Observing Genre in Archaic Greek *Skolia* and Vase-Painting*

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Skolion. A rather general term covering any after-dinner song; indeed, poems originally written for entirely different purposes (for example poems by Stesichorus) could be performed by a guest as a contribution to the entertainment, and called a skolion. The name comes from the irregular or ‘crooked’ order in which such pieces were offered during the evening, as opposed to the regular order ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ in which everyone gave their compulsory piece after dinner.¹

Introduction

Fowler’s definition reflects a longstanding view held by a majority of scholars who have studied songs called *skolia* but generally assume that the term σκόλιον lacked any real generic significance in antiquity.² Perhaps because of their well-known depictions in comedy (where their popularity among the masses appears to have been exploited for laughs), the Attic *skolia* are regularly trivialized as ‘light’ and ‘informal’ compared to other types of melic poetry, giving rise to a sweeping and often negative generalization of the term *skolion* that even

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1 Fowler (1987) 93.

2 Notable exceptions include Smyth (1900) xcv–cvii, Bowra (1935¹), Van Groningen (1960), and Cingano (2003), though none offers a systematic definition of the genre relative to other lyric forms.

skews the way many of Pindar's songs are perceived.³ This consensus derives largely from the work of Richard Reitzenstein (1893) and A.E. Harvey (1955) whose conclusions, provided one accepts them, preclude asking further questions about genre, original function, and the compositional pattern of songs known as *skolia*: if these songs only acquired that label in their after-supper afterlife as a kind of recycled lyric, then the choice of song and its link to the occasion would seem arbitrary indeed.

In this paper I offer a fresh analysis of the *skolion* based on current methodological approaches to genre.⁴ Using a wider variety of sources, including archaic red-figure vase painting, I arrive at a more restrictive definition of the *skolion* and reveal its proper status as a distinct and serious genre within the canon of Greek lyric poetry. Like the *paian* or *threnos*, the *skolion* exhibits a recognizable pattern of composition and performance that was known and respected in antiquity. I shall argue that ancient Greek singers and their audiences began in the late sixth century BCE to distinguish the *skolion* from other forms of lyric poetry through differences of occasion, content, and style, specifically, the ritual aspects of communal *symposia*, proverbial/gnomic content, and a preponderance of Aeolic meters coupled with a preference for the Lydian and Ionian modes.⁵ This new generic awareness is most clearly reflected in the emerging pan-Hellenic musical tradition that projected the origins of fixed poetic genres into the quasi-mythical past where Terpander is said to have

3 In reference to Pindar's *skolion* for Xenophon (fr. 122 S.-M.), Carey (2009) 31–32 observes that 'already by Pindar's date (to judge by Aristoph. *Ach.* 532, *Wasps* 1222, 1236–1240, *Frogs* 1302) the term *skolion* was in general use to designate more informal songs sung at the *symposion*'. He goes on to say that '[i]t would be naive to suppose that Pindar seriously regarded this elaborate professional composition as equivalent to these light songs and we may reasonably doubt that he seriously termed it a *skolion*'. This reading unduly privileges not only the Attic usage, but also its comic representation. Other scholars treat Pindar's *skolia* as light and playful in contrast to the rest of his poetry. See Van Groningen (1960) 20–21; Kurke (1996) 69 n. 6.

4 As recent scholarship has emphasized, Greek genre concepts were fluid and changed over time. In the archaic period, occasion and the circumstances of performance created what Depew and Obbink (2000) 6 call 'a conceptual orienting device that suggests to a hearer the sort of receptorial conditions in which a fictive discourse might have been delivered'. Cf. Nagy (1994–1995). Moreover, the 'metadiscourse about genre' which developed in the late classical and Hellenistic periods often distorted or even fictionalized a poem's original 'productions-and performance-based' generic identity; Depew and Obbink (2000) 3. Cf. Rutherford (2001) 4–6; Yatromanolakis (2004). At the same time, however, content and style cannot be wholly divorced from the formation of genre concepts. See Nagy (1990) 99; Carey (2009) 23–24.

5 Cf. Yatromanolakis (2009).

invented the *skolion* (in a lost poem by Pindar; Ps.-Plut. *de musica* 1140f.). Within the group of vases relating to this generic tradition, I identify an early reference to Terpander's legendary invention of the *barbitos* and its association with the *skolion* on a red-figure kylix by the Epeleios Painter (ca. 500 BCE). We may note from the outset that the invention of a creation myth for the *skolion* is a conceptual leap that requires an *a priori* understanding of what a *skolion* is, how it is to be defined, and what separates it from other named forms of poetry.

Previous Scholarship

Before offering a new assessment of the *skolion's* generic identity, it would be helpful to review briefly some of the major arguments and approaches to the subject advanced by earlier critics. By convention I begin with the two pieces of ancient scholarship that have exerted the most influence on modern studies. The first is a set of Hellenistic etymologies by Dikaiarchos and Aristoxenos preserved together in a single paraphrase (*schol.* Pl. *Gorg.* 451e p. 207 Cufalo):

In his treatise *On Musical Competitions* Dikaiarchos (fr. 88 Wehrli) says there were three types of song (τρία γένη ἦν ᾠδῶν). The first was sung by everyone, the second sung individually in order, and the third was sung only by the most skilled performers wherever they happened to be sitting, whereby the song is called a *skolion* because of this crooked order. But Aristoxenos (fr. 125 Wehrli) and Phyllis the musician say that at weddings they placed many couches around a single table and took turns singing proverbs and serious love songs (γνώμας καὶ ἐρωτικά) one after another while holding myrtle. The path was crooked due to the placement of the couches in a polygonal room and because those reclining on them were shoved in corners. Therefore it was not because of their composition, but because of the crooked route of the myrtle that the songs are called *skolia*.

Modern scholars tend to treat these etymologies as an authoritative account of the *skolion's* generic and performative matrix despite their obvious deficiencies, not least of which is the fact that Dikaiarchos and Aristoxenos did not set out to provide a comprehensive explanation of generic classification and morphology, but merely describe an interesting mode of performance in the service of a rather speculative etymology. Both writers apparently sought an explanation for the *skolion's* 'crooked' generic nomenclature in that peculiar style of performance well known from Attic comedy in which singers of local Attic *ske-*

lia cap the verses of other singers or take turns singing whole songs.⁶ Furthermore, the etymology's stilted division of songs into three genera of performance reflects a penchant for classificatory epistemology no doubt derived from the kind of Aristotelian thinking prevalent in the Lyceum at Athens where Dikaiarchos and Aristoxenos both spent time. It is interesting to note that despite a shared intellectual heritage each etymologist arrived at a different conclusion based on a different explanation of the *skolion*'s variable modes of performance. Indeed, Dikaiarchos' tripartite subdivision of song seems to be more a reflection of Peripatetic methodology than fifth-century reality.

The second piece of evidence consists of a much later discussion of these same etymologies by Plutarch (*Q. Conv.* 615a–c), whose reworking of the material offers a mystifying jumble of disparate academic notions:

Indeed, the *skolia* are not a genus of obscurely constructed songs as they say. Rather, everyone first sang a song to the god in unison chanting the *paian*, and after that the myrtle was passed in turn to each person (the sprig, I think, being called *aisakos* because the one who takes it sings), after which the lyre was also passed around and anyone who was educated took it and sang, tuning it, while those who were unmusical did not accept it, and so the song was called *skolion* because it was not sung in common nor was it easy. Others say that the myrtle did not go around in order, but passed from each person from couch to couch. For the first man to sing passed it to the first man on the second couch, and he passed it to the first man on the third couch, and then likewise the second to the second man on the next couch, and so the seeming complexity and bending of the course was called '*skolion*'.

Plutarch clearly elaborates upon Dikaiarchos' original etymology and speaks of three stages of performance rather than three types (γέννη) of *skolia*. He also combines the original Peripatetic theory with a competing etymology based on the adjective's (*skolios*) variant sense of 'hard' or 'difficult.' This particular etymology is preserved in fuller form by the scholiast to Aristophanes' *Wasps* (1222a Koster):

It was an ancient custom for people at banquets to sing in order, following upon the first man wherever he happened to stop the song. The first man started, holding a sprig of laurel or myrtle and singing a song of Simonides

6 E.g. Ar. *Vesp.* 1222–1223; Cratin, fr. 254 K.-A.

or Stesichoros as far as he wished, then handed it on to whomever he wanted but not in the order of the seating arrangement. The man who took it up sang the next verse after the first, and then he passed it along to whomever he wanted. Because everyone sang and recited them without forewarning the songs were called *skolia* because of the difficulty (τὰ μέλη σκολιὰ εἴρηται διὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν).

Some modern scholars have tried to reconcile these sources with one another and with earlier descriptions of the *skolion* found in Attic comedy. In his inaugural treatment of the ancient testimony, Reitzenstein drew heavily upon a well-known passage from the *Clouds* (1353–1354) in which Strepsiades asks his son to take up the lyre and sing a victory ode by Simonides (*PMG* 507); when he refuses, Strepsiades asks him to take a sprig of myrtle at least and recite something from Aischylos. Comparing this passage to the etymologies, Reitzenstein argued that Dikaiarchos originally applied the term *skolion* only to the third class of song performed by the most skilled performers, whom Reitzenstein identified via Aristophanes and Plutarch as those who possessed an ability to play the lyre and sing the more complicated lays of archaic lyric masters. Accordingly, he identified Dikaiarchos' first class of song as the *paian* and related the second class of song to the short simple verses of the Attic *skolia*. Conflating this tripartite division of performance with the scenario found in the *Clouds*—where, it is crucial to note, the term *skolion* is never used—Reitzenstein concluded that all of the poetry Strepsiades mentions there, including songs by Simonides and passages from Aischylos, were generally grouped together as a single category when performed over wine and called *skolia*.⁷ However, instead of being an independent source of corroborative evidence, as modern scholars have treated it, this passage from the *Clouds* and others like it seem rather to have inspired and contaminated later etymologies, which confuse a style of performance with generic nomenclature. No songs by Stesichoros or Simonides are otherwise known as *skolia*, and the scholiast/etymologist in this case probably never witnessed a live performance of the genre.⁸

7 Reitzenstein (1893) 3–5, 30–31.

8 The scholiast to Plato's *Gorgias* (451e p. 207 Cufalo) reports that some authorities attribute the Attic *skolion* on health (*PMG* 890) to Simonides, others to Epicharmos. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 4.5.23) attributes it to Simonides or Aristotle (cf. *Aristot. Rhet.* 1394b). It is telling that Plato does not mention Simonides when quoting this song, referring to its author simply as 'the one who made the *skolion*' as if he were anonymous. See Fabbro (1995) 25–27. I generally find the scholiasts' attempts to attribute the otherwise anonymous Attic *skolia* to various

Five decades later, A.E. Harvey attempted in greater detail to determine the semantic range of the word *skolion*.⁹ Following closely upon Reitzenstein's examination of Dikaiarchos, Harvey also drew a sharp distinction between the etymologists' second and third class of *skolia*. He maintained that during the fifth century BCE the term *skolion* referred to anything performed over wine after dinner. Both Reitzenstein and Harvey believed that the ability to recite the great lyric poets of the archaic past while accompanying oneself on the lyre was in decline during the fifth century BCE, giving rise to the degenerate practice of singing short simple songs and excerpts from tragedy while holding a myrtle sprig, as evidenced in the *Clouds* and the *Wasps*.¹⁰ In trying to determine why after the fourth century BCE the term *skolion* was no longer applied to the songs of archaic lyric masters like Pindar (who called one of his own songs a *skolion*, and whose other 'banqueting' poems are called *skolia* by various sources), Harvey concluded that 'the only drinking-songs which remained in use were those which had belonged to the second stage of the fifth-century convivialities—the short stanzas in fixed meters, sung by each of the guests in turn, holding in their hands the myrtle-branch instead of the more exacting lyre'.¹¹ According to Harvey, 'the word *σκόλιον* soon became restricted to denoting *only* the second class' when the general decline in musical education all but erased the once dominant practice of entertaining oneself on the lyre.¹² Harvey's solution has been enormously influential,¹³ but is not beyond dispute. The over-

named poets unconvincing. For example, the scholiast to Ar. *Vesp.* 1239 Koster reports that some authorities attribute the Admetos song (*PMG* 897) to Alkaios or Sappho, though he places it among Praxilla's drinking songs.

9 Harvey (1955).

10 Reitzenstein's (1893), 32–33 implausible reading of these passages also relies upon an excerpt from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (1.4) in which the Roman orator reports that every Greek man in the time of Themistokles was educated in music and skilled in the lyre and that such men displayed their talents by playing the instrument 'at banquets' (*in epulis*). For a more recent and realistic reading of the comic evidence see Kugelmeier (1996) 76–77, who continues to interpret them as an indication of 'kulturelle Wandel', but lays more emphasis on changing practices rather than strict decline.

11 Harvey (1955) 162.

12 Harvey (1955) 163.

13 Most major studies that touch upon issues of genre and performance begin from the conclusions of Reitzenstein and Harvey: e.g. Collins (2004) 84: 'The term itself ... admits of several different usages already in the earliest literary sources.' See also Lambin (1992) 266–307; (1993); Liapis (1996); Teodorsson (1989) 129–131. After the publication of Harvey's article in 1955, Bowra (1961²), who once treated the *skolion* as a distinct genre (1935¹), changed his approach completely and no longer considered it to be a distinct poetic form.

complicated theory of musical decline seems especially dubious and finds little support in recent work on the cultural history of Greek music. There does seem to have been a move toward trendier contemporary poets in Athens during the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, but to see this phenomenon in terms of a general decline in musical abilities seems anachronistic and more reflective of modern tastes than ancient realities.¹⁴ The real answer to the question of why Alexandrian scholars abandoned the term *skolion* as a classificatory label may be a simple one: during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE the term *skolion* denoted a specific lyric genre and was consistently applied to those songs composed and performed in the appropriate manner—but when the *skolion* ceased to be a living genre in the Hellenistic period, the term and its generic significance were forgotten and most Alexandrian critics simply stopped using it.

A New Approach

In the half-century since Harvey's decisive declaration that any song sung after dinner could be called a *skolion*, classicists have developed a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of genre and the problems of Alexandrian scholarship. We now know, for example, that later Hellenistic discourse on archaic lyric poetry often misrepresented original performance contexts with anachronistic fantasies, or, in the case of Dikaiarchos and the etymologists, distorted the reality of performance through imposed templates of philosophical theory. We are also more sensitive to the elasticity of genre and the variability of factors ancient audiences used, often in unpredictable ways, to categorize different types of poetry.¹⁵ Bearing this in mind, the *skolion* looks quite different when viewed from the perspective of classical sources: above all, it looks like

14 See generally Csapo (2004). As Peter Wilson (2004) 295–297 has emphasized: ‘We have good evidence for the continued importance throughout the democratic period of the training “young Athenian gentlemen” received from their kitharist’. In fact, instead of degenerating into a boorish den of popular music, the *symposion* became the locus of aristocratic experimentation and renewed conservatism in late fifth- and early fourth-century BCE Athens. Wilson draws particular attention to Kritias’ musical activities in the latter decades of the fifth century BCE and his move to protect the ‘cultural capital’ of the lyre and old aristocratic poets like Anakreon.

15 E.g. Carey (2009) 21–22 reminds us that genre categories in archaic and classical Greece were porous and flexible, admitting a great deal of overlap and uncertainty, but enough firmness ‘to generate a set of audience expectations’.

a coherent and relatively stable generic concept. In the first instance, I see no reason to doubt Pindar's sincerity when he calls his song for Xenophon a *skolion* (fr. 122 S.-M.) in order to distinguish it from, among other things, the ode he wrote in connection with the same Olympic victory (*Olympian* 13; see below). Moreover, Pindar's story about Terpander being the inventor of the *skolion* (Πίνδαρος φησι καὶ τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν Τέρπανδρος εὐρετῆς ἦν, 'Pindar says Terpander was the inventor of the *skolia* songs,' Ps.-Plut. *de musica* 1140 f.) suggests an affinity with the genre stemming from a considerable amount of experience.¹⁶ Based on Pindar's usage, we may conclude that the term *skolion* had already become a common genre label applied to new compositions during the first half of the fifth century BCE while also being applied retrospectively to older songs thought to have been composed within the same continuous tradition (as they probably were). Whether or not these older songs were originally called *skolia* or something else altogether, we may be fairly certain that other Pindaric compositions that fit the mold and are named *skolia* in later sources carried the same conceptual label as Xenophon's self-named *skolion* for most audiences from the beginning. We may also note that several passages from Attic comedy apply the term *skolion* restrictively to a number of songs that are labeled as such elsewhere in Greek literature: the Attic *skolia* (e.g. *PMG* 897) and a verse by Alkaios (fr. 141 L.-P.) are named in *Wasps* (1222–1248; cf. Athen. 693 f.–695 f.; *Ath. Pol.* 19.3, 20.5), *skolia* by Alkaios and Anakreon in *Banqueters* (fr. 235 K.-A.) and *Birds* (1410–1416; *schol.* 1410b Holwerda; Alc. fr. 345 L.-P.; cf. Alc. fr. 249, 348 L.-P.; *PMG* 891; Arist. *Pol.* 1285a), and a *skolion* by Timokreon (*PMG* 731) in *Acharnians* (532–534; *schol.* 532 Wilson). Additionally, in *Frogs* (1301–1303) Aischylos accuses Euripides of pilfering elements (probably linguistic and acoustic) from all kinds of songs, listing *skolia* alongside other forms of lyric like *threnoi* as if they all had unique characteristics that set them apart from one another; if the term *skolion* referred to any song whatsoever that happened to be performed after dinner then its inclusion here would be nonsensical. What, then, do all of these songs have in common?

To begin our search for an answer, let us turn (very carefully) to Athenaios, who echoes the old tripartite subdivision of Dikaiarchos' etymology, but frames the discussion in a way that adds consilient information about the nature of the *skolion* (694c):

16 Power (2010) 410 has suggested that Pindar's attribution of the *skolion* to Terpander belongs to the same *skolion* for Hieron (fr. 125 S.-M.) in which the poet credits him for inventing the *barbitos*.

Most of the guests remembered the well-known Attic *skolia*, which are worth recounting because of their extreme archaizing and the simplicity of their composers (ἀπομνημονεύσαι διὰ τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν τῶν ποιησάντων). Alkaios and Anacreon are praised for this type of composition (τῇ ἰδέῃ ταύτῃ) as Aristophanes shows in the *Banqueters* when he says, ‘sing to me a *skolion*, choosing something from Alkaios or Anacreon.’ Praxilla of Sicyon is also highly regarded for her composition of *skolia*. They are called *skolia*, not because their pattern of composition was crooked—for the *skolia* are said to be a relaxed form of song (λέγουσιν γὰρ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀνειμέναις εἶναι σκολιά)—but because there were three genera, as Artemon of Cassandreia says in Book 2 of *On the Use of Books* (*FHG* IV 342), which includes the songs associated with social gatherings (τὰ περὶ τὰς συνουσίας ἦν ἀδόμενα). The first it was customary for everyone to sing, the second type everyone sang also, but in order, one taking it over from another, and as for the third and most highly ranked type, not everyone participated, but only those who seemed sagacious, whatever place they happened to be in (...) This kind was sung when they finished the communal songs and the songs it was necessary for everyone to sing, for they would request each of the wise singers to offer a beautiful song to the group. By beautiful, they meant one that seemed to give some advice or gnome useful to living one’s life (καλὴν δὲ ταύτην ἐνόμιζον τὴν παραίνεσιν τέ τινα καὶ γνῶμην ἔχειν δοκοῦσαν χρησίμην τε εἰς τὸν βίον).

When purged of Peripatetic excess, the combination of Aristoxenos’ etymology and Artemon’s discussion in Athenaios yields three useful facts about the *skolion*: 1) *skolia* were customarily performed over wine at communal symposia, 2) their content was characteristically gnomic/proverbial or contained ‘serious love-songs’, and 3) they were considered to be a relaxed form of song and easy to sing. These three generic elements correspond roughly to the formal concepts of occasion, content, and style/form (meter, melody, etc.), which contribute to the formation of genre categories in both ancient and modern systems of thought.¹⁷

17 See Nagy (1990) 47–51, 87–88, 98–115; (1994–1995); Yatromanolakis (2004) 60–62; Kantzios (2005b) 11–29. If occasion was the most important factor in determining archaic genres, by the late classical period content and style became important generic markers, as indicated by Plato’s tripartite division of song in the *Republic* (398d) and Aristotle’s (*Poet.* 1447a) basic approach to distinguishing different genres through different means of representation, such as rhythm, language, and melody.

The *skolion* Reconsidered

Occasion

In testing this outline of the *skolion* against the surviving corpus, we may begin with Pindar's *skolion* for Xenophon, which contains the earliest surviving use of the term σκόλιον in Greek literature.¹⁸ This song was performed at Xenophon's thanksgiving sacrifice in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Corinth in the wake of his Olympic victory of 464 BCE. According to Athenaios (573e–f = Chamaeleon fr. 31 Wehrli):

Pindar first wrote an *enkomion* for him [*Olympian* 13] ... but later composed a *skolion* to be sung at the sacrificial banquet (Πίνδαρός τε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔγραψεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκώμιον ... ὕστερον δὲ καὶ σκόλιον τὸ παρὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἄσθέν), the beginning of which he composed as an address to the prostitutes who took part in the occasion when Xenophon was presiding over the sacrifice to Aphrodite ...

Athenaios quotes enough verses of the *skolion* to create a fairly intelligible whole (Pindar fr. 122 S.-M.):

Πολύξεναι νεάνιδες, ἀμφίπολοι
Πειθοῦς ἐν ἀφνειῷ Κορίνθῳ,
αἷ τε τὰς χλωρὰς λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη
θυμιάτε, πολλάκι ματέρ' ἐρώτων
οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι
νοήματι πρὸς Ἀφροδίταν,

ὕμιν ἄνευθ' ἐπαγορίας ἔπορεν,
ὦ παῖδες, ἐρατειναῖς (ἐν) εὐναῖς
μαλθακάς ὥρας ἀπὸ καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι.
σὺν δ' ἀνάγκῃ πᾶν καλὸν ...

...

18 West (1974) 7 draws attention to the relatively early use of *skolion* as a generic term, which he argues reflects the occasion of the songs' performance. E.L. Bowie (1986) 26, on the other hand, maintains that the term 'refers not to the *occasion* but to the manner of performance of the songs.'

ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω, τί με λέξοντι Ἴσθμοῦ
 δεσπότηι τοιάνδε μελίφρονος ἀρχάν
 εὐρόμενον σκολίου
 ξυνάορον ξυναῖς γυναιξίν.

διδάξαμεν χρυσὸν καθαρὰ βασάνῳ

...

ὦ Κύπρου δέσποινα, τεὸν δεῦτ' ἐς ἄλλος
 φορβάδων κορὰν ἀγέλαν ἐκατόγγυ-
 ον Ξενοφῶν τελέαις
 ἐπάγαγ' εὐχωλαῖς ἱανθείς.

Young girls, much frequented attendants
 of Persuasion, in rich Corinth
 you burn the yellow tears of pale frankincense
 often flying in thoughts up to the mother of desires,
 Uranian Aphrodite;

to you she has permitted without blame
 to pluck the fruit of soft youth
 in welcome acts of love.
 Under compulsion everything is beautiful ...

...

But I wonder what the lords of the Isthmus
 will say about me for composing a beginning such as this
 for a honey-minded *skolion*
 to accompany common women.

We test gold on a pure touchstone ...

...

O mistress of Cyprus, here to your grove
 A hundred-limbed herd of grazing women
 Xenophon has led, rejoicing in the
 fulfillment of his prayers.

Based in part on the songs' respective performance contexts, both Pindar and Athenaios (via Chamaeleon) distinguish this *skolion* from the earlier *enkomion*, the *skolion* having been composed for performance at the banquet, the *enkomion* as part of the initial victory celebration (probably for performance during a *kômos*).¹⁹ The *skolion* is clearly not a victory ode, as it mirrors the occasion of the sacrificial banquet and was most probably performed over wine.²⁰ In addressing itself to the sacred prostitutes (perhaps in a spirit not unrelated to that of the *skolia erôtika* mentioned by Aristoxenos) the song positions itself primarily within the religious community of the sanctuary and the occasion of the feast, moderating Xenophon's original victory. Scholars now agree that Pindar expected his victory odes to be re-performed at a number of different venues, especially *symposia*, but there is no reason to believe that *epinikia* were ever called *skolia* by classical singers and their audiences. Even when performed over wine an *epinikion* remained an *epinikion*, just as a *skolion* remained a *skolion* even if the person singing it or writing it down were not drinking (e.g. Pl. *Gorg.* 451e).²¹

- 19 Van Groningen (1960) 20–21 followed by Kurke (1996) 50, 69 n. 5 rightly interprets the phrase *παρὰ τὴν θυσίαν* to mean that the *skolion* was performed as part of the larger celebrations, not during the actual slaughter ('à côté, en marge du sacrifice' or 'à l'occasion du sacrifice'). Kurke rightly asserts that the occasion was the *symposion*. Cf. Fränkel (1973) 469–471; Budin (2006) 85. On the likely performance contexts of Pindar's victory odes see Heath (1988), Heath and Lefkowitz (1991), Carey (1991), and Morgan (1993), who argue in favor of choral performance. Morgan also demonstrates that Pindar (in *Olympians* 1 and 9) tried to distance his rather serious *epinikia* from the playful songs and lesser victory odes performed at *symposia*.
- 20 Cingano (2003) 24–25 argues that Xenophon's financial resources and the open space of the sanctuary, as opposed to the closed space of a private domestic banquet, encouraged a choral performance of the *skolion*. However, the dining facilities used for the sacrificial banquet, whether enclosed (perhaps by a tent) or open-air, would have been just as conducive to a solo performance.
- 21 See Morgan (1993); Currie (2004). Budelmann (2012) points out that the *enkomia* of Pindar and Bacchylides often explicitly situate themselves in a sympotic environment, while *epinikia* make more generalized references to *symposia* and tend to associate themselves with the larger occasion of the festival banquet. But what Budelmann calls *enkomia* I would call *skolia* (including Pi. fr. 122 S.-M.) as many ancient sources do, making the references to *symposia* quite natural. He is right to point out, however, that these *epinikia* and *skolia* (or *enkomia*) have much in common, especially strategies of praise. It is quite possible that in addition to the *skolion* (fr. 122 S.-M.) *Ol.* 13 was performed again at the banquet in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Corinth where its original external occasion (the victory celebration) would have been re-created through performance, separating

In Pindar's other *skolia*—all of which reference a sympotic occasion—we detect a strong correlation between the songs' function and the activities of the banquet, specifically, activities that accompany drinking.²² According to Athenaios (427d = Theophrastus fr. 118 Wimmer; Pindar fr. 128 S.-M.):

καὶ τὰ σκολιά καλούμενα μέλη τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν πλήρη ἐστί.
 λέγω δ' οἶον καὶ Πίνδαρος πεποίηται·
 χάριτάς τ' Ἀφροδισίων ἐρώτων,
 ὄφρα σὺν Χειμάρῳ μεθύων Ἀγαθωνίδα
 βάλω κότταβον

the songs the ancient poets called *skolia* are full of [the *kottabos*]. I mean the kind Pindar composed:

'the charms of Aphrodite's love,
 so that while getting drunk with Cheimaros
 I throw the *kottabos* for Agathonidas.'

A line preserved by Philodemos (*De mus.* 4.12), usually attributed to the *skolion* for Hieron, encapsulates the sympotic experience (fr. 124d S.-M.):

Βαρβι[τί]ξαι θυμὸν ἀμβλὺν ὄντα καὶ φωνὰν ἐν οἴνῳ

To rouse with the *barbitos* a mind that is dull along with the voice, over wine.

it generically from the indigenous *skolion*. On the re-creation or activation of the original occasion, and for the case of *epinikia* in particular, see Day (2000) 40–41 with relevant bibliography.

- 22 Only the fragments discussed here are explicitly identified as *skolia* in ancient sources. It is worth noting that Didymos (fr. 62 Braswell in *inscr.* a Pi. *Nem.* 11 Drachmann) associated *Nemean* 11 with Pindar's *παρόινια*. Pindar's song for Thrasyboulos of Akragas (fr. 124 S.-M. = Athen. 480c, 782d) is not explicitly identified as a *skolion*, but its content and meter are highly suggestive: in the opening verse Pindar clearly states: 'I am sending a chariot of lovely song for after dinner,' which he says 'may be a sweet goad for your fellow-drinkers'. On the echo of this line in the last verse of *Pythian* 6 (also composed for Thrasyboulos) see Kurke (1990) 102–103, who calls fr. 124 S.-M. a *skolion*. Van Groningen (1960) 99–100 suggests that the occasion was a 'fête privée', noting: 'Rien n'indique que le symposium ait présenté un caractère semi-officiel comme celui de Xénophon.' Even so, the message of the song is a universal one: when drinking 'we all sail to a false shore, just the same/then the poor man is rich and the rich man ...' For fuller discussions of this song see Van Groningen (1960) 92–94; Bowra (1964) 232–235. Cf. Bacchylides fr. 20b S.-M.

Athenaios records several more lines (635b–d = Aristoxenos fr. 99 Wehrli; Pindar fr. 125 S.-M.):

Aristoxenos ... says that in the *skolion* for Hieron (ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἱέρωνα σκολίῳ) Pindar names the *magadis* and says ‘antiphonal plucking’ ... Pindar clearly says that Terpander invented the *barbitos*, a ‘responding-voice’ to the Lydian *pēktis*:

τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εὖρεν
πρῶτος, ἐν δειπνοῖσι Λυδῶν
ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πακτίδος

which [*barbitos*] Terpander the Lesbian first invented,
when at Lydian banquets he heard the voice-answering plucking
of the high-pitched *pēktis*.²³

He also says (Athenaios 512d = Heracl. Pont. fr. 55 Wehrli; Pindar fr. 126 S.-M.):

Πίνδαρος παραινῶν Ἱέρωνι τῷ Συρακοσίῳ ἄρχοντι·
μηδ' ἀμαύρου τέρψιν ἐν βίῳ· πολὺ τοι
φέριστον ἀνδρὶ τερπνὸς αἰὼν.

Pindar gives this advice to Hieron, the ruler of Syracuse:
‘Do not impair pleasure in life; for by far
the best thing for man is a pleasant lifetime.’

Pindar’s idealized re-creation of the song’s real occasion is augmented by an implicit comparison with imaginary *symposia* of the distant past, linking Hieron’s western Greek present to Terpander’s fantastic Lydian east.²⁴ The *skolion* effectively situates the tyrant and his court within a much larger cultural/social/historical matrix. Members of the aristocracy no doubt constituted the bulk of the drinking group, but as the head of the city’s power structure and

23 For a more detailed discussion of this *skolion* see Van Groningen (1960) 112–113. Pindar also composed *Olympian* 1 and *Pythians* 1, 2, and 3 for Hieron. On the problematic identification of *Pythians* 2 and 3, and Pindar’s relationship with Hieron see Young (1983); Robbins (1990).

24 On internal references to the external realities of performance in Pindar see Nagy (1990) 94; Carey (2007). According to Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 22–23 Pindar often uses the term δειπνον to indicate ‘the group around the *symposion*’ as well as the formal banquet itself.

representative of its sovereignty, the tyrant presided over *symposia* that were more than just private parties of like-minded *hetairoi*. The so-called ‘princely banquets’ of Pindar may be viewed in many respects as civic banquets.²⁵ Their *skolia* spoke to the world—this is most evident in the song for Xenophon—and, in the words of Schmitt-Pantel, reflect ‘a system which stresses fundamental values, as much religious as social—in a word, civic values.’²⁶

Evidence relating to the roughly contemporary Attic *skolia* also makes a fundamental connection between the *skolion* and wine, though internal references to the sympotic occasion are rare.²⁷ We find only two: the voice of *PMG* 906 commands a servant to ‘fill it up for Kedon [a martyr who died fighting the tyrants] ... since it is necessary to pour [wine] for good men,’ while *PMG* 902 opens by asking no-one in particular to ‘drink with me.’ Fortunately, external testimony relating to the songs’ performance offers an abundance of details. In several comic passages, the sympotic occasion is described or represented on stage, and while the songs themselves are frequently travestied for laughs, the prosaic set-ups appear to reflect everyday practice. In the *Wasps*, for example, Philokleon is instructed to sing the *skolion* in a proper fashion and in the proper order, following the libations and initial prayers (1216–1226):

- Bdelykleon. Water for our hands! Bring in the tables! We’re having our dinner.
We’ve washed our hands. Now we’re pouring libations.
Philokleon. For heaven’s sake, is the feast just a dream?
Bdel. The auletris has begun her music. Your fellow drinkers are Theoros, Aeschines, Phanos, Kleon, and another foreigner at Akestor’s head. With these men for company see that you do a good job of taking up the *skolia* (τὸ σκόλι’ ὅπως δέξει καλῶς).
Phil. Are you kidding! I’ll do it better than any Diakrian.
Bdel. We’ll see. Now then, I’m Kleon and I begin by singing the Harmonios song, and you have to take it up:
‘There never was any man in Athens ...’

25 Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 20, n. 42; Vetta (1983).

26 Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 24. We may compare the broad audiences of Pindar’s *skolia* to those of his victory odes, whose purpose was the reintegration of the victorious athlete into the community at large. See Crotty (1982) 121; MacKie (2003) 100–101. Kantzios (2005a) argues that the tyrant’s *symposia* in Athens included members of the community beyond the old aristocracy, such as urban hoplites.

27 Precise dating of the Attic *skolia* individually or as a group is difficult, if not impossible, but a general date of ca. 514–480 BCE is certainly applicable if somewhat broad. See Bowra (1961²) 375–376; Thomas (1989) 258–260; Anderson (2003) 202–203.

The same pattern is detected in a passage from Antiphanes' *Diplasioi* (fr. 85 K.-A. = Athenaios 503d) and Plato Comicus' *Spartans* (fr. 71 K.-A.) where the *skolia* are sung after the libations but before the *kottabos*:

A: Have the men already dined?

B: Every single one.

A: Very good. Why don't you run and carry out the tables, while I go and pour out the water for their hands.

...

The libation had already occurred and the drinkers were well into it. The *skolion* had been sung (καὶ σκόλιον ᾄσται) and the *kottabos* stand had been brought out.

The Attic *skolia* may have lacked structural complexity, but they appear to have been taken seriously as a ritualized component of the *symposion*'s formal progression.

Several more scenes from Aristophanes attest to the popularity of the Attic *skolia* throughout the polis. The *symposion* in Aristophanes' *Banqueters*, where an instructive character commands someone to 'sing a *skolion*, choosing something from Alkaïos or Anakreon' (ᾄσον δὴ μοι σκόλιον τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου κἀνακρέοντος, fr. 235 K.-A.) appears to take place within a sanctuary of Herakles frequented by a group of local demesmen.²⁸ References to traditional paraphernalia, including a *kottabos*stand and garlands, confirm the sympotic context of this scene as the proper occasion for the performance of *skolia*.²⁹ The chorus of *Acharnians* (978–979) also speak of singing the Harmodios song during festive countryside *symposia* that may be linked to the Rural Dionysia or Anthesteria.³⁰ We hear of the same group of traditional Attic *skolia* being performed

28 See MacDowell (1995) 27–29; Fisher (2000) 356; Wilkins (2000) 238, 276, 316, 384. The *Suda* equates the δαιταλεῖς with members of a *thiasos* or drinking group (θιασῶται καὶ συμπόται, δ 125 Adler). Orion 49.10 Sturz likewise associates the chorus with diners in a local temple of Herakles (Δαιταλεῖς δρᾶμα Ἀριστοφάνους· ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἱερῷ Ἡρακλέους δειπνοῦντες καὶ ἀναστάντες χοροὶ ἐγένοντο). See Parker (1996) 333–334.

29 The bronze *kottabos*stand and the garlands mentioned in fr. 231 may serve as an indication that the profligate son was overly familiar with sympotic luxuries. The *charisios* mentioned in fr. 211 K.-A. is a kind of sesame cake that was most often consumed during late-night sympotic revels. Wilkins (2000) 238, 309–310.

30 On the role of these two festivals in the *Acharnians* see A.M. Bowie (1993) 26–39 who interprets the play in light of the festivals. Alternatively, Habash (1995) examines the play as evidence for the historical realities of the festivals. See also Sfyroeras (2004).

in state sanctuaries and civic buildings where citizens from different social strata attended formal *symposia*. During the final reconciliation scene in the *Lysistrata* (1236–1237), for example, the Spartan and Athenian delegates ratify their peace treaty with an official ceremony on top of the Acropolis where they continue to celebrate with a formal banquet and *symposion* that includes the performance of *skolia*.³¹ The scholiast to Plato's *Gorgias* 451e (p. 207 Cufalo) also reports that the Harmodios, Admetos, and Telamon songs were routinely performed 'over cups' in the Prytaneion at Athens.

Finally, Aristotle's song to Hermeias (*PMG* 842), 'sung everyday in the *syssitia*' of the Lyceum (ἄδοντος ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις ὁσημέραι, Athenaios 696a–697b = Hermippos fr. 48 Wehrli), was identified by some in antiquity as a *skolion*. Others called it a *paian* and accused Aristotle of impiety for treating its human subject as if he were a god.³² The song's classification, which is still being debated today, is illuminating all the same because it gives us some idea of what could be counted as a *skolion* in the minds of ancient critics; whether or not Aristotle composed it with a specific genre in mind or created a kind of hybrid as several modern scholars posit, the song must have exhibited enough characteristics of the *skolion* to make that label viable.³³ Athenaios, relying on the third-century BCE biographer Hermippos and likely echoing Aristotle's own defense, tells us that the song lacked the standard paianic refrain and 'displays none of the characteristics of the *paian*, but is a certain type of *skolion*'. He may have added that, like all of Pindar's *skolia*, Aristotle's song was composed in dactylo-epitrite meters,³⁴ and like several Attic *skolia* laments the death of

31 'If someone sang the Telamon song where the Kleitagora was required, we applauded' (εἰ μὲν γέ τις / ἄδοι Τελαμώνιος, Κλειταγόρας ἄδειν δέον / ἐπηνέσαμεν). Cf. Cratin. fr. 236 K.-A.: 'to sing the Kleitagora when the aulos plays the Admetos song'. Such confusion suggests that both songs shared a similar rhythm and melody. The Admetos song and the Telamon are both in Greater Asclepiads. Kugelmeier (1996) 45–49.

32 Aristotle's accusers, Eurymedon and Demophilos, appear not to have been entirely successful in their prosecution. For the text and analysis of this song and the ancient controversy over its classification see Bowra (1938); Harvey (1955) 173–175; Renahan (1982); Rutherford (2001) 90–97; Ford (2011).

33 Didymus (*in Dem.* 10.32) and Diogenes Laertius (5.4–6) both cite the text and refer to the song as a *paian* and a hymn. Most recently, Ford (2011) 86–90 has revived and expanded the view that Aristotle's song is a kind of hybrid whose genre 'was up for renegotiation when it was performed in new places'.

34 Cf. Harvey (1955) 174: 'the great majority of the poems known to have been *σκόλια*—viz. all those of Pindar, all except one of the supposed ἐγκώμια of Bacchylides, and the *σκόλια* of Aristotle—are in a straightforward dactylo-epitrite meter.'

virtuous heroes like Achilles and Ajax (13–14; cf. *PMG* 894, 898), attempts to confer immortality upon its martyred subject (17–21; cf. *PMG* 894, 896), and offers a bit of gnomic advice about the best thing in life for a mortal, in this case divine *Arete* (1–2; cf. Athen. 694c; *PMG* 889–892, 903). In other words, Aristotle's song to Hermeias follows a very similar pattern of composition and performance as the one detectable in the larger corpus of surviving *skolia*, most notably with respect to content and style.

Content

Given the *skolion*'s proximity to libations, it is no surprise that several of the Attic *skolia* address gods and heroes or provide various facts about the deities' lives and their ideal relationship with the drinking group:

ἐν Δήλῳ ποτ' ἔτικτε τέκνα Λατώ,
Φοῖβον χρυσοκόμαν, ἄνακτ' Ἀπόλλῳ,
ἐλαφηβόλον τ' ἀγροτέραν
Ἄρτεμιν, ἧ γυναικῶν μέγ' ἔχει κράτος

In Delos Leto once bore children,
golden-haired Phoebus, lord Apollo,
and the shooter of deer, the huntress
Artemis, who holds great power over women.

PMG 886

ὦ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων κλεεννάς,
ὀρχηστὰ βρομίαις ὅπαδ' ἑ Νύμφαις,
γελάσειας ὦ Πάν, ἐπ' ἑμαῖς
εὐφροσύναις ἀοιδᾷ κεχαρημένος

O Pan, ruler of glorious Arcadia,
dancer, companion of the Bacchic Nymphs
laugh, o Pan, at my merriment
rejoicing in my song.

PMG 887

Others offer proverbial advice and maxims in accordance with Artemon's description of the *skolion*'s characteristic didactic function:

ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον ἀνδρὶ θνητῷ,
δεύτερον δὲ καλὸν φυὰν γενέσθαι,

τὸ τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν ἀδόλως,
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἡβᾶν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

Health is best for a mortal man,
second, to be beautiful in stature,
third to be wealthy without guile,
and fourth to be young with one's friends.

PMG 890

ὁ δὲ καρκίνος ᾧδ' ἔφα
χαλᾷ τὸν ὄφιν λαβῶν·
'εὐθὺν χρὴ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἔμ-
μεν καὶ μὴ σκολιά φρονεῖν.'

The crab spoke thus
taking the snake in its claw,
'a comrade ought to be straight
and not think crooked thoughts.'

PMG 892

εἴθ' ἐξῆν ὅποῖος τις ᾗν ἕκαστος
τό στήθος διελόντ' ἔπειτα τὸν νοῦν.
ἐσιδόντα, κλείσαντα πάλιν,
ἄνδρα φίλον νομίζειν ἀδόλῳ φρενί.

If only it were possible to see what everyone is really like
by opening his breast, and looking at his mind
to close it back again
and consider the man to be a friend with an honest heart.³⁵

PMG 889

While the Attic *skolion* to health (PMG 890) declares outright what the best thing in life really is, Pindar's *skolion* for Hieron (see above) offers a competing gnomic pronouncement declaring that the best thing for man is a pleasant

35 Cf. Theognis 91: ὃς δὲ μιῇ γλώσσει δίχ' ἔχει νόον, οὗτος ἐταῖρος / δεινός 'whoever has one tongue and two minds is a dangerous comrade'; 814: εἰδήσω καὶ τῶν ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον 'I shall see what kind of mind they have'. *Pistos* among friends, or the lack thereof, is a consistent theme throughout the Theognidea. See in general Donlan (1985).

life. Timokreon's moralistic tirade against the evils of wealth follows the same gnomic trajectory. According to a scholiast on *Acharnians* (532 Wilson):

The poet Timokreon of Rhodes wrote a *skolion* [*PMG* 731] like this against Wealth (τοιοῦτον ἔγραψε σκόλιον κατὰ τοῦ Πλούτου), which begins:

ὥφελέν σ' ὦ τυφλὲ Πλούτε
μήτε γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ
μήτ' ἐν ἡπείρῳ φανῆμεν,
ἀλλὰ Τάρταρόν τε ναίειν
κ' Ἀχέροντα· διὰ σέ γάρ πάντ'
αἰὲν ἀνθρώποις κακά.

Would that you, blind Wealth,
never on earth, nor sea
nor land, had appeared,
but dwell instead in Tartarus and
Acheron; because of you there
is every kind of evil for mankind.

Long before Timokreon's song made the rounds over wine, however, Pythermos (who probably lived during the first half of the sixth century BCE)³⁶ proclaimed in his only surviving *skolion* that all else is nothing next to gold (*PMG* 910):

οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα τᾶλλα πλὴν ὁ χρυσός

Other things are as nothing except gold.

Style: Meter

We also detect in the surviving corpus of *skolia* a limited choice of metrical patterns. Just as subsequent songs picked up Pythermos' moralizing tone, later composers of *skolia* continued to use the same Aeolic rhythms. The single surviving line of Pythermos' *skolion* consists of a standard phalaecean verse (– ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ = *gl ia*^), which also stands at the beginning of a unique metrical pattern used for many of the Attic *skolia*, consisting of two

36 Athenaios (625b–c) cites a poem by Hipponax or Ananios (ca. 540 BCE) in which Pythermos is mentioned by name; Smyth (1900) 280.

phalaecean verses followed by a choriambic dimeter and a final verse with two dodrans (in West's notation):³⁷

oo – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –	<i>glia</i> ^
oo – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –	<i>glia</i> ^
∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –	<i>2cho</i>
– ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	<i>dod</i> ∫ <i>dod</i>

This meter is used for a variety of different songs, including those addressed to the gods (*PMG* 884–888), the four versions of the Harmodios song (893–896), proverbial songs about friendship and human advantage (889, 890), and the Leipsydrion lament (907). This scheme likely represents a local Attic tradition used exclusively for the *skolion*. It appears again in the *Ekklesiazousai* (938–945), where Aristophanes uses it to construct parodies of democratically charged *skolia* in the spirit of the Harmodios song.³⁸

Otherwise, the collection of twenty-five Attic *skolia* displays a consistent repertoire of standard, mostly Aeolic meters, including 'major Asclepiads,' i.e. choriambically expanded glyconics (*PMG* 897, 902, 903, 904, 905, 908),³⁹ one Alcaic stanza (*PMG* 891), which seems to be an alternative version of an older song (Alc. fr. 249.6–9 L.-P.) that has been adapted to the Attic dialect,⁴⁰ a simple piece composed in pure glyconics (892),⁴¹ and a single elegiac couplet (906).

37 West (1982) 59.

38 See Ussher (1973) 206–207.

39 On this meter see West (1982) 32–33, 192.

40 The Attic version of *PMG* 891 runs as follows:

ἐκ γῆς χερὶ κατῖδην πλόον,
εἴ τις δύναιτο καὶ παλάμην ἔχει,
ἐπεὶ δέ κ' ἐν πόντῳ γένηται
τῷ παρεόντι τρέχειν ἀνάγκη.

One ought to seek a fair voyage from the land

if one is able and knows how,

but when one is already at sea

it is necessary to run with the present condition.

The papyrus containing Alkaios' song in the Aeolic dialect (P.Oxy. 2298) suggests that these lines originally formed part of a larger composition. The stanza's adapted form in the collection of Attic *skolia* served as a general song of advice recommending the utility of foresight and perseverance, thus conforming to the *skolion*'s characteristic content and general style. Hansen (1987) 108–109 speculates that this song was revived in Attica during Peisistratos' campaign against Pittakos for the possession of Sigeum.

41 West (1982) 60 describes this meter as 'two telesilleans and a dovetailed pair of glyconics'.

Fabbro (1995) 53.

We also find a somewhat unusual yet undemanding pattern (*PMG* 898–901) consisting of a dovetailed glyconic and a dodrans with a second expanded line of the same rhythm:⁴²

— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ —	˘gl ∫ dod
— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪	˘gl ∫ dod ^d

It is no coincidence that the three additional poems of Alkaios that are called *skolia* in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE were composed in ‘major Asclepiads’ (fr. 345; 348 L.-P.), and expanded glyconics, otherwise known as the fourteen-syllable Sapphic (fr. 141 L.-P.).⁴³ Timokreon’s single surviving *skolion* against wealth (*PMG* 731) composed in trochaic dimeters also falls squarely within the Aeolic tradition.

We may notice that the straightforward glyconic-based metrical patterns of these Attic *skolia* are relatively simple, easy to sing, and, as we shall see, conducive to a relaxed melodic pattern. The ease and frequency of these standard metrical structures reflect the ‘simple nature of their composers’ (Athen. 693f.; see above) and attest to the widespread popularity of such songs throughout the Attic population.⁴⁴ Indeed, the somewhat common, even folksy language of the Attic *skolia* has not gone unnoticed. Martin West remarks, ‘[v]ersification in these ditties is a little lax’, pointing out, for example, that the *χαί* in *PMG* 893.2, 895.2, 896.2, and 907.3 resists elision. He also notes a peculiar pronunciation of ὑγαίνειν in *PMG* 890 ‘in which the γ softens to a fricative between the two close vowels and a y-glide develops after it: hü-g-y(i)’.⁴⁵ Although Pindar’s *skolia* composed in straightforward dactylo-epitrite are more complex than the bulk of these short Aeolic songs, they are relatively simple compared to his *epinikia* and, we might even say, ‘relaxed’.⁴⁶ It would seem that even Pindar respected an implicit expectation that a *skolion* ought to be easy to sing and readily followed.

42 West (1982) 60.

43 MacDowell (1971) 291–292.

44 Cf. West (1992) 349 n. 98: ‘It can be observed from the meters that there were certain favorite tunes that were used again and again.’

45 West (1982) 18.

46 As Van Groningen (1960) 103 says of his *skolion* for Hieron (fr. 124d, 125, 126, 128 S.-M.): ‘La structure est très simple.’

Style: Mode

Lyric style may be understood, according to Gregory Nagy, as ‘the interaction of phraseology, rhythm, and modes’, or diction, meter, and melody (*logos, rhythmos, harmonia*), the three components of song Plato outlines in the *Republic* (398d).⁴⁷ Closely related to a song’s rhythmic qualities are its interdependent modes, or the distinctive *harmoniai* underlying its melodic performance. This too is an integral part of the genre’s identity.⁴⁸ Both the Lydian and Ionian modes are expressly associated with the *skolion* and are the only modes known to have been used in their composition. In fact, the invention of the Ionian mode is associated with Pythermos’ *skolia*, as Athenaios reports (625c):

φασί δὲ Πύθερμον τὸν Τήιον ἐν τῷ γένει τῆς ἀρμονίας τοῦτῳ ποιῆσαι σκολιὰ μέλη, καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸν ποιητὴν Ἰωνικὸν Ἰαστὶ κληθῆναι τὴν ἀρμονίαν.

They say that Pythermos of Teos composed *skolia* in this type of *harmoniai*, and because the poet was from Ionia the harmony was called Ionian.

While this anecdote probably lacks genuine historical veracity, it does prove two crucial points about the nature of the genre. First, it shows that later generations formulated a separate history of the *skolion* to account for its unique status: Terpander is credited with originally inventing the form while Pythermos is said to have added the Ionian *harmonia* to its compositional tradition.⁴⁹ Such quasi-mythical stories reflect the actual process of pan-Hellenization.⁵⁰ Second, this etiological story confirms that certain *harmoniai* (in this case

47 Nagy (1990) 51.

48 Aristotle (*Pol.* 1342b) associates the dithyramb with the Phrygian mode, telling us that Philoxenos tried to compose one in the Dorian mode but was forced back into the appropriate Phrygian because the nature of the genre demanded it. However, as West (1992) 181 and Wallace (2005) point out, an Athenian dithyramb produced during the first half of the fifth century BCE was performed with ‘Dorian auloi’ [i.e. with a Dorian mode] at the Dionysia; the victory and the performance are described in an epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 13.28). Nevertheless, Philoxenus must have had a compelling reason for returning to the preferred mode.

49 On Terpander’s invention of the *skolion* see Van Groningen (1960) 118, Bowra (1961²) 131 n. 5, Nagy (1990) 358, and Gostoli (1990) 89–90, 112, 132, who associates a fragment attributed to Terpander (fr. 3) with the *skolion*.

50 As Nagy (1990) 86–91 has shown, the gradual systematization of the major genres and musical elements of the Greek song-making tradition were explained through later myths and stories about early musical innovations and quasi-mythical inventors like Terpander, Arion, and Olympus.

the Ionian) were associated with the *skolion* and served as a stylistic genre marker similar to that of meter.⁵¹

Pindar's *skolia* point to a second distinctive *harmonia* that came to define the *skolion*'s generic identity. In his *skolion* for Hieron, Pindar tells how Terpander invented the *barbitos* after hearing the *pêktis* at Lydian banquets (fr. 125 S.-M.; see above). Here, the internal reference to Lydian music and festivities signals the composition's own musical tradition, specifically, I would argue, its Lydian *harmonia*. Normally, the Aeolian and Dorian modes correspond to like meters such as Aeolic and the Dorian dactylo-epitrite, but the Lydian mode is adaptable to both, and in at least one other Pindaric composition (*Nemean* 8) it is again coupled with dactylo-epitrite.⁵²

Plato links the Lydian and Ionian *harmoniai* in the *Republic* (398e–399a) when discussing the various melodic patterns and their moral impact upon the human psyche.⁵³ He begins by explaining the interdependence of a song's three constituent elements, declaring that its 'mode and rhythm must necessarily fit the words' (καὶ μὴν τὴν γε ἁρμονίαν καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ τῷ λόγῳ, 398d). By way of example, he draws attention to the inherent connection between the definitive content of poetic laments and the innate 'lamentatory' qualities of their characteristic *harmoniai* (θρηνώδεις ἁρμονίαι, 398e), which he identifies as the Mixolydian and Syntonolydian. After banning laments and threnodic modes from his ideal city, Plato turns his attention to drunkenness and sloth, asking what modes are 'soft' (μαλακαί) and 'sympotic' (συμποτικά). The answer is of course the 'Ionian and Lydian, which are called lax' (Ἰαστί, ἥ δ' ὅς, καὶ Λυδιστί, αἵτινες χαλαραὶ καλοῦνται). We may recall that Artemon called the *skolia* a 'relaxed' type of verse (ἐν ταῖς ἀνειμέναις) and it is no coincidence that both

51 Dupont (1999) 84 makes this interesting observation in reference to the *skolion*'s imagined invention: 'The association of Terpander, believed to have evolved musical techniques, once the music of a song had been separated from its words, proves that the *skolion* was a musical form, not a type of text.' I agree with her basic statement, that the *skolion* was a melodic phenomenon, but I must disagree with her general observation that 'when the heading *skolion* is used to assemble texts, it in fact covers more or less anything and everything'.

52 On the correlation between internal references to 'ethnic' instruments and a poem's own mode see Nagy (1990) 94–95. Other references to the Lydian *harmonia* occur in songs composed in Aeolic meters (*Ol.* 14; *Nem.* 4).

53 Plato lists the Ionian, Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian, and Syntonolydian. Aristides Quintilianus (1.9 = pp. 15–19 Winnington-Ingram) also discusses this list of modes, often called the 'Damonian scale'. West (1992) 174 suggests that they were first described by Damon, Perikles' music teacher.

Plato and Aristotle use nearly identical descriptions to explain the same two *harmoniai* normally associated with sympotic songs. Aristotle recognized the relaxed quality of the Lydian mode, but criticized Plato for censuring the easy *harmoniai* as being conducive to drunkenness (*Pol.* 1342b). He points out that ‘the relaxed *harmoniai*’ (τὰς ἀνειμένους ἁρμονίας) have the effect, not of frenzied intoxication, but of the ‘sluggishness’ (ἀπειρηχυίας) that results from the routine consumption of wine and like wine are valued for their power to amuse and relax. They are especially suitable for older people who may have trouble singing the ‘highly strung modes’ (συντόνους ἁρμονίας) but are still fully capable of performing with the easier relaxed *harmoniai*. Aristotle also ascribes to the Lydian mode in particular a kind of ‘orderly’ (κόσμον) and ‘educative’ (παιδείαν) quality, which accords well with the *skolion*’s didacticism.

Vase-Painting and Performance

The generic formation of the *skolion*, founded primarily on the drinking occasion and specific combinations of meter and mode, is likely to have coalesced in the sixth century BCE, roughly some time between Pythermos and the appearance of the Attic *skolia*; it is difficult to be more precise. The early history of the genre was obscure even in antiquity, prompting minds like Pindar’s to mythologize its origins through the figure of Terpander. Although recorded texts and references to the genre from the archaic and early classical periods are rare indeed, insight into this period of the *skolion*’s history, both real and imagined, can be garnered from early red-figure vase-painting, which helps to fill some of the gaps in our literary record.⁵⁴ The earliest and arguably most comprehensive picture of the *skolion*’s original performative matrix appears on a red-figure kalyx-krater by Euphronios dated to ca. 500 BCE.⁵⁵ An elaborate *symposion* illustrates the entire vase, populated on the obverse by a number of reclining figures and a standing *auletris*, all with their names inscribed (fig. 6.1a). They are, from left to right, Tho[u]demos, Melas, Suko (the *auletris*), Smikros (often identified as the vase-painter), and Ekphantides, who tilts back his head beneath an upraised right arm and sings a song to Apollo (fig. 6.1b).⁵⁶ The inscribed words

54 An M.A. thesis by P.J. Anderson, ‘Verse-Scraps on Attic Containers and the Practice of the ‘Skolion’: the Material Evidence in its Literary Context’ (1997, University of Ottawa) provides a convenient catalogue of poetry fragments on Attic vases associated with *symposia*.

55 Munich 8935; ARV² 1619. First published by Vermeule (1965).

56 On the significance of these names see Vermeule (1965) 34; Neer (2002) 111–112.

FIG. 6.1A *Red-figure krater by Euphronios*
MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUNGEN UND GLYPTOTHEK 8935

issue forth from his mouth in retrograde letters: ΟΠΟΛΛΟΝΣΕΓΕΚΑΙΜΑΚΑΙ (ὥπολλον σέ γε καὶ μάκαι-). On the reverse, three naked youths tend to the mixing and serving of wine.

Sir John Beazley was the first to identify the inscribed song as a *skolion*,⁵⁷ followed by Emily Vermeule who drew attention to some stylistic parallels among the Attic *skolia*, including the song to Pan that begins with a similar address (PMG 887), and the song in honor of Apollo and the Delian triad (PMG 886, see above).⁵⁸ The sequence of syllables preserved on the vase is equivalent to a glyconic (— — — — —) and when fully expanded with three more syllables would

57 Beazley (ARV² 1619) first suggested that the line be restored as a Phalaecian verse and offers this possible reconstruction: ὥπολλον σέ τε καὶ μάκαιραν αἰτῶ.

58 Vermeule (1965) 38–39 suggests that the inscribed verse may have represented ‘another part’ of this Apolline *skolion*, perhaps an additional set of verses that capped it. She

FIG. 6.1B Detail of red-figure krater by Euphronios

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represent a phalaecian verse of the kind that stands at the beginning of so many Attic *skolia*. It is the song's occasion, however, that interests Euphronios and helps us further identify the verse as a *skolion*. The elaborate equipment and the large scale of the wine service suggest a rather formal, somewhat expanded occasion redolent of the semi-public archaic banquets and *symposia* explicated by Schmitt-Pantel. Such gatherings were not strictly private affairs, since they normally involved equal members of the community whose actions reflected the larger social structure of the polis.⁵⁹ The labeled presence of a

offers several possible reconstructions of the incomplete line, including this promising phalaecian that includes a reference to Leto: ὥπολλον σέ γε καὶ μάκαιραν ἀγνάν / Λάτω τὰν δῖτοκον κάσιν τε χρύσαν.

- 59 Schmitt-Pantel (1990), (1993) 17–31 has shown that images of reclining figures on archaic vases depict a montage of an extended event that incorporates elements from both the banquet and *symposion*. Schmitt-Pantel (1993) 31: 'ces superbes scènes archaïques expriment les différentes facettes de la convivialité archaïque en soulignant les fonctions religieuses, sociales et civiques'. Such events should not be divided into public and private, banquet and *symposion*, but should be understood as a continuum of 'the Archaic aris-

banausic vase-painter (Smikros) at the *symposion* contrasts with the larger image of aristocratic leisure, leading some scholars to interpret this scene as a subversion of elite culture or an imaginary world populated by the painter's fictional persona; either way, the *skolion* seems to lend the image a touch of verisimilitude just as the elaborate couches and wine-cups do.⁶⁰ As I argue elsewhere, short simple *skolia* of this kind were most often associated with the common classes and popular *symposia* in fifth-century BCE Athens and so Ekphantides' inscribed song is in tune with the apparent non-elite grouping of painted symposiasts.⁶¹ Later, during the classical period, divergent sympotic manners became a common source of amusement: in the *Wasps*, for example, the boorish Philokleon, who is laughably unfamiliar with the eastern clothing stereotypically worn at aristocratic drinking parties and who 'never learned to play the kithara' (959), is nevertheless adept at singing the Attic *skolia* to the accompaniment of an aulos (1131–1169).⁶² Perhaps a similar contrast exists (whether intended or not) in the image of Smikros and his companions singing a traditional *skolion* without a lyre against the backdrop of a luxurious *symposion*.

We may also ask if the relaxed modes that characterize the genre are detectable in Euphronios' imagery. I think they are. Ekphantides sings a *skolion* in relaxed glyconics as Thoudemos takes a long, deep drink of wine, looking away from Ekphantides and out toward the spectator. His aloof Dionysiac posture seems to reflect the imaginary music filling the room. It surely is not the Apolline content of the *skolion's* narrative that provokes Thoudemos, but the

tocratic banquet' that included all the members of the egalitarian community: Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 23–24.

- 60 For example, Neer (2002), 87–117 argues that the insertion of potter-portraits into elite environments transgresses the normal social order and is otherwise '*ideologically impossible*'. However, it seems dubious to rely on the opinions of reactionary elites like Plato and Xenophon (as Neer does) for a wholesale description of the social attitudes of an entire city, especially a democratic one like Athens. Hedreen (2014), on the other hand, argues that Euphronios' Smikros functions as an imaginary alter-ego similar to the competing personas adopted by the iambists. See also Topper (2012) 147–153.
- 61 Jones (2014). Although the Attic *skolia* probably originated within popular *symposia* dominated by non-elites, they were in all likelihood known and performed by aristocrats through the 'common culture' of classical Athens. Gaunt (2014) has shown that vase inscriptions are normally drawn from a shared oral tradition as opposed to attributed works of literature; simple *skolia* like the one Euphronios has inscribed no doubt emerged from the same common tradition and were likely more familiar to vase-painters than compositions by named elite poets.
- 62 Cf. Swift (2010) 44–48.

relaxed Lydian or Ionian *harmonia* that Plato said was conducive to drinking and that Aristotle associates with the relaxing, intoxicating effects of wine.⁶³

Visions of Terpander

The images and inscribed verse on the Euphronios krater explicated above provide the earliest surviving evidence for the emergence of a stable pattern of composition and performance that ultimately led to the full recognition of a distinct genre called the *skolion*. Although the historical process of generic formation is mostly lost to us, images of the *skolion*'s development continued to echo throughout the collective memory of successive generations of singers and audiences, surviving today as part of the historicizing mythology of the Greek musical tradition. It is fair to say that one of the clearest indicators of a fully recognized genre in Greek music is the development of a pan-Hellenic creation story. Arion's invention of the dithyramb is one of the best examples of this phenomenon, and, as I have noted throughout this paper, by Pindar's day the form and function of the *skolion* was likewise explained through the quasi-mythical devices of primordial musicians like Terpander. But, as Timothy Power has observed, there are no extant precedents for Pindar's attribution of the *barbitos* and *skolion* to Terpander, leading him to argue that the poetic image of a sympotic Terpander is merely a self-interested reflection of Pindar himself. Pindar's songs are more elaborate than the typical short *skolion*, including those attributed to Sappho, Alkaios, and Anakreon, and the professional poet may indeed have required a more appropriate model for his work, but is this version of Terpander nothing more than a construct of Pindar's imagination?⁶⁴ It seems unlikely that he would have made such attributions *ex nihilo*; at the very least we may surmise that a common tradition had already traced the origins of the *skolia* back to the song culture of archaic Lesbos, and from there it is easy to imagine others associating the eastern overtones of Terpander's music with the phenomenon of singing *skolia* in the Ionian and Lydian modes. Early evidence linking Terpander to the invention of the *barbitos* and *skolion* might even be found in archaic red-figure vase-painting.

63 Frontal faces in Attic vase-painting often reflect the mood of figures captivated by music as well as wine. Thoudemos represents both: he is held in rapture by sympotic modes conducive to drunkenness. See Frontisi-Ducroux (1995) 95–97, fig. 42; cf. Korshak (1987) 11–14, 55.

64 Power (2010) 410–414 hypothesizes that Pindar's image is based on a tradition in which Terpander sang at aristocratic *symposia* and public messes at Sparta.

A large cup by the Epeleios Painter made around 500 BCE (fig. 6.2a) may contain allusions to the sympotic aspects of Terpander's life.⁶⁵ In the center of the composition, two men, one young and smooth, the other bearded, flank a mammoth krater planted firmly on the ground; they are surrounded by a group of happy revelers highlighted by a number of *kalos* inscriptions floating about their heads and shoulders. The youth sips from a large *skyphos* while his free hand hovers over the mouth of the larger vessel. The bearded man approaches from the right, legs bent, holding out with both hands a tortoise-shell *barbitos*.⁶⁶ His dress is eastern and exotic: a Lydian turban (or *mitra*) covers his head while a long *himation* drapes his body. The older man's emphatic presentation of the *barbitos* draws more attention to the instrument than to the krater below, which is partially hidden behind his left leg.⁶⁷ His actions and appearance are quite unique.⁶⁸ The fashionable musician does not play his instrument or hand it to the youth in front of him, but looks as though he were parading the *barbitos* through the midst of the assembled symposiasts. Images like these are normally interpreted as genre scenes depicting a typical *symposion* and *kômos*,⁶⁹ but I would like to propose a new interpretation of this particular image. Could the bearded man in the center of the composition be Terpander introducing his newly invented *barbitos* to a crowd of mainland Greeks? From the surrounding inscriptions, the word ΚΑΛΟΣ is written directly in front of the bearded figure's face, perhaps performing double duty as the voice of Terpander declaring that his instrument is beautiful. Images of famous poets are far from unknown in archaic and classical vase-painting. Sappho, Alkaios, and Anakreon were especially popular among the makers of sympotic pottery; Archilochos (or Hesiod) and a little known lyric poet named Kydias

65 Munich 2619a; *ARV*² 146.2. Lissarrague (1990b) 200–201, plate 19b; Bundrick (2005) 82–83.

66 For the *barbitos* and its representation in Attic vase-painting see Snyder (1972); Maas and Snyder (1989) 113–138; Bundrick (2005) 21–25. The instrument is most often associated with drinking, the *kômos*, and general sympotic revelry. It is above all an instrument of leisure.

67 Lissarrague (1990a) 32 notes: 'The two figures are making representative gestures that indicate the importance of both the lyre and the krater.' For representations of eastern poets in Athenian vase-painting see also Yatromanolakis (2008) 131–139.

68 In the many images of male figures, mostly youths, holding or playing a *barbitos*, often in front of a krater, they are normally shown holding the instrument close to their body, not out and away from it. For instance, in the tondo of a red-figure cup by the Triptolemos Painter (Louvre G 245, *ARV* 366, 86) a youth holding a *barbitos* stands between a herm and a krater, indicating an outdoor setting similar to the one on the Epeleios Painter's cup, but here the player's gesture is calm and static. Lissarrague (1990a) 32–37, fig. 22.

69 Cf. Lissarrague (1990a) 32–33; (1990b) 200–201; Bundrick (2005) 82–83.

FIG. 6.2A *Red-figure kylix by the Epeleios Painter*
MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUNGEN UND GLYPTOTHEK 2619A

have also been identified.⁷⁰ We should not be surprised, then, to find an image of the primeval poet Terperander on an early red-figure vase.

Terperander was originally from Lesbos, though Pindar's tradition would have him traveling to Lydian territories picking up local traditions before making his way to the Greek mainland where he is said to have carried out many more innovations.⁷¹ He is credited with being the first to organize Greek music and inventing the system of kitharodic *nomes*, which probably occurred once he had reached Sparta. He is also said to have increased the number of strings on

70 Sappho: hydria in Six's technique (Warsaw 142333, *ARV*² 300, *Para* 246); red-figure kalathos psykter by the Brygos Painter (Munich 2416, *ARV*² 385 and 1649); red-figure hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos (Athens 1260, *ARV*² 1060, *Para* 445); red-figure kalyxkrater by the Tithonos Painter (Bochum s 508). See Yatromanolakis (2001); Bundrick (2005) 99–102; Yatromanolakis (2008). Alkaios: red-figure kalathos psykter by the Brygos Painter (Munich 2416, *ARV*² 385 and 1649). See Lissarrague (1990b) 125–126; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990) 218–219. Anakreon (with name inscribed): fragment of a red-figure krater (Copenhagen MN 13365, *ARV*² 185); red-figure cup by Olto (London E 18, *ARV*² 62, 86); lekythos by the Gales Painter (Syracuse 26967, *ARV*² 36, 2). See Boardman and Kurtz (1986); Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990). Yatromanolakis (2001) 160 notes the special popularity of these poets among the general population, which may explain the prevalence of their images on Attic vases during the late archaic and classical periods. For the contested identification of Archilochos (or possibly Hesiod) on a white-ground pyxis by the Hesiod Painter (Boston 98.887) see Clay (2004) 55–57.

71 Though ancient sources assign various birthplaces to Terperander, the more prominent tradition maintained that he was a native of Lesbos. Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 85 = Athen. 635e; Suda τ 354 Adler; *Marm. Par.* Ep. 34. Nagy (1990) 86.

the lyre from four to seven and to have been the first musician to win a musical contest at the Karneia.⁷² According to this tradition and on the assumption that it was internally coherent, Terpander must have introduced the *barbitos* to mainland Greece after arriving at Sparta, and either brought the *skolion* with him or invented it there. It is difficult to locate the Epeleios Painter's *symposion* geographically, but the detailed setting does give some clues about the scene's temporal location. A wreathed amphora and a smoking altar beneath either of the cup's handles are indicative of an outdoor sanctuary where sacrifice and ritual dining has just occurred,⁷³ while the large krater at the center of the scene signals the onset of a *symposion* and the convivial pleasures that normally followed the *deipnon*.⁷⁴ The outdoor setting of the painted scene and the apparent lack of couches suggest that the surrounding figures will recline on the ground when they are ready to drink, signaling the kind of ancient primitive *symposion* Kathryn Topper has explored in black and red-figure vase-painting.⁷⁵ *Symposia* like these were imagined by the vase-painter to have taken place in the distant past, thus providing a chronologically accurate setting for Greece's first musician.

A pivotal clue in support of Terpander's identification comes from an inscription in the tondo of the cup where a lively satyr fills a garlanded krater from a large wineskin (fig. 6.2b). The inscription above his head ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ ΤΕΡΠΙΟΝ can either be read as a participial phrase, 'a silen enjoys himself', or as a title, 'Terpon the silen',⁷⁶ which may be shorthand for 'Terpander,' whose name means 'he who gives pleasure to men'.⁷⁷ A concentrated slew of additional

72 Ps. Plut. *De musica* 1132d–1134b, 1140f–1141d; Pollux 4.65 Bethe; Strabo 13.2.4; Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 F 85 = Athen. 635e. The Karneia's origins date to the 26th Olympiad, between 676 and 672 BCE. Nagy (1990) 86. See generally Power (2010).

73 Lissarrague (1990b) 204–205 briefly discusses the significance of images that show kraters in close proximity to sacrificial altars, explaining how some painters emphasized the equal distribution of meat and wine within sanctuaries.

74 This scene depicts the drinking stage only, as opposed to an accumulated image of the sacrifice, banquet and *symposion* that often appears on archaic vases. Schmitt-Pantel (1990). Attic red-figure vases evolved to depict more specific stages and events of the banquet, including sacrifice, libation, feasting, *symposion*, and *kómos*. Dentzer (1982); Lissarrague (1990a) and (1990b) 196.

75 Topper (2009) and (2012) 23–52.

76 Lissarrague (1990a) 39.

77 Nagy (1990) 86. An aulos-playing satyr named Terpaulos (ΤΕΡΠΑΥΛΟΣ) appears on a red-figure amphora by Smikros (Berlin 1966.19) with no obvious allusions to Terpander; however, this does not necessarily preclude the presence of such allusions on the Epeleios Painter's cup. See Lissarrague (1990a) 127.

FIG. 6.2B *Red-figure kylix by the Epeleios Painter (tondo)*
MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUNGEN UND GLYPTOTHEK 2619A

words in the tondo complement the visual play that occurs on the outside of the cup. Along the edge of the satyr we read ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΕΛΕΙΟΣ ('Epeleios [the vase-painter] is beautiful') echoing the many *kalos* inscriptions floating in space above the beautiful young men on the front of the vase. A second inscription above the wineskin informs us that 'the wine is sweet' (ΗΕΔΥΣ ΟΙΝΟΣ).⁷⁸ The actions and very name of the old satyr in the tondo hearken back to the pleasurable scene on the front of the vase where the bearded man holds his *barbitos* over the krater in a gesture similar to that of the Silen. Has the satyr appropriated the name of the exotic figure on the exterior of the cup,

⁷⁸ Lissarrague (1990a) 38–39.

shortening Terpander to Terpon? The use of the Doric dialect in the satyr's inscribed title may further connect his name to Terpander's Doric association. In this play on names, the pleasure of music given by Terpander on the outside of the cup is transferred to the satyr in the tondo, where his erect penis comically resembles a large *aulos* and further connects him to the matrix of wine, music, and song that defines the *symposion*.⁷⁹ Both figures stand out as harbingers of sympotic pleasure, the satyr as a follower of Dionysos and conveyer of wine, Terpander as the inventor of the *barbitos* and the *skolion*.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the lack of an explicit name-inscription attached to the figure holding the *barbitos* leaves any identification of him open to question; and yet, the scene so closely matches the imagery we find in the *skolion* to Hieron that, at the very least, we may recognize the *barbitos* player as a kind of precursor to Pindar's Terpander—a prototypical poet from the east delivering the 'exotic' music of his *symposion* to mainland Greeks. Perhaps aristocratic singers and audiences were already making efforts to distinguish the more refined *skolia* of expert poets from local popular songs like the Attic *skolia*. The Epeleios Painter sets the Terpander figure apart from the others on the vase through his Lydian attire, which would have drawn attention to the eastern influences associated with his music and poetry. The *mitra* he wears is especially symbolic. In a colorful metaphor in *Nemean* 8 Pindar compares his own musical craft to 'a Lydian *mitra* embroidered with ringing melody' (8.13–15):

A suppliant, I cling to the sacred knees of Aiakos on behalf of his dear
city
and these citizens, bringing
a Lydian *mitra* embroidered with ringing melody (Λυδῖαν μίτραν
καναχαδὰ πεποικιλμέναν),
Nemean glory in the double foot race for Deinias and his father Megas.

This verse refers to both the song and its Lydian *harmonia*.⁸⁰ Such metaphors also suggest a strong general correlation between eastern melodies, the exotic *mitra*, and the ornamented poets who wear them.⁸¹ Does the eastern headgear worn by singers and poets in Athenian vase-painting signal the performance of *harmoniai* like the Lydian and Ionian? Alternatively, does the eastern apparel

79 Satyrs also hang aulos-cases from their erect *phalloi*. See Mitchell (2009) 167–169.

80 See Nagy (1990) 94; Henry (2005) 77.

81 For the *mitra* and its Lydian associations see Brandenburg (1966); Kurtz and Boardman (1986) 50–70; DeVries (2000) 358–363.

worn by singers on the so-called Anakreontic vases act as a kind of visual metaphor for the eastern melodies they perform?⁸² We may imagine that the *barbitos* on the front of the Epeleios Painter's cup is tuned to one of the two appropriate modes in preparation for the performance of a *skolion* (the most common type of song performed over wine).

If this interpretation is correct, then the Epeleios Painter's cup and Euphronios' calyx-krater are indicative of a divergent sympotic culture as early as 500 BCE with two distinct views of the *skolion*, one absorbed in eastern luxury and expert musicians, the other rooted in a popular song culture conducted by laymen (like Smikros and his companions), but with both following the same pattern of composition and performance that characterized the pan-Hellenic concept of the *skolion*.

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82 The scene on the Epeleios Painter's cup has many elements in common with this set of vases, though his *barbitos* player lacks the kind of extravagant apparel and motions most commonly found in scenes of the 'Anakreontic' type. The closest parallel is found on a red-figure lekythos in Syracuse (26967; *ARV*² 36[2]) where a bearded *barbitos* player wearing a chiton and turban and labeled Anakreon is flanked by two naked youths, one of whom carries a large skyphos toward the bearded singer. See Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990) 214–215, 237 who suggest that the name of Anakreon inscribed on the arm of a *barbitos* on a fragmented red-figure calyx-krater (attributed to the Kleophrades Painter; Copenhagen MN 13365; *ARV*² 185 [32]) acts as a general reference to Anakreontic poetry.

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