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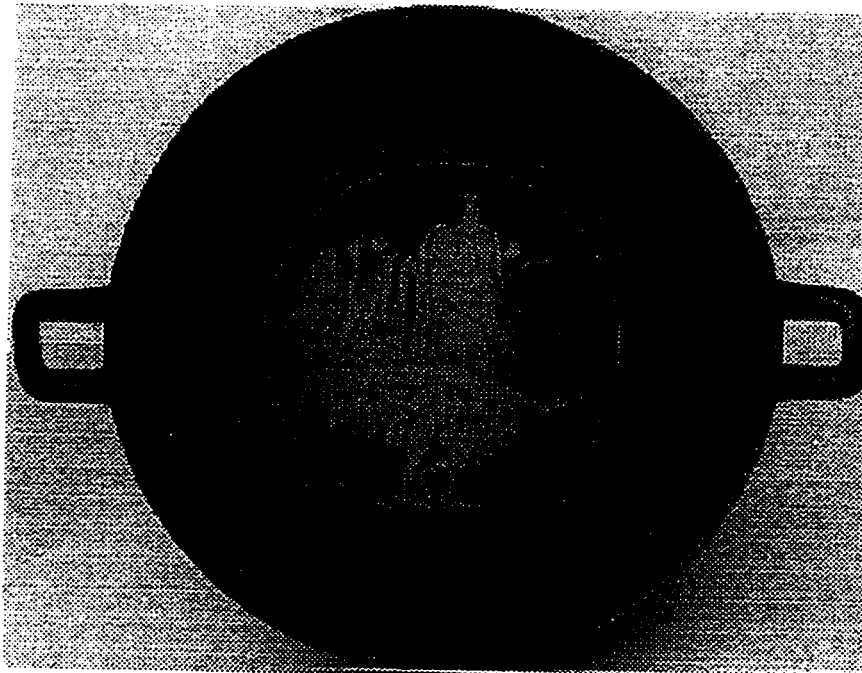
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Verse-Scraps on Attic Containers and the Practice of the σκόλιον:

The Material Evidence in its Literary Context



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Verse-Scraps on Attic Containers and the Practice of the σκόλιον:
The Material Evidence in its Literary Context

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Abstract:

The symposion is the most frequently represented artistic theme on Attic red-figure containers of the Archaic period. Within this fundamental theme lie several sub-themes, many of which we know from literary sources — of this period and later — to have been the defining activities of the *symposion*: wine, entertainment (dancing, music and song), conversation and last, but certainly not least, sex. One activity in particular portrayed on these containers is the singing of a poem, a practice which soon came to be known as singing the σκόλιον, or ἡ παροιμία ᾠδή, a term which, it is argued, we can properly extend back to the Archaic period. These visual representations of sympotic singing offer a valuable record of the public performance of poetry in Archaic Greece, and offer a glimpse into the mechanics of the practice of the σκόλιον. A small group of containers (numbering about fourteen) also record the song itself — at least in part — by means of dipinto (or once, incised) inscriptions; some of these verse-scraps have been paralleled to surviving poetry of the period. This thesis catalogues and examines these containers and their inscriptions as evidence, after examining in detail the surviving literary record, for the practice of the σκόλιον. Original solutions for previously misunderstood verse-scraps are proposed and two containers preserving verse-scraps are identified for the first time as records of σκολία.

It is concluded that, while this small group of containers cannot be entirely representative of the total body of surviving material evidence for the practice of the σκόλιον, there are striking parallels between the artistic and literary records which call for attention of a wider scope.

χαίρω δ' εὖ πίνων καὶ ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος ἀκούων,
χαίρω δ' εὐφρογγοῖν χερσὶ λύρην ὀχέων.
Theognis, *Elegies* 533-34.

Frontspiece: Kylix attributed to the Foundry Painter, Toledo 64.126 (tondo).

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A Note to the Reader

The material evidence preserved on the Attic containers falls chronologically between the mid-6th and the mid-5th centuries, taken from the red-figured Pioneers and their followers, who are otherwise known for their longer inscriptions. All verse-scrap accepted as *skolia* are from vases in the red-figured style. Following accepted convention, these containers are designated as Archaic; this is, of course, a reference to style, not to the generally recognized period dates. In any case, the dating of the material evidence is in many cases merely an educated guess. I have followed Boardman's *floruit* dates for the individual artists. These may be found in the "List of Vases". In addition, the material evidence is presented in chronological order (as far as can be determined). References to Sir J.D. Beazley's reference works (*ABV*, *ARV²*, *Para*, *Add*) as well as other important works, for each vase may be found *in situ*, or in the "List of Vases".

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AJP</i>	American Journal of Philology
<i>AK</i>	Antike Kunst
<i>CQ</i>	Classical Quarterly
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
<i>EMC</i>	Echos du monde classique/Classical Views
<i>IG (=CIG)</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>JdI</i>	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>LP</i>	Lobel & Page (1955)
<i>PCG</i>	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i>
<i>PMG</i>	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i>
<i>PP</i>	La Parola del Passato
<i>QUUC</i>	Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura classica
<i>RE</i>	Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften
<i>Rev. arch.</i>	Revue archéologique
<i>REG</i>	Revue des Études grecques
<i>RFIC</i>	Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	Transactions of the American Philological Association
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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**Verse-Scraps on Attic Containers and the Practice of the σκόλιον:
The Material Evidence in its Literary Context**

Peter J. Anderson

The *symposion* is the most frequently represented scene on Attic black- and red-figured containers of the Archaic period. Within this fundamental artistic theme stand several sub-themes, some of which we know from literary sources to have been the defining activities of the *symposion*: conversation, entertainment (dancing, music and song), wine and last, but certainly not least, sex. One activity in particular represented on these containers is the singing of the *skolion*. A symposiast, sometimes accompanied by an *aulos*-player, or by himself on the lyre, sings out a snatch of song. A group of containers also record the song, at least in part, by means of *dipinto* (or, once, incised) inscriptions; some of these verse-scraps have been paralleled to extant sympotic poetry of the period.

The scarce remains of Archaic poetry record only one aspect of the expression of that poetry: the text. But the full expression of poetry, arguably in any period but most especially in Archaic Athens, lies beyond the actual words: the performance of poetry in Athens also included singing and often instrumental accompaniment. As Thomas recently wrote, “Uncovering the circumstances of a poetic performance, which become obscured by the written texts alone, is not easy. But as Gentili has reminded us, earlier Greek poetry was designed for a specific occasion or type of occasion and a specific audience.”¹ One such occasion of the performance of poetry was at the *symposion*; it is named in later sources as τὸ σκόλιον.

¹ Thomas (1992), 119.

Reizenstein's study remains the most complete and comprehensive study concerning the literary evidence for the *skolia*, although he considered the *skolion* a genre separate from elegy. Since that time, scholars have relied in large part on Reizenstein's work, and on the explanations of the practice found in the ancient sources. Interest in the practice has centred almost exclusively around the Attic *skolia* preserved in Athenaios XV.694, around the literary remnants of other *skolia*, or around the etymology of the term. Severyns, for example, explored the etymology of the term in connection with his work on Proclus' *Chrestomathy*, remarking in passing on the mechanics of the practice only as a source for the etymology. Harvey treated the practice in a similar fashion while placing the so-called "genre" of the *skolion* in its literary context. Admittedly, however, his focus was restricted to an examination of the Alexandrian terms for Greek poetry. It will become clear in this thesis that the term was much broader in scope in earlier times. Aly's article in *RE* attempts to explain the practice, again based exclusively on the literary record. Lambin's recent book (1992) does go into some detail regarding the sources for the practice, but fails both to recognize the possibility of an evolution of the practice and to examine the material evidence. In recent times, interest in the etymology of the term has once more been revived — principally by Teodorsson (1989) and Lambin (1993) — and once more the information for the mechanics of the practice provided by the ancient etymologists becomes central to the arguments for the origin of the term, which invariably remain inconclusive. Smyth's short explanation (1963) is the most concise and reasoned examination of the evidence for the practice from the literary sources, but necessarily glosses over the inconsistencies in the ancient sources. The purpose of the present study is to go one step further, and begin the process of examining the material evidence in the context of the literary evidence.

The individual pieces of the material evidence, for the most part, were examined earlier by Hartwig (1893), as well as by Beazley in a series of articles in *AJA* entitled “Some Inscriptions on Vases” dating from 1927 to 1960. Other authors have taken a passing interest in the individual pieces due to their remarkable inscriptions. Herzog (1912) included a brief discussion of the individual inscriptions for the more well known or recognized verse-scrap. In 1991 Csapo & Miller attempted to compile a list of these containers and their verse-scrap, but such a list can never be altogether complete, and theirs was included only as an appendix to the article. Indeed, this thesis does not itself pretend to be a complete collection. It is to my knowledge, however, the only study which catalogues and discusses these containers in their proper literary and social contexts. In addition, I have raised further possible examples of containers representing sympotic singing, in particular the tondo scene by Epiktetos in Malibu (pp. 47-53, fig. 4.1).

This thesis is an attempt to clarify the circumstances of the performance of the *skolion* in Archaic Athens through an evaluation of both the literary sources, in particular those which use the term *skolion*, and of the artistic record preserved on some containers. Due to the limited scope of the thesis, I have restricted the artistic evidence to those containers which also preserve verse-scrap inscriptions in an effort to evaluate and compare not only the mode of performance but also, as far as possible, the nature of the poetry performed. In this thesis I will evaluate and discuss the literary evidence for the practice of the *skolion*. I will also catalogue all instances of containers preserving verse-scrap inscriptions which can be classified as *skolia* on Attic black- and red-figured containers of the Archaic and Early Classical periods (c. 600-450 B.C.). In addition to cataloguing these instances, I will examine and discuss the inscriptions and scenes in detail with reference to their literary, social and artistic contexts. In general, I will consider a verse-scrap inscription a *skolion* if it is in a sympotic context — in regards to scene — and if the inscription is

closely associated with a singing figure on the container. It may be necessary, however, to include verse-scrap inscriptions which, although not connected directly to a sympotic context, nevertheless seem to record a *skolion* fragment.

The Literary Evidence

The practice of singing at *symposia* is represented in different levels of detail in several types of ancient sources. Most sources are removed in time from the Archaic period, but should not be disregarded on this account since there is nevertheless a shared cultural relevance which is not limited to chronological segments defined at a much later time. Time does, however, often witness the evolution of social practices (with the possible exception of religious/ritual practices); later sources must be treated with sufficient critical thought.

The poetic sources, valuable because they not only provide a glimpse of the practice but also provide evidence of the poetry itself, are in some ways more difficult to interpret; they provide a moment — a snap-shot — of the event, but often neither a chronological sequence nor the full event. They do, however, offer evidence of the sort not easily extracted from the descriptive sources: quite often there is mention of instruments used, or the manner in which the singing was accomplished (i.e. *suntona* = high-pitched). Descriptive sources² are often the most helpful in determining a sequence of events, since they usually represent, by nature, a chronological sequence. The descriptive sources, however, like the poetic sources, were written for readers with a shared historical and cultural background and, accordingly, often omit information which would be helpful for social historians today. Some of the limitations inherent in descriptive sources will become more apparent in the discussion surrounding the etymologists below. Other descriptive sources

² The term is adopted from Frye (1991). Cf. his discussion in Chapter One “Sequence and Mode”.

might more properly be called narrative, since they describe a group of events, or situations, historical or otherwise; they were not, however, written in order to describe or explain the practice of singing at the *symposion*. Even so, these sources offer a glimpse into the cultural life of ancient Greece and, although they are removed in time, some of them substantially, from the Archaic period, do contain valuable information. The literary sources discussed below are arranged according to the two types mentioned above; the discussion is intended to be not comprehensive, but representative. Some sources, because of the information provided, will be discussed individually. It has proved more expedient to group others and to discuss them collectively.

Singing at banquets was a tradition in Greece even from our earliest literary record. Homer includes several scenes of singing at banquets, although these could not properly be called *symposia* since eating and drinking took place at the same time. Nevertheless, they do exhibit some of the same character as later *symposia*. The most appropriate example in the *Iliad* is at the end of the first book (I.601-604), where Apollon and the Mousai amuse the gods with song at their dinner. The amoebaeon nature of the singing may, as Barker notes, be a distant ancestor of the singing described in the *Hymn to Hermes* mentioned below (p. 12, note 26) in connection with “capping”, but alternately it may simply mean that the voices of the Musai answer (*i.e.* echo) Apollon’s lyre.³ The heroes, too, are often represented as musicians; but Barker writes, “musical prowess, though recognized as a genuine skill ..., is one that may conflict with the character expected of a warrior. Paris in particular is depicted as a little too elegant and sophisticated for war ... The true place of music, in the world of the heroes, is at the relaxation of a banquet ...”⁴ The *Odyssey* also has two passages which describe singing at a banquet; one describes the

³ Barker (1984), 24, n. 17.

⁴ Barker (1984), 24.

Suitors' banquet at Book I.150ff, the other the banquet given by the Phaeacians for Odysseus at Book VIII.40ff. Both involve musicians (*αἰδοί*).⁵

The remains of Archaic poetry, pitifully sparse in many ways, do preserve glimpses into the performance of music at *symposia*. Many of these references are found in Theognis' *Elegies*, and the works of the Melic poets.⁶ The most representative group, as far as description of music at the banquet is concerned, is the Theognidean *Elegies*. As West points out, "Both the pipes and the lyre are mentioned as concomitants of the symposium, but where the elegist refers directly to his own musical accompaniment, it is provided by a piper (Th. 941, 943, 1056)."⁷ In fact both *aulos* and lyre are mentioned (cf. Theogn. 533-34). Pleasure and praise are the themes which are most directly connected to music in Theognis; solo singing with musical accompaniment is predominant. Archaic poetry provides many clues as to the nature of performance, but is frequently obscure in terms of details.

The narrative sources of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. also offer information concerning music at the banquet. The tragedians often refer to banquet music,⁸ although there are also many examples of reference made to other types of music.⁹ Banquet music in the tragedians is unequivocally associated with gaiety and joy, and often includes mention of the instruments used (*barbitos*, *aulos*), as well as the accoutrements of the banquet (garlands, musicians, wine). There

⁵ Book I.150ff: Phemios who is described at Book XXII.331 as *αἰδοός*; Book VIII.40ff: Demodokos, described at I.43 as *θεῖον αἰδοόν*.

⁶ Cf. for example: Thgn. 22-23, 241, 533-34, 790-91, 825, 939-944, 975-76, 993-96, 1041-42, 1055, 1365-66; Xenoph. *fr. I*; Dionys. *Eleg.* 4. For the debate concerning the nature of the instrumental accompaniment of elegiac poems cf. West (1974), 13-14; Campbell (1964); Bowie (1986).

⁷ West (1974), 12.

⁸ Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 341-7; Eur. *Cyc.* 488-93; Eur. *Heracl.* 674-96; Eur. *Ph.* 784-91; Eur. *Rh.* 360-5; Soph. *Aj.* 1192-1206.

⁹ Barker (1984), 62-92 whence also the references to banquet music.

are no examples of the music sung at the banquets, however, and, as so often with the narrative literary sources, the modern reader is left with oblique references to a practice well understood by the ancient audience for which they were written.

The comedies of the late fifth and fourth centuries are much more informative and will, in large part, be examined below in connection with their scholia. But the important changes in the composition and performance of music which had come about by that time must be taken into account (see discussion below). Other narrative literature, too, can be informative in its own way, although the inevitable gaps in our knowledge of the cultural environment permit only an imperfect understanding. For example, in Xenophon's *Symposion* (VII. 1), Socrates forestalls a developing argument by leading the symposiasts in a song:

θορύβου δὲ ὄντος ὁ Σωκράτης αὐτὸν πάλιν εἶπεν· Ἄρα ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦμεν λέγειν, νῦν ἂν μάλιστα καὶ ἅμα ᾄσαιμεν; καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤρχεν ᾠδῆς. ἐπεὶ δ' ᾄσαν, ...

As a brouhaha arose Socrates immediately said, "Since we all desire to speak, shall we now rather also sing together?" And after speaking these words, he straightaway began a song. Then they sang ...

At the beginning of this particular *symposion*, the guests had poured a libation and sung the paian.¹⁰ Several facts can be gleaned from this passage: 1) the song (ᾠδή) was sung by all; 2) it was sung at the suggestion of a symposiast who was not the *symposiarch* or the host, but who nevertheless held a certain authority; 3) it must have been a song all knew. We might also consider it possible that some types of song were used as a kind of time-out, if needed, and perhaps that once such a song was suggested it was obligatory for all to join in.¹¹ Little else is confirmed

¹⁰ X. *Smp.* 2.1. Pl. *Smp.* contains no mention of singing, since the musicians were sent away.

¹¹ cf. Thgn. 1055: Ἄλλὰ λόγον μὲν τοῦτον ἔασομεν, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σύ || αὔλει, καὶ Μουσῶν μνησόμεθ' ἀμφοτέρω.

by the passage, however, neither in terms of thematic material, instruments used (if any) or the length of the song, nor in terms of melodic composition or song structure (or indeed, genre).

A detailed examination of all the evidence referring to music at the banquet/*symposion* would be out of the question; the most important sources — the descriptive passages of the etymologists and the narrative of the comic writers — which use the term *σκάλιον* will be examined carefully. This brief, and necessarily superficial, survey of other literary references outlines the important position of music among the activities of the *symposion*.

Ancient Testimonia

It is certain that poetry of many different metres was composed to be sung at *symposia*; it is equally certain that, from its earliest appearance, the term *skolion* described a poem sung at a *symposion*. It follows that the former songs — whether in the dactylic hexameter of the elegy, or in any other metre of the extant sympotic poetry — could bear the general designation *skolion*,¹² as well as a designation dependent on some other criteria (such as metre). It seems to me that to justify these observations, I will need to show the following two statements to be true: first, that from its earliest use the word *skolion* meant a song which was performed at (and possibly composed for performance at) the *symposion*; second, that it did not indicate one particular metre.

¹² Smyth (1963), *cit* draws the same conclusion; see also West (1987), 42, n. 6.

But I wonder what the masters of the Isthmus
 Will say of me, who have found
 Such a start to a honey-hearted [*skolion*]
 To consort with consorting women. (13-15)

This poem was written for Xenophon of Corinth, who was also praised by Pindar on the occasion of his Olympic victories (*Ol. 13*) in the *stade* and the *pentathlon* in 442 B.C.; it must then date from soon after this victory, since the festivities described were organized as part of a vow in return for success. An excerpt from the *Περὶ Πινδαρου* of Chamaeleon of Herakleion, who wrote at the end of the fourth and early third centuries B.C., recorded by Athenaios explains further the context of this poem.¹⁶ It describes a vow being discharged by Xenophon to Aphrodite in return for his victory at the games, and was sung at the banquet which followed the sacrifices, both of which were a part of this vow. Van Groningen outlines the action in this way:

la fête a compris deux parties, d'abord la partie strictement religieuse des actions de grâces et des sacrifices, à laquelle les femmes ont pris part en qualité d'hiérodules; ensuite une partie mondaine, comportant repas et beuverie, au cours de laquelle les hiérodules sont transformées en hetaïres. C'est dans cette seconde moitié que le scolie est à sa place.¹⁷

¹⁶ For reasons of space, I will only provide the small part relevant to the *skolion* in particular: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ σκόλιον τὸ παρὰ τὴν θυσίαν ᾄσθην, ἐν ᾗ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως πεποιήται πρὸς τὰς ἐταίρας, αἱ παραγενομένου τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ θύοντος τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ συνέθεσαν. Διόπερ ἔφη. Ἦρξατο δ' οὕτως τοῦ μέλους. "Afterwards he even sang a *skolion* immediately after the sacrifice, in which he addressed the very beginning to the hetaïrai, who — when Xenophon was presented and the sacrifice complete — made covenant with Aphrodite. Then he spoke. Thus he began his song."

¹⁷ Van Groningen (1960a), 21.

In this context, then, the word designates a banquet song (albeit at an atypical banquet), written for a “friend”¹⁸ and sung solo.¹⁹ Its thematic material is familiar and uncomplicated, but specific to the occasion, while its tone is suitably light. Its metrical schema follows the pattern:

1 — — — — —
 2 — — — — —
 3 — — — — —
 4 — — — — —
 5 — — — — —

The next occurrences of the word are found in the comedies. In Anaxandrides 17.1-6 (Kock) the *parasitos* pokes fun at a *skolion* recently sung by another guest; from the description of the *skolion* we know that it is one of the so-called Attic Skolia recorded in Athenaios XV.694C ff.²⁰ The fragment is from the play *Treasure*:

ΠΑΡΑΣΙΤΟΣ(?) ὁ τὸ σκάλιον εὖρων ἐκεῖνος ὅστις ἦν
 τὸ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν πρῶτον ὡς ἄριστον ὃν
 ὠνόμασεν ὀρθῶς, δεύτερον δ' εἶναι καλόν,
 τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν, τοῦθ' ὀρθῶς, ἐμαίνετο ·
 μετὰ τὴν ὑγίειαν γὰρ τὸ πλουτεῖν διαφέρει,
 <ὁ> καλὸς δὲ πενῶν ἐστὶν αἰσχρὸν θηρίον.

PARASITOS: The one who composed this *skolion*, whoever he was,
 rightly put sound health as the first good thing,
 but to be handsome second, and rich third,
 in this you see, he was mad!
 For wealth comes after health, but the handsome man,
 hungry, is a disgraceful beast.

¹⁸ There seems to be debate concerning whether Pindar and Xenophon were friends at this point. Norwood claims that Pindar did not like Xenophon on the basis of *Ol.* 13 and this poem (Norwood, 1945, 20); Van Groningen (1960a, 49) questions his conclusions.

¹⁹ see n. 6 above.

²⁰ *PMG* 890; Page lists it as no. 7 of his *Carmina convivialia*: ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον ἀνδρὶ θνητῷ, || δεύτερον δὲ καλὸν φῦαν γενέσθαι, || τὸ τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν ἀδολῶς, || καὶ τὸ τέταρον ἡβᾶν μετὰ τῶν φίλων. “To be healthy is best for mortal men, second to have a beautiful nature, third to be rich and honest and fourth to be young with his friends.” It is interesting that the fourth item is not mentioned by the *parasitos*. It may not have been part of the *skolion* as Anaxandrides knew it. (Or perhaps the *parasitos* had no friends and didn’t want to call attention to the fact!)

Again, this passage takes place at a banquet, apparently a private *symposion*. The speaker of the passage is poking fun at the order of blessings listed by the composer of the *skolion*. The tone of this *skolion* is also light, despite its gnomic theme.

Platon (Comicus) mentions the *skolion* as something sung at a *symposion* in frag. 71 (PCG); this, too, is preserved by quotation in Athenaios. Dates c. 410 B.C. have been suggested for the passage²¹, which is part of a discussion between two servants:

ΤΑ. σπονδὴ μὲν ἤδη γέγονε, καὶ πίνοντές εἰσι πόρρω,
καὶ σκόλιον ᾄσται, κότταβος δ' ἐξοίχεται θύραζε.
αὐλοῦς δ' ἔχουσά τις κορίσκη Καρικὸν μέλος <τι>
μελίζεται τοῖς συμπίταις, κάλλην τρίγωνον εἶδον
ἔχουσιν, ἢ δ' ἦδεν πρὸς αὐτὸ μέλος Ἰωνικὸν τι.

TA. The libation has already past, and the drinking is far gone, and the *skolion* sung; the *kottabos* apparatus has been taken out. Some little chit's got the *auloi* and is playing a Karian dirge²² for the symposiasts, and I saw another with the *trigonon*²³; she sang some Ionian song to it.

The *skolion* in this passage seems to refer to a song sung by the symposiasts themselves, rather than the (paid?) entertainers/*hetairai*.²⁴ No other indication of the manner of performance is given.

The word *σκόλιον* is found in five of Aristophanes' comedies.²⁵ The scholia on these passages offer much more information than the passages themselves, but because of the nature of

²¹ Geissler: 410-400 B.C.; Giannini: 410-405 B.C.

²² The *Καρικὴ μούσα* was a kind of funeral song. It hardly seems appropriate at a banquet, but perhaps it is part of the joke (i.e. it was a *really* slow party and needed to end — or get pumped up — or perhaps a *really* good party, and the *aulos*-player is anticipating how they will feel in the morning).

²³ A type of percussion instrument like the modern triangle.

²⁴ The first two lines mention four activities: the libation, drinking, the *skolion* and the *kottabos*-game; the rest of the lines describe the actions of two female entertainers (they seem to be distinguished from the symposiasts in line 13: *μελίζεται τοῖς συμπίταις*).

²⁵ Another passage (N. 1365) and its important scholium are discussed below. The word *skolion* is not used there, although the passage is clearly talking about the practice.

that information they are discussed below with the etymological sources. While the word does appear in *Ach.* 532, *Av.* 1416 and *Ra.* 1302, no real information is given; the passages from the two other comedies, however, provide some of the key evidence for the practice, at least as it was at the time of Aristophanes. First is a passage from *V.* 1222–40, c. 422 B.C., which is the main source for the practice of “capping” which several of the etymologists seem to describe (see below pp. 30–31), and which inspired the scholiast on this passage to offer an etymology of *σκάλιον* from (δυ)σκαλῖος = difficult (because “capping” was considered by the scholiast to be difficult). This “capping” was done by finishing a *skolion* which another had started, presumably, in keeping with the agonistic nature of Greek society, with a contribution superior to that of the previous participants. The passage is quite long, and due to space, it may be better simply to describe the action. Bdelykleon is attempting to teach his father Philokleon how to act at an “upperclass” *symposion* and how to take part in the “capping” of a *skolion*. Philokleon clearly has other ideas on how to take his fun, and instead of finishing the verses “properly”, he finishes them with coarse verses and ribald comments.²⁶ In addition to the practice of capping, this passage also records examples of *skolia* sung, in quotation as well as by allusion, some of which were obviously well-known, and perhaps over-used.²⁷ The second passage, just one line, is from a fragment of a comedy (fr. 235 *K-A*) placed by Kassel-Austin — following Athenaios — in *Daitales*:

ἔσων δὴ μοι σκάλιόν τι λάβων Ἀλκαίου καὶ ἀνακρέοντος

Then sing for me a *skolion* taking something from Alkaios or

Anakreon.

²⁶ This does not seem to be an unusual practice; Barker (1984), 43 refers us to *Hymn to Hermes* 55–6, *Ar. Lys.* 1236–38 and *Theoc.* 5.80 ff which describes a singing contest of one-upmanship between Komatas and Lakon; for a similar example c.f. *Theoc.* 6. For an example of a singing challenge in the archaic period, cf. *Thgn.* 993–96.

²⁷ Over-used cf. *Ar. Nu.* 1364.

This fragment shows only that the poems of two Archaic poets²⁸ were sung as *skolia* at *symposia*²⁹ in the time of Aristophanes.

Aristoteles mentions famous *skolia* in his *Politics*³⁰ and others are cited in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution*.³¹ In their context, however, they give no indication of the practice, but only the thematic material, which is decidedly political and democratic. This should come as no surprise given the subject matter of the two works.

The famous *skolia* which Aristoteles mentions are part of the collection of “Attic *Skolia*” preserved in Athenaios XV.694 ff. Of course, not all of the songs sung as *skolia* are recorded here, a point which van der Valk is quick to make,³² since we know of others from comedy, as well as from the Attic containers and other sources. The “political” *skolia*, which probably date, based on internal evidence, from the early 5th century B.C.,³³ have received much attention. Of the other *skolia*, however, seven have no distinguishing internal information which can be used to date them securely. These could be as late as Athenaios himself, although he certainly believes them to be of ancient origin.³⁴ Two of the “*skolia*” have been attributed to Simonides and Alkaios, both of whom wrote in the late sixth and early fifth centuries.³⁵ Reitzenstein showed that this collection

²⁸ Cf. the scholium on Ar. *Nu.* 1364 where Simonides and Stesichoros are mentioned.

²⁹ *Daitales* is a lost play by Aristophanes, which won 2nd prize in 427 BC. The title seems to refer to a group of diners in honor of Herakles (I.C. Storey, pers comm.), and so I believe we can assume a sympotic context for the fragment.

³⁰ Arist. *Pol.* 1285.a.37; Alc. fr. 160 which refers to the elected tyranny of Pittacus.

³¹ Ps.-Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.3.8 which bemoans the loss of good democrats at Lipsydriion; 20.5.3 which praises the anti-tyrant activities of Kedon. The frequent political tone of the Attic *Skolia*, as well as other *skolia*, has long been noted.

³² Van der Valk (1974), 1.

³³ Ostwald (1969), 126-7 and especially 127, n. 1 in which Ostwald follows Bowra (1961), 374-375 in dating these *skolia* “closer to the time of Marathon and Salamis”.

³⁴ Ath. *Dipn.* XV.693f: ἄπερ [σκόλια] καὶ αὐτὰ ἄξιά ἐστι σοὶ ἀπομνημονεῦσαι διὰ τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ ἀφελείαν τῶν ποησάντων ...

³⁵ Ostwald (1969), 127.

was probably compiled about 450 B.C. as a sort of songbook based on the observation that Pindar influenced and Praxilla was influenced by songs contained in it;³⁶ Lesky dates the collection, slightly earlier, to the late sixth and early fifth century B.C., but does not justify this conclusion in any way.³⁷ But it was Bowra in *Greek Lyric Poetry*² who showed that the collection was probably compiled closer to the time of Marathon and Salamis, with the victory at Salamis providing a *terminus ante quem*.³⁸ Most of these twenty-five poems are short (2-4 lines) and vary in subject matter. Lyric metres and elegiacs are present. Giangrande outlines several motifs, beyond those of political significance, expressed by the collection in Athenaios³⁹: 1) exhortations to drink (or eat) and be merry; 2) expression of a wish, introduced by the formula εἴθε; 3) couplets with a point. Van der Valk has a far more satisfactory division based on the order of the poems themselves⁴⁰: 1) praise for the gods (1-4); 2) human affairs (5-9); 3) praise for heroes of the past (10-16); 4) erotic themes (17-22). At this point, however, van der Valk's orderly division breaks down somewhat; 22-24 are placed together as *skolia* which celebrate ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες and 25 praises the ἐταῖρος. Neither of the divisions proposed by Giangrande and van der Valk seems to be intended to match — nor do they — the divisions of performance shown by our etymological sources, since they deal exclusively with the *skolia* preserved in Athenaios XV. 694 ff.

The etymologists form the next, and the most informative, group of sources. Before discussing them, however, it might be useful to summarize the conclusions so far. From its earliest preserved use (442 BC) the word *skolion* designates a song which is sung at a *symposion*; this

³⁶ Reitzenstein (1893), 13-24. But surely a poem would begin its existence before being included in a songbook of famous *skolia* (it had to be 'not famous' at some point), and could influence others as it became a single famous poem.

³⁷ Lesky (1957), 174.

³⁸ Bowra (1961), 375-97.

³⁹ Giangrande (1967), 104-6.

⁴⁰ Van der Valk (1974), 2-18.

song was sung by symposiasts, probably solo, and could take up many different themes. In addition to singing a complete poem, a symposiast might challenge another to finish a song — the “capping” mentioned in Aristophanes’ *Wasps* 1222-40. Clearly, there were famous *skolia* from which a guest might choose to perform; on the other hand, composition for a particular *symposion* was not out of the question if a guest were accomplished; no particular metre is consistently associated with the term. The word, then, appears to be simply a general designation for any song sung at a *symposion* by symposiasts. Discussing the frequently imprecise terminology of Archaic poetry, and the *skolion* in particular, van Gronigen writes, “Il est impossible de réduire en un système strict des appellations aux limites toujours flottantes. Tout ce qu’on peut affirmer c’est qu’une chanson ou une ode exécutée à un banquet est assez souvent appelée scolie, et que le contenu est tout aussi différencié que l’était la conversation.”⁴¹ The use of the term in literature before the etymologists — literature closest to the Archaic period — points toward a general meaning for the term: a *skolion* could designate any kind of song sung at a *symposion*; the term was not limited to any one specific metre.

Ancient Etymologies and Explanations

The earliest extant ancient etymologies, by Dikaiarchos of Messana and Aristoxenos of Miletus, both of whom wrote in the fourth century B.C., form the core information of the later ancient etymologies and explanations of Artemon *apud* Athenaios, Plutarchos and other writers in addition to the descriptions of the practice by certain modern scholars.⁴² For this reason, it seems most appropriate to begin with the most ancient passages, also the closest in time to our period of

⁴¹ Van Groningen (1960a), 14-15.

⁴² Cf. for example Harvey (1955), 162-163; Smyth (1963), *civ*; et al.; also Lambin’s general discussion (1992), 219-222 and his recent article (1993), 32-37.

study, and from there to move on to the more recent authors, especially since most of the later authors, ancient and modern, tend to combine the earliest etymologies to form their explanations. Information provided by these early etymologies and explanations, coloured of course by the authors' historical contexts and those of their sources, will be valuable when considered with the literary *testimonia* to the term *skolion* found in Archaic poetry and other genres, notably the comedy of Aristophanes, and the allusions to singing at the *symposion* in extant sympotic poetry, both of which were discussed above.

The exact etymology of the term *σκόλιον* is far from certain,⁴³ and this discussion of the ancient etymologies is not an attempt to correct the situation. These ancient discussions do contain useful information, however, and are in this respect important for the reconstruction of the practice. First, however, a *caveat*. The most ancient etymologies, and thus to a certain extent the later explanations — due to their reliance on the earlier — are largely, of course, an effort to determine the origin and proper meaning of the term *σκόλιον* rather than an attempt to explain a practice. For this reason, it is probable that only those elements of the practice, as the writers

⁴³ Most recently Lambin (1993) and Teodorsson (1989). See also Reitzenstein (1893) pp. 1-44, still the most complete study published on the *skolion*, although he considers it a genre separate from elegy; W. Aly *RE* s.v. *σκόλιον*, col. 561; A. Severyns (1934) pp. 837-841. Lambin's 1984 doctoral dissertation, unpublished, from l'Université de Lille (485 pp.) was titled *Les Chansons de banquet en Grèce antique*. The most recent studies suggest that the term, since possible Greek origins are unsatisfactory, may be of Lydian origin (as are many other musical/poetic terms, cf. Teodorsson (1989), 132, n. 30). The couched banquet, *id est* a banquet for which the banqueters reclined on couches, certainly seems to have entered Greece in the 7th and 6th Centuries from the Greek east through contact with the Lydians (cf. J.-M. Dentzer, 1982.) Most early composers of *skolia* were of Ionic Greek origin (Terpander of Lesbos, Alcaeus of Mytilene, Pythemos of Teos, Alcman of Sardis). The Lydians seem to have had a practice similar to the *skolion*, at least in the sense that singing took place at a drinking party directly after dinner (Lambin, 1993, 36, although he cites no authority). Pindar (Ps. Plutarchos, *De la musique* 28) names Terpander the inventor of the *skolion*, and also places him in the context of a Lydian banquet (fr. 129 Turyn) «ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ἡψηλᾶς ἀκούων πακτίδος (ll.3-4)» "at the dinner-parties of Lydia he heard the imitating plucked notes of the high *pectis*". But, as Lambin and Teodorsson both freely admit, we are likely never to verify this hypothesis since little of the Lydian language survives. (Lambin 1993, 37; Teodorsson 1989, 132)

knew it, which bear directly on a proposed etymology will be emphasized.⁴⁴ Information which would be relevant to us in an attempt to reconstruct a social practice might well have been considered then to be extraneous and irrelevant, at least for the purpose of establishing the origin of a term. It is even possible that such information might have been considered a hindrance to the explanation, if it presented contradictions or ambiguities, and thus have been left out entirely.

Dikaiarchos of Messana was a prolific writer and a pupil of Aristoteles, working in the fourth century B.C.; his works survive in fragmentary condition, however, only in *testimonia*. Together with Aristoxenos' (see below), his is the earliest extant discussion of the origin of the term and as such seems to form the basis for later discussions. He is extensively quoted by many ancient writers on a variety of subjects, but in particular by Cicero, who considered him an exemplar of the *βίος πρακτικός* (life of action), and contrasted Dikaiarchos with his own friend Theophrastos whom he thought an exemplar of the *βίος θεωρητικός* (contemplative life).⁴⁵ The scope of his writings is broad and varied, from a philosophical treatise on the soul (*Περὶ ψυχῆς*) to works on divination and religious practice (*Εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσις*, *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας*, *Περὶ ἀνθρώπων φθοράς*) to history (*Βίος Ἑλλάδος ἐν βιβλία γ'*), and many other genres besides. Interestingly, he seems to have written a biography of Alkaios, one of the most famous writers of *skolia*.

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⁴⁴ For example, the "crooked" (*σκαλιός*) course of the path of singing seen in most authors (see below).

⁴⁵ Cic. *Epist. ad Atticum* II 16.3: nunc prorsus hoc statui, ut quoniam tanta controversia est Dicaearcho familiari tuo cum Theophrasto amico meo, ut ille tuus τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον longe omnibus anteponat, hic autem τὸν θεωρητικὸν, utrique a me mos gestus esse videatur.

More relevant to us is his *Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*: his etymology of the term is found quoted from this work in the scholium on Plato's *Gorgias* 451E (whence Suda; Photios s.v. σκόλιον).⁴⁶ F. Wehrli's edition is the accepted text for Dikaiarchos' writings:

σκολιὸν λέγεται ἢ παροίνιος ὥδῃ, ὡς μὲν Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, ὅτι τρία γένη τῶν ὥδων, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ᾄδόμενον, (τὸ δὲ) καθ' ἓνα ἐξῆς, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συνετυτάτων ὡς ἔτυχε τῇ τάξει. ὃ δὴ καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν τάξιν σκολιόν.⁴⁷

Skolion: so the drinking song is named, as Dikaiarchos [writes] in his *Concerning Musical Contests*, because there were three types of songs. One sung by all, one sung singly in sequence, and one sung by the most knowledgeable in random order. It is called *skolion*, then, because of the order.

Dikaiarchos outlines what appears to be a progression of types of *skolia*; this progression also appears to be temporal (the temporal aspect is taken up more clearly in Athenaios' and Plutarchos' transmission of Dikaiarchos — see below). This division is not as narrow and defined as Teodorsson seems to think.⁴⁸ The division comprises three parts: 1) songs sung by the group together, 2) songs sung by each member of the group in turn, 3) songs sung by the most knowledgeable (or skilled) in whatever order occurs. Teodorsson describes Dikaiarchos' division as one which narrows the term *skolion* to the point at which it comprises “only those songs which a guest performed while accompanying himself with the lyre.”⁴⁹ This is, however, manifestly not the case. Dikaiarchos clearly describes the *skolion* in terms of three classes; he does not narrow the definition in any way. In fact, removing Teodorsson's incorrect attribution to Dikaiarchos himself

⁴⁶ With minor alterations. The scholiast has omitted *διὰ τὴν τάξιν* and has *ὃ δὴ*; in any case this does not affect the sense of the passage. Wehrli has accepted the readings of Photios and Suda.

⁴⁷ Wehrli (1944), 31, fr. 88.

⁴⁸ Teodorsson (1989), 128.

⁴⁹ Teodorsson (1989), 128. He has combined the three sources of Dikaiarchos' information without examining each singly; unfortunately this has resulted in a fundamental error: Teodorsson has included the mention of the lyre as apparently the sole accompaniment for a *συνετυτάτος* in Dikaiarchos' etymology.

of an addition by Plutarchos⁵⁰ to Dikaiarchos' etymology, the divisions could hardly be any wider, that is songs sung by all together and songs sung solo. The only combination omitted is songs sung by groups of two or more (but not all). The confusion arises, perhaps, from the fact that the last division, songs sung by the most talented, supposedly gave the practice its name. Dikaiarchos, however, states quite plainly that all three are *skolia* (τρία γένη ἦν ὠδῶν). Finally, Dikaiarchos' divisions reflect the purpose of this passage, which is to explain the etymology of the term *skolion*. It is apparent in the last division; the *συνετώτατοι* sing ὡς ἔτυχε τῇ τάξει. The term *skolion* then (from *σκολιός* = crooked) arises from the "crooked" path of the singing (διὰ τὴν τάξιν).

The scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds* 1364 (frag. 89, Wehrli) records additional information from Dikaiarchos, also from his lost work *Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*:

Δικαίάρχος ἐν τῷ περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων· ἔτι δὲ κοινόν τι πάθος φαίνεται συνακολουθεῖν τοῖς διερχομένοις εἴτε μετὰ μέλους εἴτε ἄνευ μέλους, ἔχοντάς τι ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀφήγησιν. οἱ τε γὰρ ἄδοντες ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἐκ παλαιᾶς τινος παραδόσεως κλῶνα δάφνης ἢ μυρρίνης λαβόντες ἄδουσιν.⁵¹

Dikaiarchos in his *Concerning Musical Contests*: moreover, some common experience appears to arise for those recounting whether with music or without music, holding something in a hand to compose a narration. For those singing at *symposia* according to a certain ancient tradition sing holding a twig of laurel or myrtle.

⁵⁰ Given the fact that all main sources for Dikaiarchos (Suda, Photios, Athenaios and Plutarchos) faithfully record the three divisions but that only one mentions the lyre, we should place much less emphasis on this piece of information. Furthermore, as I will show below, the *aulos* and the lyre both (although perhaps at different times and/or with different types of poetry) were used by the singers. Obviously, a *συνετώτατος* could not accompany himself on the *aulos*, and would need an accompanist, as might also a symposiast singing to the lyre.

⁵¹ Wehrli (1944), 31-32, fr. 89.

Dikaiarchos knew of a performance tradition at the *symposion* in which a symposiast recounting to music, and also a symposiast who recounted something without music,⁵² held a twig of laurel or myrtle. The scholiast is explaining Strepsiades' request at a party which he is hosting that his son sing something with the lyre. By this time, judging from Pheidippides' response, singing at a *symposion* has fallen out of fashion with the younger generation, and Pheidippides' response is both scornful and, in keeping with his character, insolent. Instead of a song then, Strepsiades demands that Pheidippides recite some Aeschylus while holding a twig of myrtle. Even this is *gauche* for Pheidippides, and instead he recites some Euripides. While the use of the myrtle or laurel twig appears in other ancient etymologies expressly in connection with the etymology of the term *skolion* (see below), the scholiast of Platon *Gorgias* 451E did not include Dikaiarchos' comment from the same work, *Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*, recorded in the scholium on *Clouds* 1364. There seem to me to be at least two possible reasons: the scholiast on Platon *Gorgias* 451E was concerned with the etymology in particular and so did not include information not directly relevant to his purpose; or the passage witnessed in the scholiast on *Clouds* 1364 does not refer to the *skolion*, and so was ignored by the scholiast on Platon.

The former reason is the more compelling and the latter clearly wrong given our understanding of the nature of the *skolion*. Although the first sentence surely refers to a practice involving recitation and myrtle or laurel twigs, and probably indicates that this practice takes place at a *symposion*, since it is quoted in reference to a sympotic context in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, it is the second sentence which contains information directly relevant to singing at the *symposion* before the time of Dikaiarchos. It is this information which is most important: that there was an ancient

⁵² Wehrli (1944), 70, takes this to mean a rhapsodic performance (Indessen redet D. hier im allgemeinen von der Sitte, etwas in Händen zu halten, die sowohl für rhapsodischen wie gesungen Vortrag galt.), or as the passage on which the scholion comments indicates, "eine Rezitation aus Aischylos" (1944), 71.

tradition (ἐκ παλαιᾶς τινος παραδόσεως) according to which those singing⁵³ at the *symposion* (ᾄδοντες ἐν συμποσίοις) did so holding a myrtle or laurel shoot (κλῶνα δάφνης ἢ μυρρίνης). The passage found in the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds* does concern the singing of the *skolion*, but is not relevant to Dikaiarchos' etymology quoted in the scholiast on Platon *Gorgias* 451E; it was probably left out for that reason.

For Dikaiarchos, then, the *skolion* comprised three types of singing; it also involved, according to one ancient tradition, the use of myrtle or laurel twigs by the singers. Recitation might also occur at the *symposion*, but the period in which this occurred is not completely clear (but dates at least from the time of Aristophanes).

Aristoxenos, born at Tarentum, trained in music and then came to the Lyceum to study under Aristoteles. He seems to have been somewhat of a maverick, but talented: he is notorious for passing on scandalous anecdotes about Pythagoras (frag. 25). Aristoxenos' etymology is also found in the scholium on Plato's *Gorgias* 451E (=Suda; Photios s.v. σκόλιον), frag. 125 Wehrli; he indicates that the term derives from the crooked course of singing around the tables at wedding banquets:

σκολιόν ... ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος καὶ Φύλλης ὁ μουσικός, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γάμοις περὶ μίαν τράπεζαν πολλὰς κλῖνας τιθέντες, παρὰ μέρος ἐξῆς μυρρίνας ἔχοντες ᾄδον γνώμας καὶ ἐρωτικά σύντονα. ἡ δὲ περίοδος σκολιὰ ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν κλινῶν ἐπὶ οἰκημάτων πολυγωνίων οὐσῶν, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτὰς κατακλίσεις παραβύστους γίνεσθαι. οὐ διὰ τὴν μελοποιίαν οὖν, διὰ δὲ τὴν μυρρίνης σκολιὰν διάδοσιν ταύτη καὶ τὰς ὑδὰς σκολιάς καλεῖσθαι.

the *skolion* ... as [write] Aristoxenos and Phyllis the scholar, because at marriages, with many *klinai* drawn up around one table, they sang maxims and love-songs in high-pitched scales holding the myrtle twig

⁵³ The passage can be understood in two ways: 1) both reciters and singers held something in their hand, and the singers held a twig, or 2) both reciters and singers held a twig while performing.

one after the other in order. The route was crooked because of the arrangement of the *klinai* around the polygonal rooms — both for this reason and because the celebrations themselves became crowded. The songs also were called *σκαλιάς* not because of the mode of composition, but because of the crooked (*σκαλιάν*) passing on of the myrtle twig in this manner.

Making no mention of divisions by number of singers or by skill, as did Dikaiarchos, Aristoxenos mentions a division — of sorts — by type of song: they sang *γνώμας καὶ ἐρωτικά σύντονα*. Furthermore, they sang these holding the myrtle twigs (*μυρρίνας*). The crooked path of the myrtle twig⁵⁴ as it wound its way around the many *klinai* in the overcrowded room is the characteristic of the practice which gives the term its name. For Aristoxenos the term has its origin in the context of a wedding banquet. The conditions placed by Aristoxenos on the practice derive, as also in the case of Dikaiarchos, from his purpose: to explain the origin of the term *σκόλιον* as *σκαλιός* (crooked) because of the path of the singing. The overcrowding of the *klinai* is the main factor in the crooked path; this overcrowding finds its cause in the wedding banquet. This is a case, perhaps, as I alluded above, in which a writer selected information which would support his etymology or explanation and excluded or disguised information which might hinder it. Obviously the singing of the *skolion* took place at times other than the wedding banquet; the *symposion* and not the wedding banquet was the occasion for the *skolion*. The wedding banquet for Aristoxenos, however, explains the overcrowding, which in turn gives the term its name. The wedding banquet, therefore, becomes the exclusive venue for the “crooked” song. This condition is patently incorrect, since the *skolion* in every other source belongs to the *symposion* — whatever the occasion. If the wedding banquet involved a *symposion*-like aspect, the singing of the *skolion* may

⁵⁴ Or twigs. The first part of the passage has the plural *μυρρίνας* while the key part mentions only one myrtle twig (*μυρρίνης*). The first occurrence should probably be taken as mention of multiple occasions (i.e. twigs used one-at-a-time on many occasions) since many twigs in use at the same time would defeat the crooked path of the singing.

very well have been practiced; but it could not have been the only venue. Its name (for Aristoxenos) came from the path of the singing on the most distinctive occasion of its use.

Two pieces of information given, however, are not essential to this purpose. First, the guests sang, as I have already mentioned, *γνώμας καὶ ἐρωτικὰ σύντονα*. These themes (gnomic and erotic) were a large part of sympotic poetry (for example the elegiac poetry of the *Theognidea* which was certainly intended for the symposion⁵⁵). The second, and more important, piece of information is found in the recapitulation *οὐ διὰ τὴν μελοποιῖαν οὖν, διὰ δὲ τὴν μυρρίνης σκολιὰν διάδοσιν*. The music for the song (*μελοποιῖα*) does not give the term its name. This information recurs in Athenaios and Plutarchos, as well as the other sources, and discussion arises in the later authors as to the composition of the melodies for *skolia* in addition to discussion of the *skolia* themselves.

The etymologies of both Dikaiarchos and Aristoxenos reflect their purpose: to explain the origin of the term *skolion* and, more accurately, to explain why it seems to derive from the adjective *σκολιός*. Both agree that it is the path of the (solo) singing which gives the term its name. While Dikaiarchos creates divisions based on the number of singers and how talented a singer might be, Aristoxenos does not create any divisions (unless one were to consider the gnomic and erotic songs a division by subject/theme). Moreover, Aristoxenos derives the name from the particularly convoluted path of the myrtle twig at a crowded wedding banquet, while Dikaiarchos makes no mention of contexts more specific than the *symposion*. Both mention the use of myrtle twigs by the singers; Dikaiarchos also mentions the use of laurel. Aristoxenos claims that the passage of the twig between singers gave the term its name because it rendered a crooked order of

⁵⁵ West (1974), 11.

singing; similarly Dikaiarchos, although he states only that it was the order of the singing and does not make reference to the use of myrtle or laurel in this manner. In the final analysis, the two do not share much common information, but they do admit a common conclusion — which reveals an important piece of information — concerning the origin of the term: the “crooked” (σκολιός) order of the solo-singing.

Athenaios, writing in the 1st century A.D., preserves an important collection of *skolia* in his *Deipnosophistai* (XV.694c-696a), some clearly dating from the 6th century B.C. Many different lyric metres are represented, and several themes; these have been discussed, briefly, above. Athenaios’ explanation of the practice precedes this collection:

σκάλια δὲ καλοῦνται οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῆς μελοποιίας τρόπον ὅτι σκολιός ἦν — λέγουσιν γὰρ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀνειμέναις εἶναι σκολιά — ἀλλὰ τριῶν γενῶν ὄντων, ὡς φησιν Ἀρτέμιων ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ Βιβλίων Χρήσεως, ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ τὰς συνουσίας ἦν ἀδόμενα· ὡν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦν ὃ δὴ πάντας ἔδειν νόμος ἦν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὃ δὴ πάντες μὲν ἦδον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γε κατὰ τινα περίοδον ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς, τὸ τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τάξιν ἔχον, οὗ μετεῖχον οὐκέτι πάντες, ἀλλ’ οἱ συνετοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι μόνοι, καὶ καθ’ ὅντινα τόπον αἰεὶ τύχοιεν ὄντες· διόπερ ὡς ἀταξίαν τινα μόνου παρὰ τᾶλλα ἔχον τὸ μὴθ’ ἅμα μὴθ’ ἐξῆς γινόμενον, ἀλλ’ ὅπη ἔτυχον εἶναι σκάλιον ἐκλήθη. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἦδετο ὅποτε τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖα τέλος λάβοι· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἦδη τῶν σοφῶν ἕκαστον ᾠδὴν τινα καλὴν εἰς μέσον ἤξιον προφέρειν. καλὴν δὲ ταύτην ἐνόμιζον τὴν παρανεστὶν τέ τινα καὶ γνώμην ἔχειν δοκοῦσαν χρησίμην εἰς τὸν βίον.

They are called *skolia* not because of the mode of the melody, namely that it is “crooked” — for they say that [songs] in slack modes⁵⁶ are crooked; rather there were three kinds of songs, as Artemon of Kassandreia states in the second [book] of *The Use of Books*, amongst which are those sung at parties. Of these types the first was that which it was customary for all to sing. The second type was one which all sang, certainly, nevertheless according to a certain path in succession. The third had its ordering amongst all, although not all participated,

⁵⁶ Pl. R. 398.E.9-10: (9) Τίνες οὖν μαλακαὶ τε καὶ συμποτικαὶ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν; (10) Ἰαστί, ἢ δ’ ὅς, καὶ λυδιστί αὖ τινες χαλαραὶ καλοῦνται.

but only those considered the skilled and in whatever place every one happened to be. Therefore, it was called *skolion*, occurring neither in chorus nor in ordered succession, but wherever they [the singers] happened to be, since they held a certain disorder, at least compared to the other types. This type was sung when the shared songs and those obligatory for all ended. For from that point on, they thought it right for each of the experienced [singers] to offer some beautiful song for the group. They called this a beautiful song especially if it seemed to carry advice or some maxim useful for life.

Neither Aristoxenos nor Athenaios write that the melodies were not crooked, only that the path of the melody did not give the term its name. In fact, Aristoxenos and Athenaios in particular imply quite the opposite to the manner in which this statement has been understood by some, namely that the melodies were simple;⁵⁷ the melodies were, or at least could be, “slack” (see note 56), but the path of the singing was the reason for the name. Athenaios then goes on to quote Artemon of Kassandreia, whose source was surely Dikaiarchos given the exact correspondence of the divisions to his own.⁵⁸ First all sang together, then all sang, but singly in succession, and finally the most talented sang, wherever they happened to be. This final group gave the practice its name. Athenaios mentions, as does Aristoxenos, that the songs considered best were gnomic or didactic. The temporal progression implied in Dikaiarchos is emphasized in Athenaios’ record of Artemon’s work and the essentials of Dikaiarchos’ explanation remain clear in the tripartite division of singers. Athenaios has certainly read Dikaiarchos, although through his own direct source, Artemon of Kassandreia (see note 58), and has probably had access to Aristoxenos’ views on the *skolion*. He has added to the meat of Dikaiarchos’ etymology Aristoxenos’ comment, or one with the same content, concerning the music of the *skolia*.

⁵⁷ cf. Lambin (1993), 34-35.

⁵⁸ Reizenstein (1893), 1-2 *et passim*. In particular, see p. 1, “Die Erklärung Dikaiarchs ... liegt uns bekanntlich in einem Auszug des Artemon bei Athenaios XV 694A vor” and p. 9 where he calls the passage “das Dikaiarch-Excerpt Artemons”.

Plutarchos also repeats Dikaiarchos' triple division in his *Quaestiones Conviviales* 615B, and like Aristoxenos and Athenaios mentions the manner of musical composition of the *skolia*:

ἐπεὶ τοὶ καὶ τὰ σκόλια φασιν οὐ γένος ᾠσμάτων εἶναι πεποιημένον ἄσαφώς, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἦδον ὥδῃν τοῦ θεοῦ κοινῶς ἅπαντες μιᾷ φωνῇ παιανίζοντες, δεύτερον δ' ἐφεξῆς ἐκάστῳ μυρσίνης παραδιδομένης, ἣν αἶσακον οἶμαι διὰ τὸ ἄδειν τὸν δεξιόμενον ἐκάλουν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ λύρας περιφερομένης ὁ μὲν πεπαιδευμένος ἐλάμβανε καὶ ἦδεν ἀρμοζόμενος, τῶν δ' ἀμούσων οὐ προσιεμένων σκολιὸν ὠνομάσθη τὸ μὴ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ῥῥιδιον. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ τὴν μυρσίνην οὐ καθεξῆς βαδίζειν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑκάστον ἀπὸ κλίνης ἐπὶ κλίνην διαφέρεισθαι· τὸν γὰρ πρῶτον ᾄσαντα τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς δευτέρας κλίνης ἀποστέλλειν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς τρίτης, εἴτα τὸν δεύτερον ὁμοίως τῷ δευτέρῳ, καὶ τὸ ποικίλον καὶ παλυκαμπές ὡς ἔοικε τῆς περιόδου σκολιὸν ὠνομάσθη.

So then they say that the *skolia* are not a kind of song composed in an obscure manner, but that first all sang a song for the god together, sounding the paeon in one voice, second when a myrtle twig, which I think they called *aisakos* because one sang after receiving it, was handed over in order to each; after this the lyre was brought around, and a trained player took it, and tuning it sang; since the untrained refused it was called *skolion* because it was not common nor easy. Others say that the myrtle twig did not travel in order, but that it was passed to each from *kline* to *kline*; for the first singer passed it to the first on the second *kline*, and this man to the second on the third couch, thereupon the second man likewise to the second man. It was named *skolion* also, it seems, because of the intricate and twisted nature of the path [of singing].

He seems to imply that the songs were not the sort which were ἄσαφώς πεποιημένα, that is they were not obscure or indistinct. But what is his purpose in mentioning the manner of composition in this way (his vocabulary is markedly different from that of Aristoxenos and Athenaios who both use the word *μελοποιῖα*)? The context of the passage provides the answer. Plutarchos has been discussing the suitability of philosophy as a conversational topic at dinner parties; he recommends

it, but stresses the need to retain a level at which all can join in (*κοινωνία*). This theme of a common level in any activity, so that all can enjoy themselves, occurs often in this context in the *Quaestiones Conviviales*⁵⁹, and he carries the ideal into the singing of the *skolia*.⁶⁰ Ἀσαφῶς is used here by Plutarchos more as an expression of the proper kind of *skolia* to sing (i.e. not obscure and thus accesible to all) and not, as in Aristoxenos and Athenaios, in contrast to the explanation of the origin of the term through the path of the singing. Moreover, ἀσαφῶς is not intended to mean musically difficult, although it does seem to mean difficult to understand. The statement of musical difficulty is expressed clearly in *μη ῥᾶδιον*.

The direct statement of the musical difficulty of at least some *skolia* is found here in Plutarchos for the first time, although it has been implied in the the sources above (i.e. only the very talented or trained participated in the third kind of *skolion*⁶¹). Reitzenstein believed that Plutarchos' source for this etymology was Didymos Chalcenteros, a Hellenistic writer.⁶² This is not an improbable suggestion, but impossible to prove (or disprove). Mention of Didymos' etymologies is found in *Etym. Mag.* 718.35: σκολιά· τὰ συμποτικά ᾄσματα· Δίδυμός φησιν διαφόρους ἐτυμολογίας ἐν γ' Συμποσιακῶν. It appears that Didymos' three books addressed the different etymological explanations of certain terms associated with the *symposion*. They do not survive, even in quotation, and cannot be used as evidence.

⁵⁹ For example, at 614D-615A Plutarchos explains the need for keeping the topics of philosophical discussion rather simple (τὰς ζητήσεις ὑγροτέρας) and the problems familiar (γνώρια τὰ προβλήματα) so that less intellectual symposiasts might not be discouraged from participating (615D). If not, "οἴχεται τῆς συμποτικῆς κοινωνίας τὸ τέλος καὶ καθύβρισται ὁ Διόνυσος" (615A). Just as the wine is shared by all, so too should the conversation (614E).

⁶⁰ Teodorsson (1989, 132) has also noticed this emphasis.

⁶¹ Although the restriction of the third type to *συνετώτατοι* might only reflect a desire for good singing. The difference between the quality of a trained voice and an untrained, but nevertheless good, voice is considerable.

⁶² Reitzenstein (1893), 8f., 12f., 39; followed by *Aty RE s.v. σκόλιον* col. 561.

Although the etymology of the term *skolion* is not essential to this study, a mention of the difficulty of *skolia* must include a discussion, however limited, of the derivation of the term *σκολιός* = “difficult”. Severyns suggests a derivation from *δύ(-)σκολος* which was put forward by Dikaiarchos and which only Plutarchos has reported correctly; Dikaiarchos and Aristoxenos both revised this etymology.⁶³ But, as Teodorsson points out, this pre-supposition is unacceptable, particularly since this derivation is completely unattested before the scholium on *Wasps* 1222, which mentions it only in connection with the particular practice of “capping” (*supra*).⁶⁴ Furthermore, Dikaiarchos argues for a derivation from *σκολιός*. Teodorsson dismisses the argument of Severyns on these grounds; he also considers Plutarchos’ report of Dikaiarchos’ etymology to be corrupt:

But how did it come about that Plutarch, at the end of his accurate report of Dicaearchus’ description of the sympotic songs, suddenly stated the etymology *σκόλιον* = *δύσκολον* [sic], which was alien to him? It appears that the answer is rather easy. If we analyse the clause *σκολίων ὠνομάσθη τὸ μὴ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ῥάδιον* we observe that only *μηδὲ ῥάδιον* refers exclusively to that etymology; *τὸ μὴ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ* applies equally well to the etymology *διὰ τὴν σκολιὰν διάδοσιν τῆς λύρας*, i.e. that of Dicaearchus. The phrase *μηδὲ ῥάδιον* looks like an addition. Plutarch’s context indicates that it probably is.⁶⁵

Teodorsson’s solution, while ingenious, faces the same difficulty as Severyns’: the fact remains that the scholium on *Wasps* 1222 is the earliest⁶⁶ mention of the difficulty (*δυσκολία* rather than *δύσκολος*) of the *skolion* preserved in any form, and must then form the basis for any conclusion. Severyns forms a conclusion based on a conjectured source by Dikaiarchos which contradicts the preserved writings of the same author on the same subject; any position based on such evidence is

⁶³ Severyns (1934), 837-41

⁶⁴ Teodorsson (1989), 129-30

⁶⁵ Teodorsson (1989), 130.

⁶⁶ It is very difficult to date the scholiasts’ work, since they appear to fall into three strata: the Hellenistic scholars who established texts, the scholars of the first centuries A.D. who wrote commentaries using the work of the earlier scholars to some extent, and then the final Byzantine redactors. But the earliest scholars are quoted extensively, and it seems safer to assume that unattributed observations are much less likely to come from them, but rather from the later commentators or the final redactors.

untenable. Teodorsson for his part has equated the *μηδὲ ῥάδιον* of Plutarchos with *δύσκολος* and has dismissed it because it does not match the explanation of Dikaiarchos (which does appear at the end of the passage). But *μηδὲ ῥάδιον* should not be equated with *δύσκολος* because, although it first appears in a source which may be earlier than Plutarchos (in the scholium to *Wasps* 1222⁶⁷), when *δύσκολος* does appear it is used to describe, not the singing of the *συνετώτατοι*, but rather “capping”, the practice which Plutarchos clearly uses to justify the derivation of *σκολῖος* = “crooked”. It seems more likely that *μηδὲ ῥάδιον* is Plutarchos’ own expression of the “difficulty” of the songs sung by the *συνετώτατοι*, a “difficulty” which had been implied in the earlier sources by the fact that only the most trained took part. This is, in fact, precisely what Plutarchos writes, “after this the lyre was brought around, and a trained player took it, and tuning it sang; *since the untrained player refused it was called skolion because it was not common nor easy*” (my italics). Plutarchos is the first to suggest a derivation based on difficulty: the songs sung by the *συνετώτατοι* were difficult. This suggestion of difficulty arises, surely, from the increasingly complex and decorative style of music in the very late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. — after the period under investigation in this thesis — with which Plutarchos himself, as a musical scholar, was very familiar. A thorough study of this ‘new music’ may be found in *Greek Musical Writings I: The Musician and his Art*, (1984) by Andrew Barker, chapter 7.⁶⁸

Plutarchos, then, provides two etymologies of *skolion*: from *σκολῖος* = not easy, which he himself has contributed in reference to the third division of Dikaiarchos, and from *σκολῖος* = crooked. The division of types of *skolia* is in keeping with that of Dikaiarchos, as is the mention of

⁶⁷ For a brief discussion of the problem of dating the scholiasts please see Appendix I.

⁶⁸ For example, in reference to Timotheus, who was active in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C., Barker writes: “What then did Timotheus’ ‘new music’ amount to? The fragments provide adequate evidence of his association of different rhythms, of a strained and artificial diction and of linguistic fancy embroidering ideas beyond the limits of sense.” (1984, 96)

the myrtle twig. Plutarchos has added mention of the lyre to a tradition which did not previously mention specific musical instruments at all.

The scholium to Aristophanes' *Wasps* 1222⁶⁹, the etymological suggestion of which has already been discussed in detail, presents a certain element of the *skolion* which seems at first to be at odds with the established division of Dikaiarchos:

τὰ σκόλι' ὅπως δέξῃ καλῶς : 'Αρχαῖον ἔθος ἐστυιμένους ἄδειν ἀκαλούθως τῷ πρώτῳ, εἰ παύσαιτο τῆς ψδῆς, τὰ ἐξῆς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἐξ ἀρξῆς δάφνην ἢ μυρρίνην κατέχων ἦδε Σιμωνίδου ἢ Στῆσιχόρου μέλη ἄχρις οὗ ἤθελε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὃ ἐβούλετο ἐδίδου, οὐχ ὡς ἡ τάξις ἀπῆται. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ δεξιόμενος παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου τὰ ἐξῆς, κακεῖνος ἐπεδίδου πάλιν ὃ ἐβούλετο, διὰ τὸ πάντας οὖν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἄδειν καὶ λέγειν τὰ μέλη, σκολιὰ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν δυσκαλίαν.

So that *skolia* might be well explained: it was the ancient custom for guests to sing in order following the first, if he should interrupt the song. For in fact the one first holding the laurel or myrtle sang a song of Simonides or Stesichoros as far as he wished, and after this gave it to whom he wished, not as the physical order would dictate. And the one who received from the first [singer] recited what followed, and he then passed it on to whomever he wished. Therefore because all sang and recited the songs unexpectedly, it was called *skolia*, because of the difficulty (δύσκαλιαν).

The scholiast to this passage refers to a practice of “capping” songs. A singer, who held a myrtle or laurel twig, would sing a song to a point of his own choosing, and then hand the twig to a fellow symposiast of his choice; this person would then have to complete the song or choose another, if the first song was finished. It seems from the passage which the scholiast is explaining⁷⁰ that this would often have humourous results. Because of the difficulty (δύσκαλιος) of this practice, it was

⁶⁹ See n. 67.

⁷⁰ An observation which is borne out also, as Barker (1984, 43) points out, in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* and at Theocr. 5.80 ff, esp. 116-23.

called *σκόλιον*. Rather than posing a problem in regard to Dikaiarchos' divisions, I believe that this particular practice is a component of, or a development from, Dikaiarchos' third division. We have here, as in Dikaiarchos, a practice in which all participate,⁷¹ a solo singer holding a myrtle or laurel twig,⁷² and an irregular path of singing. This is the first example of an etymology in which the derivation from *δύσκαλιος* is proposed. As we have seen in the discussion around the explanation of Plutarchos, it is highly specific to this one division of *skolion*. Based on the evidence available, it is not likely to have existed earlier than this scholium, although the notion may very well have been carried through from Plutarchos' discussion of the third division of *skolia*.

The scholium on Aristophanes *Wasps* 1239⁷³ also echoes Plutarchos' etymologies:

οἱ δὲ φασιν ὡς ἔθος ἦν τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἔσαι δάφνης κλῶνα ἢ μυρρίνης λαβόντα πρὸς τοῦτον ἔδειν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου προσηγορεύθησαν σκαλιὰ τὰ παροιμία μέλη. ἀπλᾶ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐχρῆν εἶναι καὶ εὐκालα, ὡς παρὰ πότον ᾄδόμενα. οὐκ εὖ δὲ τοῦτο· τὰ γὰρ δύσφημα ἐπὶ τὸ εὐφημώτερον μεταλαμβάνεται, οὐ μὴν τοῦμπαλιν· ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀπο τοῦ ἐξῆς ἢ λύρα τοῖς συμπτώταις ἐδίδετο, ἀλλ' ἐναλλάξ, διὰ τὴν σκαλιὰν τῆς λύρας περιφορὰν σκαλιὰ ἐλέγετο.

They say that it was the custom for one who cannot bear to sing at *symposia* to hold a twig of laurel or myrtle and sing to that. Others say that drinking songs were called *skolia* for the opposite reason. For it was necessary that these be simple and easy, since they were sung "under the influence". This is wrong: unfavorable associations become more favorable, not the reverse. But because the lyre was passed on to the symposiasts not in geographical order, but in another fashion, [the songs] were called *skolia* on account of the crooked path of the lyre.

⁷¹ Or at the very least, all who chose to participate on each occasion.

⁷² A practice which Dikaiarchos describes in the scholium on Ar. *Nu.* 1365 (see above). The possibility of recitation being included in such a practice (instead of singing) should not be discounted, although the meaning of *λέγειν* here is far from secure.

⁷³ See n. 67.

The scholiast here provides three pieces of information: some singers, less confident in their ability, held a myrtle or laurel twig, perhaps as a sort of worry-bead;⁷⁴ the songs were difficult, although the scholiast's reason seems based on opinion more than anything else; the order of singing was designated by the crooked passage of the lyre. The scholiast here rejects the derivation of *σκολιάς* = difficult emphatically, and turns to Plutarchos' first etymology: the term derives from the "crooked" path of the singing (although here it is the lyre which determines the order, and not as in Plutarchos the twig) amongst the symposiasts. The scholiast must be referring to the third division of Dikaiarchos, which has been adopted by all subsequent ancient sources, since he distinguishes between the passage of the lyre in order (*ἀπὸ ἐξῆς*) — the second division of Dikaiarchos — and the crooked passage (*τὴν σκολιάν περιφορὰν*) of the lyre which seems to correspond with the third division of Dikaiarchos.

To sum up, the information provided by an examination of the etymological sources proves valuable for a reconstruction of the practice. The divisions of Dikaiarchos seem to be accepted, if not always outlined in full, by the majority of later writers, and are not expressly contradicted by his contemporary Aristoxenos. Both Aristoxenos and Dikaiarchos mention the use of a twig of myrtle (or laurel) to designate the singer; for Aristoxenos it was the passage of this twig in an irregular order around the symposiasts that gave the term its name, while Dikaiarchos only remarks on the crooked path, but does not provide a reason.⁷⁵ This *σκολιάς* = crooked etymology is continued by most writers, although the later ones seem to be less satisfied with this explanation, and turn towards etymologies based on the difficulty of the song or the singing. It is possible that

⁷⁴ This possibility was suggested by Dr. E. Dickey in discussion concerning this passage.

⁷⁵ Although the mention of the twig appears in a different passage in the scholia. These two scholia may have taken information from one passage in which Dikaiarchos links the crooked path with the passage of the twig.

recitation (*parakatologe*⁷⁶) while holding a myrtle or laurel twig might have been numbered among the activities at *symposia*, and it is plausible from other evidence that this recitation, as also the singing while holding a twig, in some circumstances, took the form of “capping” at least from the time of Aristophanes; clearly the agonistic nature of Greek society (at any period) would support the possibility of competitive performance which might give rise to such a practice. Our earliest sources do not mention an instrument characteristic of the *skolion* of the third type, but the lyre soon appears in later sources as the preferred instrument. This may give an indication of the time frame/period to which the later writers were addressing their explanations, since the *aulos* was the earliest preferred instrument according to the witness of extant sympotic poetry and other relevant literary sources, but then fell out of use in the Classical period. The evidence of the containers, however, shows both in use accompanying singers at *symposia*.

We cannot always be certain to which time frame writers are referring in their descriptions. Obviously, Aristoxenos and Dikaiarchos are closest to the Archaic period, and might have a better understanding of the earlier practices. But neither states clearly that their explanations refer exclusively to the earlier periods — although Dikaiarchos’ comment as recorded in the scholium on *Clouds* 1364 may very well refer exclusively to an earlier period, at least in part — and later writers combine and revise the explanations with abandon, without any regard to historical context.⁷⁷ This inevitably results in a confused picture of a practice, a picture compiled over several centuries and which may have little to do with the actual practice in the Archaic period. However, the information which is most secure because it is accepted by most of the ancient sources, and by all of the important ones, is also the information which comes from the

⁷⁶ For an explanation of the term, see West (1992), 40.

⁷⁷ Unfortunately, this is also seen in some modern discussions of the etymology of the term, notably Lambin (1993) and Teodorsson (1989). Lambin (1992), 222-223 neglects the possibility of an evolution in the practice.

sources closest in time to the Archaic period: there was a division in the manner of performance; solo singers (of the second and third divisions) might hold a laurel or myrtle twig; it was the order of the singers in the third division — erratic because not all participated and marked by the passage of the twig or a lyre — which gave the term its name.

The conclusions reached concerning the practice of the *skolion* on the basis of the information contained in the etymological sources, if not in the etymologies themselves, are not in conflict with the conclusions reached on the basis of the evidence provided by the literary *testimonia* for the term and the remains of poetry known to have been sung at *symposia*. The general nature of the term already noticed in the literary sources is borne out by the triple division of the etymologists, a division which admits the possibility of performance *solo* or *tutti* (see above p. 18 ff.). This tendency of the term to include any genre of poem sung at *symposia* is further reinforced by the varied metres of the poems actually named *skolia*, and of the poems which are probably also *skolia*. The triple division may in fact reflect several modes of performance, all of which are called *skolia* (since they are sung at the *symposion*). The first division probably includes choral poems, paians, *spondeia* (libation hymns); the second involves solo-singing which proceeds in a determined order, while the third probably includes original solo compositions, or performances of works by the great poets, sung by the most skilled without a determined order. The information provided by the etymological sources is remarkably consistent, except for Plutarchos.⁷⁸ If we examine the remaining evidence for the practice of the *skolion* — the evidence from the containers — we will be one step closer to a fuller understanding of the practice.

⁷⁸ Remarkably consistent in terms of division of performance and mention of the passage of a twig of myrtle or laurel; Plutarchos adds mention of the lyre and a further description of the passing of the myrtle twig in the second division which, although it did not follow a strict “geographical” order, was nevertheless a determined order.

Material Evidence from the Containers

Amasis Painter, Tripod Pyxis on Aegina.

A black figure tripod-pyxis by the Amasis Painter found at the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina (figs. 1.1-1.4) preserves a remarkable long inscription. The container and its inscriptions have been thoroughly discussed by Martha Ohly-Dumm in Appendix Four of Bothmer's *The Amasis Painter and his World*; only the long inscription, which Ohly-Dumm designates a *skolion*, will be discussed in detail here. Although the pyxis is fragmentary, the three scenes, one on each leg, include a wealth of inscriptions, mostly names, but also including an early example of “*kalos*” and a longer inscription ΕΛΙΟΣΟΙΔΕΝΚΑΙΕΓΟΜΗΟΝΟΣ:ΑΥΤΟΣ || ΠΑΙΔΑΚΑΛΟΝ. The length of the inscription, as also the type of container, is unusual for the Amasis Painter.⁷⁹ It dates from c. 540 BC. While the inscription itself appears on Ohly-Dumm's side A, a burgeoning battle between Kyknos and Ares on the one hand and Herakles and Athena on the other (Zeus appears to be attempting to mediate), it “in character belongs with the love-scenes on C”⁸⁰ (fig. 1.4), courting between youths (and/or men?). The inscription itself runs orthograde down the height of the pyxis leg, behind Ares, in two lines; the beginning of the first turns sharply downward — after beginning on the horizontal — before the final sigma of ΕΛΙΟΣ (see fig. 1.1). There is an interpoint after ΜΗΟΝΟΣ and before ΑΥΤΟΣ indicating, writes Ohly-Dumm, the end of a verse.⁸¹ The second line of the verse begins halfway up the pyxis leg. Again, it travels downwards, but finishes boustrophedon because of the placement of Ares' leg.

⁷⁹ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 238.

⁸⁰ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 237.

⁸¹ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 238.

Ohly-Dumm outlines two possible ways of reading the verses. One, which she rejects, would begin the verse after the interpunct, to return to the first (outside) line to complete it, making the verse as a whole a Major Asclepiad: AVTOΣ | ΠΑΙΔΑ | KALON | ELIOS | ΟΙΔΕΝ | KAI | ΕΓΩ | ΜΗΟΝΟΣ “The sun itself and I alone know the beautiful boy”.⁸² However, she prefers the verses to be read as they were written; in this case the inscription would be the end of one line and the beginning of another⁸³: ELIOS | ΟΙΔΕΝ | KAI | ΕΓΩ | ΜΗΟΝΟΣ || AVTOΣ | ΠΑΙΔΑ | KALON “Helios knows and I alone || the beautiful boy he himself has”.⁸⁴ She has assumed that the interpunct marks a verse division and that, accordingly, the metre — for the two partial lines — would remain a Major Asclepiad, based on the observation that several of the Attic *skolia* found in Athenaios’ collection are in that metre and that the lines taken in reverse order form a complete Major Asclepiad.⁸⁵ But we have already seen that for the *skolia*, metre is quite variable and should not be considered a determining characteristic of the “genre”. Ohly-Dumm discusses the difference in meaning of the two readings:

The underlying thought is different in the two cases. In the first the lover is concealing the name of his beloved, known only to the divine and omniscient sunlight. The reason for concealment is probably worry lest others should go courting the loved boy. That at least is the thought in an epigram ascribed to Plato (*Anth. Pal.* 7.100). In the other reading the name of the “pais kalos” and a descriptive epithet for Helios may have come at the beginning of the first line. In that case the poem is in praise of a beloved whom no one else knows how to appreciate, a common conceit in erotic epigrams [examples given].⁸⁶

⁸² Ohly-Dumm (1985), 237.

⁸³ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 237.

⁸⁴ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 238.

⁸⁵ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 238. Many *skolia* in the same collection, however, are in different metres.

⁸⁶ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 238.

Either reading is thematically consistent with much of *sympotic* poetry. While the order of the inscription (*i.e.* as it is written on the pyxis-leg) must be correct,⁸⁷ the explanation of ordering of the lines preferred by Ohly-Dumm is inconsistent with the apparent function of the verse-scrap *skolia* examined in this thesis: as we shall see, all verse-scrap *skolia* begin a line from the very beginning, perhaps as a title, or as a mnemonic device for performance. This surely must be the case here also, if it is a *skolion*; the inscription begins at the beginning of a verse, not in the middle. But how to explain the interpoint? And what is the metre?

The length of the inscription is remarkable for the Amasis Painter (who confines himself elsewhere to name-labels and his potter's signature) and may indicate that it was commissioned by a client for a special occasion, or even that the painter or potter or both (or the painter/potter — one person!) acted as dedicator; the entire work may possibly — given the find site — have been commissioned as an offering at the sanctuary. The unusual shape of the container and its unique (for Amasis) inscription support this supposition. The interpunct then, rather than marking the end of a verse, as Ohly-Dumm is convinced,⁸⁸ might have been added by the Amasis Painter to mark a separation of line found in the original copy provided by the commissioning client; Amasis Painter, running out of space on a very small area (the pyxis is only 7.3 cm. in height, with the length of the concave field about 10.1 cm.⁸⁹), continued the verse without separating the lines as they had been on the original, because he saw that there would not be room for the entire second

⁸⁷ Although there is a case of the second line of a pot inscription written "above" the first in a similar fashion on a kantharos by Nearkhos in the National Museum Akropolis collection (NM Akr. 611; *ABV* 82.1; my fig. 1.5). But in this case it is very clear how the two lines are meant to be taken, especially since the break occurs around an elision of the epsilon in ME and the ε-augment of the aorist ΕΓΡΑΦΕΝ. Amasis himself has written a potter's signature in a similar way on at least two olpai, one in Paris (Musée du Louvre, F30; *ABV* 152.29; my fig. 1.6), the other in Würzburg (Martin von Wagner Museum, L332; *ABV* 152.30; my fig. 1.7).

⁸⁸ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 238.

⁸⁹ Ohly-Dumm (1985), 238.

line between the first and the figure of Ares. In fact, another attempt to accommodate the length of the inscription to such a small writing surface was made at the very beginning of the inscription with the placement of ΕΛΙΟΣ (see above p. 36). Taken this way the inscription is a continuous thought and makes more sense than Ohly-Dumm's preferred "split" reading. The ΑΥΤΟΣ, if it is the intensive, probably modifies ΕΓΩ rather than ΕΛΙΟΣ, judging from its placement in the line, in which case the line should read: "Helios knows, and I myself alone, a beautiful boy". This option marks clearly and emphatically the thought contained in the lines, that the speaker alone — among mortals — "knows" the beautiful boy.

But there is another way to read the inscription, and another possible reason for the presence of the interpunct. ΑΥΤΟΣ might also represent *αὐτῶς* (E.L. Brown⁹⁰): "Helios knows, and I alone likewise, a beautiful boy". Read in this way as an adverb, ΑΥΤΟΣ more strongly emphasizes the erotic theme of the inscription, setting the lover on a par with the god in knowledge of the beloved.⁹¹ Although the interpunct may not serve any purpose at all, in terms of line or verse division,⁹² I suggest that it does serve to separate ΑΥΤΟΣ, the adverb, from ΜΗΟΝΟΣ — but not from the rest of the line — in an attempt to highlight its function as adverb in the sentence, so that it not be understood to agree with ΕΓΩ. Forced by the assumption that the lines are metrical and that the interpunct marks a verse division, Ohly-Dumm had to speculate the missing verb in her second line, "has" (see above), in order to make sense of the inscription as it is written. But the inscription should be read continuously and as if it were complete, with ΑΥΤΟΣ adverbial (and the

⁹⁰ *apud* Immerwahr (1990), 36, no. 152.

⁹¹ Cf. *API*. 7.100.

⁹² Threatte (1980), 76–80, 4.012 discusses the use of interpuncts in private archaic texts. Although the division of *stichoi* is one of the uses of the interpunct on stone inscriptions, Threatte remarks that "the various vase-painters are quite inconsistent in using them [interpuncts], sometimes placing : or ÷ between their name and *ἐποίησεν* in their signatures and sometimes not (e.g. Sophilos, Kleitias, Exekias, Eucheiros, Xenokles, etc.), and it seems likely that the effect may sometimes have been decorative." (80, no. 6) An interpunct is used on side C simply to divide ΚΑΛΟΣ from the word in front of it.

interpunct used to make its function more clear⁹³); read in this way it has a sense complete, and very clear, in itself.

The lines considered in this way are not metrical, and should therefore not be considered a *skolion* verse-scrap. Rather, and more reasonably, the inscription was included on a container — the shape and long inscription are very unusual for the Amasis Painter — which was made to be offered at the Sanctuary.⁹⁴ The coincidence of the division of the lines of the inscription into parts of two Asclepiadian lines may indicate that these words did in fact come from a poem. But the inscription on this container found at the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina does not record a *skolion per se*; rather, it records a love inscription — which may be parts of two lines of a poem — included on a sacred offering. Perhaps the one who offered it thought his love might be sanctified, or ensured of success, in this way. Certainly, as a dedicated offering it, and its inscription, would be on display for all to see.

Euphronios, Calyx-Krater in Munich, Antikensammlungen 8935; ARV² 1619, 1705.3 bis; Para 322.

Euphronios, a red figure painter active in the late sixth century well-known for his longer inscriptions,⁹⁵ provides two more verse scrap inscriptions from *skolia*, one on a fragmentary calyx-krater and the other on a neck amphora. In addition to noting the relative frequency of longer inscriptions on Euphronios' work, Immerwahr also remarks that Euphronios rarely uses

⁹³ Unfortunately, I have not been able to find a parallel use of the interpunct to support this claim.

⁹⁴ M. Kilmer (pers. comm.).

⁹⁵ Psykter, Leningrad 644; cup, London E41; neck amphora, Louvre G107. Immerwahr (1992, 50) notes that longer inscriptions continue to occur in the works of painters associated with Euphronios' pottery, although many works by other Pioneers also have longer inscriptions.

“nonsense” inscriptions.⁹⁶ There seems to be an evolution in the lettering on Euphronios’ works, from small and untidy on early containers to larger and firm in his middle period then, in the last decade, becoming smaller and less neat.⁹⁷ Finally, Euphronios seems always to express geminate consonants (and occasionally expresses single consonants in a geminate form). A good example of this geminate consonant is found in the first verse-scrap by Euphronios.

Fragmentary remains of a symposion scene (figs. 2.1-2.3) were first published and discussed by E. Vermeule in 1965;⁹⁸ this red-figure calyx-krater, dated to the late sixth century, was attributed to Euphronios by R.E. Hecht Jr.⁹⁹ Sides A and B are separated by a complex of palmettes which was, presumably, above one of the missing handles. Around the exterior of the rim runs a repeated palmette pattern between two wide reserved bands. What is left of Side B (fig. 2.2) portrays a near complete youth, naked but wreathed with a garland, a stand with ladles and a lamp with two flames, the upper portion of a dinos and stand, into which the right arm of another person dips a trefoil oinochoe; a lyre above this. The youth, in motion towards the dinos, is turning to look back, right arm raised back and slightly up. An inscription LEA<ΓΡΟΣ KA>ΛΟΣ¹⁰⁰ begins behind his head, just under the lower reserved band. Five figures, all named in inscriptions (reserved) occupy the larger scene on Side A (fig. 2.1): from left to right Tho(u)demos (the top of the black haired head), Melas (a blond man reclining on a *kline*), Suko (a blond woman playing a *diaulos*), a blond young man (Smikros)¹⁰¹, and a bearded man (Ekphantides).

⁹⁶ Only once on the reverse of the neck of the volute krater, Arezzo 1465 (Immerwahr, 1992, 51). He does admit, however, that he knows “the inscriptions only from plate 62 in Fürstwängler-Reichhold.” (1992, 55, n. 33)

⁹⁷ Immerwahr (1992), 51-52.

⁹⁸ Vermeule (1965), 34-39.

⁹⁹ Vermeule (1965), 34; *ARV*² 1619.

¹⁰⁰ This is a common *kalos* name at this time, and in the work of the Pioneers particularly.

¹⁰¹ Perhaps even the painter Smikros, who appears to have a connection with Euphronios. I should be quick to point out that attributing names, unsupported by a patronymic or demotic identifier, found on figured containers to historical people is largely an exercise in fancy; in regard to the name Smikros, which could be as much a nickname as anything else, Boardman (1975, 30) states that it is common. The

Thoudemos gazes straight out at the viewer from behind his kylix; sharing a *kline* with Thoudemos is Melas, who appears to have turned his head toward the sound of singing, and is listening with right hand raised as though about to cup his ear. The younger man Smikros reaches out with his right hand towards the aulist Suko, while the older Ekphantides sings, head up, right arm and hand wrapped over and around it; all three men visible are garlanded in red. Suko, who is wearing a meander pattern headband, plays the *diaulos* with head slightly raised and fingers in the typical position for aulists.¹⁰²

Ekphantides sings a skolion, ΟΠΟΛΛΟΝΣΕΤΕΚΑΙΜΑΚΑΙ<PAN> “O Apollon, both you and the blessed ...,”¹⁰³ which emerges from his mouth retrograde (and so to the left). Although Vermeule has read ΓΕ (for TE), Beazley in *Paralipomena* reads TE,¹⁰⁴ and is followed by H. Immerwahr, who further notes that the Ionic gamma “probably does not appear so early”.¹⁰⁵ Immerwahr’s own reservations should be noted, however: how widespread the use of the Ionic gamma was before its official introduction in 403/2 B.C. is not known,¹⁰⁶ and the Ionic gamma is found on early graffiti in the Agora which may, or may not, have been written by an Athenian.¹⁰⁷ Kilmer also expressed his reservations concerning the Ionic gamma to me, and stated further that

name Smikros appears on one of Smikros’ own stamnoi (Brussels, Musées Royaux A 717. *ARV*² 20.1), my fig. 2.4, designating a young man singing accompanied by a *diaulos*-playing woman. It also appears on a vase near Euphronios (Louvre G 107), and someone of this name is designated *kalos* on another (New York, 21.88.174 where he is coupled with MEMNON) by Olto.

¹⁰² In fact, this is the same finger position used for kottabos-throwers on many vases. Athenaios (XV.667a) preserves a small excerpt from Antiphanes’ Ἀθροδότης Γοναί: αὐλητικῶς δὲ καρκινῶν τοὺς δακτύλους οἶνον τε μικρὸν ἐγχέαι καὶ μὴ πολὺν· ἔπειτ’ ἀφήσεις “one must ‘crab’ one’s fingers like an aulist, pour in a little wine, not too much; then you throw it”.

¹⁰³ Beazley completes the line ὡπαλλον σέ τε καὶ μάκαι(ραν αἰτῶ) “O Apollon, I make reverence to you and the blessed ...” (*ARV*² p. 1619); Vermeule suggests several other options (1965, 38-39).

¹⁰⁴ *Para* 322.

¹⁰⁵ Immerwahr (1990), 64.

¹⁰⁶ Immerwahr (1990), 179.

¹⁰⁷ Immerwahr (1990), 180. The graffiti are *Agora* P10511 and *Agora* P26179, both from the early fifth century.

he would not expect isolated Ionic letters in an inscription otherwise purely Attic.¹⁰⁸ The consensus, then, is that this is probably too early for an Ionic gamma, and certainly an unlikely occurrence in this particular inscription; the reading should be left as read by Beazley.

Verses addressed to various gods, Apollon among them,¹⁰⁹ begin the collections of *skolia* found in Athenaios, as well as the Theognidean elegies; Apollon is certainly not an inappropriate addressee if only because he himself was a banquet performer with the Muses in the *Iliad*.¹¹⁰ We must not assume from this, as do van der Valk (1974, pp.1-2), Harvey (1955, p. 162) *et al.*, that *skolion* sessions strictly followed (temporally) the order of the divisions found in Dikaiarchos. A *skolion* with mention of, or even addressed to, a god or goddess, need not always come only at the beginning of the symposion, although such a *skolion* probably accompanied the inaugural libation.¹¹¹ Verses addressed to Apollon are found elsewhere in poems intended for, or at the bare minimum suitable for, the *symposion*, and Euphronios' snatch of verse may echo a similar sentiment to that expressed in Theognis 759b-761:

· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
 ὀρθῶσαι γλῶσσαν καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον.
 φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἤδ' αὐλός·
 But Apollon, arouse our tongues and minds;
 may the *phorminx*, besides, and also the *aulos* sound a holy song.

¹⁰⁸ M. Kilmer, pers. comm.

¹⁰⁹ The first hymn in both collections is to Apollon (probably as the god of the lyre, *i.e.* music): Thgn. 1-10 (although some editors split this group at verse 5 into two hymns); Athenaios XV.694a. The ordering of material in collections was, of course, arbitrary at some point. Barker (1984, 50) suggests that the Theognidean collection was put together as a sort of song-book for *symposia*; Reitzenstein *et al.* have argued that the collection in Athenaios had a similar existence before being included in the *Dipnosophistae* (see discussion above p. 14-15).

¹¹⁰ Il. I.601-604.

¹¹¹ There is plentiful evidence for this practice in the fifth century (e.g. Ar. *V.* 1208-50), especially in the *Symposia* of Plato and Xenophon; cf. also Thgn. 762. Some of the "hymns" which begin the collections of Theognis and Athenaios XV.694 may have been libation songs.

The verse-scrap recorded by Euphronios does not match any verses in surviving literature,¹¹² and so the speculation as to its nature could be endless. Clearly, however, it is a *skolion*, addressed to Apollon, sung by one person to the accompaniment of the *aulos*; the inscription begins a line in a *skolion*, perhaps a phalacean.¹¹³ Since none of the others present appear to participate it is not a collective song/hymn, which Dikaiarchos later classed as the first division. I would suggest that this verse-scrap is an example of the third division of Dikaiarchos, the solo song sung by a *συνετώτατος*, named here as Ekphantides.

Euphronios, Neck Amphora in Paris, Louvre G30; ARV² 15.9, 1619; Para 322; Add 152.

An inscription on an amphora by Euphronios in the Louvre, G30 (figs. 3.1-3.2) reads MAMEKAΠΙΟΤΕΟ. Often paralleled to a fragment of Sappho (frag. 36 LP), *καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι* “I yearn for and seek...”, this inscription presents some problems of orthography. The inscription is found on the neck of the amphora; it represents a young man, using the bottom edge of the scene itself as his *kline*, playing a six-stringed *barbitos* as he sings.¹¹⁴ Garlanded and wearing a himation, he is leaning back onto a bolster while his head, slightly tilted back to sing, is wreathed by the helical inscription. On the other side of the scene is written ΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, retrograde.

The inscription itself is retrograde, retaining both direction and spiral ground line as it wreathes the singer’s head. There can be little question that this verse-scrap reflects the same

¹¹² Although Vermeule points out (1965, 39, n. 24) both the Brygos fr. in Paris (Cab. Méd. 546; see below) and *EtymMag* 544.28 = *PMG* 465 (which hints at *ἀπαλλον* beginning a verse by Anakreon).

¹¹³ Vermeule (1965), 38-39 where she also discusses several other options.

¹¹⁴ Six is not an unusual number of strings for a *barbitos*, although seven is more usual (about half of the representations on pottery; see Maas & Snyder (1989), chapter 5). The number of strings could possibly have ranged from five to eight. The *barbitos* is associated in literature from earliest mention (Alkaios, frag. D12.4) with drinking parties and the *komos*. This association is confirmed in the large number of scenes pairing the *barbitos* with scenes of *symposia*, *komoi*, and general revelling.

thought as in the Sappho fragment, and the attribution¹¹⁵ has not met with strong resistance.¹¹⁶ The nature of sympotic poetry certainly allowed latitude in composition, a custom discussed above; the singer is, perhaps, imitating Sappho rather than reproducing the original performance (assuming that our surviving literary version is the more authentic).¹¹⁷ The orthography of the inscription, however, is decidedly odd, and led Immerwahr to describe it as “badly miswritten”.¹¹⁸ But Euphronios, whose significance in terms of long inscriptions has been noted already, is usually quite within the norm, orthographically speaking, and in fact often anticipates later Attic orthography by expressing the geminate lambda (see preceding example). Furthermore, as Perpillou points out, the inscription is so carefully laid out, and the letters so neatly drawn that mere carelessness in writing is almost certainly not an option.¹¹⁹ If the ‘incorrect’ forms are due neither to Euphronios’ error, nor to carelessness on his part, how then to explain the strange forms?

Perpillou addresses this question in a recent article. He begins by questioning the criteria by which we designate a form “normal”, and so correct. Far from questioning the existence, or validity of such a norm, however, he simply raises the possibility of a variety of norms:

Mais dans cet examen phonétique à base phonologique, certains usages graphiques anciens non liés au discours public de la cité ou à la célébration des morts, usages personnels ou d’un milieu artisanal, notamment dans ces documents autographes que sont les inscriptions peintes sur vases, sont assez généralement mis au compte d’un «insufficient knowledge of orthographic norm». Mais de quelle norme s’agit-il? De l’emploi le plus pertinent et le plus précis

¹¹⁵ The attribution was first suggested by F. Studniczka, *Jdl* 2, (1887), 162.

¹¹⁶ Hartwig (1893), 255, n. 1; Herzog (1912), 18, but he accepts the possibility only because he can think of no other: “Das scheint mir sehr unwahrscheinlich, aber ich finde keine andere brauchbare Lösung”.

¹¹⁷ Could it be that the imitator, if this suggestion is correct, wished to express a slightly different emotion by the different order? Instead of ‘I yearn after [what is lost] and seek it’ (that is ‘I desire something I had and lost, and seek after it’), does the reversed order imply something else: ‘I am seeking and I crave [something]’ (that is, ‘I am seeking something which I do not have, and crave it’)?

¹¹⁸ Immerwahr, (1990), 63.

¹¹⁹ Perpillou (1992), 558

phonétiquement de la totalité d'un alphabet de 21 signes (sans ω , ni ξ , ni ψ), norme qui est donc plutôt un vœu de linguiste comblé par l'existence d'un registre de notations riches, qu'un critère objectif de pertinence suffisante.¹²⁰

The thrust of Perpillou's argument is that the strange forms are due to a phonetic rendering of the verse, perhaps an attempt to introduce a regional accent.¹²¹ Perpillou makes two suggestions for the strange form MAME. The first, which he seems to endorse, but for which he gives no evidence, is that the verse may have been intended to represent a Boiotian dialect; the α and o contracted to make $\hat{\alpha}$. This "barbarisme" raises phonetic or morphological questions, but none concerning the painter's graphic competence.¹²² The second, which he rejects but which does raise questions concerning the painter's competence, is that Euphronios neglected to include the o . Perpillou also alludes to the faint possibility, in reference to the final vowel, that this inscription may be an early example of the change from $|ai|$ to $|e|$ in Attic Greek. The appearance of $\kappa\alpha$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is easier for Perpillou to justify: such an alteration appears eight times in examples collected by Teodorsson,¹²³ and is explained by Perpillou as a product of "la langue parlée". Perpillou cites several examples of crasis from which the word $\kappa\alpha$ may have been extracted and come into common use. $\Pi\Omega\tau\epsilon\omicron$ is explained by Perpillou as a deaspiration, that is τ for θ . He cites S.-T. Teodorsson's study *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect 400-300 B.C.* (1974) which lists 18

¹²⁰ Perpillou (1992), 557-58. Quotation apparently from Teodorsson (1974).

¹²¹ Perpillou (1992), 557. This is a possibility which is supported both by other examples on red-figured containers of the same period (see below, p. 74, n. 223) and by examples in Ar. *Th.* (the Scythian archer). More relevant is the example of the Boiotian in Ar. *Ach.* 860ff, although the preserved written representation of similar sounds from both sources may differ.

¹²² I'm not sure that a lack of lexical evidence in Attic Greek would discount the possibility that the form might be Attic anyway (which I think Perpillou does on 558: "A-t-on, par la même occasion [i.e. regional dialect], commis un barbarisme morphologique ou lexical * $\mu\hat{\alpha}\mu\alpha\iota$ dans un verbe que de tout façon l'usage attique ignore complètement?"). Until a few years ago, "gotta" for "got to" or "got a" would not have been found in a respectable book, except perhaps as colloquial speech; now however it is in the *Oxford-Duden German-English, English German Dictionary* (1990).

¹²³ Teodorsson (1974), 99-100.

examples of such a deaspiration. Only five of these 18 are dated before the 480s B.C.; all are names on Attic vases.¹²⁴ Six more are deaspiration of *καθ'* before a rough breathing. The rest are also proper names. On one example (Teodorsson (1974), 124.14 = *IG II²* 10226,1) the writer corrected his mistake. Perpillou does not offer a complete explanation of his suggestion that the inscription may reflect Boeotian regional pronunciation. However, the suggestion does have some merit, and the possibility at least withstands scrutiny, with some qualification.

The contraction of *α* and *ο* suggested by Perpillou is extremely unlikely. In fact, such a contraction invariably is rendered *ω* in all dialects,¹²⁵ which would make it MOME. It is far more likely that the artist has neglected to write the *ο*, whether by design (in which case no satisfactory reason can be given) or by accident. E for AI does not appear with any regularity before c. A.D. 125 and is limited before this time to examples in public texts involving *εεύς* for demotics ending in *αιεύς*.¹²⁶ The only examples on Attic vases listed by Threatte involve the name 'Αλκυ(αι)έων,¹²⁷ and Teodorsson only lists two examples before c. 400 B.C., one of which is a proper name, Δικεά(ρ)κες; the other is the inscription in question. However, *η* (represented here correctly for its time by E) from *αι* is common in the Boeotian dialect, except in the earliest inscriptions,¹²⁸ and Perpillou's suggestion might in this case be valid. The explanation of KA for KAI offered by Perpillou seems unnecessarily complicated. Teodorsson records 14 examples down to 480/70 B.C. of A for AI, all on Attic vases; perhaps the form was read back from these sorts of examples, rather than from crasis. But Threatte, *GAI*, 15.011, p. 269: "Rare cases of A for *αι*/C among dipinti and graffiti are due to careless incomplete rendering of diphthongs: e.g. *ναχί* for *ναιχί* on a bf.

¹²⁴ Teodorsson (1974), 132, 124.1-5: *ἡποστένε[ς]*, *Στένελος*, *Σμίκυτος*, *Ευτίμιδες*, *Κλεστένος*.

¹²⁵ Buck (1955), 37. Cf. also Threatte (1980), 414, 32.00: In verb forms all the contractions normal in Attic have been completed before the time of the earliest texts.

¹²⁶ Threatte (1980), 294-95, 15.013.

¹²⁷ Threatte, (1980), 296 *med.*, 15.013.

¹²⁸ Buck (1955), 30.

vase of Neandros.” If this inscription were a consistent representation of the Boeotian dialect, we would expect KE = κή for καί, especially since this same substitution (for final αι) appears to be in evidence in the first word. We have already seen that τ for θ is quite common in this period, but almost entirely in proper names (since a huge percentage of words on pots are proper names). Threatte writes, “that ΠΟΤΕΟ is for ποθήω ... on a lost rf. vase seems doubtful.”¹²⁹ But deaspirations of the other voiceless stops are frequent (for example, see below Florence 3949, p. 63) in some artists, and bring to mind the pronunciation of the Scythian archer in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazousai*.¹³⁰

The suggestion that this inscription seeks to represent — successfully or not — the accent of another dialect, perhaps Boeotian, seems to be supported by the available evidence. Except for the unwritten ο of μάομαι (which I take as an oversight) and the α for η in κα, the inscription taken this way is consistent. No other explanation has been forthcoming for the strange forms, and it seems a modern conceit to label such an inscription “miswritten” when our comprehension (or lack thereof) — especially in the case of a painter like Euphronios who is otherwise precise — is probably due more to an imperfect understanding.

The *skolion* verse-scrap preserved on this amphora is not a quotation from an extant Sapphic poem, although it does express a closely related thought with similar vocabulary. Again, however, the extant literary tradition, even if it were complete, would only be a record of one performance in what was surely a long string of performances both by the author and by her circle and her imitators. This verse-scrap may be the product of one of those imitators.

¹²⁹ Threatte (1980), 453, 38.012(b).

¹³⁰ Cf. Threatte (1980), 452-55, 38.012; esp. 453.

Epiktetos, Kylix in Malibu, Getty Museum S.80.AE.252; Para 329.83 ter (ex Bareiss).

Epiktetos was a painter active from the late sixth century to the very early fifth century. A younger contemporary of Oltos, and of Andokides (for whom he painted a calyx-krater¹³¹), Epiktetos worked near the end of the period of the Pioneers mainly in red-figure technique but also on bilingual cups, which are among his earliest work. For Boardman "his black figure shows a sureness and a discipline which few practitioners of the old technique could still muster; his red figure an exquisite balance of line and detail, with restrained use of colour and pattern."¹³² Epiktetos signed his name as painter frequently, and his inscriptions are mostly of this sort, in addition to potter's signatures and *kalos* names; his later vases show name inscriptions (i.e. without *kalos*), and *epoiesen* and *egraphsen* without expressed subjects. There are few long inscriptions connected with Epiktetos.¹³³

A tondo scene in the J. Paul Getty Museum, previously in the possession of Walter Bareiss, portrays a balding bearded symposiast playing the chelys-lyre and singing (fig. 4.1). He is seated on a *kline*, his back resting against a bolster; his himation covers his legs. The inscription emerges from his mouth orthograde EVOIEOSEN. These letters have been previously mistaken either as a misspelt *epoiesen* or as a nonsense inscription.¹³⁴ In fact, Epiktetos, who is generally a neat and precise letter-writer, has recorded here a *skolion* verse-scrap: EVOI | EOΣ | EN. Although there is only one way to divide the inscription into word units sensibly, there are several ways to interpret each word. The possibilities are outlined in the table below:

¹³¹ Villa Giulia, from Cerveteri, *ARV*² 77.90.

¹³² Boardman (1975), 58.

¹³³ Immerwahr (1990), 62.

¹³⁴ Immerwahr (1990), 62.

Table 1: Possibilities of Interpretation: Malibu S.80.AE.252

EVOI	εὐοῖ
ΕΟΣ	ἑώς, ἡώς: Day (Eos); nominative ἡοῦς: at dawn, in the morning, genitive ἕως (Ep. ἔως): until
EN	ἦν, ἦν (ἐάν), ἐν

In many of the representations of singers and their songs (the inscriptions) on containers, the letters emerge from the close vicinity of the singer's mouth in the direction the singer is facing. That is, if the singer faces left, the letters emerge retrograde; if right, they are orthograde. This vase by Epiktetos, as do all others examined in this thesis, demonstrates this convention: the letters are orthograde, and follow closely the line of the tondo border, a simple reserved band. The first four letters, which are placed between the singer's head and the left (closest) arm of the seven-stringed chelys-lyre, form EVOI = εὐοῖ, the bacchanalian shout. Not inappropriate in the context of a *symposion*, the use of this exclamation is further reinforced in the scene by the appearance of the singer; the singer has a distinctly satyr-like appearance, although he is clearly a man since he lacks satyr ears. This resemblance becomes especially clear when Epiktetos' human faces are compared with his satyr faces. This face seems a hybrid of the two kinds, with human ears but a distinctive satyr nose¹³⁵ and a full beard; many of Epiktetos' satyrs are also bald in the same way as this particular figure.¹³⁶ The existence of the *iota* may have been disputed,¹³⁷ but it is quite certainly

¹³⁵ A rounded nose, slightly upturned (what would today be called a 'snub-nose', I think) with a prominent nose ridge indentation. Epiktetos' 'human' noses have a straighter, almost flat, nose ridge and tend to be quite long from the top of the nose ridge to the tip of the nose, which, although slightly rounded, could never be called "snub". Cf. figs. 4.2-4.5.

¹³⁶ Although cf. London E37. Could this be the same man? This is, of course, typical male pattern baldness.

¹³⁷ Beazley, *Para* 329.83 *ter* does not read it; Immerwahr (1990, 62) seems to imply that he does when he states that it may be a miswritten *epoiesen* (e.g. *epoiegsen* = *epoiesen*). The second letter is definitely not a *pi*.

there, painted just under the crossbar of the lyre. Of course, I have not handled the vase, but the marking under the crossbar is certainly not a spall (cf. the small spall immediately to the left of the iota), and has the same colour as the rest of the lettering (which seems to be applied red), rather than the lighter colour of the unslipped clay. Kilmer, who has handled the vase, confirms the iota. Epiktetos may have preferred not to separate the *iota* of EVOI from the rest of the letters, in order that the word might be more recognizable. The last two letters, EN, form the last word, ἦν = 3rd person singular imperfect active, or present subjunctive, of εἰμί *sum*, or ἦν = (ἐ)ἄν, or even ἐν.

The middle word, ΕΟΣ, must be the key to the phrase, since, as I stated above, it influences the the reading of EN. If the inscription is read as it was written, a smooth breathing might be understood, that is ἠώς (or Attic ἔως = dawn), and we have a mention of the morning: “Euoi! Dawn was...” or “Euoi!! If dawn ...”. Dawn (Eos) is seen occasionally in archaic poetry; it is most frequent in the poetry of Sappho where it is of course in its Ionic form, αὔως.¹³⁸ However, it is always accompanied by the epithet ῥοδοδάκτυλος, and usually appears at the end of a line, after the appropriate epic epithet; it is thus unlikely to be Dawn in the nominative here. It may be, however, that ΕΟΣ represents the contracted form of the singular genitive ἠοῦς, which can mean “at dawn”, or “in the early morning”.¹³⁹ In this case the verse might mean: “Euoi!! If at dawn ...”¹⁴⁰ (if EN is the conditional) or “Euoi!! At dawn he/she/it was ...”. O for the suprious dipthong OV is standard in this period on vases and in other, more formal, inscriptions on stone.¹⁴¹ On the other

¹³⁸ Mimn. 12.3,10; *vid.* Ibyc. 289; Sapph. 103.13, 104(a)1, 123, 157; *Anacreont.* 55.20.

¹³⁹ See Threatte (1980), 350-51, 21.011 for O = OV.

¹⁴⁰ ἦν, if used as a conditional, would stylistically be more appropriately placed at the beginning of the conditional clause (unless preceded by an adverbial modifier like ἐώς, see below), even in verse, and would usually be followed by δέ (cf. Thgn. 35, 186, 211, 509, 929, etc...) I suspect that drunkenness might affect style (it certainly affects mine, verbal and otherwise), but drunkenness at *symposia* was not obligatory — although tipsiness might have been — and was not likely at the time of composition or rehearsal of a *skolion* or at the commissioning of a vase.

¹⁴¹ See the discussion in Threatte (1980), 238-41, 13.00-13.01.

hand, ΕΟΣ might represent ἕως = “until”, with the usual rough breathing marker *heta* omitted. Sporadic omission of H = [h] is not rare in Attic script,¹⁴² (cf. above, the tripod-pyxis of Amasis already examined, ΕΛΙΟΣ) and there are examples in the inscriptions of painters contemporary, or very near contemporary, with Epiktetos. For example, Euphronios writes (ARV² 15.6) VΦΣΕΙΤVLE and Oltos (ARV² 53.1) ΕΛΕΝΕ.¹⁴³ Concerning the omission of *heta*, Threatte writes:

The sporadic omission of H = [h] in texts in Attic scripts probably indicates that the [h] in Attic was only gently sounded; later orthographic practice does not support the view that Attic became psilotic¹⁴⁴ so early. The increase in the number of cases which avoid H = [h] after 450 and the appearance of a few texts in Attic script which avoid it altogether might be in part due to increasing familiarity with the Ionic writing system.¹⁴⁵

There are no longer inscriptions of Epiktetos with which this inscription can be compared; Epiktetos’ use of *heta* in other inscriptions, all proper names, does not necessarily exclude the possibility of the omission of *heta* here.

The possibilities of interpretation, then, are ΕΟΣ = ἡώς, ἕως “dawn” or ἡοῦς “at dawn” or ΕΟΣ = ἕως “until”; ΕΝ might be ἦν “he/she/it was” or ἦν = ἐάν “if” or ἐν “in”. The reading of ΕΟΣ = ἡοῦς is possible, and the form is seen often in epic and prose.¹⁴⁶ ΕΟΣ = ἕως is equally possible, if we assume an omitted *heta*. ΕΝ could be any one of the three possibilities outlined above (Table 1).

¹⁴² See the discussion in Threatte (1980), 493-506, 42.01ff.

¹⁴³ More examples are discussed in Immerwahr (1990), 142-43. He links this trend to the Ionic influence, which may also be seen in ἦν (an Ionic and early Attic contraction of ἐάν, cf. Smyth (1984), §2283).

¹⁴⁴ Psilosis (ψίλωσις) is properly a grammatical term for the substitution of a *tenuis* (κ,τ,λ), or in this case the non-aspirated vowel, for an aspirate.

¹⁴⁵ Threatte (1980), 494.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἡώς.

The relative paucity of long inscriptions for Epiktetos, although no painter can really be considered to have many, makes it difficult to assess the subject matter and letters in comparison with other Epiktetan inscriptions. In particular, it would be very useful to compare Epiktetos' use of *heta* in words other than proper names¹⁴⁷ with the inscription found in this tondo. Likewise, the lack of a possible parallel from the surviving literature renders a definitive interpretation impossible. However, the inscription read EVOI | EOΣ | EN “εὐοῖ · ἐὼς ἥν” seems most attractive to me, in which case it might mean “Euoi! At dawn he was ...”, since it forms the first elements of an iambic trimeter — a common metre in comedy (where εὐοῖ is also found¹⁴⁸) and also in the surviving satyr play of Sophokles¹⁴⁹ (a genre which the appearance of the singer might bring to mind).

Kleophrades, Calyx-Krater in Copenhagen National Museum inv. 13365; ARV² 185.32; Para 340; Add 187.

The fragmentary krater by the Kleophrades Painter¹⁵⁰ in the National Museum, Copenhagen (inv. 13365), which appears to picture Anakreon and his boon companions at a *symposion* and *komos*, preserves several inscriptions, one of which, it has been suggested, is a *skolion* verse-scrap (figs. 5.1-5.5). Enough of Side B remains to identify the activity of the scene, at least; side A, on which the inscription in question is painted, is somewhat better preserved.

Side B (fig. 5.1) shows a *komos*. A popular topic on vases of this period, this scene is most remarkable for its apparent portrayal of the poet Anakreon in *komos* with his boon

¹⁴⁷ *Hipparchos* is a favourite *kalos* name of Epiktetos; Epiktetos also painted for *Hisychlos* Potter.

¹⁴⁸ Ar. *Lys.* 1294; *Th.* 993; *Ec.* 1181. Cf. also West (1982), 88-90.

¹⁴⁹ Sophocles, *Ichneutae*.

¹⁵⁰ Attributed by Curtius, in whose collection the fragments had been before the move to Copenhagen, and by Beazley, ARV² 185.32.

companions. The lowest remaining fragment of the scene figures the feet and legs of four komasts walking to the right. On the far left all that remains of one of the four is the very bottom of the sole of the forward foot. Of the next figure slightly more remains: the front — to the top of the ankle — of the back foot, the front foot and its leg to the knee, and the bottom part of a *chiton*. This lower body appears to belong to the figure playing a ?five-stringed lyre, held at an angle of about 45°, ¹⁵¹ on the upper arm of which is painted ANAKPE[. . . in applied red.¹⁵² The musician holds plectrum at the ready in his right hand, while he damps the third string from the top with his thumb and forefinger.¹⁵³ Between his chest and the lyre remains one letter in applied red, A[. . . The inscription on the lyre arm must have read ANAKPEON (or perhaps ANAKPEONTOS “Anakreon’s [lyre]”¹⁵⁴?); the other inscription may possibly have read ANAKPEON also. Between the second and third komasts hangs a basket, the extreme bottom of which remains; Beazley suggests that the basket is suspended from the lyre.¹⁵⁵ Of the third komast from the left both legs to the knees remain, as well as the drapery of his *chiton*; only the end (or beginning, see my note 176) of his name remains . . .]Σ. The final figure strides quickly forward (or perhaps is skipping), his back leg lifted up and back so that it would appear that his foot (hidden behind the drapery of the third komast), does not touch the ground. Only a small portion of this third komast’s leg and a curve of the *chiton* remain. Another group of fragments — which Immerwahr notes have been joined to the palmette group at the right of the scene — preserves the right shoulder and head of this komast (fig. 5.4). He is a blond-bearded man carrying a parasol. Draped around his shoulders is a vine garland. He wears the *sakkos* and earrings which, together with the parasol, connect this scene with a series of scenes on red-figured vases portraying

¹⁵¹ This is quite normal, although in some *komos* scenes the *barbitos* is tipped even further to 60-90° from the vertical (Maas & Snyder, 1989, 122).

¹⁵² Beazley, *ARV*² 185.32.

¹⁵³ This action is explained by Maas & Snyder (1989), 122.

¹⁵⁴ Serving both as owner-inscription on the lyre, and as identification of the figure as Anakreon himself. There is sufficient room on the arm for all of the letters (see the hypothesized reconstruction, plate XII).

Anakreon and his boon companions dressed in luxurious and exotic clothes.¹⁵⁶ His head is thrown wildly back, and eyes wide he sings IOOO. “These are not letters, but a conventional rendering of the sounds of music”.¹⁵⁷ In fact, as Kilmer suggested to me, *iō* is a perfectly acceptable Bacchic exclamation¹⁵⁸ found in dramatic and lyric poetry.¹⁵⁹ It is used with other interjections, and in particular with *ō*. In Sophocles’ *OC* at l. 224 we have *iō ō ō* — which would be written IOOO in Attic script at the time of this vase. This inscription is not musical notation, but an exclamative cry, a bacchic shout.¹⁶⁰

Side A (figs. 5.2-5.3) shows a *symposion* scene, perhaps one just before or just after the *komos* on side B. For the fragments on this side also preserve the head of a symposiast wearing a *sakkos*, and the legs of another symposiast wearing a *chiton* identical to those of side B. Unfortunately, nothing but the *sakkos* remains. “Il s’ensuit de la position du *kékryphalos* que ce personnage tournait la tête vers la droite, regardant en bas.”¹⁶¹ On the wall above this symposiast, who would appear to be the focus of the scene (he seems pretty much midway between the two palmette groups) hang a food basket and a *skyphos*. To his right stands a flute-girl, facing right, head modestly covered with a fold of her *himation*, but wearing a very transparent *chiton* which leaves little to the imagination. A fragmentary retrograde inscription ...]⟨B⟩EAE,¹⁶² which

¹⁵⁵ Caskey & Beazley II (1954), 57.

¹⁵⁶ See Kurtz & Boardman (1986).

¹⁵⁷ Immerwahr (1965), 152, where he refers us to E. Pöhlmann (1960), *Griechische Musikfragmente* (Erlanger Beiträge 8), 84, nos. l and m and Graef-Langlotz, *Die ant. Vasen v.d. Akrop.* 2, no. 546, which shows a series of N’s.

¹⁵⁸ pers. comm. As a bacchic shout it is found in Eur. *Ba.* 578 “*iō Bákχai*”.

¹⁵⁹ *LSJ* s.v. *iō*, 847, col. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Another figure named ALKAIOS sings something similar on a kalathoid vase in Munich: OOOO. Perhaps then this is a series: *ō ō ō ō*; but the portrayal of Alkaios does not lead me to interpret this as a bacchic shout — he looks far too somber. Perhaps it is a cry of dismay. On the other hand, it may simply be a representation of sound.

¹⁶¹ Johansen (*CVA* Denmark 8), 259.

¹⁶² Immerwahr (1965), 153; Beazley read the inscription BEVE; but there is no name recorded by Osborne ending with these letters in Attica (vol. II) or the Islands (vol. I). Στρυβήλη (ΣΤΡΥΒΕΛΕ) is the only name possible (again according to Osborne). It is only Attic, found three times, twice in the fourth

Immerwahr places “vertically and upward to the right of the bit of design to the right of the kylix” but which Johansen claims “était placée verticalement à droite de la joueuse d’aulos”,¹⁶³ must be a name label for the female aulist. On her right a symposiast seems to have reclined next to the palmette group, the rightmost figure in the scene. All that remains are the tips of the fingers of his left hand, which support a huge Type C kylix, only half of which survives. On this half is painted AΙΠΕ, starting from the visible handle (the left), orthograde. We should accept the suggestion of M.-L. Buhl mentioned by Immerwahr that a *chi* be supplied at the beginning of the word, making it the common greeting found on cups: *χαίρε* or *χαίρετε*.¹⁶⁴ A longer inscription seems to be needed to match the enormous size of the kylix; since the break in the fragment occurs at least at the stem, the inscription, perhaps portrayed as circling the cup completely (this would explain the missing *chi*), may even have been *χαίρε καὶ πίει* or some similar greeting found on many of the Little Master cups.¹⁶⁵ What appears to be the tip of a bent elbow, perhaps bent in the posture of song¹⁶⁶ (since he seems to be accompanied by the flute-girl), probably belonging to the same figure, remains on the next joined fragment which, because of the palmette, must finish this scene on the right. A lost fragment¹⁶⁷ shows a rear view of a *kline* which is supposed to belong to this symposiast. The tops of the post-legs, a striped cushion and the folds of a himation are preserved. This symposiast

century BC (*IG II²* 12672; [D.] lix 50; 121; cf. Ath. 594a: Στραμβήλη). Another possibility, if the suggested reading of B is wrong is Εὐμέλη, a particularly appropriate “nom de guerre” to my mind for a flute-girl, which is found on Graef-Langlotz I 2742 as KALE.

¹⁶³ Immerwahr (1965), 153; Johansen (*CVA Denmark* 8), 259. The photographs do not help at all since, as Johansen writes, the inscription letters “subsistent en haut peintes en rouge fortement décoloré sur le fond noir.” (*CVA Denmark* 8, 259) Surely Johansen, who probably handled the piece himself, must be correct; Immerwahr based his observations on photographs provided by the National Museum in Copenhagen and on the older ones of the German Archeological Institute in Rome. If it is adjacent to the flute-girl, it is probably the end of her name.

¹⁶⁴ Immerwahr (1965), 154. For example, XAΙΠΕ ΣΥ is found on the tondo of London E41 (*ARV²* 58.51) attributed to Oltos (or perhaps early Euphronios, cf. Immerwahr (1990), 61, no. 337).

¹⁶⁵ Although Immerwahr (*loc. cit.*) does mention the possibility of <χ>αίρε and <χ>αίρετε, he does not seem to think that the inscription may have been longer than one word.

¹⁶⁶ The point of the elbow is not too high to portray such a posture; cf. the height of the elbow on the lyre-player to the left. But the position of the symposiast suggested by the lost fragment, if it belongs to this krater, would make this a highly unusual posture, although not impossible.

¹⁶⁷ Inst. neg. 35.2053 de l’Institut archéologique allemand de Rome. From *CVA Denmark* 8, figure p. 259.

would then have been portrayed from the rear, with his left arm outstretched holding the *kylix* and his right arm bent in the singing position, if indeed the rounded tip on the upper fragment belongs to an elbow. On the left side of the scene reclines a symposiast on his *kline*; he has drawn his legs up in a familiar position.¹⁶⁸ He wears garments similar to the komasts on side B. Holding a chelys-lyre, he must be cupping his head with his elbow, which is bent in the singing posture. He may share a *kline* with the symposiast who wears the *sakkos*.

Above this *kline* is the inscription . . .]ENIEΣ retrograde; Immerwahr remarks that “[ξ]ενίης and [π]ενίης are the most likely restorations”.¹⁶⁹ Beazley’s suggestions, “[ν]ενίης, or rather [Κλ]ενίης”,¹⁷⁰ he dismisses as unlikely. Rather, he suggests that this inscription is a snatch of song. Confining himself to the Theognidean collection, he cites a possible parallel for the reading *πενίης* in Theognis 1129ff:

Ἐμπόμοιαι πενίης θυμοφθόρου οὐ μελεδαίνων
 οὐδ’ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἳ με λέγουσι κακῶς.
 ἀλλ’ ἦβην ἐρατὴν ὀλοφύρομαι, ἥ μ’ ἐπιλείπει,
 κλαίω δ’ ἀργαλέον γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.
 I drink, not fearing spirit destroying poverty
 nor my enemies, who abuse me in speech.
 But I mourn lovely youth, which is leaving me,
 and I bewail the approaching pain of old age.

He correctly rejects several other options for both *πενίης* and *ξενίης* on the grounds that the placement of the word should be as close to the beginning of the line as possible, since, in all likelihood, the inscription is intended as the title of a song.¹⁷¹ This is a probable conclusion, and

¹⁶⁸ See below p. 60, nn. 185-86.

¹⁶⁹ Immerwahr (1965), 153.

¹⁷⁰ *ARV*² 185.32.

¹⁷¹ See Immerwahr (1965), 153.

one which is borne out by the other examples of *skolia* verse-scrap discussed in this thesis. I do not believe, however, that this inscription is a verse-scrap.

As Immerwahr suggested, the verse-scrap inscriptions seem to be intended to bring a poem to mind by quoting the first words, that is, the title of the poem.¹⁷² The other attributable verse-scrap do in fact record the first words (whether a variant reading or not) of a particular poem from the very first word. This example, however, does not if Immerwahr's suggested attribution be accepted; it records the second word of the line only. This single word alone could not have been enough of a clue to the viewer as to the particular song intended, since, as Immerwahr has pointed out already,¹⁷³ *πενίης* occurs 3 times at least in Theognis alone,¹⁷⁴ without mention of other poets. Immerwahr notes that "the number of letters missing at the beginning is uncertain, since the spacing was no doubt irregular, with the beginning written more closely",¹⁷⁵ even so, there would not be enough space for more than a few letters, unless they were placed very closely. But the placement of the existing letters does not support this possibility: they are quite widely spaced, if somewhat irregularly. The inscription must have started somewhere within the missing fragment between the E to the left and the skyphos to the right; the skyphos, the food basket and the large kylix occupy the rest of the scene at the level of the inscription, making it unlikely that an inscription could have continued there at one time, and has now faded or been rubbed off. In addition, for all of the verse-scrap *skolia* preserved on containers an effort had been made on the part of the painter to attach the letters visually to a singer such that the letters seem to be issuing from or about his mouth. This is probably not the case here, since — judging the posture of the

¹⁷² A long tradition in antiquity.

¹⁷³ Immerwahr (1965), 153.

¹⁷⁴ Immerwahr's suggestion (1965, 153-54) that the attribution thematically matches the scene should be pointed out. But as we have seen most of the Theognidean collection was probably intended to be sung at *symposia*.

¹⁷⁵ Immerwahr (1965), 153.

singer to be “standard” because of the position of the bent elbow — the position of the mouth would likely have been close on the crook of the elbow, and would therefore require the inscription to take a sharp right angle turn downwards; this restricts further the space available for letters.

The other inscriptions on the black ground are similarly painted in red and, with the exception of the musical imitation/notation sung by the parasol carrier on side B, seem to be remnants of names (the A of Anakreon; the Σ which seems to be labeling the third komast; the . . .] BEAE which seems to be labeling the flute-girl); all of these are probably vertical upwards inscriptions¹⁷⁶ — on the analogy of BEAE and the A of what must be ANAKPEON — labeling standing figures. The . . .]ENIEΣ, rather than part of a *skolion*, is more likely a label for the seated singing symposiast, perhaps even [KL]ENIEΣ as Beazley originally suggested, which needed to be written on a horizontal plane, since, its subject raised from the ground and crowded onto a *kline* with another symposiast, it would not fit into the scene vertically.

If the inscription is reconstructed KL]ENIEΣ, it is the Ionicized form of the Attic name Κλενίας written in Attic letters. The last vowel, E for *eta*, is very common on Attic vases of this time, and poses no problem. E is also used at this time to represent the spurious diphthong EI.¹⁷⁷ Thus we have an Ionic name-label, spelled in Attic letters. At least two other Ionicized options are possible: Μηνίης (MENIEΣ), and Ξενίης (+ΣENIEΣ).¹⁷⁸ Of these two Ξενίης “foreigner”,

¹⁷⁶ Of course a single *sigma* — which can be orthograde or retrograde — could be the start of a name or the last letter of the extremely common ...ΟΣ nominative masculine ending, making that inscription a vertical downward.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Threatch (1980), 299-301, 16.01.

¹⁷⁸ Ξενίης (or rather +ΣENIEΣ) is found in Athens in the third century BC (*ib* *II*² 6842), and Ξενιάδης c. 405-400 BC (of the Cholleidai *IG* *II*² 4548); Ξενίος is found twice in Athens in the fifth century BC (*ib* *I*³ 1040,5; of the tribe Erechtheis in 459 BC *IG* *I*³ 1147,72 X(σ)ένιος) and once in *PCG* 4, 298, fr. 361. Μηνίης (MENIEΣ) is found in Athens in the fourth century BC (*IG* *II*² 1952 and *SEG* XV 129,51). See Osborne & Byrne (1994), s.v.

although it is a late name (4th and 3rd B.C., but see n. 172, +ΣΕΝΙΟΣ) in inscriptions, fits the context of the scene best. This interpretation of the inscription]ΕΝΙΕΣ satisfies the observations already made concerning the verse-scrap *skolia* examined, namely that they all begin a verse from the first word, probably as a title. It also is consistent, as far as we can determine because of the fragmentary nature of the calyx-krater, with the other inscriptions on the container itself which all seem to be name labels. Furthermore it suits the context of the scenes on the vase. Anakreon was Ionic himself, and his style of dress decidedly eastern; by labeling the reclining symposiast “foreigner” with the Ionic version of his name, if he was Attic, in Attic script, the artist reinforces the non-Attic nature of Anakreon and his circle.

Onesimos, Kylix in Munich, Antikensammlungen 2636; ARV² 317.16; Add 106.

A cup by Onesimos in Munich preserves another verse-scrap *skolion* (fig. 6). A youthful symposiast, reclining but with legs tucked in¹⁷⁹ on a patterned bolster sings K[ΑΛΟ]ΣΕΙ. He and his *aulos*-playing companion are seated on the lower border of the scene on Side B. Between them, and to each side, hang baskets, each with five tassels. The singing youth draped carelessly with his himation is holding a laurel twig between the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, in much the same way as the symposiast on Florence 3949 (that is, with the tip pointed back and the branch nearly horizontal, see fig. 8.1). His left hand is half-raised, as if to provide emphasis, or perhaps balance; it is not resting on his left leg. He gazes straight ahead, his head more or less level (not tilted back). His companion, the musician, is covered somewhat more discreetly by his own himation, and is playing a *diaulos* with apparent gusto.¹⁸⁰ Both are garlanded with laurel.

¹⁷⁹ Jacobsthal discusses this pose in detail (1912, 44-51).

¹⁸⁰ The angle of the pair of *auloi* is quite wide. Similarly on British Museum, GR 1895.5.13.1 by the Foundry Painter (fig. 10.1).

Although the inscription K[ALOS]EI, καλὸς εἶ “you are¹⁸¹ beautiful” is quite common on vases of this period, and frequently seems to be a comment on a figure in the scene (in the same manner as some *kalos*-names), this fragment is clearly intended to be understood as song or, perhaps, recitation. It emerges from the youth’s mouth retrograde, apparently following the line of his upper arm to the up-turned forearm, and then continuing along the same trajectory on the other side. The presence of the myrtle twig may indicate that this is an example of the “capping” *skolion*, but it is impossible to demonstrate such a claim conclusively. In any case, the existence of “capping” before Aristophanes cannot be proved with any degree of certainty, and it may be that the myrtle twig was also used in other circumstances (see discussion above).

Brygos Painter, Frr. in Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 546; ARV² 247,23; Para 365; Add 225.

Three fragments of a *symposion* scene by the Brygos painter preserve another *skolion*, which brings to mind the *skolion* inscription of the fragmentary calyx-krater by Euphronios. Beazley places these three fragments (β) with three others (α), also in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, under “Cup 1” (probably a type B¹⁸²) in his article “Brygan Symposia” in the *Festschrift* for D.M. Robinson.¹⁸³

Group α shows two revellers, reclining on separate *klinai*.¹⁸⁴ The leftmost, a youth, has turned back to look at his neighbour, hands lifted in front of his chest; his mouth is open, as if in speech. He reclines, or perhaps is semi-seated,¹⁸⁵ on a striped and ribbed bolster. His neighbour to

¹⁸¹ Epic and Ionic 2 sg. εἶμι *sum*, *LSJ* s.v. εἶμι.

¹⁸² Beazley (1953), 76.

¹⁸³ Beazley (1953), 74.

¹⁸⁴ A *kline* post separates the two symposiasts.

¹⁸⁵ He seems to rest his left arm on what may be his knee (a small rounded line close to the edge of the fragment). If that were so, it might explain the almost frontal aspect of his upper body. Similar semi-seated positions are found on other vases. cf. Jacobsthal (1912), 49-52.

our right is holding out a large Type C cup in his left hand. He also seems to be semi-seated, or at least reclining with his legs tucked up under him.¹⁸⁶ On the wall between them hangs a sheathed sword, with a baldric drawn in applied red.

Group β (fig. 7.1), on which is preserved the *skolion* fragment, also shows two symposiasts. Only the left shoulder and part of the neck of the leftmost symposiast has survived; this symposiast (a youth?) also leans on a striped and ribbed bolster, but one which has a slightly different piping decoration. On the wall between him and the singer hangs a shield with a raven device, from which also hangs a pair of greaves. The upper torso, right arm and head are all that remain of this particular symposiast, just enough to recognize the usual singing position. His arm seems to be wrapped completely around his head, and his fingers cradle his head from behind. From his open lips come the letters: ΟΠΙΟΛΟΝ,¹⁸⁷ ὦππολον “O Apollo”. Unlike some other inscriptions (BM 95.10-27.2, Munich 2646), the letters are painted continuous over the arm itself, rather than being split by the crook of the elbow. The crasis of ὦ and an initial α is not an unusual one.¹⁸⁸ Unlike the innovative geminate lambda of the first example from Euphronios, there is a single lambda here; the single lambda is an acceptable late archaic convention.¹⁸⁹ It may be that these fragments record the same *skolion* (a hymn in praise of Apollo); it may, however, be equally the case that this is another *skolion* entirely.

¹⁸⁶ The end of his bent knee nearly touches the post of the next *kline*. This is another common position, cf. Jacobsthal (1912) *loc.cit.* For types of *klinai* in vase-painting see Boardman in Murray (1990), 122-131. Usually there was a post at one end of the *kline* which was higher than the other. The symposiast would recline on this higher post, often with a bolster for comfort. London E68 (my figs. 8.2-8.3) portrays this type of *kline* clearly.

¹⁸⁷ Not ΟΠΙΟΛΟΝ (with an omega) as reported in Csapo & Miller (1991), 381, n. 7.

¹⁸⁸ For examples cf. Beazley (1953), 75, n. 6. The crasis ὦπαλλον is seen once, but in a variant reading ($\mathcal{M}$ in A. A. 1073 “ὦπαλλον, ὦπαλλον”). Some of the earliest examples of crasis with ὦ are found in Anacr. 2.1 (ὦναξ) and Alc. fr. 72 Lobel (ὦναξ).

¹⁸⁹ But see KALLISTO on London E68 (fig. 7.2).

Brygos Painter, Kylix in Florence, Museo archeologico Nazionale 3949; *ARV*² 376.90.

Another red-figured cup (fig. 8.1), attributed to the Brygos Painter by Hartwig¹⁹⁰, datable to the early fifth century, preserves the inscription ΠΙΛΕΚΑΙ, *φιλε και* "love and...". A youthful garlanded symposiast reclines on a *kline*, leaning on his left elbow on a striped and ribbed bolster; his elbow is wrapped in a fold of his dotted himation. In his left hand he holds a black *skyphos*, while in his outstretched right hand he holds, between thumb and forefinger, a twig of myrtle. The branch is tilted back towards the singer, and extends slightly into the meander border.¹⁹¹ Between the singer's hand and his head, which is tilted back, runs the inscription framed on the bottom by his arm, and on the top by the twig. Beneath the *kline* sits a pair of boots, while a walking stick leans against the border; on the wall hangs a food basket.

The Brygos painter commonly uses *pi* to represent what would normally, in Attic Greek, be a *phi*. Cambitoglou makes much of this particular use of the *pi* on another cup by Brygos (London E68, figs. 8.2-8.3) in an effort to determine the origin of the Brygos Painter, supposing that this spelling is a phonetic clue¹⁹²:

The spelling of our artist's name and the use of PI instead of PHI in the names inscribed on the London cup point toward a non Greek origin of Brygos and suggest to me that the potter and painter were one and the same person, an émigré living in Athens rather than an Athenian by birth.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Hartwig (1893), 320.

¹⁹¹ The meander pattern appears to have been started at a point very close to where the *kline* touches the border on the right: the pattern at that point had to be completed with an irregular addition.

¹⁹² He follows a suggestion made by Kretschmer (81, para. 48) that this lack of aspiration is reminiscent of the Scythian archer in Ar. *Th*. This archer, however, consistently mispronounces aspirates.

¹⁹³ Cambitoglou (1968), 11.

Cambitoglou counters a suggestion made to him by Immerwahr¹⁹⁴ that the Painter has used the un-aspirated form on London E68 in order to suggest the drunkenness of the symposiast, by correctly pointing out that the inscription in question (ΠΙΛΠΙΟΣ) is in all likelihood a label, and not speech. But in answer to Immerwahr's further observation that other aspirates are used correctly by the Brygos Painter (for example ΗΥΠΙΕΡ . Σ, ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑ+Ε, ΑΣΤΡΑΝΑ+Σ, and particularly the satyr ΛΕΦΣΙΕ on the exterior of London E65), Cambitoglou rashly comments: "Is not such inconsistency of pronunciation and spelling however characteristic of a foreigner?"¹⁹⁵ In fact, the Brygos Painter seems to consistently represent initial and intervocalic *phi* with the letter *pi*.¹⁹⁶ This peculiarity of spelling might be understood as a type of foreign accent on the part of the painter, but only under the very specific circumstances of a name-label or words attached by one particular painter to one particular figure.

The meaning of the inscription itself is clear, however: "Love and ...". This is clearly an exhortatory *skolion* of the sort observed by Giangrande (his A); similar commands are "spoken"¹⁹⁷ by many Little Master cups. Another "command" inscription is found on a cup by Oltos in Madrid (Madrid 11267), ΠΙΝΕΚΑΙΣΥ, "you drink too" which is spoken by a woman to her *aulos*-playing companion, also a woman.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Cambitoglou (1968), 11, n. 37.

¹⁹⁵ Cambitoglou (1968), 11.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. the labels (not love-names; Cambitoglou (1968), 11) ΠΙΛΟΝ, ΔΙΠΙΛΟΣ, ΝΙΚΟΠΙΛΕ on the exterior of London E68 (figs. 8.2-8.3).

¹⁹⁷ That is, *dipinto* on the rim or foot of the cup in the form of a command, usually of the sort *χαίρε και πίε*, "Hi! Have a snort!" (loosely translated).

¹⁹⁸ Although tempted, I cannot include Madrid 11267 among the *skolia*, despite the presence of a musician, since the position of the speaker is not at all that of a singer, and since the inscription makes much more sense as a spoken phrase (the speaker extends a cup to her mate with her left hand — her right holds her own cup).

The presence of the laurel branch, based on the conclusions reached from our literary sources, might indicate that this is an example of “capping”; the singer in this scene may soon pass the twig on to a fellow symposiast. There is, however, little evidence to prove this suggestion in the scene (likewise above, the cup by Onesimos) since no other symposiasts are figured, although that does not exclude their “presence” in the mind of the painter and of his “reader”. It may be that the singer holds the myrtle twig, as suggested by Dickey in reference to the Scholium on *Wasps* 1239, for self-assurance. I have asserted that this symposiast is a singer because of the position of his head: it is in the already familiar pose seen on other vases. The right arm cannot cradle the head, since it is occupied with the laurel branch. It is possible that this symposiast is chanting (see the scholium on *Clouds* 1364, above pp. 19-21) a form of performance called *parakataloge*. The singing pose elevates this performance from simple reciting to chanting. The metre (υ υ – , perhaps part of an iambic tetrameter or trimeter) supports this suggestion, since, as West states, *parakataloge* is associated with Ionian iambus through its supposed inventor, Archilochos.¹⁹⁹

Foundry Painter, Kylix in London, British Museum GR 1895.5-13.1; ARV² 405.2; Para 370 and 371; Add 232.

A cup by the Foundry Painter (figs. 10.1-10.3) in the British Museum preserves inscriptions which could allow for a wider interpretation of the common *kalos* inscriptions on certain containers. This kylix portrays the preparation for a *komos* on the exterior, and what may well be a rehearsal for this scene in the tondo.

The tondo scene (fig. 10.1) comprises two figures, a man, seated, and a youth, standing. The V-shape composition of the tondo is common to the Brygos Painter and his Circle. The

¹⁹⁹ West (1992), 40.

bearded man sits in a very relaxed posture — left knee drawn up, clasped by his hands — and leans slightly backwards, his head tilted and mouth open. Between his left leg and his right arm leans his smooth walking stick. A himation is draped carelessly over his lap; his hair is bound in a red fillet. The youth leans on his knobbed walking stick. Himationed also, he too wears a red fillet. He wears boots. The youth is playing the *diaulos* with apparent gusto, head back slightly, *auloi* spread wide. His cheeks, unrestricted by *phorbeia*, are puffed out. Between them on the wall hangs a food basket, perhaps a sign that they are preparing to head out to dinner. Just above the level of the man's mouth is the inscription HO ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, which may be an iambic metron. Dyfri Williams has already noted that “he may be supposed to be singing”.²⁰⁰ This scene may well preserve the practice session for a *skolion* (for this is likely not a symposion scene itself since the man is seated on a stool rather than reclining) which reaches full expression on the exterior.

Side A (fig. 10.2) portrays the beginning of a *komos*. A himationed reveller (largely missing) is stepping through an open doorway led by a naked figure crouching, and leaning on a stick.²⁰¹ Kilmer has identified this figure as a female and describes the activity of the fragmentary scene:

In the London cup we have the female figure substantially complete: she bends to our right, knees bent, right foot a little forward of left, with part of her weight resting on a long staff. Note the woman's hand on her right knee to help her keep balance. Her partner comes up from behind, his cloak open, probably held back with both arms. We see his right knee, shin and foot, and his advanced left leg: of the foot, only the tips of the toes remain. The male's genitals would be too

²⁰⁰ Williams *CVA Great Britain* 17, (1993), 64.

²⁰¹ Kilmer (1993), 37 parallels the use of the staff in this erotic scene to another erotic scene in a tondo by the Boot Painter (his R814; my fig. 10.4) where a staff is also used, apparently for balance.

high, and too far back, for actual copulation; but it is evidently about to happen.²⁰²

Kilmer compares the door in this scene with one in his R954 (London F65; my fig. 10.5) stating, "it is worth recalling the doorway in R954* as a common element if not a strict parallel."²⁰³ Inside the house, a flute case and food basket hang on the wall. A youth, to the left, leans on his knobbed walking stick as he plays his *diaulos*; a ?man/youth, largely missing, leans on his knobbed walking stick in the doorway. Along the rim of the kylix, starting from between the youth's *auloi*, is the inscription HOII(AIΣ ?KALOS. The "trajectory" of this inscription is impossible to determine since a large part of it is missing. But it does not appear from the remaining letters that these words were connected to a singer (*i.e.* the man in the doorway).

Four figures occupy the space on side B (fig. 10.3); the two stationary figures, a youth wreathed in ivy leaning on his walking stick, modestly covered in his himation, and a *diaulos* playing man wreathed in laurel. A small portion of a food basket may be seen on the right; the food basket shows us that the figures are still indoors. A naked woman wielding *krotala* dances next to another man. He, with himation draped over his head, dances also, leaning backwards, right leg bent and left leg slightly lifted from the ground. He too is wreathed in laurel. In his left hand he balances a large skyphos; his right hand holds a smooth walking stick. He bears a remarkable resemblance to the seated figure in the tondo.²⁰⁴ From his mouth also come the words

²⁰² Kilmer (1993), 37.

²⁰³ Kilmer (1993), 37. He also directs us to discussions of the symbolism of doors in Keuls (1985), but cautions against the too large scope of Keuls' identifications.

²⁰⁴ In fact, all three scenes may be a progression in time from the tondo, to side B, to side A, and we might assume identity. The man and youth in the tondo are practicing for the upcoming *symposion*. Side B shows dancing and singing before the *komos* and side A the beginning of the *komos*. The possibility of a chronological progression of events on sides B and A is heightened when we examine the figures. Four on both sides, they also appear to be the same people. The men on side B are missing on side A, except for their feet. The youth, garlanded in ivy on both sides, stands in the same position on both sides (between the *aulos* case and the food basket). The dancer has acquired a walking stick and now leads the

HO ΠΑΙΣ | KAL[OΣ, orthograde, broken by both an *aulos* case hanging on the wall and the rightmost figure's head. This scene seems to portray the performance of the *skolion* seen in the tondo, especially if we assume identity between the figures (see n. 204).

We have on the tondo, then, and on side B, an example of a *skolion* verse-scrap ὁ παῖς καλός. Along with KALOΣEI on the cup by Onesimos in Munich and two others²⁰⁵, this cup represents an inscription common on containers of this period in an unusual way; the praise of a youth is accentuated by song.

Douris, Kylix in Munich, Antikensammlungen 2646; ARV² 437.128, 1653; Para 375; Add 239.

In the tondo of a kylix by Douris dating to c. 470/60 B.C.²⁰⁶ (fig. 11) a bearded symposiast, in the near-canonical singing pose, wearing a himation and a turban-like head-wrap, gazes towards the ceiling as he sings out a snatch of song. He reclines on a *kline*, supported by his left arm, his chest frontal, while his head, in profile, is tilted slightly back so that his beard is nearly horizontal. Part of his himation appears to be folded up and in use as additional support between his back and the striped and tasseled bolster. The singer also holds a stemless kylix (Type C) in his left hand. A young man accompanies the singer on the *diaulos*, without *phorbeia*, cheeks puffed and rounded. Unshod, he also wears a himation, with the end draped up and over his left shoulder as if in a formal stance. Between the singer's *kline* and the aulist stands a table, beneath which is a pair of boots. A knobbed walking stick leans against the side of the stopt meander border, and a spotted *diaulos* case, complete with mouthpiece holder, hangs behind the stick from a

way on side A. As well as a temporal progression, there may well be a spatial progression, shown by the *aulos* case and the food basket: the scene has shifted towards the door.

²⁰⁵ Phintias, kylix fr., Athens Akropolis Museum 837, ARV² 25.3 ΟΠΑΙΚΑΛΕ. Epiktetos, kylix, London British Museum E37, ARV² 72.17 ΗΠΠΙΑΡ[+]Ο KAL.

²⁰⁶ Hamdorf (1975), 56.

peg in the wall. The scene itself seems well-planned, with a ground line cutting a sectant across the bottom interior portion of the border. Despite the careful planning of the scene, the painter has lengthened the singer's legs quite out of proportion with the rest of his body (equestrian sports would not be an option for this man); in a certain sense, however, this lengthening does complete the scene on the horizontal plane, by leaving no empty space on the *kline*.

The inscription is retrograde, emerging from the reclining singer's mouth in a slight curve over the extended *auloi*: ΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΟΙ “οὐ δύναμι’ οὐ”. The first two letters are separated from the rest by their placement between mouth and bent elbow; this treatment of the negative οὐ is also seen on the “Douris copy” kylix in the British Museum (see below). The meaning of the inscription is not hard to decipher: “No, I cannot”; the repeated negative provides emphasis. The metre is probably dactylic hexameter, and this snatch of verse may be part of an elegiac couplet. The presence of the aulist reinforces this suggestion, since most modern scholars, with the exception of D. A. Campbell, agree that the *aulos* was used to accompany elegiac verse. This inscription has been paralleled by Schulze to Theognis 695.²⁰⁷

Οὐ δύναμαι σοι, θυμέ, παρασχέιν ἄρμενα πάντα·
τέτλαθι· τῶν δὲ καλῶν οὐ τι σὺ μούνος ἐραῖς.

I cannot provide for you, my heart, every suitable thing.

Courage! You are not alone in loving gorgeous things.

Hartwig, however, paired this inscription, more appropriately I think, with Theognis 939:²⁰⁸

Οὐ δύναμαι φωνῇ· λίγ’ αἰδέμεν ὥσπερ ἀηδών·
καὶ γὰρ τὴν προτέρην νύκτ’ ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔβην.

I cannot sing with clear voice like a nightingale,

for last night I went on *komos*.

²⁰⁷ W. Schulze, review of P. Kretschmer (1896), *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht in Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 237. Citation *apud* Csapo & Miller (1991), 382.

²⁰⁸ Hartwig (1893), 258.

This attribution is more appropriate, although both couplets are equally likely material for sympotic poetry, since the elements of the scene may add significantly to the apparent subject of the couplet: the boots and the walking stick (and also the *diaulos*), while common additions to scenes of *symposia*, are frequently found in *komos* scenes also; they recall the *komos* past and anticipate the one to come. Douris may have included them in order to enhance the theme of the verse. They are certainly indications that this symposiast is a guest, and will be walking home. The verse-scrap records the first words of a poem.

“Douris copy”, Kylix in London, British Museum 95.10-27.2.

A red-figured stemless cup provides another verse-scrap, inscribed after firing, which has been paralleled to a *skolion* fragment of Praxilla.²⁰⁹ The cup (London, British Museum 95.1-27.12), which was first registered in the British Museum, London in October of 1895 and labeled “an ancient imitation, in style and subject, of the work of Duris”²¹⁰ and its inscriptions in particular have been most recently discussed by Csapo and Miller. The cup has, however, been a subject of debate for some time. The modern consensus concerning its place of manufacture seems to point to Attica.²¹¹ The cup itself has been stylistically dated to ca. 470-60 B.C.²¹²

The symposion provides the thematic material for the cup’s scenes. The tondo (fig. 12.1), a close-up scene, portrays two bearded male symposiasts wearing himations — the singer’s himation is worn over the left shoulder — who are sharing a *kline*. The *kline* itself is covered with

²⁰⁹ Cf. *PMG* 754 (Praxilla 8); Jacobsthal (1912), 62-3 following Wilamowitz; Hartwig (1893), 255; Herzog (1912), 18-19.

²¹⁰ British Museum Registry for October 27, 1895 *apud* Csapo & Miller (1991), 368.

²¹¹ Csapo & Miller (1991), 369.

²¹² Jacobsthal in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1933:10; Lullies *AM* 65:7; Weber “Ein Gastmahl in Theben?” *Gymnasium* 91:485; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, II, p. 714.

a decorated cloth, which brings to mind the coverlet which lies on the marriage bed in Catullus LXIV, 50-51:

haec uestis priscis hominum uariata figuris
heroum mira uirtutes indicat arte.²¹³
This coverlet, decorated with the olden shapes of men,
with wondrous art told of the glorious deeds of heroes.

One man is singing, while the other accompanies him on the *diaulos*.²¹⁴ At first glance, the singer adopts what appears to be the classic pose: right arm draped around head (or supporting head) while leaning on the left, chin raised with the mouth open to sing. This singer, however, has raised his arm, not to support the head, but to drape it across his forehead. I can see no other reason for this motion except for dramatic effect, if this was the exact pose on the unknown original.²¹⁵ He holds an unidentifiable object (possibly a footless container, or more likely *krotala*). The position of the aulist seems to convey an image of reclining also; he does not seem to be supported by anything, however, and playing the *diaulos* in mid-sit-up would be a feat unparalleled in my experience.²¹⁶ The tondo scene is framed by a reserved band.

²¹³ Catullus 64.50-51.

²¹⁴ Although only one pipe can be seen, the existence of the other is evident from the fact that the aulist's other arm (the right) is raised, i.e. to play the second pipe. Also they are always played as a pair.

²¹⁵ Of course, there is no way to be certain whether or not the copy is exact, but it would be hard to find a good reason why the copyist would change the pose in this way (unless the original were damaged in that specific area so that the placement of the arm in front of or behind the head should have been uncertain). All of the scenes I have seen with singers in a similar pose show the arm behind the head, and I find it hard to imagine that the copyist had seen no other examples of a singer in this position. I suggest, then, that the position of the arm in this way is intentional (either on the part of the copyist or "Douris") and may be considered a dramatic detail. In a modern context, this gesture might indicate weariness or emotion (i.e. a "swoon"); in an archaic, probably Attic, context, however, the meaning of the gesture cannot be determined.

²¹⁶ I did try this position with the modern recorder (which is considerably easier to play than the *diaulos*, a double reeded instrument which generates a great deal of back pressure) and found that my ability to breathe in was severely hindered due to the flex of the abdominal muscles, because the ability of the diaphragm to expand was restricted. Even if one could draw enough breath before tightening the abdominal muscles, there would be no way to draw more breath without relaxing again. He does not appear to be leaning on his fellow-symposiast's knees, which extend behind his back.

Side A (fig. 12.2) is another *symposion*-scene, with three symposiasts each reclining on his own *kline*. Under or rather in front of each *kline* stands a table. From right to left, a shield, a turtle shell *barbitos*, a crossed-sticks(?) and a food basket hang on the wall. The symposiast on the right is preparing to throw a *kottabos*-toss. The middle symposiast, wearing a peaked Scythian cap, swivels back to the *kottabos*-thrower and extends his right arm toward him. The last symposiast on Side A is drinking from a kylix, face frontal. All wear himations.

On Side B (fig. 12.3) three more symposiasts recline singly on *klinai*; each wears a himation.²¹⁷ On the far right stands a large amphora, decorated with a figured scene; hanging above it is an *oinochoe*. We see the bearded symposiast on the right from behind,²¹⁸ as he turns slightly to face the middle symposiast. He extends a mug towards the latter as he engages in conversation (see below). The middle symposiast, also bearded, has turned back to face the speaker, and appears to be resting his right hand on his own left shoulder,²¹⁹ as the two look directly at each other. In front of his *kline* stands a small table upon which rests a kylix. The third symposiast, an unbearded youth, reclines while tuning his *barbitos*. On the wall, above him and to the left, hangs a shield. A young, long-haired, naked attendant approaches from the far left with a ladle in his hand. Around both sides runs a thin reserved band on top, and a thick band on bottom, upon which rest the *klinai*.

²¹⁷ The two rightmost symposiasts wear their himations over the left shoulder, while the leftmost symposiast does not.

²¹⁸ As Csapo & Miller point out (1991, 369, n. 13), and also Jacobsthal (1912, 57-58), this is a pose with which Douris experimented. Cf. Jacobsthal's Abb. 78 (1912, 57), London E49 and Abb. 79, (1912, 58) from Florence. As he points out (1912, 61) the man on the cup from Florence also wears a "skythische Mütze", as do other symposiasts on Attic vases. This type of headress is named the *kidaris* (cf. Miller, 1991).

²¹⁹ Csapo & Miller note (1991, 372, n. 29) that, according to T.J. McNiven, such gestures are rare in Attic vase painting, and many of the examples are in conversation scenes.

Post-firing inscriptions are found in the tondo and on both sides; the tondo inscription is of the most interest — it has been attributed to a fragment of Praxilla (*PMG* 754), but sides A and B need to be discussed also. First, however, the archaic nature and the authenticity of the inscriptions need to be addressed, since their value as evidence for a *skolion* fragment of the period might be seriously undermined if they were a late addition. However, Jacobsthal supports, albeit indirectly, the possibility that the *skolion* fragment might still be valuable as evidence of an archaic poem (*id est* Praxilla's or near her): "Die Paroinia der Praxilla waren auch 422 noch en vogue: ... das im Symposion der Wespen gesungen wird, ἐν τοῖς Πραξιλλῆς φέρεται παροινίοις (schol. vesp. 1239). Freilich ob nun unser Paroinion, das Hephaistion als praxilleischen Mustervers bringt, wirklich von Praxilla stammt, ist sehr fraglich. Denn die Authentizität dieses Buches ward schon von der alexandrinischen Grammatik mit Recht bezweifelt."²²⁰ Although the inscription may have been added at some point later than the archaic period,²²¹ the text may very well have been an archaic *skolion*; this inscription on a kylix in archaic style dated to about 470-60 B.C. may still offer as much information as a "completely archaic" container.

Side A, as I have already mentioned, has a symposiast about to complete a *kottabos*-throw. As on several other vases,²²² the thrower pronounces a toast to his lover, or desired lover, just before completing the toss. The inscription on this cup runs retrograde away from the thrower's

²²⁰ Jacobsthal (1912), 63. But, assuming the antiquity of the inscriptions as shown by Csapo & Miller (1991), this vase does demonstrate at least the possibility that Praxilla was the author.

²²¹ M. Kilmer mentioned (pers. comm.) that antiquarian detail is not common on the containers, although it can be seen on sculpture. That is, it is not likely that a Hellenistic owner added these inscriptions to make it look "more archaic". The provenience is unknown; if known, it might clear up this problem if the context was early.

²²² A psykter by Euphronios, Leningrad 644 (St. 1670), ca. 520 B.C.; a hydria by Phintias, Munich 2421, ca. 520; a cup (Proto-Panaetian Group), Munich 2636, ca. 500 B.C.; a stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter, Louvre G 114, ca. 480 B.C. Interestingly, the first three are in scenes of women at *symposia*, while the last is of Dionysos, Herakles and a satyr. This vase is the only one listed by Csapo & Miller (1991, 373) which records a love-toast from a man, although there many scenes of men throwing the *kottabos* on other vases. The practice is well known among men in literary sources (see Jahn, 1867).

mouth, and then orthograde back again (that is in between the two men) TOI || <L>AXETI, “*τοὶ Λαχέτι*”. The *τοὶ* is immediately recognizable, and is similar to other toasts found on Attic red-figured containers,²²³ but the second word is not. Csapo & Miller suggest that the word continues the thought started by the speaker of TOI, despite the distance and reversed direction of the letters (i.e. boustrophedon as on side B). They propose a solution to the problem,²²⁴ suggesting that another letter was inscribed before the alpha:

A recent cleaning of the cup ... has removed modern over-painting of the damaged surface extending below the hat wearer's eye from the hat's lapet to his upraised right hand. This 19th-century restoration, visible on all the published photographs ..., concealed the possibility of a lacuna in the text, for if the inscriber began his text in the usual fashion by placing the initial letter as close as possible to the speaker's mouth, the break destroyed every trace of it. As in the tondo, there is ample space for an incised letter between the face and arm of the speaker. One should not hesitate to supply a lambda, the only letter which can offer a satisfactory reading of the inscription: [Λ]AXETI, dative of the Athenian masculine name Laches and a kalos-name which appears six times on vessels by and in the Manner of the Antiphon Painter (ca. 500-480 B.C.)²²⁵

²²³ Leningrad 644: TINTANΔΕΛΑΤΑΣΣΩ || ΛΕΑΓΡΕ (retrograde) “I am throwing this *latax* (wine lees) for you, Leagros” (TIN is possible abbreviation for *τινι* pronominal; M. Kilmer, pers. comm.); Munich 2421: ΣΟΙΤΕΝΔΙ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΔΕΙ (orthograde) “[I throw] this [*latax*] for you, Euthymides”; Munich 2636: ΤΟΙΤΕΝ<ΔΕ?> (see following example); Louvre G 114: ΤΟΙΤΕΝΔΕ (retrograde) “[I throw] this [*latax*] for you”. Csapo & Miller discuss several possibilities concerning the syntax of TOI (1991, 378-79), but I am chiefly concerned here with the tondo inscription.

²²⁴ The “problem” was that the word does not seem to be Attic, nor even Greek, as it stood then — AXETI. It was variously understood as an un-Greek word by Jacobsthal (1912), 61-62: “Ebenso, glaube ich, wird man auf unserer Schale die Inschrift AXETI als echtes oder fingiertes barbarisch hinnehmen und nicht den Versuchen machen, ihr durch Konjektur einen griechischen Sinn aufzuzwingen.”; a Doric variation for the Attic-Ionic word *ἡχέτης* by Wilamowitz (1913), 121: “Aber *ἡχέτι*, was der nächste sagt oder singt, wird der Anfang eines Liedes an eine Cicade sein, die *ἡχέτι* sehr gut nach dem *ἡχέτα τέτιξ* genannt werden konnte.” Wilamowitz does not suggest a reason why one would sing a song to a cicada.

²²⁵ Csapo & Miller (1991), 376.

In this way, the man in the hat is responding to the thrower's toast, perhaps specifying the actual name of the desired one.²²⁶

The inscription on side B seems to be a conversation between the two symposiasts ΦΑΣΙΝ || ΑΛΕΘΕΤΑΥΤΑ “*φασὶν ἀληθὴ ταῦτα*”. It also is boustrophedon, which, as Csapo & Miller point out, is very rare in this period, having fallen out of use near the end of the sixth century,²²⁷ although there are examples in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. in which orthograde and retrograde forms appear on the same scene, most commonly to clarify attribution of a name to a figure or speech to a speaker; this is the case here. The inscription has been variously understood as the beginning of a song-fragment (*skolion*)²²⁸ or as part of a conversation.²²⁹ It is, of course, very tempting to regard this inscription as another example of the *skolion* on an Attic (to all intents and purposes) container. The evidence, however, points the other way. First, the poses of the symposiasts connected with the inscription do not match the standard position of singers (such as the singer in the tondo scene); this fact by itself, however, would not discount the possibility, since variations are evident on other containers. Second, the symposiast(s) who speak(s) it does(do) not seem as much connected with the lyre player visually as to each other. Furthermore the rightmost

²²⁶ Csapo & Miller offer the example of the satyr on the Louvre G 114 as a parallel. The satyr is clarifying Dionysos' toast. If Dionysos is toasting Herakles, the name might be meant as a rude nickname (λύκος as the nickname of pederasts, *LSJ* s.v. λύκος, vi.) perhaps in reference to Iolaos, Hylas or Eurystheos; the completion of the toast could also be to Lukos, one of the sons of Pandion, who was a guest of Herakles when he murdered his children (the satyr's completion may thus be in bad taste); Lykos is also casually connected to Dionysos through the story of Dirce, Antiope and her sons Amphion and Zethus. In any case, I am at a loss to provide a reason, from the extant literary tradition, for why the satyr completes the toast with the name Lykos. If no reason can be found, it might weaken, however slightly, the parallel drawn by Csapo & Miller. LVKOΣ is also a common *kalos*-name on black- and red-figured vases (Beazley, *ARV*² 1595-96). It is also a common Attic name, as well as a common *kalos*-name for Onesimos (and near Onesimos), Antiphon (and in the manner of Antiphon), et al (see *ARV*² pp. 1595-96). The name also appears as an athlete's name on a calyx-krater by Euphronios (Berlin 2180; *ARV*² 13.1).

²²⁷ Csapo & Miller (1991), 372, n. 30. cf. Threatte (1980), 52-57, 3.01.

²²⁸ Jacobsthal (1912), 62; Herzog (1912), 20; Campbell (1964), 66.

²²⁹ Wilamowitz (1966), 121; Csapo & Miller (1991), 372.

symposiast's stance (holding his own shoulder) is seen in conversation scenes.²³⁰ Fourth, but perhaps least important, is the possible parallel to extant literature. The possibilities put forward by Csapo & Miller²³¹ for verse parallels are not satisfactory, particularly since the verb *φασιν* is not present in them. The suggestion of Immerwahr (Csapo & Miller, *loc.cit*) that the fragment introduces a story is far more satisfying, as is the supporting example provided by Csapo & Miller.²³² None of the three reasons outlined above would, taken alone, necessarily discount the possibility that this is a *skolion* fragment. With these reservations in mind, however, I do not think that the scene conveys an impression of singing. In addition to these points, the youth on the left is not playing the barbiton, but rather is tuning it.²³³ Another possibility arises if we consider this inscription with the tondo inscription: this inscription acts as emphasis for the tondo inscription; the two symposiasts speak the sentence at the same time.

The *skolion* found in the tondo issues from the mouth of a symposiast in a variant of the standard singing position. The inscription runs retrograde (with orthograde letters²³⁴) from the singers mouth: Ο ΔΙΑΤΕΣΘΥΡΙΑΟΣ “ὦ διὰ τῆς θυρίδος”. The O, placed separately in the space made by the crook of the singer's arm, secures the inscription firmly to the mouth. The inscription could well be a variation on Praxilla 8 (PMG 754), which survives from Hephaistion 43:

ὦ διὰ τῶν θυρίδων καλὸν ἐμβλέποισα
παρθένε τὰν κεφαλὰν τὰ δ' ἔνερθε νύμφα
O young maiden, carefully looking in through
the windows at the head and what's beneath

²³⁰ T.J. McNiven *apud* Csapo & Miller (1991), 372, n. 29. The “gesture is comparatively rare ... many of the examples ... are in conversation scenes.”

²³¹ Csapo & Miller (1991), 372, n. 32.

²³² Luc. *Fug.* 1.1: ἀληθῆ ταῦτά φασιν, πάτερ ...

²³³ cf. Maas & Snyder (1989), 123: “The method of tuning the barbitos was the same as for the lyra, with the left hand in playing position to test the pitch by plucking the strings and the right hand at the crossbar to adjust the individual kollopes.”

²³⁴ Although only the E is absolute for direction. *Sigma*, generally settled by this date, can still vary in its direction.

Although Page prints the plural, he does recognize the singular as a variant reading, stating at the same time that the plural for a singular would be very abnormal. Herzog certainly considers that the kylix bears a truer witness, stating, “Mir scheint für die alte Zeit der dichterische Plural weniger passend, ich möchte daher die Lesart der Schale vorziehen, die natürlich aus der attischen Färbung in die lyrisch-dorische Koine διὰ τῆς θυρίδος zurückübersetzt werden muss.”²³⁵ The change to the singular does not affect the elegiac metre of the Praxilla fragment.

There is no reason, especially when the oral nature of sympotic poetry is taken into account, that the two readings may not be the “same” poem. If we recognize, as we should, that much poetry at this time is occasion specific, it is not hard to imagine a situation in which a singer adapts a song to make it more relevant to his situation. Perhaps this singer is indicating that the young maiden is looking in through one window only, his own. Pure speculation of course, but quite probable nonetheless. The verse-scrap taken in this way records the first words of a poem.

If we admit speculation as to the *possibilities* of attribution and interpretation as well as the probabilities, I would like to suggest my own.²³⁶ The idea of wine (intoxication) as the enhancer of all human characteristics, and as a means by which people entered into deeper knowledge of each other, either as friends or as acquaintances, is seen in many ancient writers, even as far back as Homer (Odyssey xiv, 464 ff.; xxi, 35 f.), Theognis (499-500), Aischylos *apud* Athenaios (10.427f), Platon (Laws 649D-650B). The idea has achieved a certain notoriety in modern times through the Latin phrase *in vino veritas*, a notion originally seen in Alkaios Z43 LP,

²³⁵ Herzog (1912), 19.

²³⁶ At least one other suggestion has already been made, as have a number of possible parallels. Cf. Aly (1954) *RE* s.v. Praxilla, cols. 1764-65 connecting the fragment to a *skolion* in Athenaios XV.697b-c; I do not find the argument persuasive. Cf. Herzog (1912), 18-20 for parallels.

and the Paroemiographers.²³⁷ Plutarchos, in his *Moralia* (*Q.C. III*, 645 A-C) outlines this idea, and provides an interesting quotation which may offer an alternate possibility for the inscription in the tondo of BM 95.1-27.12. He criticizes Aisopos for trying to discover other windows (τὰς θυρίδας) through which (δι' ὧν) one might discern another's mind, when wine offers the best:

τί τὰς θυρίδας, ὦ μακάριε, ζητεῖς ἐκείνας, δι' ὧν ἄλλος ἄλλου κατόψεται
τὴν διάνοιαν; ὁ γὰρ οἶνος ἡμᾶς ἀνοίγει καὶ δείκνυσιν οὐκ ἔων ἡσυχίαν
ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρῶν τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμόν, ἀπωπύτω τοῦ νόμου
καθάπερ παιδαγωγοῦ γεγόντων.

Why, good man, do you seek those windows, through which one will discern the thought of another? For wine reveals us and bares us, not allowing us to keep control, but ruining our crafted image and our pretence, drawing us furthest away from our custom as from our training.

The window, then, of the inscription may refer to wine, a suitably appropriate *topos* for sympotic poetry, which is the window to the character and thoughts of another. Side B may, with its inscription, support such a suggestion; this may be stretching the evidence. But although the notion of wine linked to truth is old, the association of wine as a window to the soul cannot be shown to exist before Plutarchos, except perhaps through reference by Plutarchos to Aisopos. Taken this way, then, although it may stretch the evidence too far, the verse-scrap *skolion* depicts the beginning of a poem connecting wine and true knowledge of others.

Manner of the Tarquinia Painter, Frr. in Rome, Villa Giulia 50329; ARV² 872.26.

A small fragment (fig. 13) from a rhyton, or perhaps a kantharos,²³⁸ depicts the upper torso and head of a singer in the classic pose. The singer is heavily bearded and has hair on his

²³⁷ Cod. Bodeliano 751; Diogenes VII, 28; Ph. 321.

²³⁸ Beazley (1954), 190.

chest. Beazley attributes this fragment to the Tarquinia Painter.²³⁹ Concerning the inscription on the fragment, ΣΟΙΚΑΙΕΜ[ΟΙ, σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί “for you and me”, Beazley writes:

Cultrera, who published the fragment, does not mention the inscription although the first three letters, ΣΟΙ, are plainly visible even in the reproduction. I have never seen the fragment, but Dr. Christopher Clairmont has kindly examined it for me, and he reports the letters as ΣΟΙΚΑΙΕΜ . . ., retrograde. This cannot be anything but σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, whether the painter wrote anything further, or, as is likely enough, stopped at this point.²⁴⁰

Beazley parallels the words, which are a complete dactyl,²⁴¹ to Theognis 1055:

Ἄλλὰ λόγον μὲν τοῦτον ἑάσομεν, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ
αὔλει, καὶ Μουσῶν μνησόμεθ' ἀμφοτέρω.
αὐταὶ γάρ τὰ δ' ἔδωκαν ἔχειν κεχαρισμένα δῶρα
σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, μελέμεν δ' ἀμφιπερικτίοσιν.

But let us end this conversation; moreover

play the *aulos* for me, and we will both remember the Muses.

For they gave these very lovely gifts for you and me
to have. We care for those around us.

Later (1957) he reports that Miss Mabel Lang suggests Mimnermus 8:

ἀληθείη δὲ παρέστω
σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, πάντων χρῆμα δικαιοτάτον.

let there be truth

for you and me, the most righteous possession of all.

Either suits the *symposion* thematically, and both were probably sung in this context. While the verse-scrap is not the first part of either passage as recorded, it is nevertheless the first part of a line in both, and in this respect may serve a similar function. If the verse-scrap *skolion* is from one

²³⁹ *ibidem*.

²⁴⁰ *ibidem*.

²⁴¹ The [au] in hiatus before another vowel is short.

of these passages, then, it seeks not only to bring the poem to mind, but also to emphasize the partnership, or shared experience, of the two people (i.e. you and I). All other verse-scrapes examined in this thesis, however, seem to begin a poem from the first words of the first line. On this analogy, ΣΟΙΚΑΙΕΜΟΙ may record the beginning of the first line of another poem, which does not otherwise survive.

Unattributed, Kylix in Athens, National Museum 1357.

An unattributed cup in the National Museum at Athens (figs. 14.1-14.2) provides another example of a *skolion* which is often, if not always, compared with Theognis 1365. Although the cup is unattributed, its tondo scene (I have not seen the exterior) seems to me to be Brygos.²⁴²

The *skolion* is found in the tondo scene, in which a bearded adult male wearing a dotted himation reclines on a *kline*, the legs of which are not pictured, against a striped and ribbed bolster. His head is tilted back to sing, beard pointed sharply up, while he reaches down with his right hand to stroke a hare, which makes sense as a love gift for the boy mentioned in his song. In his left hand he holds a pair of *krotala*,²⁴³ his left arm carries a fold of his himation. The inclusion of the motion to stroke the hare in what is otherwise a standard singing position has created a problem of

²⁴² Although I am certainly very inexperienced as far as attribution is concerned, there are, I think, several good reasons to support this suggestion. In terms of technical details, note in particular the shape of the eyes, the smooth rounded stroke of the eyebrow as well as the rounded nose and flat forehead. Several details speak against an attribution to Brygos himself, however: there is no meander border; single figure composition is rare in tondo scenes by Brygos Painter (he prefers a V composition in tondo scenes, cf. Beazley (1953, 78); Brygos Painter seems to enjoy detail in *klinai*, and usually includes at least the leg posts, but not always; the singer has no 'extra' body hair (but not every man by the Brygos Painter does); also the wreath is not of the type commonly painted by the Brygos Painter. The subject (a singer at the *symposion*) is certainly common enough in most workshops, but this scene portrays a sense of movement or action which is characteristic of the Brygos Painter and his circle; the painter has decided to make his figure dynamic, fluid. In addition, the tondo scene is almost a "close-up", another frequent tendency of these painters. The details are also worth mentioning: the hare, the dotted himation, the striped and ribbed bolster, the food basket. The cup should, then, be dated to the 1st quarter of the 5th century B.C.

²⁴³ A common percussion instrument (akin to the castanets), *krotala* were associated with Dionysos and Cybele but can also have an erotic connection, Barker (1984, 76, n. 89).

composition for the painter, at least from a modern point of view. The movement of the arm down to touch the hare has resulted in what seems to be a collapsed shoulder. It seems clear that the painter considered both actions to be essential to the scene (he could have merely represented a hare underneath the *kline* without physical connection to the singer) and so did what was necessary to represent both. Both actions are intended, perhaps, to impress a boy, the object of his affection, or perhaps to demonstrate to others his affection for the boy.²⁴⁴

The *skolion* inscription, which Lissarague describes as, “emerg[ing] from the figure’s mouth and follow[ing] the curve of the tondo, as if to fill the whole space with sound,”²⁴⁵ describes the love object: a boy (but see my n. 244). The lettering is quite neat, proceeding from the singer’s mouth in an arc, above the food basket and along the edge of the reserved border. The *pi* is squat;²⁴⁶ the two *omicrons* (the first of course is long, an *omega*) are almost triangular — the second is almost identical to its neighbouring *delta*. The *lambdas* are upright (in relation to the arc of the writing), but the two arms are almost the same length; a doubled long consonant is not uncommon in this period and the Brygos Painter doubles *lambda* in KALLISTO on London, British Museum E68 (fig. 7.2) although he does not double the *pi* in ΠΙΛΙΠΙΟΣ (Φίλιππος) in the same tondo. The *sigma* is orthograde in what seems otherwise a retrograde inscription, but this is not uncommon in this period. This fragment is identified with Theognis 1365:

ὦ παίδων κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων

O most beautiful and most charming of all the boys

²⁴⁴ Of course, the inscription could indicate that the person for whom the verse is intended could be a girl, since there is no way to distinguish a long E (fem. vocative) from a short (masc. vocative) in this period. But this is unlikely, not because of the metre (the long final vowel of the feminine vocative would complete the third dactylic foot), but because of the presence of the hare, a sure indication of a homosexual relationship (see Dover (1989), 92-93; Kilmer (1993), 14, 96).

²⁴⁵ Lissarague (1990), 132

²⁴⁶ Perhaps Immerwahr’s type 5 with a shortened stem.

It is very tempting to say that we have here a record of extant sympotic literature in performance at an archaic symposion. I think that this temptation is honest enough (if there is such a thing as an honest temptation): given the relative scarcity of both vases and sympotic poetry, and despite the fact that most sympotic poetry may never have been recorded in writing, anything that matches from both source areas is immediately, it seems to me, considered one a match of the other (and often the artistic a copy of, or dependent on, the literary). Often, once the “match” is made, the search for alternatives ceases, as in the case of the Douris copy in London, in my opinion. Admittedly however, in this case, the exact coincidence of words and their order, as well as a poetic theme supported by the artistic theme, is considerable. Although a complete line would make an attribution even more secure, I believe that this verse-scrap can plausibly be identified with Theognis 1365. The metre would fit this identification, since the verse-scrap records an elegiac line (*i.e.* dactylic hexameter) to a feminine caesura. The verse-scrap *skolion* records the first words of a poem, as a title in order to bring the poem to mind, or perhaps as a mnemonic aid.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁷ Dover (1989), 10, thinks that this phrase is used here as a poetic cliché.

Conclusions

Conclusions which can be drawn concerning the practice of the *skolion* from the evidence of the Attic red-figured containers fall into two general spheres. One deals with the visual aspects of the evidence as it relates to the physical activity of performance. The other deals with the text as evidence in itself for the poetry performed, and collaterally as evidence for orality (as visual evidence for the public performance of poetry) and the use of writing on containers in this predominantly oral period. But first the use of the term *skolion* as a description for the activity of sympotic performance depicted on the containers must be addressed. The literary evidence is clear in its application of the term, if not entirely clear in the description of the activity nor its etymology: *σκόλιον* is used of sympotic song. The earliest preserved use of the term is c. 442 B.C., twenty to forty years after the bulk of the visual evidence. Provided we recognize the fundamental (and earliest) definition of the term as *ἡ παροΐνια ὡδή*, we are justified in applying this word to the scenes on the containers and to the verse-scrap.

The visual evidence for the physical activity of singing at *symposia* derived from the painted containers is richer in many ways than the textual evidence on the containers, if only because it is — according to its own nature — complete. Of course, this nature admits only a single image, frozen in time and space. But for this very reason, the artist must portray an action clearly for it to have any relevance to his viewers. Although we may lack a certain social and historical context necessary for a full understanding of a scene, we can still often perceive the action. For example, it is evident that there is a posture associated with sympotic singing. Singing usually took place on *klinai* as the singer reclined, either with back resting on head-post and bolster, or with his weight on his left elbow; on one occasion (Munich 2636) the singer is semi-seated, while on another (London GR 1895.5-13.1, tondo) he is depicted seated (but curiously still

reclining), apparently in rehearsal for performance. In all instances examined in this thesis, the head is tilted back, to a lesser or greater degree, and the mouth is open. If the singer is not playing an instrument himself (lyre or *krotala*), or does not hold a myrtle twig, his right arm is used as if to cradle his head while singing and his left arm is used to support himself in the reclining position. A singer accompanying himself on the lyre invariably reclines with his back on a bolster. While the literary sources do not describe the posture of singers, the use of lyre and *auloi*, as well as *krotala* and other instruments, is well attested there as it is also here on the containers.

Although the exercise of attributing verse-scrap is not infallible, inscriptions which cannot be matched to the surviving literary tradition probably record — on the analogy of the attributable verse-scrap — the first words of the first line of a poem. If these attributions are correct, the textual variations preserved by the verse-scraper *skolia* raise interesting questions concerning the nature of the performance of poetry. Are these verse-scrap variations effected by the performer on the container (who probably was not the composer)? Or are they a “truer” reading of the poem as it was performed *on any one occasion* by the original composer? In some sense, the point is moot since in either case we still have two readings, neither of which can be shown conclusively to be more accurate, and both of which are equally valid as records of a performance of poetry at a *symposion*. Gentili discusses the difficulties which arise in textual criticism in cases where the “work” has passed through a period of oral transmission, as these examples of sympotic poetry surely did,²⁴⁸ concluding that “the chapter on the ecdotics of the oral text has yet to be written ... A comprehensive theory must, however, be based on a typology of oral texts which takes full account

²⁴⁸ Gentili (1988), 226-233. Particularly interesting is his discussion of the notion of a *linguistic* (or *stylistic*) *diasystem*, “the system of variants which characterizes an individual witness to the tradition of a particular text as a direct expression of the culture and taste of the period.” (1988, 231) I might (very humbly) add that this *diasystem* will also be a direct expression of the culture and taste of an individual performer, and his audience too, within a culture.

of the different ways in which a particular composition can be oral and of the different levels — cultivated and popular — on which orality may operate.”²⁴⁹ I suggest that these preserved verse-scrap do offerevidence, however limited, for variations in performance of some sympotic poetry; the remaining inscriptions, unattributable, offer evidence for sympotic poetry which has not survived.

What purpose, then, do the inscriptions have other than decoration? Although the length of the inscriptions is often restricted to several syllables, no inscription ends in the middle of a word. Furthermore, it is very likely that these inscriptions all represent the first words of first lines of poems. Both of these points lead me to consider that these inscriptions are in fact “titles” of poems,²⁵⁰ and to suggest the possibility that they were commissioned after performance as a sort of memorial gift.²⁵¹ This observation is borne out to some extent by the work of Thomas who observes that although one of the earliest uses of writing was to record verse, this does not mean that its intent was to fix a text forever.²⁵² “Indeed, comparative evidence tends to suggest that the impetus for writing down poetry almost always comes from outside, not from the poet himself.”²⁵³ The inscriptions themselves presuppose no more than a phonetic literacy.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ Gentili (1988), 232.

²⁵⁰ An example from antiquity is the *Passer* (the first word of poem 2 — poem 1 is dedicatory) of Catullus, quoted by Mart. iv.14.13: “sic forsan tener ausus est Catullus | magno mittere Passerem Maroni”. In a more modern context, the psalter uses the first words of each psalm as title.

²⁵¹ Another possibility is that the work was commissioned *before* performance, and that the inscription would have acted as a reminder for performance. But while the first words might be a mnemonic device intended to trigger the rest of the song, the placement of the overwhelming majority of these inscriptions at the bottom of the kylix (in the tondo) might render such a function problematic. I find it hard to accept that an individual performer would need such a mnemonic device to remember a short poem.

²⁵² Thomas (1992), 48.

²⁵³ Thomas (1992), 48. In n. 56, Thomas quotes West (1990) stating that even the Greeks themselves thought Homer recited while others wrote it down.

²⁵⁴ See discussion in Thomas (1992), 92, where she borrows the term from a study of the “literacy” of the Middle Ages by P. Saenger: “the possession of enough reading ability to puzzle out the syllables aloud in order to learn a text by heart, or to say prayers aloud, but not to read silently with immediate comprehension.”

To sum up, the practice of sympotic singing as it is represented on this limited selection of Archaic Attic red-figured containers is restricted to solo-singers who accompany themselves with lyre or *krotala*, or who are accompanied by another musician on the *diaulos*. Both the lyre and *diaulos* are instruments of choice for these solo-singers. There is a basic posture associated with sympotic singing, although variations in this basic posture are possible when certain singing aids, an instrument, for example, or a myrtle twig, are held/used by the singer. The poems sung by the soloists vary in metrical structure, as far as can be determined from the few syllables which remain; the thematic material also varies. These inscriptions may have been commissioned as memorials for particular performances. Some of these inscriptions are attributable to surviving sympotic literature and may represent an occasion of performance separate from performance(s) by the original composer; as such they are evidence for the oral aspect of sympotic poetry. The remaining inscriptions, which cannot be satisfactorily attributed, remind us, perhaps, of the extent of sympotic poetry which does not survive.

The scope of the evidence from the containers examined in this thesis, limited to containers with inscriptions, does not permit wide generalizations concerning the divisions of singing described in the etymological sources. By establishing the presence of a verse-scrap inscription as the main criterion for the admission of a container in this study, I unknowingly narrowed the field of evidence from which I might draw conclusions, since each of the verse-scraps I have accepted as *skolia* is sung by a solo performer. In this respect this study may have been flawed; there may be scenes of group singing, for example, on containers without verse-scrap inscriptions. However, although I may not be able to draw general conclusions concerning divisions of performance, I can conclude that the examples examined here — important and prominent because of their inscriptions

— all portray solo-singing (with the possible exception of the kylix by the Foundry Painter) by men only. Where the scene is complete (*i.e.* not fragmentary) the singer is always accompanied by an instrument, whether by himself on the lyre or *krotala* or by another on the *diaulos*.²⁵⁵ The single exception to this rule is the kylix by the Brygos Painter in Florence (3949); here the youth — head tilted slightly back in singing posture — vocalizes to a myrtle twig. It may be, since there is no other musician present in the scene, nor any item which might somehow indicate the presence of another musician, that the young man is reciting/chanting (perhaps antiphonally to his *auloi*), a practice known as *parakataloge*.²⁵⁶ The use of the myrtle twig here, and in the scene on the kylix by Onesimos in Munich, might be taken as an indication of the practice of “capping” described in the scholium to Aristophanes’ *Clouds* 1364, one of whose characteristics was the passing of a myrtle twig; but the visual evidence cannot be considered conclusive in support of this suggestion because of the “snap-shot” nature of the scenes on the containers. The limited nature of the evidence does not permit us to evaluate the divisions of performance described by Dikaiarchos and accepted by most later etymologists; nevertheless it seems clear to me — because the inscriptions are exclusive to solo-singing — that solo-singing was the most distinguished mode of performance. In this way, the etymologists’ overwhelming claim that the practice derives its name from the path of solo-singing (irrespective of the object which marks that passage) receives some measure of support.

The manner of performance represented on the containers, quite apart from any divisions of performance, seems to match the literary sources: both lyre and *diaulos* are used, as well as percussion instruments (the *krotala*, for example); both female musicians (Munich 8935) and male

²⁵⁵ If the remainder of the fr. by the Brygos Painter (Cab. Méd. 546) and the fr. in the Manner of the Tarquinia Painter (Villa Giulia 50329) should turn up, I expect that they also would portray musicians accompanying the singers, probably on the *diaulos*.

²⁵⁶ West (1992), 40.

musicians (Munich 2636; London GR 1895.5-13.1; Munich 2646; London 95.1-27.2) accompany the singer when he does not accompany himself; the singing takes place within the immediate context of the *symposion*. In addition, the metrical and thematic diversity evident in the literary sources is borne out, as far as can be determined, by the verse-scrap inscriptions preserved on the containers. Different manuscripts provide variant readings; these containers may have other variant readings.

This selection of evidence from the containers, limited by the demands of the thesis, is not sufficient to draw any hard and fast conclusions concerning the practice of the *skolion* in Archaic Athens. Supplemented, however, by the literary sources written by authors removed to a lesser or greater degree from the Archaic period, this small assortment of containers — singled out because of their verse inscriptions — does paint a picture, however hazy, of this sympotic practice. Clearly, an in-depth and comprehensive study of the visual evidence is needed in order to trace the development, and probable evolution, of the practice of singing at the *symposion*. “Music, intonation, modes of performance, are exactly the elements which are barely recorded by our written sources. But some indications are there, and though it requires some vivid imagination to envisage the performance of Greek poetry, it is perhaps, as Herington has recently said, one of the most urgent tasks of all for the student of Greek poetry.”²⁵⁷ Music and intonation are almost certainly irrevocably lost; but the large body of visual evidence provided by Attic containers preserves the mode of performance, and demands closer attention.

²⁵⁷ Thomas (1992), 117; Herington (1985), 50.

TABLE 2: Ancient Etymologies¹

Author or Work	Date	Etymology (ies)	Information
Dikaiarchos [Scholium <i>Gorgias</i> 451E; Suidas and Photios s.v. σκῶλον] Frag. 88 Wehrli.	4 B.C.	- σκῶλον = crooked; in reference to the path of singing (3rd type)	- ἡ παλαιὴ ῥῆσις; - three divisions: one sung by all, one sung singly in sequence, one sung by the most knowledgeable (σοφειώτατοι) in a variable order; - the term is derived from this variable order.
Dikaiarchos [Scholium <i>Clouds</i> 1364] Frag. 89 Wehrli.	4 B.C.	[n/a: explanation of passage]	- those recounting either to music or without held something (τῷ) in their hand; ¹ - following an ancient tradition, those singing at the symposion did so holding a laurel or myrtle twig (κλῶνα δάφνης ἢ μυρτιάδας). - sung at wedding banquets (ἐν τοῖς γάμοις); - myrtle twig(s) (μυρτιάς) held by singers one after another in order; - thematic material: maxims (γνώμης) and high-pitched love songs (ἐρωτικὰ σύνεργα); - path of the myrtle (and so the singing) was crooked because of the crowded room.
Aristoxenos and Phyllis [Scholium <i>Gorgias</i> 451E; Suidas and Photios s.v. σκῶλον].	4 B.C.	- σκῶλον = crooked; in reference to the path of singing not because of the melody (ὡς διὰ τὴν μελωδίαν).	- three divisions: one sung by all, one sung by all but in succession according to a certain path, one sung according to the order (of seating?) but only by the skilled (σοφῆται); - the term derives from the last division; - thematic material: a good <i>skolion</i> (ῥῆσις καλὴ) contained advice and some maxim useful for life (τὴν παραινέσιν τε τινα καὶ γνώμην).
Alkamaios [←Artemon ←Dikaiarchos]. <i>Deipnosophistae</i> XV.694c-696a.	1 A.D.	- σκῶλον = crooked; in reference to the path of singing (3rd type) not of the mode of the melody (ὡς κατὰ τὸν τῆς μελωδίας τρόπον).	

... continued

¹ An attempt to explain the action of the passage in question, this statement is not time specific (*i.e.* we cannot determine the period which the scholium addresses): the scholiast's second comment, however, implies that it is a more recent development. Furthermore, the second statement refers expressly to those singing at the symposion, and specifies, if not with accuracy, that it is an ancient tradition (*i.e.* before or contemporary with the dramatic time of Aristophanes' *Clouds*).

TABLE 2: Ancient Etymologies (continued)

Plutarchos. (<i>Quaestiones Conviviales</i>) 615B	Moralia	1 A.D.	- <i>σκόλιον</i> = crooked, in reference to the path of singing (3rd type) either by passing the myrtle twig or the lyre, not to the mode of the melody (<i>οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῆς μελωδικῆς τρόπον</i>); - <i>σκόλιον</i> = difficult, in reference to the third type since only the trained took participated.	- three divisions: one sung by all (<i>palan</i>), one sung in sequence holding a myrtle twig, one sung by the trained to the lyre. - the songs are not obscure, <i>i.e.</i> they are popular songs; - there may have been an order in which the twig was passed based on couch positions.
Scholium <i>Wasps</i> 1222		(1 B.C. - 1 A.D.)	- <i>σκόλιον</i> = difficult, in reference to the practice of "capping" lines.	- holding a myrtle or laurel twig a singer would sing a song, stop when he wished, and pass the branch on: the recipient of the branch would have to finish the song.
Scholium <i>Wasps</i> 1239		(1 B.C. - 1 A.D.)	- <i>σκόλιον</i> = crooked, in reference to the path of singing (3rd type) determined by the path of the lyre.	- vocalization took place while holding a myrtle or laurel twig, for those less confident; - implication that the songs were not easy; - the passage of the lyre gave the term its name.

† There are many later references to the etymology of the term, but these repeat the suggestions found in the passages above, and add no new information. I have chosen passages which both represent the entire body of evidence and present the most important sources of information concerning the practice.

APPENDIX I: The Dates of the Scholia

The commentaries on Aristophanes passed through several stages of composition, editing, additions and recension. Accordingly, dates for individual passages from the scholia which do not include reference to a particular commentator will be inconclusive. Enough is known, however, about the genesis and development of the commentaries, and about some of the ancient scholars who contributed to what remains for us today, that general dates may be proposed.

The commentaries probably came about through the work of Euphronios or Kallistratos based on the slightly earlier work of other Alexandrian scholars in the second half of the third century B.C., among them Kallimachos, Eratosthenes, and Aristophanes of Byzantium. Aristophanes succeeded Eratosthenes as head of the Alexandrian Library, c. 200 B.C.; it is he who is credited with a critical text of Aristophanes' works. After these two commentators came Aristarchos of Samothrace (b. 215 B.C.), and a short succession of other scholars. But it was Didymos, who lived about the time of the end of the Roman Republic, who produced the first variorum commentary on Aristophanes. Our knowledge of the earlier commentators depends largely on his compilation. Symmachos, whose dates are not known, but whom Dunbar places c. 100 A.D.,¹ compiled the second variorum commentary. Dunbar supposes his work to be largely a repetition of Didymos', where Symmachos agrees, but occasionally he takes an independent view, "usually with a better idea, although once perhaps wrongly".² A third and anonymous editor of

¹ Dunbar (1994), p. 40.

² Dunbar (1994), p. 41.

the commentaries produced an edition some four hundred years after Didymos.³ This editor seems to have had access to Symmachos, but not to Didymos or earlier scholars.⁴ But as White writes:

Even with so much determined, however, it is not now possible to assign any considerable number of the extant scholia specifically to their sources, a disability that was shared by the anonymous editor . . . These sources were not named in it except for special reasons;"⁵

The anonymous editor probably did not contribute to the scholia, except, in his capacity as editor, to retain or reject material.⁶

We can place the various stages of the development of the scholia into three time periods, in only two of which are the editions expanded: the original scholars of the Hellenistic period, and the *variorum* editors of the Late Republic (Didymos) and Early Empire (Symmachos). For the purposes of this thesis I have considered any scholium in which no specific source is named as dependent on, and therefore datable to, Symmachos or Didymos through Symmachos.

³ White (1974), p. lxvii.

⁴ White (1974), lxvii.

⁵ White (1974), lxix-lxx.

⁶ White (1974), lxx.

APPENDIX II: The Verse-Scraps

I have included below my own hand-drawn facsimilies of the verse-scrap inscriptions which, for one reason or another, are not readily visible on the plates.

Fig 2.1: Munich, Antikensammlungen 8935.

ΑΧΑΜΙΑΧ ΕΤΕΣΝΟΝΟΝΟ

Fig 4.1: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum S.82.AE.252.

ΕΥΟ, ΕΟ
Σ
Μ
Σ

Fig 5.2: Copenhagen, Nat. Museum inv. 13365.

Σ Ε Ι Ν Ε

Fig 12.1: London, British Museum 95.10-27.2.

SOAIPVOSETAIA
Q

Fig. 13: Rome, Villa Giulia 50329 (fr.).

MEIAKIOZ

List of Vases

*Museum references are made by city, and abbreviated museum name if necessary. * designates a container with a possible skolion verse-scrap. The immediate source for illustrations is listed along with standard references to Sir J.D. Beazley's reference materials; reference is also made to H. Immerwahr's Attic Script, under the format AS with the number. All dates are B.C. unless otherwise noted.*

<u>Figure No.(s)</u>	<u>Museum and Catalogue Number</u>	<u>References and Figure Source</u>
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Amasis Painter (c. 560-515)

1.1-1.4*	Aegina	<u>AS</u> 152. 1.1 after Ohly-Dumm (1985) fig A, p. 237, 1.2-1.4 after figs., p. 238.
1.5	Athens, NM Akr. 611	<u>ABV</u> 82.1. After Bothmer (1985), fig. 22.
1.6	Paris, Louvre F30	<u>ABV</u> 152.29. After Bothmer (1985), cat. 27.
1.7	Würzburg, M. von Wagner Museum L332	<u>ABV</u> 152.30. After Bothmer (1985), cat. 28.

Euphronios (c. 520-505)

2.1-2.3*	Munich, Antikesammlungen 8935	<u>ARV</u> ² 1619, 1705.3 bis; <i>Para</i> 322. <u>AS</u> 363. <i>Supplementum Lyricis Graecis</i> 317. 2.1-2.2 after <u>AK</u> 8 (1965), 2.3 after <u>ARFVArchaic</u> .
3.1-3.2*	Paris, Louvre G30	<u>ARV</u> ² 15.9, 1619; <i>Para</i> 322; <i>Add</i> 187. <u>AS</u> 360. 3.1 after <u>AK</u> 8, p. 13, fig. 5, 3.2 (drawing) after Lissarague (1990), p. 133, fig. 103.

Smikros (c. 510-500)

2.4	Brussels, Musées Royaux A 717	<u>ARV</u> ² 20.1; <i>Para</i> 322; <i>Add</i> 74. <u>AS</u> 400. After <u>ARFVArchaic</u> fig. 32.2.
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Epiktetos (c.520-490)

4.1*	Malibu S.82.AE.252	<i>Para</i> 329.83 <i>ter</i> , ex Bareiss. <u>AS</u> 350.
4.2	Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University	<u>ARV</u> ² 75.56. After <u>ARFVArchaic</u> fig. 69
4.3	Copenhagen, Nat. Museum 119	<u>ARV</u> ² 75.59. After <u>ARFVArchaic</u> fig. 74.
4.4	London, British Museum E35	<u>ARV</u> ² 74.38. After <u>ARFVArchaic</u> fig. 73.
4.5	London, British Museum E137	<u>ARV</u> ² 78.95. After <u>ARFVArchaic</u> fig. 78.

Kleophrades Painter (c. 505-475)

5.1-5.5*	Copenhagen, Nat. Museum inv. 13365	<u>ARV</u> ² 185.32; <i>Para</i> 340; <i>Add</i> 187. <u>AS</u> 488. After Denmark <i>CV</i> 4 8, pll. 332-333.
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Onesimos (c. 505–475)

- 6* Munich, Antikesammlungen *ARV*² 317.16; *Add* 106. *AS* 502.
2636

Brygos Painter (c. 490–465)

- 7.1* Fragments in Paris, Cabinet des *ARV*² 372.26; *Para* 365; *Add* 225. 7.1 after
Médailles 546 Beazley (1953), fig. β.; drawing after Lissarague
(1990), p. 130, fig. 100.
7.2 London, British Museum E68 *ARV*² 371.24, 1649; *Para* 365, 367; *Add* 111. *AS*
548. After Great Britain *CVA* 17 (London, British
Museum 9), pl. 58(b)
8.1* Florence, Museo Archeologico *ARV*² 376.90. *AS* 549. After Italy *CVA* 30
di Firenze 3949 (Florence, Museo Archeologico 3), pl. 91.1
8.2–8.3 London, British Museum E68 *ARV*² 371.24, 1649; *Para* 365, 367; *Add* 111. *AS*
548. After Great Britain *CVA* 17 (London, British
Museum 9), pl. 58(b).

Foundry Painter (c. 485–465)

- 10.1–10.3* London, British Museum GR *ARV*² 405.2; *Para* 370 and 371; *Add* 232. 10.1
1895.5–13.1, from Vulci. after pl. 70(b), 10.2 after pl. 71.(a), 10.3 after pl.
71 (b).

Douris (c. 500–460)

- 11* Munich, Antikesammlungen *ARV*² 437.128, 1623; *Para* 375; *Add* 239. *AS*
2646 532. 11.1 (drawing) after Hamdorf (1975), p. 56.

“Douris Copy” (c. 470–60)

- 12.1–12.3* London, British Museum 95.10– *12.1–12.3 after Csapo & Miller (1991) pl. 97.*
27.2

Boot Painter (c. 475–460)

- 10.4 Malibu, Getty Museum After Kilmer (1993), fig. R814*.
83.AE.321

Polygnotos (c. 475–450)

- 10.5 London, British Museum F65 *ARV*² 1154 (Dinos Painter, no. 35); *Add* 165.
After Kilmer (1993), fig. 954*

Manner of the Tarquinia Painter (c. 475-60)

- 13* Fragment in Rome, Villa Giulia *ARV*² 872.26. After *AJA* 58 (1954) pl. 31, fig. 5.
50329

Unattributed

- 14.1-14.2* Athens, National Museum 1357 14.1 photograph courtesy of M.F. Kilmer; 14.2
drawing after Lissarague (1990), p. 132, fig. 102.

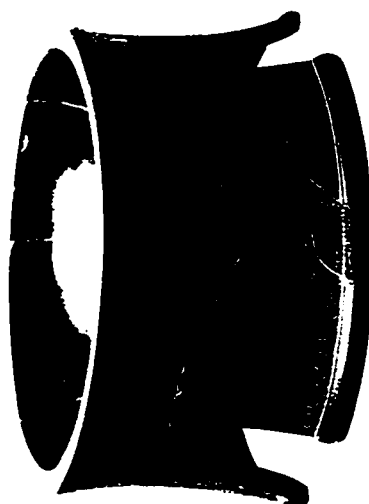
PLATE I



[Ann 41 A1 A2 and A3 1.1]

Figure 1.1: Aegina, Leg A.

PLATE II



Figures 1.2-1.4: Aegina, Legs A-C (from left to right)

PLATE III

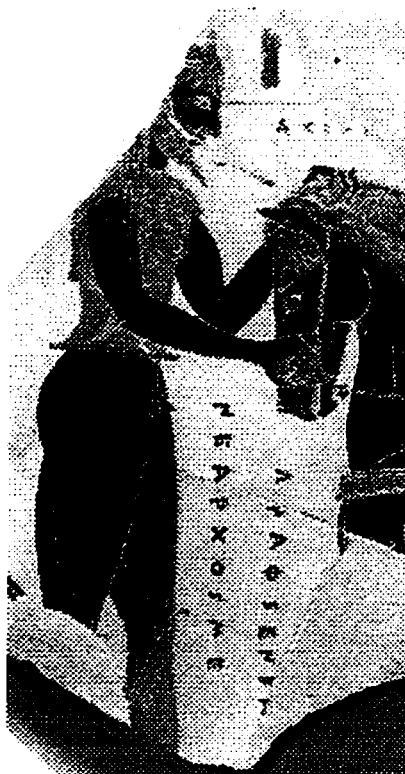


Figure 1.5: Athens NM Akr. 611. (left)



Figure 1.6: Paris, Louvre F30.
(right)

PLATE IV



Figure 1.7: Würzburg, M. von
Wagner Museum L332.

PLATE V

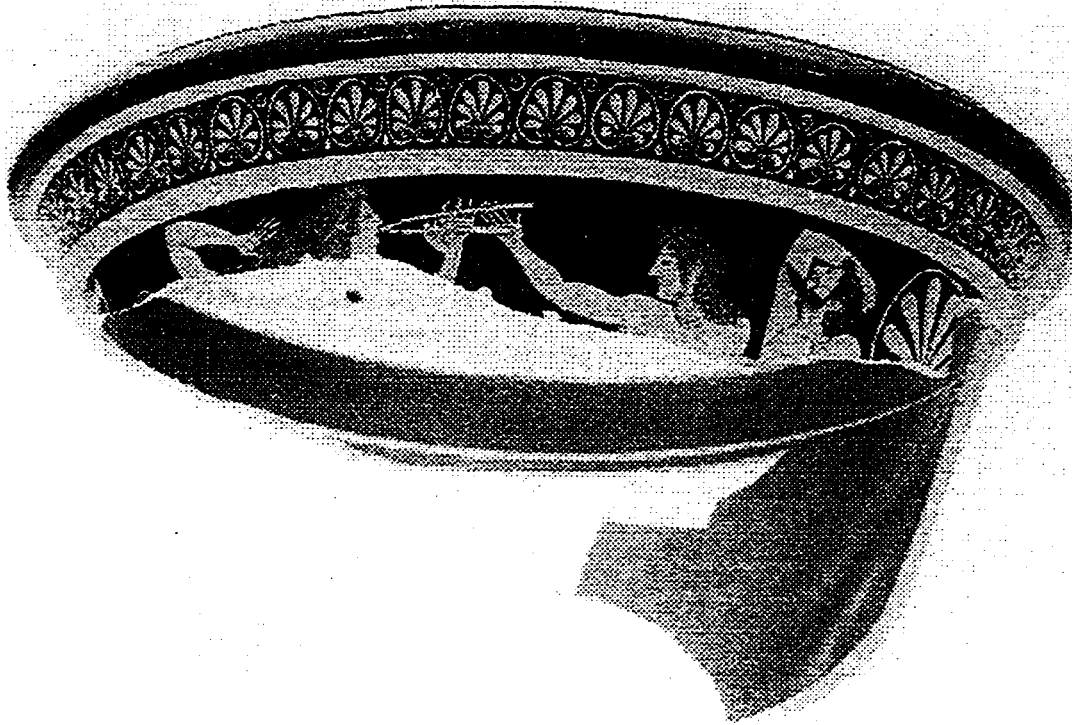


Figure 2.1: Munich, Antikensammlungen 8935, side A (top).

Figure 2.2: Munich, Antikensammlungen 8935, side B (bottom).

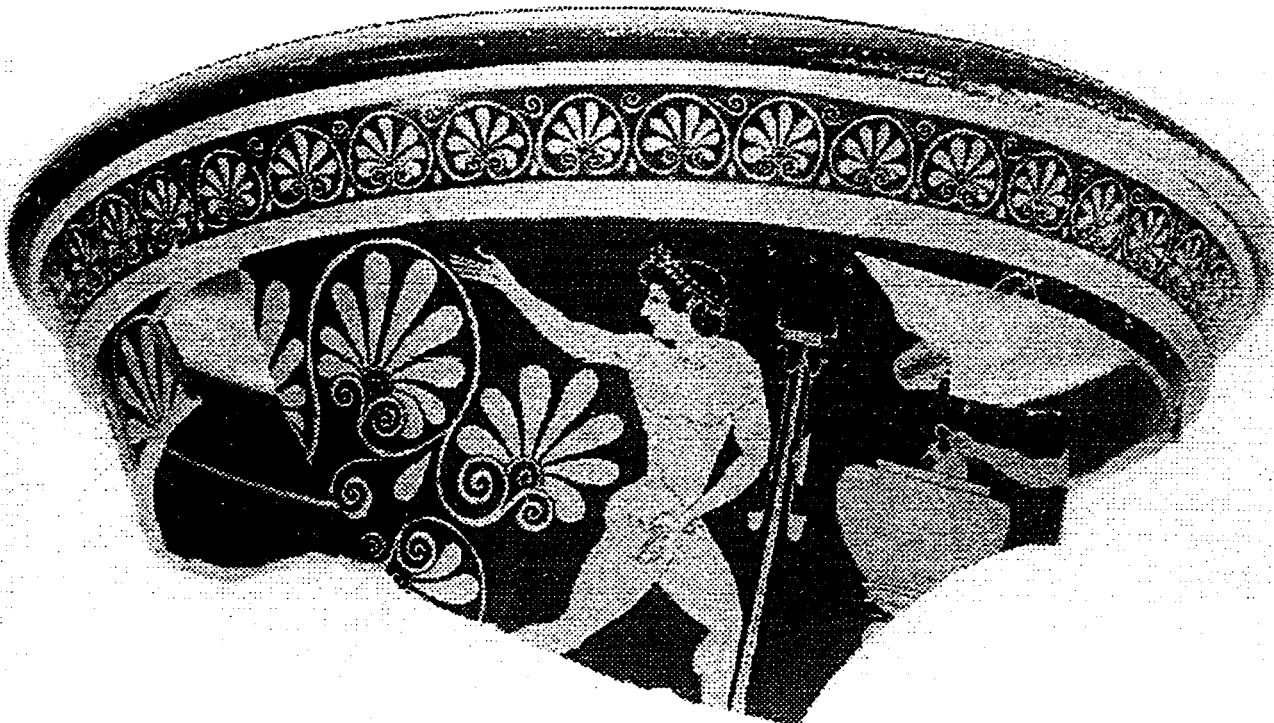


PLATE VI

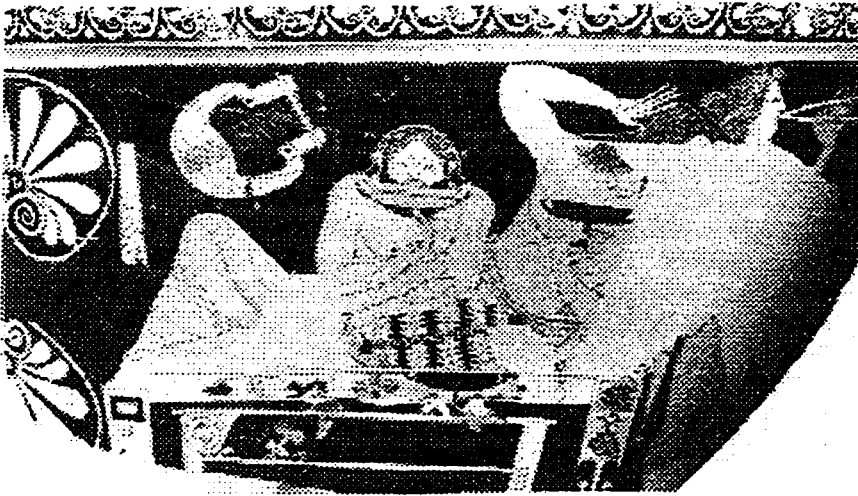


Figure 2.3: Munich, Antiken-
sammlungen 8935, detail side A
(left).

Figure 2.4: Brussels, Musees
Royaux A 717 (right).



PLATE VII

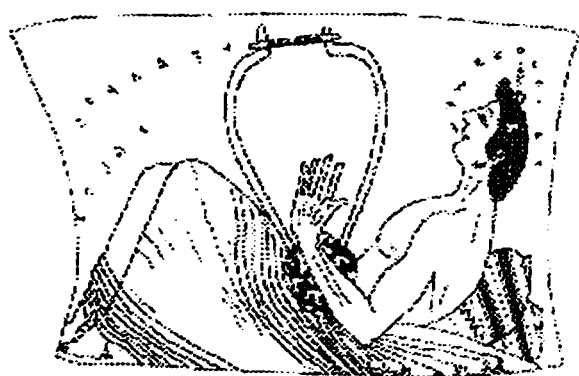
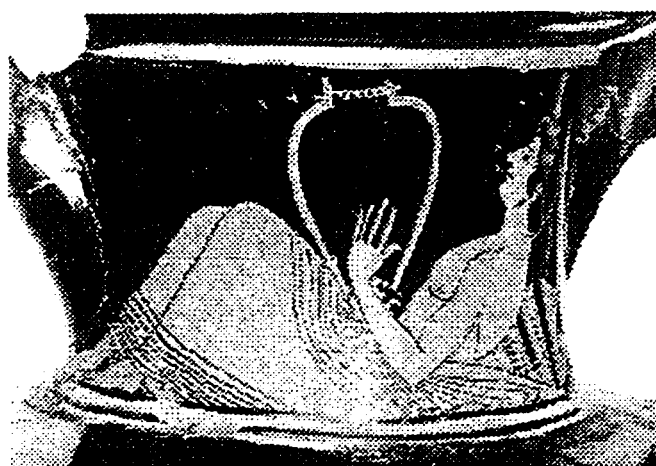


Figure 3.1-3.2: Paris, Louvre G30, side A and drawing.

PLATE VIII



Figure 4.1: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum S.82.AE.252



Figure 4.2: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University (top left).

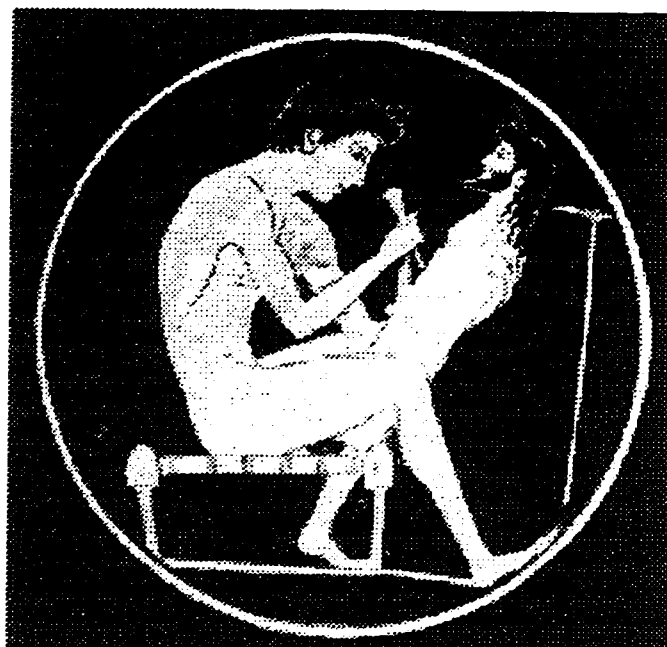


Figure 4.3: Copenhagen, National Museum 119 (top right).

Figure 4.4: London, British Museum E35 (bottom).



PLATE X



Figure 4.5: London, British Museum E137 (top left)

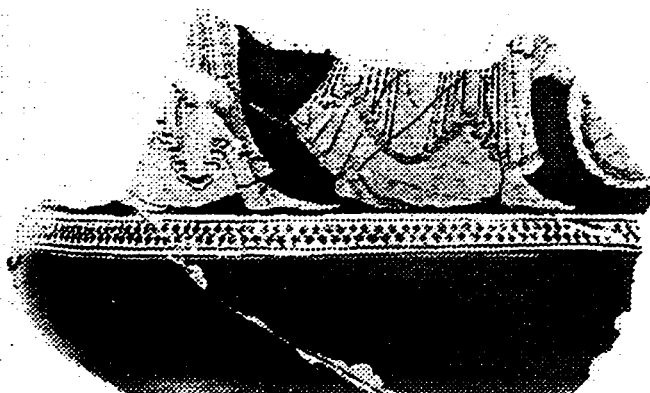
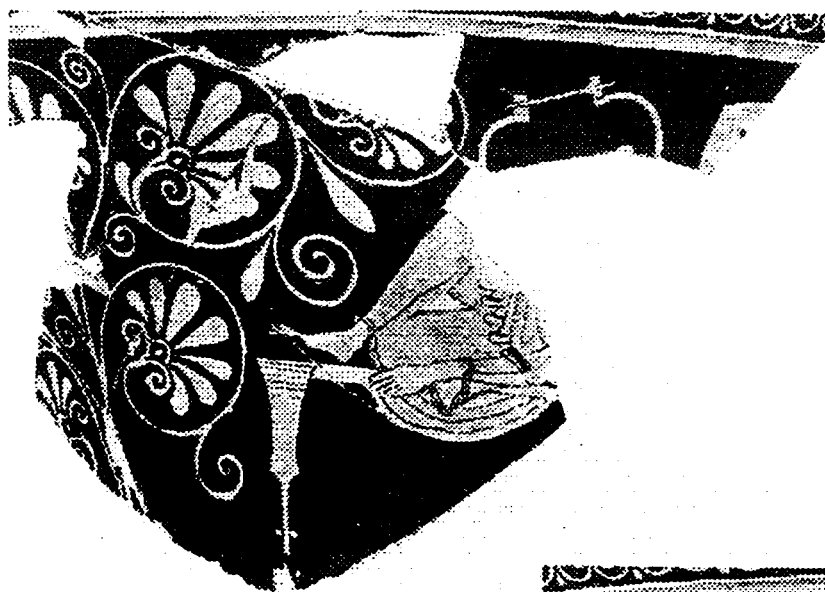


Figure 5.1: Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. 13365, detail side A (top right).



Figures 5.2-5.3: Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. 13365, detail side B (left, 5.2; below, 5.3).



PLATE XI

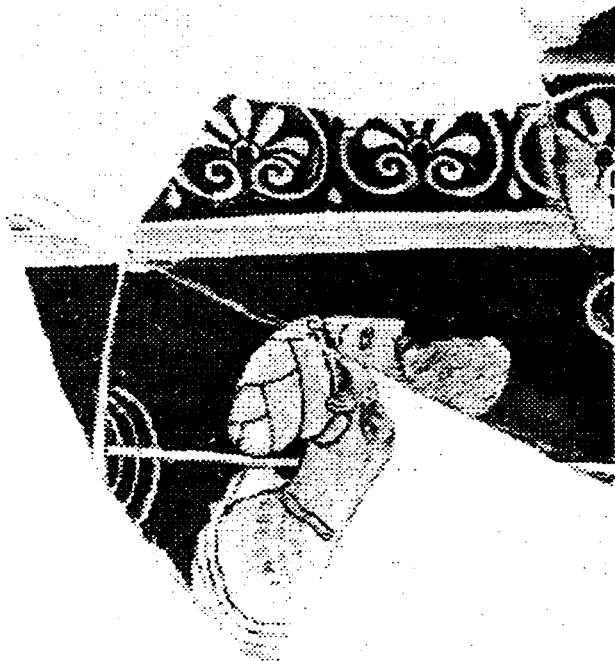


Figure 5.4: Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. 13365, detail side A (left).

Figure 5.5: Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. 13365, detail side A (bottom).

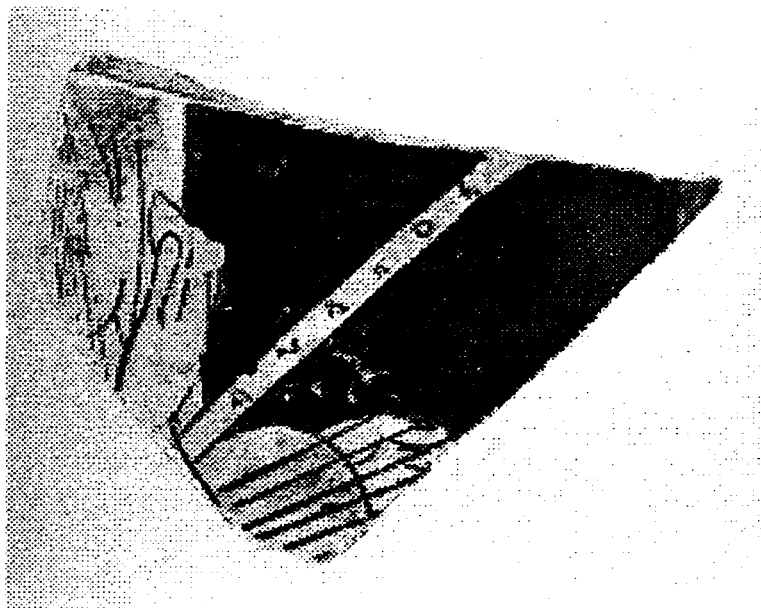


PLATE XII

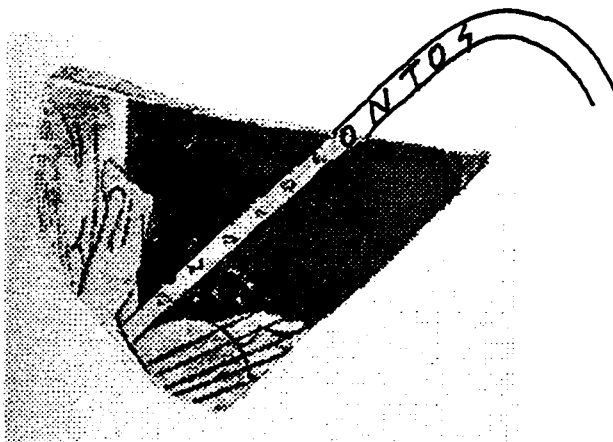


Figure 5.5: Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. 13365, detail side A (possible reconstruction).

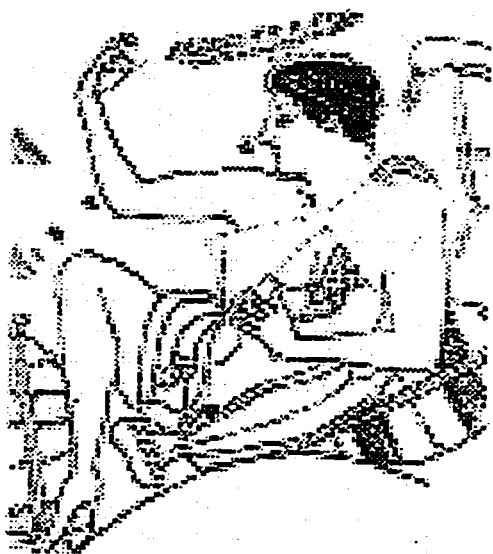


Figure 6: Munich, Antikensammlungen 2636 (above).

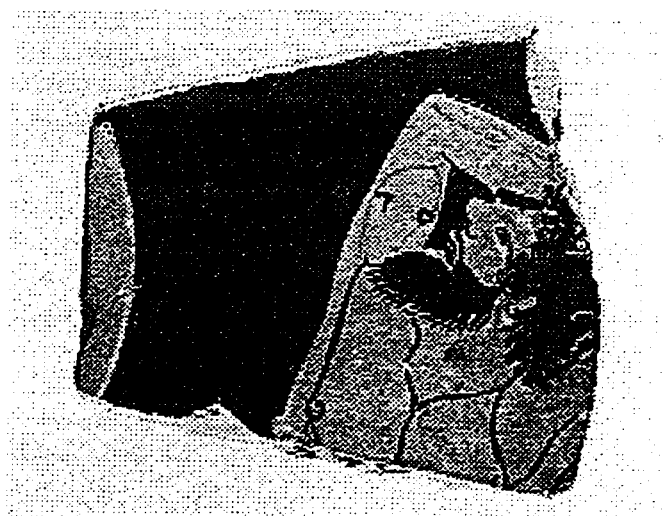


Figure 7.1: Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 546 fr. (right); drawing (below).





Figure 7.2: London,
British Museum E68,
tondo (above).

Figure 8. 1: Florence,
Museo Archeologico
3949, tondo (right).



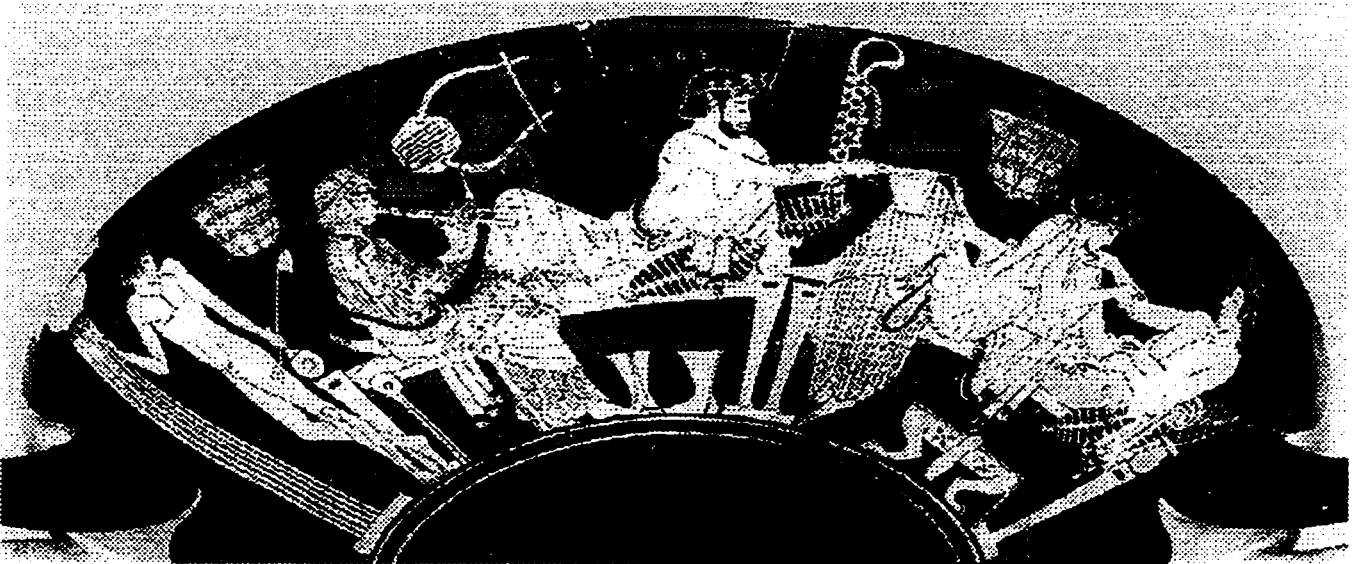


Figure 8.2-8.3: London, British Museum E68 (side A, top; side B, bottom).



Figure 10.1: London, British Museum GR 1895.5-13.1, tondo.

PLATE XVIII



Figure 10.2-10.3: London, British Museum GR 1895.5-13.1, (side A, top; side B, bottom).

PLATE XIX

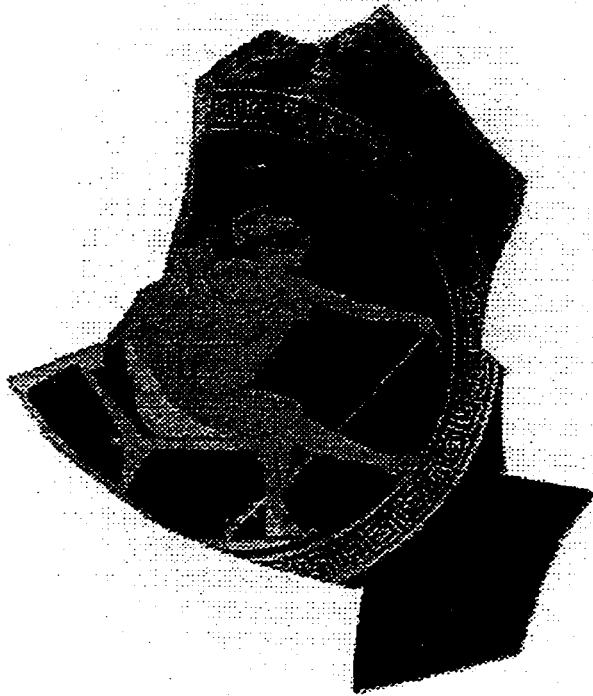


Figure 10.4: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 83.AE.321 (above).

Figure 10.5: London, British Museum F65 (below).





Figure 11: Munich, Antikensammlungen 2646.

PLATE XXI



Figure 12.1: London, British Museum 95.10-27.2, tondo (above).

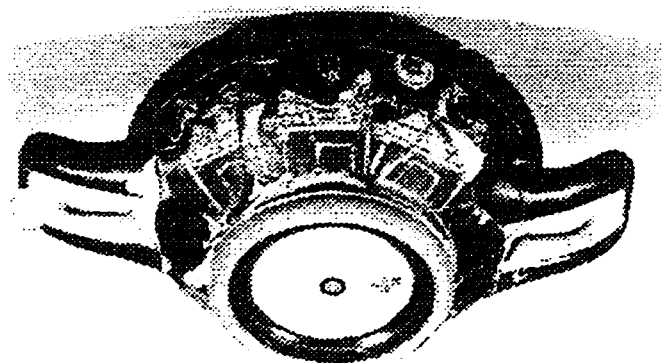


Figure 12.2: London, British Museum 95.10-27.2, side A (above).

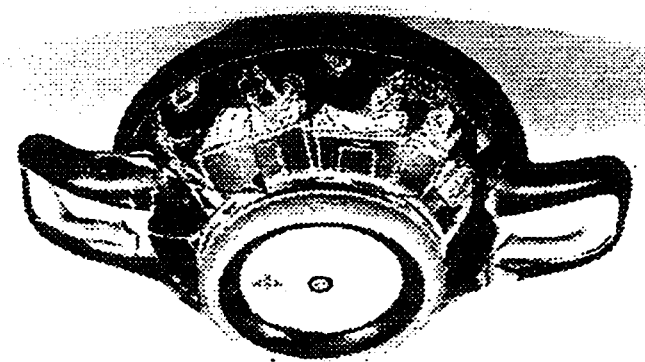


Figure 12.3: London, British Museum 95.10-27.2, side B (above).



Figure 13: Rome, Villa Giulia 50329 fr. (top left).

Figure 14.2: Athens, National Museum 1357, drawing (top right).

Figure 14.1: Athens, National Museum 1357 (bottom)

