία* and that he is *θεοφιλής*."

¹⁷ He hired Aineias of Stymphalos as choral leader: see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Isyllos von Epidauros* (*Phil.Untersuch.* 9, Berlin 1886) 170.

to IG VII 2745. Because we do not know that the sculptor is Boeotian, *Καλάμμει* is not a Boeotian “Wiederkehr.” A supposition is no fact. Further, at least two other examples of the name are attested outside of Boeotia, at Thasos before 350 B.C. (IG XII.8 403.4) and an Athenian ephebe of *ca* A.D. 48/9 (IG II² 1968.8). Of four examples only one is surely Boeotian.

3. Studniczka, 39: On the other hand (“dagegen”) the two other homonyms known from inscriptions, the Attic ephebe of the Empire and “der schwerlich ältere Thasier” are very easily (“sehr wohl”) named after the famous old sculptor. I should not quarrel. In the Hellenistic and Imperial periods many provincial Greeks, as well as non-Greeks changing their names to Greek ones, assumed the names of famous poets, philosophers and artists of the classical period.¹⁸ But this fact is not decisive for the nationality of Kalamis. Indeed a provincial more probably would take his name from an Athenian than from a Theban.

4. Studniczka, 39: Two other works of Kalamis—besides “Pindar’s” Zeus Ammon—were done for the little Boeotian town of Tanagra, Hermes Kriophoros and a Dionysos of Parian marble. The evidence is Pausanias 9.22.1 and 9.20.4 and need not be disputed. Kalamis executed two Boeotian commissions. This is the argument found again in Lippold¹⁹ and in Gross.²⁰ One may retort that more commissions are attested for Attica: Apollo Alexikakos before the temple of Apollo Patroos in the Kerameikos (Paus. 1.3.4); the Sosandra (Luc. *Imag.* 6, *Dial. Meret.* 3.2); the Aphrodite for Kallias (Paus. 1.23.2), if indeed it is not the Sosandra;²¹ and an Erinys-group (schol. *ad* Aeschin. 1.188=38.21 Dindorf). That he did a Wingless Victory at Olympia for the Mantineans, imitating the xoanon of the Acropolis (Paus. 5.26.6), certainly attests familiarity with Attic art. Therefore, by Studniczka’s, Lippold’s and Gross’s logic, if a sculptor’s nationality is that of the country for which he has executed the most commissions, Kalamis is better Athenian.

¹⁸ For typical examples see *AJA* 75 (1971) 327 with n.23.

¹⁹ See Lippold, *HdArch* III 110 n.6: “Mehrere Werke in Boeotien.” This is not the case.

²⁰ See p.271 *supra*.

²¹ For the identity of the two see H. Hitzig and H. Bluemer, *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio* I.1 (Berlin 1896) 254–55, and G. Lippold, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 1533.66ff. For Kalamis see the signature (*ca* 448 B.C.?) found in the Agora: Jean Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecques* I (Paris 1953) 40–41.

5. Studniczka, 39: We do not hear that Kalamis was a Boeotian, because as a Boeotian working in Attica at the time of the battles of Tanagra and Koronea Kalamis had good reason to say nothing of his homeland; and thus we hear nothing of it in the tradition. Surely an easier explanation is that Kalamis was an Athenian and worked without difficulty at Athens in an anti-Boeotian period. Even if Kalamis were Boeotian, the argument is weak. Pindar worked successfully for Athens at the same time.

6. Studniczka, 39: An *ethnikon* is also lacking in the signatures of other foreign artists active at Athens. So before all in the case of the Laconian Gorgias. Studniczka (39 n.6) cited Pliny, *HN* 34.49 (*Gorgias Lacon*) and *IG I²* 765 (=36 Loewy): *Γοργίας ἐποίησε*. The signature of a Laconian sculptor in Athens lacked an ethnic. The parallel is unfortunate. Three other Gorgias signatures exist (*IG I²* 488, 489, 490) each without an ethnic. Carl Robert²² drew the obvious conclusion. Gorgias was an Athenian sculptor of ca 500 B.C., and Pliny's text should be punctuated: *Callon, Gorgias, Lacon*. This is philologically cogent. In his chronological lists Pliny nowhere else provides an ethnic. *Phidias Atheniensis* (*HN* 34.49) has been taken out of the lists and given special prominence and an ethnic. And Pliny's ethnic would be *Lacedaemonius*, not *Lacon*, if ethnic it were.²³ His last example (40 with n.10) is Sokrates, the Theban "who had worked for Pindar." Pausanias (1.22.8) attributes a relief of the Graces to Sokrates son of Sophroniskos. This will not do. Pausanias read a signature of the Theban without an ethnic and naively attributed it to the philosopher.²⁴

A foreign sculptor signing a work commissioned for Athens would often add his ethnic, as Achermos the Chian did (*IG I²* 487) or Kalon of Aegina (*IG I²* 501), cited by Studniczka (40). But the practice is not invariable, and Studniczka's point, if not his examples, survives examination. Epigraphical evidence proves that Aristion of Paros²⁵ and

²² C. Robert, *RE* 7 (1912) 1619.34ff.

²³ Robert's solution is accepted by G. Lippold, *RE* 12 (1924) 528.45ff *s.n.* LAKON 7. For the name in Athens see R. Stroud, "An Athenian Law on Silver Coinage," *Hesperia* forthcoming.

²⁴ The suggestion was hastily accepted by Lippold, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.14) 891.57ff, followed by W. H. Gross, *KIP* 5 (1973) 256 *s.n.* SOKRATES 7; more cautious is J. Burnet, *Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates and Crito* (Oxford 1924; repr. 1970) 50–51.

²⁵ Professor Stroud observes: "IG I² 1014 (certainly), 986 (probably) have the ethnic; 972 does not. 988 (=JOAI 31 [1939] Beiblatt 58) ought to be ignored as a red herring." See P. Orlandini, *EAA* 1 (Rome 1958) 644.

Kresilas of Kydonia²⁶ were not consistent. The only extant signature of Kalamis²⁷ is without an ethnic. This suggests that he is more likely Athenian; but the evidence is not decisive either way.

7. Studniczka, 40–41: That Kalamis was chosen to do the colossal Apollo at Sozopol reveals nothing about his homeland. I agree.

8. Studniczka, 41: The Sosandra and other works exhibited in Athens are assigned to “the younger homonym,” a grandson, who (42) might have taken out Athenian citizenship or, like Lysias, have been a metic. I question the practice of inventing a second sculptor to whom one can attribute those works which embarrass one’s preconceptions. Ancient evidence for Kalamides is elusive. Pliny (*HN* 33.156, 34.47) reports a *caelator* called Kalamis. As Furtwängler argued,²⁸ Pliny yields no evidence that *caelator* and sculptor are different men. The only serious testimony for a second sculptor called Kalamis is Pausanias 10.19.4, where Praxias an Athenian is called the pupil of Kalamis. Pausanias (*ibid.*) alleges that Praxias died while working on the pediments of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Lippold refers this to the rebuilding of 369 B.C.²⁹ Kalamis (Paus. 6.12.1) executed the dedication of Hiero at Olympia in 466 B.C.³⁰ and may therefore have been born as early as *ca* 496. I see no difficulty. B. L. Gildersleeve (1831–1924) was the pupil of August Boeckh (1785–1867). 127 and 139 years respectively separate teacher’s birth and pupil’s death. This is now the view of Dörig.³¹

9. Studniczka, 41: Contemporary Boeotia produced one genius, Pindar; why not a second? But why not one more Athenian genius?

10. Studniczka, 41–42: There are other Boeotian contributors to “the Hellenic Springtime of Art,” Askaros, Pythodoros, Aristomedes and Sokrates, “einem Meister von panhellenischer Bedeutung.” The

²⁶ Of his three akropolis signatures two are without ethnic (A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* [Cambridge (Mass.) 1949] no.131, 132) and one with *Κυδωνιέτας* (no.133). See Lippold, *RE* 11 (1922) 1714.55ff, who argues that he was an Aeginetan.

²⁷ See Marcadé, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.21) I.40, and *infra* p.276.

²⁸ See Lippold, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 1536.27ff, who cites A. Furtwängler, *SBMünchen* (1907) 164, and Marcadé, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.21) I.44, who inclines to Furtwängler.

²⁹ See *RE* 22 (1954) 1748.32ff, and Marcadé, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.21) I.43. H. Stuart Jones, *Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture*² (Chicago 1966) 110, prefers the original temple “built in the early years of the fifth century B.C. [*sic*].” The correct date is *ca* 530–510 B.C.: see G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen* (Munich 1966) 72–73.

³⁰ See G. Lippold, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 1532.64ff. Marcadé, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) I.43, stresses the uncertainty of the evidence.

³¹ See Dörig, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 265.

names are sparsely attested, a single reference in Pausanias.³² No signature exists. The last two may be fictitious.³³ That Sokrates was a pan-hellenic master is only a dubious inference.³⁴

This is Studniczka's case, accepted by Lippold, who read Studniczka, and by Richter, Orlandini, Dörig, Berger and Gross, who read Lippold. Not one of his ten arguments survives scrutiny, nor is their cumulative effect decisive. It cannot be established that Kalamis was Boeotian. Is there evidence that Kalamis may have been Athenian?

1. The contemporary (*ca* 448) signature³⁵ found in the Agora in 1937 (hence not known either to Studniczka or to Wilamowitz), possibly from Kalamis' own hand, lacks an ethnic ([Κάλ] αμικ|[ἔ]ποε.).

2. The scholiast on Aischines 1.188 (=38.21 Dindorf) attributes three Erinyes to Σκόπας ὁ Πάριος and to Κάλαμικ. Skopas has an ethnic; Kalamis does not. The obvious explanation is that the foreigner does and the Athenian does not.

3. Kalamis' most famous pupil, Praxias, was an Athenian (Paus. 10.19.4).³⁶

4. Athenians with plant names, like Kalamis, tend to be lower class and often artisans.³⁷ The *Κροκωνίδαι*,³⁸ a priestly family active at Eleusis, are the aristocratic exception. They are regularly humbler men: *Καχυλίων* an early potter of redfigured vases (AR V I² 107–09); *Βολβός*, a dancer in Kratinos (fr.394 Kock); *Κένχραμος*, a fourth century sculptor (IG II² 4335), and *Μίλαξ*, a stonemason in 329/8 B.C. (Dittenberger, *Syll.*² 587.49).³⁹ Plant names are favorites for the *hetairai* of New Comedy.⁴⁰ Kalamis fits the pattern, the product of a lower class Athenian artisan's family.

5. For Wilamowitz the overriding argument was the Attic character

³² Askaros (Paus. 5.24.1): see Lippold, *HdArch* III 112 with n.14; Pythodoros (Paus. 9.34.3): see Lippold, *HdArch* III 85 with n.17 (Pythodoris); Aristomedes (Paus. 9.25.3): see Lippold, *HdArch* III 112 with n.4; Sokrates (Paus. 9.25.3): see Lippold, *HdArch* III 112 with n.5.

³³ See n.15 *supra*.

³⁴ Studniczka 40; see p.274 *supra*.

³⁵ Marcadé, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.21) I.40.

³⁶ On the other hand Pheidias' favourite pupil, Agorakritos, was a Parian (E. B. Harrison).

³⁷ See Friedrich Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle 1917; repr. Hildesheim 1964) 592ff. Dörig, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 141, prefers a nickname applied to a tall skinny man.

³⁸ See Kern, *RE* 11 (1922) 1972.

³⁹ One may also cite the embezzler Ampelinos at Antiph. 6.35 (419 B.C.) and Thallos, father of the arrivist Stephanos at Lys. 19.46 (388/7 B.C.), thought worth 50 talents but at his death barely 11 talents.

⁴⁰ See Bechtel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.37) 595ff.

of Kalamis' art. "Allein die Kunst des Kalamis ist doch nicht boeotisch, sondern attisch gewesen, und wenn er in Boeotien beschäftigt wird, dürfte er das seiner Kunst, nicht seiner Herkunft verdanken."⁴¹ Precisely to identify the Attic character of Attic art before the Parthenon metopes is a task I shall not undertake, especially when complicated by no agreement as to which copies represent Kalamis' originals. I do not find the view persuasive.

Decisive evidence is lacking; but there is no evidence that Kalamis was Boeotian, while suggestions that he was Athenian may be found (especially his Athenian commissions and the lack of a foreign ethnic in his signature and in the literary tradition). A Boeotian master of such dimension would be unusual enough to attract local attention (cf. Korinna and Pindar) and be attested. The easier alternative is Wilamowitz'. Kalamis is *wahrscheinlich Athener*.⁴²

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⁴¹ Wilamowitz 507.

⁴² An earlier version has been vastly improved by the strictures of E. B. Harrison, W. J. Slater, R. S. Stroud and J. Vaio.