

NON-ATTIC GREEK  
VASE INSCRIPTIONS

The original text of this book was submitted as a Habilitation Thesis to the Faculty of Philosophy and History of Basle University in July 1994 and was accepted by the Faculty at their meeting of 29 June 1995.

# NON-ATTIC GREEK VASE INSCRIPTIONS

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RUDOLF WACHTER

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To Catherine and Barbara



# PREFACE

I WISH to take this opportunity to thank all those who have helped me to become acquainted with the fascinating world of Greek vases, to pursue my research, to write this book (part of which was accepted by the University of Oxford as a D.Phil. thesis in Hilary Term 1991), and to bring it to fruition.

First of all, I am grateful for the *νεύρα τῶν πράξεων*. The Swiss National Science Foundation (Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung) provided me with a three-year fellowship to work on my project in Oxford. I was also lucky enough to be granted an Overseas Research Students award. My college, Christ Church, contributed a travel grant for a visit to the Louvre and the Cabinet des Médailles in summer 1990; a smaller sum towards the costs of this journey came from the Craven Committee (T. W. Greene Fund).

Secondly, I must put on record how admirable the resources of the library of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, were for my topic, which, apart from comparative philology, required archaeological, literary, and epigraphical works, as well as many periodicals. The free-access system and the friendly staff made it a sheer pleasure to work there.

Thirdly, I would thank the owners of vases and the staff of many museums and other institutions around the world who allowed me to examine the relevant pieces or provided me with photographs of problematic inscriptions for which I was not able to find published illustrations of sufficient quality. A number of individuals (both museum staff and private collectors) were kind enough to check particular points for me, mainly on original vases and in the archives. In particular I wish to thank I. Aghion (Paris), G. Beckel (Würzburg), G. Berger-Doer (Basle), N. Bookidis (Athens), M. Boss (Würzburg), D. von Bothmer (New York), M. Brouskari (Athens), G. Buchner (Ischia), F. Buranelli (Rome-Vatican), L. Burn (London), H. A. Cahn (Basle), F. Canciani (Trieste), A. Cassio (Rome), J. Chamay (Geneva), J. Christiansen (Copenhagen), A. Collinge (Dublin), M. Denoyelle (Paris), A. De Siena (Metaponto), K. DeVries (Philadelphia), J. F. Gardner (Reading), W. Geominy (Bonn), F. W. Hamdorf (Munich), R. Hannah (Dunedin), P. Hatzidakis (Mykonos), P. Hellström (Stockholm), L. Hünnekens (Karlsruhe), Th. Kappeler (Zurich), U. Kästner (Berlin), K. Kilinski II (Dallas), D. Knoepfler (Neuchâtel), M. Korsholm (Copenhagen), B. Meißner (Heidelberg and Halle), J. R. Mertens (New York), C. Monnier (Sèvres), M. Montembault (Paris), J. M. Padgett (Boston/Tampa), K. Parlasca (Erlangen), E. Paul (Leipzig), E. Peters (Kilchberg), M. Petropoulos (Patra), E. Pozzi (Naples), K. Reber (Athens and Basle), E. D. Reeder (Baltimore), M. Reho (Sofia), M. H. Rocha-Pereira (Coimbra), S. Rogge (Athens), G. Sakellarakis (Athens), M. Schmidt (Basle), E. Simon (Würzburg), N. Sorokina (Moscow), M. True (Malibu), L. Turnbull (University, Miss.), M. Vojatzi (Thessaloniki), K. Wight (Malibu), D. Williams (London), G. Zimmer (Berlin), J. Ziomecki (Wrocław).

Fourthly, I am particularly indebted to my supervisor, Professor Anna Morpurgo Davies, with whom I spent many hours in encouraging and critical discussion, and who also advised me on a number of articles which I succeeded in publishing during my stay in England. I thank my examiners, Dr John Penney (Oxford) and the late Professor Olivier Masson (Paris), who made valuable suggestions for improving the thesis version, particularly in respect of the final arrangement of the book and problems concerning historical personal names. Last, though not least, I wish to express my warmest thanks to Dr Nicholas Milner, who read the final draft of the thesis as well as a later draft of this book, mainly, but not only, correcting my English.

Fifthly, I thank the University of Basle and especially the Classics Institute (Seminar für Klassische Philologie) where I have found a new home; the facilities here, combined with those of the University

Library and the Institutes of Ancient History and of Classical Archaeology are excellent. I also thank Professor Joachim Latacz for encouraging me to submit this work as Habilitationsschrift to the Faculty of Philosophy and History (Philosophisch-Historische Fakultät) of Basle University. Professors Günter Neumann (Würzburg), Rüdiger Schmitt (Saarbrücken), and Anna Morpurgo Davies—who was kind enough to read the whole work again—acted as referees on the linguistic aspects, Joachim Latacz on the literary ones, and Margot Schmidt (Basle) on the archaeological ones. I am indebted to them for many valuable additions, corrections, and suggestions for greater clarity.

And finally, I am grateful to Oxford University Press for agreeing to publish *NAGVI*, and would thank especially the ‘anonymous’ advisers (one of whom was, in fact, A. W. Johnston, to whom I owe many references to art-historical publications that appeared after the submission of the Habilitationsschrift in 1994), as well as the copy-editor, Julian Ward, and Hilary O’Shea, Lucy Gasson, Enid Barker, Georga Godwin, and Jenny Wagstaffe for skilfully guiding me through the various stages of publication.

My present teaching obligations in Basle and Fribourg have, sadly, not allowed me to keep fully abreast of all most recent publications. So the Catalogue and some other parts of the book are perhaps not quite so up to date as I would have liked. But even if they were, I am sure they would not remain so for long!

A somewhat problematic feature of this book is its interdisciplinary subject-matter. I am sure that archaeologists and art historians will miss references to many important archaeological publications, that classicists would have liked more extensive discussions of the literary implications, that ancient historians will be annoyed by the relatively few conclusions concerning historical and social aspects of the periods under examination, and that comparative philologists and linguists will regret not finding more comparisons with Sanskrit, Hittite, and other IE languages. I simply could not meet all such requirements, nor did I want to deter some by giving too much weight to the field of others. Nevertheless, I hope that all of them will find at least *some* details which may be relevant to their respective branches. The special subject-matter of Greek vase inscriptions as well as the whole field of Comparative Philology concerns Classical Antiquity as a totality, I find, and the book mirrors this belief.

Why ‘Non-Attic’? Because Attic alone is undoubtedly too much for one person to undertake. We must be thankful to Henry Immerwahr for having published his book on *Attic Script* (1990), which is a useful starting-point. But only after a complete edition of Attic vase inscriptions will it be possible to do the analytical work in the way I have tried to do it for the non-Attic material here. Who will embark on that?

R.W.

*Langenthal*  
*September 1998*

# CONTENTS

<i>Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<i>Signs and Symbols</i>	xxi
Introduction	I
PART I: Catalogue of Inscriptions	5
<b>1 Euboia</b>	7
<b>2 Boiotia</b>	9
<b>3 Aigina</b>	26
<b>4 Uncertain Origin and Pseudo-Corinthian</b>	29
<b>5 Corinth</b>	34
Appendix: Some Corinthian Graffiti	116
<b>6 The Corinthian Pinakes</b>	119
a. Metrical Dedications	119
b. Other Metrical Inscriptions	125
c. Other Dedications Explicitly to Poseidon	126
d. Other Certain or Likely Dedications	131
e. Potters' or Painters' Signatures	142
f. Labels of Potters and Other Humans	143
g. Other Heroic or Non-heroic Labels	146
h. Unusual Inscriptions	150
i. Nonsense Inscriptions	153
j. Inscriptions of Uncertain Interpretation	154
Appendix: The Wooden Pinakes from Pitsà	156
<b>7 Argolid</b>	158
<b>8 Lakonia</b>	159
<b>9 Elis</b>	166
<b>10 Ithaka</b>	168
<b>11 Euboian Colonies</b>	171
<b>12 'Chalcidian'</b>	173
<b>13 Pseudo-Chalcidian</b>	192
<b>14 Etruria</b>	194
<b>15 Achaian Colonies</b>	197

<b>16 Doric Colonies</b>	<b>200</b>
<b>17 Ionic Islands</b>	<b>204</b>
<b>18 Doric Islands</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>19 Ionic Dodekapolis</b>	<b>210</b>
<b>20 Naukratis</b>	<b>214</b>
<b>21 'Caeretan'</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>22 Doric Hexapolis</b>	<b>221</b>
 <b>PART II: Analysis</b>	 <b>225</b>
<b>I EPIGRAPHY AND SPELLING</b>	<b>227</b>
<b>Some Letter-Forms</b>	<b>227</b>
§101. Tailed rho	227
§102. $\Phi$ -type phi	227
§103. Corinthian gamma and iota	227
<b>Two Principles of Labelling</b>	<b>228</b>
§104. Starting-point principle	228
§105. Direction principle	228
<b>Writing Systems</b>	<b>228</b>
§106. The sequence of letters in the alphabet	228
§107. The writing system of Ithaka and Kephallenia	229
§108. Development of scripts	230
<b>Mistakes</b>	<b>230</b>
§109. Mistakes in letter-forms	230
§110. Interchange of letters	230
§111. A.W. (Abbreviated writing)	231
§112. Other mistakes	231
<b>Other Orthographic Problems</b>	<b>232</b>
§113. Writing of geminates	232
§114. Rendering of the velar and labial allophones of /n/	232
§115. Doubling of pre- and postconsonantal consonants	233
<b>2 PHILOLOGICAL ANALYSIS</b>	<b>234</b>
<b>Problems of Phonology (and Spelling)</b>	<b>234</b>
<i>Consonants</i>	<b>234</b>
§201. Omission of nasals in preconsonantal position	234
§202. Nu ephelkystikon	234
§203. Omission of [r] in preconsonantal position	234
§204. Omission of final [s]	234
§205. Metathesis of liquids	235
§206. Initial [w]	235
§207. Glide [w]	236

§208. Digamma in intervocalic position	236
§209. Digamma after consonant and diphthong	237
§210. Initial aspiration	237
§211. Liquids, nasals, and digamma followed by <h>	239
§212. Assimilation and dissimilation	240
§213. -ττ- and -σσ-	241
§214. -ρσ- and -ρρ-	241
§215. Doubling of intervocalic liquid or nasal	241
<i>Vowels</i>	242
§216. [ǣ] < [ĕ]	242
§217. The pronunciation of */u/	242
§218. [ā] < [ē]	242
§219. Secondary [ē]	243
§220. Secondary [ō]	244
§221. Shortening of prevocalic vowels and diphthongs	245
§222. Metrical adaptation	246
§223. Contraction	246
§224. Crasis, elision, etc.	246
<i>Diphthongs</i>	248
§225. The spelling of diphthongs [ai], [oi], and [eu]	248
<b>Two Problems Concerning Syntax</b>	249
<i>Accent Units</i>	249
§226. Some cases of proclitics and enclitics	249
<i>Word Order</i>	249
§227. Hyperbaton position of patronymics and ethnics	249
<b>Onomastics</b>	249
<i>Hypocoristic Names</i>	249
§228. Hypocoristics in -ος and -ᾶ	249
§229. Masculine hypocoristics in -ων	250
§230. Masculine hypocoristics in -ῖᾶς	250
§231. Masculine (and feminine) hypocoristics in -ις	251
§232. Masculine hypocoristics in -ας	251
§233. Masculine hypocoristics in -εὺς	251
§234. Masculine hypocoristics in -ιχος	252
§235. Boiotian masculine hypocoristics in -ἔ vel sim.	253
§236. Feminine hypocoristics in -ῶ	253
<i>Throwaway Names (Mostly Hypocoristics)</i>	254
§237. Function and formation of throwaway names	254
<i>Horsey Names</i>	257
§238. The frequent use of names with ἑππ(ο)-	257

<i>Speaking Labels</i>	258
§239. Speaking names and nouns and their distinction	258
<i>Patronymic Names</i>	259
§240. Names formed with a patronymic suffix	259
<i>Ethnic Names</i>	259
§241. Ethnics used as names	259
<i>Historical Persons</i>	259
§242. Characters in direct relation to the object on which they are named	259
§243. Possible contemporary characters shown and labelled on the vase	260
<i>Horses</i>	261
§244. The names of horses	261
<i>Special Discussion of Some Heroic Names</i>	262
§245. Aineias	262
§246. Amphitrite	262
§247. Athena	263
§248. Chiron	263
§249. Eos	264
§250. Hektor	264
§251. Helene	264
§252. Herakles and Iolaos	265
§253. Hermes	265
§254. Odysseus	265
§255. Poseidon	268
§256. Priamos	269
§257. Troilos	269
§258. Zeus	270
<b>Mixture of Dialects</b>	270
<i>Connections between Chalcidian and Corinthian</i>	270
§259. The Chalcidian Inscription Painter	270
§260. The inscriptions on COR 103	273
<i>Other Traces of Foreign Dialects</i>	273
§261. Survey of the other cases encountered	273
<b>3 DAILY LIFE</b>	275
<b>Dedications to Gods</b>	275
<i>Formulae Used</i>	275
§301. The different types of dedicatory formulae	275
<i>Who Were the Donors of Painted Dedicatory Vase Inscriptions?</i>	275
§302. Potters and painters as donors?	275



<i>The Possible Background of Metrical Dedications</i>	277
§303. Parts of prayers copied onto Corinthian pinakes?	277
<b>Potters' or Painters' Signatures</b>	279
<i>Normal Cases</i>	279
§304. Potters	279
§305. Painters	279
<i>Special Cases</i>	279
§306. Objects praising themselves	279
<b>Erotic Inscriptions</b>	279
§307. Potters as lovers of boys?	279
§308. Hetairai shown or spoken of	280
§309. Kalos-inscriptions	281
§310. Other erotic inscriptions	281
<b>Prizes and Other Dedications to Humans, or Owners' Inscriptions</b>	281
§311. An aryballos as a prize for dancing skills	281
§312. The 'quatrefoil'-decorated aryballo	281
§313. Another likely metrical dedication to a man	281
§314. A gift to a woman	282
<b>Abecedaria</b>	282
§315. The function of abecedaria on vases	282
<b>Inscriptions of Unclear Interpretation</b>	282
§316. Inscriptions which are unclear mainly because of their fragmentary state	282
§317. Measuring cups and jars from Olympia?	282
§318. Nonsense inscriptions	282
<b>4 LABELLED SCENES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION</b>	283
<b>Introductory Remarks</b>	283
§401. Collective labels	283
§402. Mixed and pseudo-heroic scenes	283
§403. Nonsense labels	283
<b>Heroic Scenes</b>	284
<i>The Gods</i>	284
§404. The young Olympian gods	284
§405. Unspecified scenes with gods	284
§406. Unidentified scenes with gods	284
§407. Unspecified dancing scenes with Satyrs and Maenads	285
<i>Perseus</i>	288
§408. Perseus' deeds	288
§409. Unidentified scene with Gorgons	289

<i>Herakles</i>	289
§410. Herakles and the Nemean Lion	289
§411. Herakles and the Lernaian Hydra	289
§412. Herakles (?) fighting the Centaurs	290
§413. Herakles and the Amazons	290
§414. Herakles and Geryones	290
§415. Herakles wrestling with Nereus	291
§416. Herakles at Oichalia	291
§417. Herakles and the Kerkopes	292
§418. Herakles and Gegenes	292
§419. Herakles and Nessos	292
§420. Herakles and Kyknos	293
§421. Wedding of Herakles and Hebe in Olympos	293
§422. Unidentified scenes with Herakles	293
<i>Various Other Myths Before the Trojan War</i>	293
§423. Kephalos hunting the Termessan fox	293
§424. Argonauts visiting Phineus	293
§425. Funeral games for Pelias	294
§426. Tydeus (and Polyneikes) with Adrastus	299
§427. Peacemaking scenes with some of the Seven against Thebes	299
§428. Departure of Amphiaraos for the Theban War	299
§429. Tydeus killing Ismene	299
§430. Punishment of Kapaneus	300
§431. Theseus and the Minotaur	300
§432. Dionysos and Ariadne	300
<i>The Trojan Cycle</i>	300
§433. Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters	300
§434. Wedding of Peleus and Thetis	302
§435. Chiron receiving the baby Achilles	302
§436. Zeus and Ganymedes	302
§437. Judgement of Paris	302
§438. Dioskouroi and Leukippides	302
§439. Wedding of Paris and Helene	302
§440. Telephos	303
§441. Embassy to Troy about Helene	303
§442. Achilles and Troilos	304
§443. Diomedes and Aineias	305
§444. Departures of Hektor and Paris	305
§445. Embassy to Achilles	307
§446. Dolon	307
§446A. The slaughter of the Thracians	308
§447. Aias and Hektor	308

§448. Fight over the dead Sarpedon	308
§449. Menelaos and Hektor fighting over the dead Euphorbos	310
§450. Aiantes and Aineias	311
§451. Thetis and the elders with the mourning Achilles	311
§452. Achilles and Hektor	311
§453. Achilles and Penthesileia (?)	311
§454. Achilles and Memnon (mostly shown fighting over the dead Antilochos)	311
§455. Funeral scene after Memnon's death (?)	312
§456. Fight over the dead Achilles	312
§457. Lamentation over the dead Achilles	313
§458. Suicide of Aias	315
§459. Aineias threatening Helene	315
§460. Odysseus and Kirke	318
§461. Odysseus and Boreas	318
<i>Unspecified Scenes from the Trojan Cycle</i>	318
§462. Unspecified scenes from the Trojan Cycle	318
<i>Unidentified Scenes from the Trojan Cycle</i>	320
§463. Unidentified scenes from the Trojan Cycle	320
<i>Other Unspecified or Unidentified Heroic Scenes</i>	320
§464. Unspecified heroic scenes	320
§465. Unidentified heroic scenes	320
<b>Genre Scenes (Non-heroic and Pseudo-heroic)</b>	320
<i>Scenes Relating to War</i>	320
§466. War-preparation scenes	320
§467. Departure scenes	320
§468. Chariot scenes	321
§469. Riding scenes	322
§470. Marching and running scenes	323
§471. Battle scenes	323
§472. Scene of return (?)	324
<i>Hunting and Sporting Scenes</i>	324
§473. Boar-hunt scenes	324
§474. Sporting scene(s)	325
<i>Scenes of Festivity</i>	325
§475. Sacrificial processions	325
§476. Wedding scenes	327
§477. Conversation scene	327
§478. Banquet scene	327
§479. Dancing scenes	328

<i>Everyday and Working Scenes</i>	328
§480. Everyday scenes	328
§481. Working scenes	330
<i>Unidentified Scenes of Unclear Sphere</i>	330
§482. Unidentified scenes of unclear sphere	330
<b>5 LITERARY LANGUAGE</b>	331
<b>General Problems</b>	331
§501. Possible kinds of reflections of literary language	331
§502. Metrical inscriptions	332
<b>Non-epichoric Dialect or Spelling Features Pointing to Literary Sources</b>	332
§503. Origin in East Ionic epic of unexpected East Ionic forms	332
§504. The origin of foreign forms other than East Ionic	333
§505. Secondary [ē] and [ō] rendered with a digraph: a literary feature?	335
§506. The writing of intervocalic digamma as a hiatus marker	336
§507. The addition of <h> to initial liquids, nasals, and digamma	340
§508. Secondary [oi] instead of [ō] from compensatory lengthening at Corinth	340
<b>Other Reflections of Literature in the Scenes and Labels</b>	342
§509. Style of the inscriptions and content of the scenes	342
§510. Popular etymology and similar changes to heroic names	342
 Appendix: Microcatalogue	 343
 <i>References</i>	 351
<i>Indexes</i>	
1 <i>Words</i>	363
a. <i>Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions</i>	363
b. <i>Other</i>	369
2 <i>Linguistic and Epigraphical Matters</i>	372
3 <i>Vases and Inscriptions</i>	374
4 <i>Collections</i>	385
5 <i>Provenances of NAGVI</i>	389
6 <i>Ancient Authors and Their Works</i>	390
7 <i>General Index</i>	393
<i>Photographic Credits</i>	398
 <i>Illustrations</i>	 At end

# ABBREVIATIONS

*Note:* The abbreviations of periodicals are those used in *L'Année philologique* except those listed below.

## WORKS AND PERIODICALS

<i>ABV</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> (Oxford, 1956)
<i>Add.</i>	Th. H. Carpenter (ed.), <i>Beazley Addenda</i> (Oxford, 1989)
<i>AdI</i>	<i>Annali dell'istituto di corrispondenza archeologica</i>
<i>Amyx</i>	D. A. Amyx, <i>Corinthian Vase-painting of the Archaic Period</i> , 3 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988)
<i>AnnRepBoston</i>	<i>Annual Reports of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i>
<i>AntDenkm</i>	<i>Antike Denkmäler</i> (Berlin)
<i>ArchKal</i>	<i>Archäologischer Kalender</i> (Mainz, Verlag Ph. von Zabern)
<i>ArchZeitg</i>	<i>Archäologische Zeitung</i>
<i>Arena</i>	R. Arena, <i>Le iscrizioni corinzie su vasi</i> , MAL ser. 8, 13. 2 (Rome, 1967), 57–142
<i>ARV</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , 2 vols., 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1963)
<i>BdI</i>	<i>Bollettino dell'istituto di corrispondenza archeologica</i>
<i>Bechtel</i>	F. Bechtel, <i>Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit</i> (Halle, 1917)
<i>BM Cat. A</i>	C. H. Smith, <i>Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum</i> , i (unpublished)
<i>BM Cat. B</i>	H. B. Walters, <i>Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum</i> , ii (London, 1893)
<i>BM Cat. E</i>	C. H. Smith, <i>Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum</i> , iii (London, 1896)
<i>Buck</i>	C. D. Buck, <i>The Greek Dialects</i> (Chicago, 1955; repr. 1973). (See also 'GD' below)
<i>BullWAG</i>	<i>The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin (vel sim.)</i>
<i>CatCamp</i>	<i>Cataloghi del Museo Campana</i> (Rome, 1858)
<i>CEG</i>	P. A. Hansen (ed.) (1983), <i>Carmina epigraphica graeca saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr. n.</i> (Berlin–New York, 1983), <i>Carmina epigraphica graeca saeculi IV a. Chr. n.</i> (Berlin–New York, 1989)
<i>CGF</i>	G. Kaibel (ed.), <i>Comicorum graecorum fragmenta</i> , i/1 (Berlin, 1899)
<i>Chantraine</i>	P. Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1968–80)
<i>CIG</i>	A. Boeckh <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , i (1828), ii (1843), iii (1853), iv (1855–77) (Berlin)
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
<i>DGE</i>	E. Schwyzer (ed.) (1923), <i>Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora</i> (Leipzig, 1923)
<i>EAA</i>	<i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica</i> , i (1958), ii (1959), iii (1960), iv (1961), v (1963), vi (1965), vii (1966), suppl. (1970), indexes and atlases (1973– ; continuing) (Rome)
<i>EGF</i>	M. Davies (ed.), <i>Epicorum graecorum fragmenta</i> (Göttingen, 1988)

<i>Ergon</i>	<i>Tò ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας</i>
<i>ET</i>	H. Rix and G. Meiser (eds.), <i>Etruskische Texte: Editio minor</i> , 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1991)
<i>F</i>	A. Furtwängler, <i>Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, 1885)
<i>FDV</i>	M. L. Lazzarini, <i>Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica</i> , MAL ser. 8, 19. 2 (Rome, 1976), 47–354
Fraser–Matthews	P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , i (Oxford, 1987)
Frisk	H. Frisk, <i>Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1960–70)
<i>GazArch</i>	<i>Gazette Archéologique</i>
<i>GD</i>	(Used for inscr. nos. in ‘Buck’, q.v. above)
<i>HallWPr</i>	<i>Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm</i> (Halle)
<i>IC</i>	F. Halbherr and M. Guarducci (eds.), <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , i (1935), ii (1939), iii (1942), iv (1950) (Rome)
<i>ICS</i>	O. Masson, <i>Les Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques</i> (Paris, 1961; 2nd edn. 1983)
<i>IEG</i>	M. L. West (ed.), <i>Iambi et elegi graeci</i> (Oxford, 1971)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGA</i>	H. Röhl, <i>Inscriptiones graecae antiquissimae praeter atticas in Attica repertas</i> (Berlin, 1882)
<i>IGDS</i>	L. Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile</i> (Collection de l’École Française, 119; Rome, 1989)
<i>IIGA</i>	H. Röhl, <i>Imagines inscriptionum graecarum antiquissimarum</i> , 3rd edn. (Berlin, 1907)
Immerwahr	H. Immerwahr, <i>Attic Script</i> (Oxford, 1990)
Jeffery	L. H. Jeffery, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> (Oxford, 1961). (See also ‘Johnston’ and ‘LSAG’ below)
Johnston	A. W. Johnston, ‘Supplement 1961–1987’ to ‘Jeffery’ (pp. 416–81, pls. 73–80) (Oxford, 1990). (See also ‘Jeffery’ above and ‘LSAG’ below)
Kretschmer	P. Kretschmer, <i>Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht</i> (Gütersloh, 1894)
Lejeune	M. Lejeune, <i>Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien</i> (Paris, 1972)
<i>LfgrE</i>	<i>Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos</i> (Göttingen)
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> , i (1981), ii (1984), iii (1986), iv (1988), v (1990), vi (1992), vii (1994) (Zurich–Munich; continuing)
Lorber	F. Lorber, <i>Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen</i> (Berlin, 1979)
<i>L–P</i>	E. Lobel and D. Page (eds.), <i>Poetarum lesbiorum fragmenta</i> (Oxford, 1955).
<i>LSAG</i>	(Used for inscr. nos. in ‘Jeffery’ and ‘Johnston’, qq.v. above)
<i>LSJ</i>	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> , with Suppl. (Oxford, 1968)
<i>MonIned</i>	<i>Monumenti inediti dell’istituto di corrispondenza archeologica.</i>
<i>MusEtrGreg</i>	<i>Museum Etruscum Gregorianum</i> , 2 vols. (Rome, 1842)
<i>M–W</i>	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (eds.), <i>Hesiodi fragmenta selecta</i> (Oxford, 1970)
Pape–Benseler	W. Pape and G. E. Benseler, <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen</i> (Brunswick, 1862)
<i>Para.</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena</i> (Oxford, 1971)
<i>PCG</i>	R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), <i>Poetae comici graeci</i> (Berlin–New York, 1984– ; continuing)
<i>PEG</i>	A. Bernabé (ed.), <i>Poetae epici graeci: Testimonia et fragmenta: pars I</i> (Leipzig, 1988)
<i>PMG</i>	D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Poetae melici graeci</i> (Oxford, 1962)
Risch	E. Risch, <i>Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache</i> , 2nd edn. (Berlin–New York, 1974).
Schwyzler	E. Schwyzler, <i>Griechische Grammatik</i> , i (Munich, 1939)
Schwyzler–Debrunner	E. Schwyzler and A. Debrunner, <i>Griechische Grammatik</i> , ii (Munich, 1950)

<i>SGDI</i>	H. Collitz and F. Bechtel (eds.), <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> , i (1884), ii (1899), iii/1 (1899), iii/2 (1905), iv (1886–1915), (Göttingen)
<i>SIG</i>	W. Dittenberger (ed.), <i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn., i (1915), ii (1917), iii (1920), iv (indices, 1921–4) (Leipzig)
<i>SLG</i>	D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Supplementum lyricis graecis</i> (Oxford, 1974)
Threatte	L. Threatte, <i>The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions</i> , i: <i>Phonology</i> (Berlin–New York, 1980)
Thumb–Kieckers	A. Thumb, <i>Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte</i> , pt. 1, 2nd edn. by E. Kieckers (Heidelberg, 1932)
Thumb–Scherer	A. Thumb, <i>Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte</i> , pt. 2, 2nd edn. by A. Scherer (Heidelberg, 1959)
<i>TLE</i>	M. Pallottino (ed.), <i>Testimonia linguae etruscae</i> , 2nd edn. (Florence, 1968)
<i>WV</i>	<i>Wiener Vorlegeblätter für archäologische Uebungen</i>

## GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

ad X	the commentary on the inscription X (in the Catalogue)
ad loc.	the commentary on the relevant inscription (in the Catalogue)
ACC	Achaian from the colonies in the West (Pt. I. 15)
AIG	Aiginetan (Pt. I. 3)
App.	Appendix (to BOI and COP)
ARG	Argive (Pt. I. 7)
A.W.	abbreviated writing (see §111)
bf.	black figure
bibl.	bibliography
BOI	Boiotian (Pt. I. 2)
CAE	Ionic from Caere in Etruria (Pt. I. 21)
CHA	‘Chalcidian’ (Pt. I. 12)
cl.	clear (referring to photographs of inscriptions)
col.	coloured
COP	Corinthian (pinakes) (Pt. I. 6)
COR	Corinthian (vases) (Pt. I. 5)
DOC	Doric from the colonies in the West (Pt. I. 16)
DOH	Doric from the Hexapolis in Asia Minor (Pt. I. 22)
DOI	Doric from the Aegean Islands (Pt. I. 18)
dr.	drawing
EC	Early Corinthian, 620/15–595/90 BC
ed. pr.	editio ( <i>vel</i> editor) princeps
ELI	Elean (Pt. I. 9)
ETR	Etruscan (Pt. I. 14)
EUB	Euboian (Pt. I. 1)
EUC	Euboian from the colonies in the West (Pt. I. 11)
Gr	graffiti (Appendix to COR)
h.	half
IE	Indo-European
INC	of uncertain place of production (Pt. I. 4)
inv.	inventory
invis.	invisible
IOD	Ionic from the Dodekapolis in Asia Minor (Pt. I. 19)
IOI	Ionic from the Aegean Islands (Pt. I. 17)
ITH	Ithakan (Pt. I. 10)
l.	line <i>or</i> left

LAK	Lakonian (Pt. I. 8)
LC	Late Corinthian (I 570–550 BC; II after 550)
MC	Middle Corinthian, 595/90–570 BC
Myc.	Mycenaean
NAU	Ionic from Naukratis in Egypt (Pt. I. 20)
opp.	opposite
P.	Painter
PC	Protocorinthian
ph.	photograph
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plate <i>or</i> plural
PCH	Pseudo-Chalcidian (Pt. I. 13)
PCO	Pseudo-Corinthian (Pt. I. 4)
q.	quarter
r.	right
rf.	red figure
sg.	singular
sm.	small (referring to photographs: not cl.)
TR	transitional (in Corinthian vase-painting), 630–620/15 BC



# SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

## REFERENCES TO ILLUSTRATIONS

- \* added to a catalogue entry: there is a photograph at the end of the volume
- added to a catalogue entry: there is a drawing at the end of the volume

## LINGUISTIC SIGNS AND CONVENTIONS

- [ ] enclose phonetic transcriptions (mostly *IPA* symbols)
- / / enclose phonemic transcriptions
- < > enclose graphic symbols (but are mostly omitted for Greek letters)
- < derives/ed from
- > yields
- [ē], [ě], [ē], [ẹ] long, short, high, low vowel

## EPIGRAPHICAL SIGNS

- [ε] lacuna
- {ε} superfluous letter
- (ε) expected but missing letter
- ε probable letter
- illegible or ambiguous letter
- ⋈ intended but miswritten letter
- (←) retrograde on the vase

*Note:* Each letter of an inscription is represented by a letter in the transcription, therefore hε not é is transcribed if heta + epsilon appear in the original, χσ not ξ if [ks] is rendered with chi + sigma, etc. The letter qoppa is transcribed ϣ not κ, and epsilon and omicron are used even if they stand for long vowels. In the case of σ/ς, which stands for both sigma and san, a compromise is made because in no Greek alphabet were both letters used at the same period.



# INTRODUCTION

Wer die sprachwissenschaftliche Literatur der letzten Jahre auch nur einigermaßen kennt, weiß den Abstand zwischen einst und jetzt zu ermessen: neben den Denkmälern auf Stein und Erz, denen die griechische Grammatik eine so ungeahnte Bereicherung verdankt, steht heute, als zweite wichtige Zeugnisquelle für griechische Sprachgeschichte, das bescheidenere und von der Grammatik früher kaum beachtete Tongefäß, das uns einen, wenn auch nur flüchtigen Blick zu tun verstattet hat in eine uns sonst fast ganz verschlossene Welt, die altgriechische, speziell die altattische Volkssprache.<sup>1</sup>

Thus in his 1896 review W. Schulze emphasized not only the importance of P. Kretschmer's *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (1894) but also the significance of vase inscriptions as a new type of evidence for ancient Greek, mainly in its colloquial aspect.

Since the publication of Kretschmer's seminal work a century of great archaeological scholarship has revolutionized our knowledge of Greek vases. In the first place, J. D. Beazley's work on the Attic material (especially *ABV*, *ARV*, *Para.*) has created a completely new basis from which any revision of vase inscriptions must now start. In addition to that, the quantity of material has increased enormously since Kretschmer's time and we are today in a much better position to check the readings of the inscriptions—travelling is easier, photography has made spectacular advances, and special equipment can show details invisible to the human eye. Finally, our general knowledge of Greek culture and language has improved considerably in the last hundred years. Kretschmer's book will remain a landmark of scholarship, but a complete revision of Greek vase inscriptions is now long overdue. Moreover, our improved knowledge suggests that we should not only re-examine the aspect of *colloquialisms*, but consider other linguistic aspects too.

Yet it is impossible today to cover the whole field of Greek vase inscriptions in one work. In the present volume I have included only the inscriptions on vases of non-Attic schools prior to c.400 BC. Admittedly this terminus excludes the South Italian vases, but the South Italian schools are so heavily dependent on Attic vase-painting and on the culture of classical Athens in general that this material should not be tackled without a

previous treatment of the Attic corpus. A cut-off date of c.400 BC therefore seems justified—especially since the huge work of collecting, checking, and analysing the Attic vase inscriptions has yet to be done; for the time being, in this field, we must content ourselves with the material contained in Immerwahr (1990) and the phonological analysis by Threatte (1980).

The term 'vase inscription' needs some definition. Here it is taken to mean all inscriptions, painted or incised, that were applied by the potter or painter of vases (and pinakes) when the object was first made.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions incised later, i.e. those normally termed 'graffiti', are not included, since they are not a typical feature of vases but could have been added to any object, at any time after its production, and in quite a different context. I also exclude practically all nonsense inscriptions and trade marks, since they are both irrelevant to a mainly philological study.

It has long since been realized that although the vases were produced in many different places in the Greek world, different styles such as Attic, Corinthian, East Greek, Lakonian, Chalcidian, etc., have much in common. While in the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century scholars were mainly concerned with identifying and characterizing the different schools and places of production, archaeologists have now started to emphasize the similarities between the various schools and to trace the lines of influence which criss-cross the Greek world. But the archaeologists do not always make clear how such influences are supposed to have spread: I assume, however, that the import and export of vases and other *objets d'art* are normally taken to be both the cause and the means of their dissemination. In addition, unexpected mixtures of material and styles may sometimes be explained as due to the movement of unfired clay. Obviously these explanations are possible and in some instances must be correct, but it is also conceivable, though hardly ever acknowledged, that a vase-painter may have moved from place to place while practising his craft. The real difficulty for a potter or a painter was to learn the techniques. These could only be transmitted from master to apprentice through direct contact, and if the techniques were to spread overseas either the master or the pupil had to travel. It is only too clear, on the other hand, why such

<sup>1</sup> W. Schulze (1896), 694.

<sup>2</sup> I do not deal with vases made from materials other than fired clay.

considerations are often neglected; for while a competent art historian can distinguish the hands of different painters, he cannot normally define their place of origin and thus whether they are locals or foreigners.<sup>3</sup> It is undoubtedly much easier to recognize the origin of a painter from his use of language than from his pictorial style and technique, and in the nineteenth century it was the obvious lead offered by the dialect and alphabet of the vase inscriptions which made the identification of the various styles possible. Now that this first goal (of style identification) has been achieved, we must look once again at the linguistic and epigraphical features of our texts; for while previously attention was necessarily concentrated on the *regular* features, emphasis should now be laid on the exceptions, i.e. such *foreign dialect features* on vases as cannot be expected a priori for a particular place at the time when the vases were produced, and could therefore be direct indications of the origin of a vase-painter, and possibly of his style or certain elements of his style.

Although the migration of potters and painters in the eighth–fifth centuries BC (a very busy period of trade, colonization, and warfare in the Greek world) may be expected to account for some linguistic anomalies in vase inscriptions, this need not be the only reason. For there was also a lively cultural exchange in the field of literature, mainly among travelling poets and rhapsodes. There has been fierce discussion as to whether the many vase-paintings of heroic scenes reflect the texts that these poets and rhapsodes produced or recited, or whether they are just expressions of heroic stories transmitted in oral prose accounts. Friis Johansen (1967) tried to show that vase-painting (he was mainly dealing with the Attic material) reflected the actual *Homeric poems* rather than just the relevant stories. But in the evidence he adduced, only such scenes as show details of little importance to the plot but coincide with the description given by Homer should be considered valid arguments in favour of this theory.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately there are few such instances, and although the theory is immediately plausible, we may be tempted to take a much more critical view (see e.g. von Steuben (1968)). Again, language can be a better source of information: we should be aware of *reflections of literary language* in our vase inscriptions.

Kretschmer (1894) mainly stressed one particular feature of vase inscriptions, the colloquialisms. Apart from that, he put some emphasis on the occurrence of foreign dialect, but his observations—except for the [ā] in Chalcidian<sup>5</sup> (see §259)—only concerned Attic vases.<sup>6</sup> As for reflections of literary language,

he seems to have taken a somewhat sceptical view and mentions only a few cases—again only Attic ones—in passing;<sup>7</sup> the existence of such reflections did not fit the concept of the uneducated vase-painter which he had so clearly delineated. At any rate, Kretschmer did not try to reach any further conclusions on the basis of such observations, and accordingly the few points he made have received little notice. In the main, vase inscriptions are known for their colloquial character.

But why should a vase-painter not have heard recitations of literary texts, and been deeply impressed by the experience, since he had such an opportunity only rarely? And then, why should a vase-painter not have had the intelligence to acquire a considerable degree of education? After all, some of them have left us inscriptions, which required at least some degree of literacy, and the wrong or unusual spellings clearly show that they were not just copying the texts from some unknown source. As we shall see, the omnipresent force of mainly epic literature in archaic Greece can be felt even in these often humble documents.

Colloquialisms, foreign dialect forms, and literary forms can of course be mixed together. It is easy to imagine that a vase-painter heard a particular epic tale and then wrote down the names in the way in which he had understood them or pronounced them himself.

In fact most of these observations are related to two more general points. (1) We cannot deal with individual elements of the inscriptions without considering the inscriptions by an individual (e.g. a painter) in their entirety. (2) We must not consider the inscriptions outside their pictorial context. For non-Attic inscriptions Kretschmer printed the full text (for the Corinthian corpus, see his previous article of 1888); but he did not do so for the Attic texts, and consequently failed to notice some of the features which contribute to the general interpretation: literary influence may count as one of these.

If, in view of what I have said above, we adopt a broader methodology and a broader aim in our assessment of the vase inscriptions, this may perhaps compensate for the limits to our evidence and for the consequential limits to the range of phenomena that we can observe: first, the majority of the words that we shall discuss are personal names, both heroic and non-heroic; and secondly, not very many individual items are longer than one word. It should not be surprising therefore that most linguistic problems concern phonology, orthography, and word-formation, while morphology and syntax necessarily play a secondary role.

#### SCHEME OF THE PRESENT VOLUME

I add here some technical information about this book. The work consists of two main parts: I, a *Catalogue* with an edition

<sup>3</sup> I need only mention the well-known cases of Lydos, Amasis, Brygos, etc. in Athens (see e.g. Boardman (1974), 12). If we did not know their names, who would guess from their potting and painting that they were not indigenous Athenians?

<sup>4</sup> For a completely different kind of proof for the reflection of epic (more precisely *Il.* 18. 39) on a vase see Wachter (1990a) and (1990b).

<sup>5</sup> See his p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. his pp. 74 ff. on non-Attic names of potters and painters, and Doric labels of heroic characters.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. his pp. 79, 147, 178. A more detailed discussion was contributed by Schulze (1896: 700 ff.).

and a commentary to accompany each inscription, and II, an *Analysis* with discussion of aspects which concern more than one vase.

The *Catalogue* is arranged in the geographical order followed by L. H. Jeffery (1961) (= *LSAG*). This is the list of regions or places of vase production with the abbreviations I have given them: 1, Euboia (EUB); 2, Boiotia (BOI); 3, Aigina (AIG); 4, Uncertain origin (INC) and Pseudo-Corinthian (PCO); 5, Corinth (COR) including some graffiti (COR Gr); 6, Corinthian pinakes (COP); 7, Argolid (ARG); 8, Lakonia (LAK); 9, Elis (ELI); 10, Ithaka (ITH); 11, Euboian colonies (EUC); 12, Chalcidian (CHA); 13, Pseudo-Chalcidian (PCH); 14, Etruria (ETR); 15, Achaian colonies (ACC); 16, Doric colonies (DOC); 17, Ionic islands (IOI); 18, Doric islands (DOI); 19, Ionic Dodekapolis (IOD); 20, Naukratis (NAU); 21, Caeretan (CAE); 22, Doric Hexapolis (DOH). For each region or place of production, the vases are put as far as possible in chronological order.

The information accompanying each item is presented in the following general categories, and in the following order:

For each vase, after its *number* and *present location*, is given some information about its *shape*, its *provenance*, its *painter* (if identified), its approximate *time of discovery* (or the earliest *terminus ante quem* I could find), and in some cases the *time of its loss*.

There follows a section with the important *bibliography*. The literature about most of the vases is vast and could neither be worked through entirely nor cited completely. On the archaeological side I have included standard works, contributions that seemed interesting to me or are relevant to the inscriptions, and works which contain photographs of the inscriptions. Often the remark 'bibl.' is added to a reference; this means that the reference will be found particularly helpful if one is looking for more bibliography on the particular vase under review. *LIMC* especially, which I have tried to cite completely (as far as published, i.e. vols. i–vi), provides plenty of additional references. For more recently published pieces, where the bibliography is still manageable, I have tried to be less eclectic. For vases discovered in the last century I have often laid rather more than the usual emphasis on the earliest bibliography. First, it seemed worth while stressing how many good observations go back to the very first editors of the documents. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the readings of the earlier editors are frequently based on a considerably better state of preservation of the documents (see n. 573), and it is often useful to see which readings caused difficulties even when the vase was first found and which were obviously clear at the time. On the epigraphical side I have tried to be more complete, as these works are often not included in the archaeological bibliography.<sup>8</sup> Linguistic works are only rarely referred

to among the *Catalogue* data (except Kretschmer 1894, of course); they play a more prominent role in the *commentary* that follows the data and in the *Analysis* (Part II).

Next come the critical remarks on the *photographs* available in print.<sup>9</sup> As the reading of an inscription is fundamental, I have thought it useful to dedicate some space to these remarks in order to enable the reader to verify more easily what I have accepted or established as the correct text. I have indicated with 'Orig.' (plus a negative number if known to me) where I have an original photograph. If a photograph is included among the illustrations at the end of the volume, I have added an asterisk (\*) immediately before the catalogue number (for the negative numbers of these photographs see the list of Photographic Credits, p. 398). If a reading is insufficiently established and no such 'Orig.' is found despite the fact that the published photographs are not clear, this is either because my efforts to obtain a photograph have been fruitless, or—rarely—because the original photographs that I did receive are of inferior quality. The selection of plates presented at the end of this book may seem small. But first, it was useless (and would have been financially ruinous) to order and reproduce photographs of inscriptions which can be read easily and of which good photographs have already been published; and secondly, many photographs in my possession when copied would not show the details of the relevant difficulties. So it seemed much more useful to add *drawings*, mostly (and unless otherwise marked) done in front of the original. A degree sign (°) added before the catalogue number of the vase indicates that there is a drawing among the illustrations at the end.

After the section on photographs, I have indicated *if I have seen the original* and *when*.

Then a *description of the scenes* depicted on the vase is given.

This is followed by an account of the *dates* proposed by various editors and authors.

The sections on the *text* of the inscriptions are to be understood as follows. The first text gives a standardized version of the original letter-forms if they can be established. If the normal local alphabet of the region is used on the document, this is not specifically stated. Readers less acquainted with these matters are referred to the relevant sections in Jeffery 1961 (reprinted 1990, with additions: here labelled Johnston 1990). The second text gives the objective reading in transliteration. The third text contains the text restored and interpreted as well and as far as possible. A fourth text is only added for metrical inscriptions which consist of several lines (e.g. COP 1 and 2, ITH 1).

once been listed under 'Gefässe', which are of course only a small minority, are not normally to be found again under the heading 'Vaseninschriften' (which itself is under 'Epigraphik'); (1987), no. 5419, i.e. Zimmermann (1986), is lacking on p. 405, for instance.

<sup>9</sup> The qualifications (cl., uncl., invis.) refer only to the inscriptions, not to the painting as a whole, and if these qualifications are negative, this is not normally the 'fault' of the photographer, author, or publisher, but of the state of preservation of the vase.

<sup>8</sup> *SEG*, although useful in my search for vase inscriptions, is not normally cited unless the editors made some important contribution. *Archäologische Bibliographie*, by contrast, was of no great help. Inscribed items that have

In a section on *epigraphy*, matters purely concerning the reading are discussed. All texts have been checked either with the best photographs I have been able to get hold of, or—particularly the difficult ones—against the original vase (this is always carefully stated).

The final item of data, *interpretation*, contains information on the content of the inscriptions and of the scenes in which they occur, as well as a translation if necessary.

After each catalogue entry, a *commentary* discusses the individual features, mainly linguistic, of the vase and its inscriptions, and adds often numerous cross-references to the relevant sections in the Analysis.

The reader may miss from the Catalogue a number of vase inscriptions that I have decided not to include mainly because they are too fragmentary or too late, or are graffiti or nonsense inscriptions. These pieces are mentioned in the introductions to the individual geographical sections of the Catalogue.<sup>10</sup>

After the Catalogue follows the *Analysis*, divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 contains some general problems of epigraphy and spelling (if not—so far as we can judge—relevant to pronunciation). Chapter 2 discusses linguistic problems concerning more than one vase. It is not intended as a grammar of any of the dialects in question, not even of Corinthian, although in that case—unlike all others—the vases do contribute considerably to our knowledge. Chapter 3 deals with some aspects of daily life that are mirrored in the vase inscriptions treated here. In Chapter 4, the many labelled scenes, heroic and non-heroic, arranged in a thematic order, are discussed with respect to literary parallels, if available, and otherwise with respect to what their meaning and function may have been. Observations on literary language, assembled in Chapter 5, conclude the Analysis.

<sup>10</sup> Some items could not be placed for want of other entries from the same region, namely: (1) a fr. abecedarium from Lipljan (see Wachter (1989b), 30 n. 30), which is now down-dated to the 4th cent. (see *LSAG* 452C); (2) the small frs. from the Kabirion on Lemnos, *ASAA* NS 63 (1985), 342, with ph. fig. 6, reading [Kα]βεῖροι[s]; [. . .]νευ[. . .]; [ἰ]ερ[όν] ?; [. . .]μεων[. . .]; [K]αβεῖρ[ous]; [. . . ?]ανδρ[. . .]; ἰερόν.

For the further guidance of the reader, some detailed additional material follows the Catalogue and Analysis. The '*Microcatalogue*', a short version of all the restored and interpreted texts in the catalogue, is added as an appendix for quick reference. After this there is a full list of bibliographical *References*; then follow seven *Indexes* to which I have devoted a good deal of attention, since I suspect they will prove especially useful in a book which is meant not so much to be read from A to Z as to be consulted mainly for reference purposes.

A large part of this book is devoted to Corinthian vase inscriptions. This is of course due to the fact that about half of all non-Attic inscribed vases and almost all pinakes are Corinthian. I may, perhaps, be attacked for having taken up this subject again. Only some twenty years ago, A. W. Johnston (1981: 223, reviewing Lorber 1979) wrote: 'One is bound to ask whether such a book is really necessary', referring to the fact that R. Arena (1967) had already re-examined Corinthian vase inscriptions in a monograph. Moreover, only ten years ago D. A. Amyx, in chapter 6 of his *Corinthian Vase-painting of the Archaic Period*, again published a full list of Corinthian inscriptions and stated (p. 360): 'It is not likely that another full-dress treatment will be needed in the near future. Unless and until a large mass of new documents is found, incidental additions to the corpus can be treated *en passant*.' What is 'necessary' is of course a highly subjective matter, not only to the authors but also to the readers of scholarly works. I happen to think that a 'full-dress treatment' done from a slightly different point of view may still add something to our knowledge of antiquity, at least something of more utility than a series of bits and pieces, widely dispersed in periodicals and *Festschriften*. Arena's commentary was mainly concerned with philology and epigraphy, Lorber's with archaeology and epigraphy, Amyx's with archaeology and onomastics. My contribution, I hope, may be to have used the linguistic aspects of the inscriptions to achieve a broader view of the content, context, and sources of these documents; as far as I know this has not yet been done on a large scale for Greek vase inscriptions. For Attic, it still remains to be done.

PART I

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CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS

*Note:* The catalogue entries are preceded by \* if there are photographs, and by ° if there are drawings of the relevant inscriptions at the end of the volume. Both the drawings and photographs are arranged in the order of the catalogue: (1) EUB, (2) BOI, (3) AIG, (4) INC/PCO, (5) COR, (6) COP, (7) ARG, (8) LAK, (9) ELI, (10) ITH, (11) EUC, (12) CHA, (13) PCH, (14) ETR, (15) ACC, (16) DOC, (17) IOI, (18) DOI, (19) IOD, (20) NAU, (21) CAE, (22) DOH.



# 1. Euboia

*Introduction:* From the scanty material available we can hardly speak of a typical Euboian painted pottery. Nevertheless, there are a few pieces that might be so classified, three of which are inscribed. One of these shows an Ionic dialect feature (EUB 1), the second (EUB 2) at least does not contravene Euboian writing or dialect, and the third (EUB 3) shows a feature of Euboian script and a feature of non-Euboian dialect.

\*<sup>o</sup>EUB 1 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 12128

Amphora of ‘Melian’ type from Eretria (1898). *Bibliography:* Nicole (1911), 162 (bibl.), 163 no. 880; Boardman (1952), 20 ff., 26 f., no. C. 2, dr. p. 25, ph. pl. 5; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 84, 87. 8. *Photographs:* Boardman uncl. *Scene:* Three women facing l.; only the third (the hindmost) is named. *Date:* (shortly) after 600 (Boardman); last q. 7th cent. or (shortly) after 600 (Jeffery).

⊕EE  
θϵϵ  
θϵϵ̂.

*Epigraphy:* Boardman (p. 26): ‘the exact form of the last letter is not distinct’, reading an alpha. The letter is an epsilon (a clear lower bar is visible both on the ph. as published and on the original print). *Interpretation:* Unspecified scene with goddesses (label).

Boardman suggests a form  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ , which is both impossible to read and a priori unexpected for the Euboian dialect (there is no iota to give pl.  $\theta\epsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ). He suggests that the label may stand for all three figures. This is possible (we may compare COR 97), although in our case we would expect a collective label in the plural (see §401). The space where the inscription is placed (top-r. corner) is the least obtrusive. Boardman (p. 21) thinks the scene may represent the Judgement of Paris. Yet, there is no Paris, nor are there any of the goddesses’ usual attributes.

\*<sup>o</sup>EUB 2 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. (16184+) 12076

Bf. amphora from Eretria (1898). *Bibliography:* Laurent (1901), 176 ff., ph. pl. 12; Nicole (1911), 168 f., no. 890 (with bibl.); Haspels (1930), 432, ph. pl. 23; Boardman (1952), 38 f., ph. pl. 9c; *LIMC* vi, ‘Nereus’ 96; *LIMC* vii, ‘Peleus’ 207\*, ph. pl. 204. *Photographs:* Laurent and Boardman uncl.; Haspels quite cl.;

*LIMC* sm. *Scene:* A man (a) and a woman (b) are standing in a chariot to r. In front of them, beyond the horses, a man to l. (c) is facing them. The other figures, three women, are unnamed. *Date:* 550–540 (Boardman; *LIMC*).

(a) ΓΕΛ, (b) ⊕ΕΤ, (c) ΡΕΥΣ  
(a) Πϵλ[. . .], (b) Θϵτ[. . .], (c) [. . .]ρϵυς  
(a) Πῆλ[ϵύς], (b) Θῆτ[ις], (c) [Νῆ]ρϵύς.

*Epigraphy:* (a) The lambda was read by Laurent as λ, by Nicole as V (was there so much more of it preserved at the time?). Boardman says that the position of the second stroke cannot now be seen clearly. At the lower end, however, a slight prolongation of the oblique bar to the l. beyond the vertical stroke is visible (see dr.). (b) The cross of the theta is now incomplete but appears at its junctions with the circle. On the original ph. can be seen the l. part of the top bar and part of the vertical hasta of the tau (Θῆτ[ις], eds.). (c) The much-discussed first letter is a rho (see below, and see dr.). Of the sigma only the upper bow is preserved; it will have been ς, otherwise it would reach down too far. *Interpretation:* Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (labels).

Since the certain lambda in (a) had its angle at the bottom, as expected on Euboia, the first letter in (c) cannot be a lambda.<sup>11</sup> Nor does it help to suggest that the writer tried but failed to write a lambda.<sup>12</sup> Laurent restored (c) [Νῆ]ρϵύς, who is surely the most likely figure to meet and greet Peleus and Thetis on their wedding day. In fact the letter in question is a fully formed, though rather careless and wide-open, rho of the R type (see §101).

\*<sup>o</sup>EUB 3 ERETRIA, MUS. 7284

Kind of belly-handled amphora from Eretria (1897–1917: Boardman, p. 1). *Bibliography:* Boardman (1952), 43 f. with dr., ph. pl. 13; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 85, 95. 23 (in the Boiotian section). *Photographs:* Boardman invis. I am grateful to J. Boardman for two original phs. *Scene:* None. *Date:* probably 6th cent. (Boardman).

<sup>11</sup> We cannot expect two different lambdas in one and the same inscr. The East Ionic lambda from Eretria (*IG* xii/9. 285 = *CEG* 108 = *LSAG* 88. 21), cited by Boardman (his n. 262) as a justification for this letter-form, is a century later (c.450?) and the relevant inscr. shows other modern East Ionic features (notably ξ in ξένος).

<sup>12</sup> Boardman’s various explanations as to why the writer could have written Νῆλεύς are unconvincing in themselves.

- (a) KALLIME ΝΣΚΑΛΑ (b) Κ ΕΛΕΙΑΚ ΛΔ  
 (a) Καλλιμ[ε. . . ?] | νσκαλα (b) Κ[. . .]. ελειακ[.]λα  
 (a) Καλλιμ[ε. . . ?] | νς καλᾶ. (b) Κ[αλλι]μέλεια κ[α]λᾶ.

*Epigraphy:* (a) The sixth letter is a (reversed) five-stroke mu: its fifth stroke is on the dark area around the attachment of the handle. The epsilon is quite cl. After that no more letters are visible, since the surface is covered with a crust. (b) After the first letter (which is beyond the area shown on the phs. at my disposal) about four letters are missing (Boardman), or five if some are narrow. To the r. of this area the oblique top-r. end of a kappa, mu, nu, upsilon, or ('red') xi is visible. *Interpretation:* *Kalos*-inscriptions.

The sixth letter of (a) is typical of Eretria (see Boardman, and Jeffery, p. 79); it is reversed, but the script of these inscriptions is very irregular anyway. Unless we take καλα as neuter plural, for which it would be hard to find an interpretation, the dialect obviously suits nearby Boiotian better than Eretrian Ionic. Yet Boardman thinks that the vase cannot be Boiotian. He therefore considers the inscription to be copied from a Boiotian vase, comparing the Ptoiodoros graffito.<sup>13</sup> But if it is a *kalos*-inscription, which seems to be the case, should we expect such a document

to be copied? *Kalos*-inscriptions outside Attica (the only place where they were a regular feature) give the impression of being the result of spontaneous production. Boardman (n. 291), citing Kretschmer (p. 79), considers Attic influence, but 'Doric' long [ā] is rare in Athens, and we cannot safely assume that such exceptions had an influence on anybody in the Ionic province of Euboia.

Now, the fact that (1) καλᾶ occurs twice, both times apparently at the end of the inscription, and that (2) both inscriptions start with a kappa, suggests that we may have to do with basically the same text repeated.<sup>14</sup> This would offer for (b) the restoration Καλλιμέλεια καλᾶ, while the Νς in (a), a strange sequence of letters in a Greek dialect of this region, would remain without explanation. The writer seems not to have been too sure of what he was doing anyway.

There is a Καλλιμέλεις from Boiotian Orchomenos (Bechtel, p. 305), and we may wonder whether this name was understood as deriving from μέλος 'limb, melody', yielding either the meaning 'sounding beautiful' (as ἐμμελής 'harmonious', etc.) or 'having beautiful limbs'. Considering the *kalos* (or rather *kala*) character of our inscription I suspect the latter is more likely, and we may have found yet another hetaira (see §§239, 308). Should we assume that parts of the population of Eretria were non-Ionic speakers, perhaps of Boiotian origin?

<sup>13</sup> *LSAG* 85 (with n. 3), 95. 22, found in Eretria, but considered by Jeffery to be Boiotian.

<sup>14</sup> For a parallel see BOI 9.

## 2. Boiotia

*Introduction:* The earliest group of Boiotian vase inscriptions consists of a series of twenty pieces with the signatures of seven potters (BOI 1–7), some incised before firing, some after, and some painted (BOI 3, 4*A* and *B* but not *C*, 5*A* but not *B*, 6*B* but not *A*, *C*, *D*, *E*). On some pieces, recipients are mentioned: either the gods (BOI 3) or humans (BOI 4*C*, probably also BOI 2); for an interpretation of these cases see §§302 and 307, respectively. We also have two *kalos*-inscriptions (BOI 9 and 19), as well as vases with human and mythic scenes, dedications, and abecedaria. The quality of the vases is generally mediocre, apart from the very funny caricature scenes from the Kabirion. The Boiotian alphabet is of the ‘red’, i.e. Euboian, type (see BOI 3 and 10). Attic influence can be observed in the development of letter-forms (see BOI 14). Finally, the local script gave way to the Ionic alphabet (see e.g. BOI 18 and 19).

BOI 1*A–B* (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG V. I. 3395  
(INCISED AFTER FIRING), (B) BOSTON, MUS. OF  
FINE ARTS 98. 897 (INCISED AFTER FIRING?)

(A) Ring aryballos from Greece (bought from Geladakos in 1897: U. Kästner, *per litt.*). (B) Plastic vase in the shape of a sandalled r. foot from Thebes (1898 or earlier). *Bibliography:* (A) I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 155, no. ‘Gryton’ 1, phs. pl. 45*a–b*. (B) E. Robinson, *AnnRepBoston* 21 (1898), 54 (non vidi); Anon. (1899*a*), 142, no. 4; Anon. (1899*b*), 573, no. 4; Nicole (1916), 376, no. I. 4. 7; Hoppin (1924), 20; P. N. Ure (1927), 11; Fairbanks (1928), 183 f., no. 536, ph. pl. 51; Payne (1931), 33 n. 2; Boardman (1965), 235; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 155 f., no. ‘Gryton’ 2, ph. pl. 45*c*. *Photographs:* (A) Raubitschek quite cl. (B) Fairbanks invis.; Raubitschek quite cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* within a generation of 550 (Raubitschek, p. 161, referring to P. N. Ure (1946), 49); 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162).

(A) ΓΡΥΤΟΝΕΡΟΙΦΕΞΕ (B) ΓΡΥΤΟΝΕΡΟΙΦΕΞΕ  
(A) Γρυτονεποιφεσε (B) Γρυτονεποιφεσε  
(A) Γρύτων ἐποίφεσε. (B) Γρύτων ἐποίφεσε.

*Epigraphy:* (A) The sigma appears to be of the four-stroke type, but was perhaps not meant to be. The writer seems to have started by making his first stroke / level with the top of the preceding letters, but when adding the second (middle) stroke of his ζ, he

realized that he was getting too low down to be able to continue on the handle as was necessary for the final epsilon. So he ‘reinterpreted’ the first (top) stroke of his ζ to make it the bottom one and completed the letter at the top, leaving it as ξ (which was of course perfectly acceptable). (B) —. *Interpretation:* Potter’s signatures.

Both inscriptions were incised after firing, as is evident from the fact that the clay splintered off when the letters were engraved,<sup>15</sup> an effect which only occurs to such an extent once the clay has been fired.<sup>16</sup> We can be confident about the authenticity of the inscription for three reasons. First, we have two identical potter’s signatures on two vases of different kinds. Secondly, on both vases the ʎ-shape upsilon is used, which is frequent in Boiotia (see Jeffery, p. 90) but occurs only here on vases. Thirdly, the other letters, too, match very well. For the [w] in the verb ποιεῖν see the following vases and §209; for names in -ων, §229.

On a coiled snake-flask of the early sixth century, similar to our BOI 6*C* and proven ancient by thermoluminescence analysis (see ad BOI 6*C*), there is the Boiotian graffito Γρύτης Ἐρμαῖαι ἔδοκε. For details of the restoration and the function of this inscription, as well as a drawing, see ad BOI 4*C*. The name Γρύτης (obviously an *s*-stem, see §235) reminds us strongly of our potter Γρύτων, whose name was connected with the word γρύτα ‘container for ointments’ (Sappho fr. 179 L–P) by Bechtel (p. 604). Γρυτ- is therefore the ‘ideal’ stem for the name—or nickname—of a potter specializing in oil-flasks (of whose production a ring-aryballos, a plastic vase in the shape of a sandalled foot, and the snake-flask survive). In favour of the identity of the individual(s) we can adduce the fact that in Grytes’ graffito the upsilon has the same form ʎ as in Gryton’s (the sigma does not match, but it also differs between BOI 1*A* and *B*). As to the difference in the name, we may compare the potter-name(s) BOI 5*A* Φιθάδης and 5*B* Φίθε, which are likely to designate the same man (see ad loc. and §228). From the point of view of formation, Γρύτης could correspond to Φίθε if my interpretation of the frequent Boiotian hypocoristics in -ε as formations in -εξ with loss of the final [s] is correct (see §235).

<sup>15</sup> See especially letters 1, 4, 9–14 in (A); 1, 4, 10–12, 14 in (B).

<sup>16</sup> Raubitschek (p. 164) is certainly right to say that there is no reason why a potter should not sign a vase after firing.

\*<sup>o</sup>BOI 2A–D (A) PARIS, LOUVRE CA 128 (INCISED, BEFORE FIRING?), (B) ATHENS, P. AND A. CANELLOPOULOS MUS. 737 (INCISED, BEFORE FIRING?), (C) BONN, AKADEMISCHES KUNSTMUS. DER UNIV. 2128 (INCISED, PROBABLY BEFORE FIRING), (D) HEIDELBERG, ANTIKENMUS. DES ARCH. INST. DER UNIV. Z 1 (INCISED, BEFORE FIRING?)

(A) Aryballos from Thebes (1887 or earlier). (B) Gourd aryballos from Koroneia (?) (found ?). (C) Pomegranate-shaped aryballos from ? (1910 or earlier). (D) Piriform alabastron from ? (bought in the 19th cent.). *Bibliography:* (A) Pottier (1888), 168 f., with dr., repeated in *WV* (1889), pl. 1; Kretschmer (1894), 53 f., no. 4; Perrot–Chipiez (1914), 40 n. 1; Nicole (1916), 376, no. I. 4. 9; Hoppin (1924), 22; Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 440. 8; P. N. Ure (1927), 11; mentioned by Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 92; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 156, no. ‘Menaidas’ 1,<sup>17</sup> phs. pl. 46a–b; Guarducci (1974), 481, with ph. fig. 190; A. Waiblinger, *CVA* France, 26 (1974), 19 (with dr.), phs. pls. 14. 2–3, 15. 1. (B) I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 156, no. ‘Menaidas’ 3; Maffre (1978), 264–8, with ph. (p. 266). (C) Greifenhagen (1936), 400 f., no. 49, with ph. fig. 56; mentioned by Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 92; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 156 f., no. ‘Menaidas’ 4, phs. pls. 46c, 47b. (D) I. K. Raubitschek (1965); I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 157, no. ‘Menaidas’ 5, phs. pls. 46d, 47a. *Photographs:* (A) Raubitschek and *CVA* cl.; Guarducci quite cl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. (B) Maffre quite cl. (C) Greifenhagen uncl.; Raubitschek cl. (D) Raubitschek (1966) quite cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* (A), (C), and (D) 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162). (B) within a generation of 550 (Raubitschek, p. 161, referring to P. N. Ure (1946), 49); 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162); towards mid-6th cent. (Maffre, pp. 265, 268).

(A) ΜΕΝΑΙΔΑΣ ΕΜΕΡΟΙΦΕΣ ΕΥΑΡΟΠΙ  
(B) ΜΕΝΑΙΔΑΣ ΕΜΕΕΡΟΙΦΕΣ ΕΥΑΡΟΠΙ  
(C) ΜΕΝΑΙΔΑΣ ΕΜΕΕΡΟΙΦΕΣ ΕΥΑΡΟΠΙ  
(D) ΨΑΡΟΠΙ ΕΜΕΡΟΙΦΕΣ ΕΜΕΝΑΙΔΑΣ.

(A) Μεναιδασεμεροίφεσεχαροπι  
(B) Μεναιδασεμεεποίφεσεχαροπι  
(C) Μεναιδασεμεεποίφεσεχαροπι  
(D) Χαροπιεμεροίφεσεμεναιδας

(A) Μεναιδᾶς ἐμ’ ἐποίφεσε Χάροπι.<sup>18</sup> (B) Μεναιδᾶς ἐμὲ ἐποίφεσε Χάροπι. (C) Μεναιδᾶς ἐμὲ ἐποίφεσε Χάροπι. (D) Χάροπι ἐμ’ ἐποίφεσε Μεναιδᾶς (a different and more careless hand later incised: Γοργιάς τὸ πόλ(λ)όνι).

<sup>17</sup> She also mentions another vase in the Louvre with a similar inscr. (p. 156, no. Menaidas 2, Louvre ODF 53; see E. Pottier *apud* Hoppin), which has been considered a forgery since its acquisition, could not be found in 1965 (nor in 1977, see Maffre (1978), 264 n. 8), and is omitted here.

<sup>18</sup> (A) and (D): This transcription is more likely than ἐμὲ ποίφεσε (see §224).

*Epigraphy:* (A) Waiblinger (p. 16) reports a thermoluminescence analysis made at Oxford which showed that the vase is authentic.<sup>19</sup> The inscr. was perhaps incised before firing (Waiblinger): at any rate, there is practically no splintering at the edges of the letters. Waiblinger (following Pottier) reads ΕΓΟΙΕΕΣΕ. This was rejected by Maffre (1978: 265 n. 11): ‘le F ne ressemblant à un E . . . qu’à cause d’une rayure accidentelle de l’épiderme du vase à l’emplacement de la barre inférieure d’un éventuel E; cette rayure est incisée beaucoup moins profondément que ne le sont les lettres véritables du graffiti.’ Yet autopsy has confirmed my suspicion already gained from the phs. that there is indeed a lower oblique bar to complete the epsilon (its l. end, i.e. the angle with the vertical stroke, is still quite clear), but there has been a subsequent attempt to erase it and prolong the vertical stroke instead. This mistake, which may find a phonological explanation, furnishes an indication of the authenticity of the inscr. (in addition to that of the letter-forms; see below). (B) ‘incisée (sans doute avant cuisson)’, Maffre, p. 264 (‘sans doute’ means ‘perhaps’!). The clay has splintered off extensively at the edges of many letters (esp. 1, 3, 4, 7, 17, 21, 22, 24). Incision after firing seems therefore more likely. (C) The inscr. seems to have been incised before firing,<sup>20</sup> despite some splintered areas (esp. in letters 4, 6, 7, 13). (D) Here the writer obviously had some difficulty incising his letters, probably owing to the nature of the clay.<sup>21</sup> As the writing is much clearer and neater and the incision deeper than in the later graffiti, incision before firing seems possible. *Interpretation:* Potter’s signatures and dedications (to a human?; (D) later to Apollon).

There is no doubt that these are Boiotian inscriptions,<sup>22</sup> and although their authenticity has been doubted, there are strong epigraphical indications that they are genuine. These are the points which speak for authenticity. We have four vases bearing inscriptions that are almost, but not quite, identical: (B) and (C) show ἐμὲ, (A) and (D) ἐμ’ instead,<sup>23</sup> and in (D) object and subject are exchanged. All claim to be by the same writer and potter. There are also minor differences in letter-forms, for instance in the case of the mus, which are never exactly the same even within one inscription: <sup>μ</sup>μ (A), <sup>μ</sup>μ (B), <sup>μ</sup>μ (C), μμ (D). On

<sup>19</sup> E. Pottier *apud* Hoppin only doubted the authenticity of the inscr., not of the vase itself.

<sup>20</sup> Raubitschek: ‘since the paint of the central band seems to be present in the letters’. Yet, the central band shows the natural clay and is not painted. What she meant is that the paint of the bands above and below the central one has penetrated into the letters. From this we can conclude that the letters were incised before the (last) firing process. I am most grateful to W. Geominy, who checked and answered my questions.

<sup>21</sup> It is described as ‘yellowish brown with lumps of gray and brown in it’ by Raubitschek (1966), whereas BOI 2A is ‘très friable, micacée, jaune rouge’ (Waiblinger), (B) ‘orangée’ (Maffre) and (C) ‘very fine fabric of yellowish brown color with tiny amounts of mica’ (Raubitschek).

<sup>22</sup> Yet the letter-forms are not sufficient for identification as Maffre (1978: 265) claims (see the table at the end of Jeffery (1961)). Only by regarding phonology can we rule out the alternative, Euboian (where –ιδᾶς would be –ιδῆς).

<sup>23</sup> For the question of crasis, pronoun, elision, and augment see the following inscs. and §224.

the other hand, there is a greater number of details that agree perfectly, notably the  $\varsigma$ -type sigmas and the 'Boiotian'  $\mathfrak{R}$ -type alphas, although something went wrong with the first alpha in (D). Even more significant are two individual letter-forms. (1) On all four vases the loop of the pi (two on each) starts steeply upwards.<sup>24</sup> (2) The rho is quite bizarre: on (A) it was first drawn in a D-shape (which would be delta) and then developed into the P-shape by prolonging the vertical stroke from where the bow ended. We have exactly the same rho in (C)<sup>25</sup> and (D);<sup>26</sup> in the latter the continuation of the vertical stroke is clearly at an angle to the vertical stroke itself.<sup>27</sup> Even if this version is an (early) alteration of the old P- or D-type rho towards the R- or Q-shape (see §101), it is not frequent and, more importantly, has not been noticed and described until now. It therefore furnishes the strongest indication of the identity of the writer of at least three, possibly all four, of these inscriptions, as well as of the authenticity of the vases.<sup>28</sup>

The interpretation of these inscriptions is not easy, since we do not know for sure who Charops was. I would think that he was a human (see §307).

The correction in the digamma of (A) is very interesting.<sup>29</sup> It is clear that the writer first wrote  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon-$ . I cannot believe that he wrote one oblique bar too many simply because the letter forms of epsilon and digamma are similar:  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  too must have been a possible spelling of the form in Boiotia at the time (see §209), which suggests that the [w] was no longer pronounced. But when he wrote the form as he pronounced it, he realized that he normally applied the 'received' (and more archaic) spelling  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  and tried to correct his error. This suggests that there was something like a spelling tradition in the pottery trade. It seems likely also that a young potter would have learnt the art of writing from his master (see §§307, 315).

We may accept these vases and their inscriptions as genuine unless we are prepared to believe that a nineteenth-century forger invented the name Menaidas, knew about Herakles Charops, cleverly varied the formula of the inscriptions while persevering with very special letter-forms, and deliberately introduced the digamma-epsilon error.

<sup>24</sup> I could find only two other Boiotian inscs. with this pi, namely *LSAG* 94. 4, dr. pl. 7 (ph. Richter (1949), fig. 40), and our BOI 6E (not quite as steep). This form occurs elsewhere too, although it is never frequent.

<sup>25</sup> The detailed ph. kindly supplied by the museum shows that the writer first produced a vertical hasta of the normal length, then added half of the loop and thereafter drew the rest of the loop and the vertical continuation in one stroke of almost circular shape (anti-clockwise). The continuation of the vertical hasta is neither in line with its upper half nor exactly parallel.

<sup>26</sup> I am grateful to Burkhard Meißner, who took the detailed phs. for me in autumn 1988.

<sup>27</sup> On the published ph. of (B), the vertical stroke of the rho does not reach as far below the 'line' as in the other inscs.; it would therefore be worth checking. But despite many efforts I have not been able to obtain an original ph. on which the rho shows up sufficiently clearly.

<sup>28</sup> Maffre (1978: 267 f.) emphasizes I. K. Raubitschek's observation (1965: 174) that all vases signed by Menaidas, though different from one another, have a common lack of handles and feet, adding that they also lack suspension holes.

<sup>29</sup> Already treated in Wachter (1992), 23 (no. 4).

## BOI 3 ATHENS, P. AND A. CANELLOPOULOS MUS. 941

Cup ('à oiseaux', Maffre) from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Maffre (1975), 415 f., 420–5, ph. 417 fig. 2c; Hansen, *CEG* (1983), no. 327; Brouskari (1985), 50, ph. 51. *Photographs*: Maffre cl.; Brouskari sm. but cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 3rd q. 6th cent. (Maffre, pp. 423/5); probably c. 550 (see §101).

ΕΠΙΥΕΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΘΕΙΟΙΣΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΔΕΙΝΔΟΡΑ

Επιυεμεποιεσεθειοισπερικαλδειαδωρα

Ἐπίχ'εμ' ἐποίεσε θειοῖς περικαλδεία δώρα.<sup>30</sup>

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. runs in a circle inside the cup, the last seven letters 'diving' under the beginning. From the spacing of the letters . . .  $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$  . . . it is obvious that the writer first wrote . . .  $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$  . . . , then, realizing that the dat. should have a -s (see §204), changed the iota of -oi into a somewhat awkwardly shaped sigma and added a new iota before it.<sup>31</sup> I do not believe that the delta of  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  should be a lambda and needs emendation as Maffre claims (pp. 421 f.), nor that its ductus is different from the one in  $\delta\omicron\rho\alpha$ . Furthermore, I do not think that either the final letters 'diving' under the beginning of the inscr. or the writer's dipping his brush into the paint-pot again for the last seven signs (only after the delta of - $\lambda\delta$ !) has anything to do with this spelling (Maffre, *ibid.*). *Interpretation*: Metrical potter's signature (and dedication?): 'Epiche made me for the gods. Beautiful gifts (he makes)!'

It is observed by Maffre (p. 423 with n. 52) that this inscription forms a dactylic hexameter, which can only be true if  $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  is counted  $\sim\sim$ ,  $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\sim$ , and  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\sim\sim\sim$  (see below). As for the first two syllables, which in his opinion do not fit the metre, it is possible that the name Ἐπίχ'ε had three long vowels, i.e. [Ēpīk<sup>h</sup>ē] (see §235). If not, one might think either of metrical licence at the beginning of the line or of the common phenomenon of metrical adaptation of a proper name (see §222). Metre shows us also that we should read Ἐπίχ'εμ' ἐποίεσε or Ἐπίχ'εμ' ἐποίεσε, but not Ἐπίχ' εμ' ἐποίεσε (see §224).

For Boiotian men's names in - $\epsilon$ /- $\epsilon\iota$  see §235. As an interpretation  ${}^{\dagger}E\pi\iota\psi\epsilon$  makes no sense, the writing system of this inscription must be the 'red' one, as expected for Boiotian; for the formation with - $\iota\chi$ - see §234. The verb shows no digamma (see §209), and its diphthong is counted as a short vowel (see §221). For the question of crasis, pronoun, elision, and augment, and the fact that the writer stopped after  $\mu\epsilon$  to dip his brush into the pot again, see §224. The forms  $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$  and  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , as Maffre states,<sup>32</sup> both show the rendering < $\epsilon\iota$ > for [ē]. Although of different origin, this representation of a short prevocalic vowel as a diphthong may be compared with the < $\pi\omicron\iota$ > in the verb (see also

<sup>30</sup> This is more likely than Ἐπίχ'ε  $\mu\epsilon$   $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  . . . and Ἐπίχ'ε  $\mu'$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  . . . (see §224).

<sup>31</sup> This produced a better spacing than inserting a -s directly after -oi.

<sup>32</sup> Maffre, pp. 422 f. with nn. 48 and 53.

§221). In *θειοῖς* the final [s] was first forgotten (probably owing to weak pronunciation), then inserted (see §204). The [d] in *περικαλλέα*<sup>33</sup> is paralleled in Boiotian but nowhere else in ancient Greece (see §212). It probably constitutes the best proof that the language of this inscription is in fact Boiotian (since, as the name *Ἐπίχῃ* is not otherwise attested, we cannot be absolutely sure about the value of Ψ). The tailed rho (see §101), however, is also typical.

As far as the unexpected plural form at the end is concerned, Maffre thinks that it must be due to a metrical formula. It is true that *περικαλλέα δῶρα* (at the end of the line) is attested three times in Homer,<sup>34</sup> but since the first part of the hexameter with its *ποιῆσε* counted as  $\sim\sim$  is not Homeric (where the scansion would be  $\sim\sim\sim$ ), and *θειοῖς περικαλλῆς δῶρον* would also have been a possible hexameter ending, we should envisage the possibility that the plural is deliberate and more than one object was made for the gods by Epiche.

Should we imagine Epiche as one of the potters working near sanctuaries for the benefit of visitors who bought objects from them and dedicated them to the deity or deities (see BOI 2A)? In that case our line would be an advertisement for Epiche's workshop, i.e. a general statement for which the plural form would make sense. Alternatively our cup may be an actual gift for the gods, dedicated by Epiche himself (see §302). Here too the plural could refer to other objects made and dedicated by Epiche on the same occasion. I favour the second interpretation, especially since Epiche seems to be the potter (or one of the potters) of the prolific Boiotian bird-cup workshop and none of the other vases of this group bears an inscription.

The inscription can be understood in two ways, depending on whether we cut at the trithemimeres and hepthemimeres, or at the caesura *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον*, i.e. either 'Epiche made me for the gods. Beautiful gifts (he makes)!', or 'Epiche made me. Beautiful gifts for the gods (he makes)!'. Both mean more or less the same.

\*<sup>o</sup>BOI 4A-C (A) ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 12218, (B) BOSTON, MUS. OF FINE ARTS 99. 513, (C) KILCHBERG, E. PETERS COLL. (EX SOLOTHURN, R. SCHMIDT COLL.; INCISED AFTER FIRING)

(A) Ring aryballos from Boiotia (Thebes?) (1900 or slightly earlier). (B) Ring aryballos from Boiotia (1899 or earlier). (C) Ring aryballos from Greece, said to be from Thebes (before 1939).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For the use of this adjective in dedicatory inscs. see Maffre, p. 422 n. 51.

<sup>34</sup> *Od.* 8. 420, 16. 327, 18. 303, also *h. Cer.* 327, always directly preceded by the verb: *ἔθεσαν, φέρον, ἔφερον, δίδον. περικαλλε-* is used at precisely this point in the line 10 times out of 20 in the *Iliad*, 23 times out of 35 in the *Odyssey* and 10 times out of 14 in the *Homeric hymns*, i.e. in 62% of the cases. See also §303.

<sup>35</sup> '... wurde vor über 10 Jahren in Athen erworben und stammt aus dem Besitz eines führenden deutschen Archäologen und Ausgräbers' (H. U. Bauer in his expert's opinion; see *Bibl.*). On some of the present owner's (see n. 37) original copies of the old phs. (see also Raubitschek) is written 'angebl. aus Theben'.

*Bibliography:* (A) Kourouniotis (1900), 101-8; Nicole (1911), 148, no. 841, ph. pl. 4; Perrot-Chipiez (1914), 795; Nicole (1916), 376 f., no. I. 4. 10. 1; Ducati (1922), 105; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 440. 6; Pfuhr (1923), 129; Hoppin (1924), 23; P. N. Ure (1946), 46, no. 1; mentioned by Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 92; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 157, no. 'Mnasalkes' 1, phs. pl. 48a-b. (B) E. Robinson, *AnnRepBoston* (1899) (or 1898?), 55 f., no. 11 (non vidi); Nicole (1916), 377, no. I. 4. 10. 2; Ducati (1922), 105; Hoppin (1924), 24; P. N. Ure (1927), 10 f.; Fairbanks (1928), 184, no. 538, ph. pl. 51; P. N. Ure (1946), 46, no. 3; mentioned by Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 92; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 157 f., no. 'Mnasalkes' 2, ph. pl. 49a-c, esp. b. (C) Two letters from P. N. Ure of 11 Dec. 1948 and 3 July 1949, addressed to H.-U. Bauer (no doubt the then owner), and, based on Ure's first letter, a kind of expert's opinion or short article by Bauer (1 Feb. 1949);<sup>36</sup> Schefold (1960), 142 f., ph. pl. 22. 106; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 158, no. 'Mnasalkes' 3, phs. pls. 48c-d, 49d; Hansen, *CEG* (1983), no. 445. *Photographs:* (A) Kourouniotis uncl.; Nicole and Hoppin invis.; Raubitschek cl. (B) Fairbanks invis.; Raubitschek quite cl. (C) Schefold invis.; Raubitschek mostly cl. Vidi 26 Nov. 1989.<sup>37</sup> *Scene:* None. *Date:* (A)-(C) within a generation of 550 (Raubitschek, p. 161, referring to P. N. Ure (1946), 49); 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162); (C) 550-525? (Hansen).<sup>38</sup>

(A) ΜΝΑΣΑΛΚΕΣΠΟΙΕΞΕ (B) ΜΝΑΣΑΛΚΕΓΟΙΕΞΕ  
(C) ΜΝΑΣΑΛΚΕΣΠ ΕΜΠΕΔΙΟΝΔΑΙ ΑΥΤ  
ΡΗΟΔΟΚΕΦΕΡΟΝΦΙΛΟΤΑΞΙΟΝΑΙΣΥΝΛΟΙΝΑΥΤΟ

(A) Μνασαλκεσποιεσε (B) Μνασαλκεποιεσε  
(C) Μνασαλκεσπ[. . . .]εμπεδιονδα  
Αυτ[.]ρηοδοκεφερονφιλοτασιοναισχυλοιναυτο

(A) Μνᾱσάλκες ποίεσε.<sup>39</sup> (B) Μνᾱσάλκεποιεσε.<sup>40</sup>  
(C) (a) Μνᾱσάλκες π[οίεσε vac.]<sup>41</sup> Ἐμπεδιόνδα.  
(b) Αὐτ[ά]ρ ἡ δόκε φέρων φιλοτάσιον Αἰσχύλοι αὐτό.

*Epigraphy:* (A) —.<sup>42</sup> (B) —. (C) First read and interpreted by Ure in his first letter to Bauer.<sup>43</sup> After the pi of 'made' there is first a large and then a small area where the original surface has flaked off. In between, the original surface comes halfway down into the

<sup>36</sup> These documents are now in the possession of the present owner of the vase. I repeat the important information. Ure obviously got to know of the vase only after writing his 1946 article (see Ure (1946), 46, 48).

<sup>37</sup> I warmly thank Mr and Mrs Peters for their kind permission to examine the vase.

<sup>38</sup> A date of c.630 (Bauer, referring to Hoppin (1924)) seems clearly too high.

<sup>39</sup> This probably reflects [Mnāsalkēpoiēse] (see §§204, 224).

<sup>40</sup> This is more likely than Μνᾱσάλκε ποίεσε (see §§204, 224).

<sup>41</sup> This probably reflects [Mnāsalkēpoiēse] (see §§204, 224).

<sup>42</sup> Hoppin and Raubitschek say that the inscr. is written on the rim twice. I was sent the ph. of one side only and there was no response to my request for further information; therefore I cannot give an opinion.

<sup>43</sup> He writes: 'As regards the vase itself you no doubt saw the unsigned ring aryballos at Basle, Hist. Mus. 1941. 119, acquired by Professor Pfuhr, "Fundort Theben". Like your vase it has framed dots, but the frames are lozenges not ovals, and where your vase has the commoner chevrons the Basle vase has radiating triangles, also filled with dots.'



line, but no traces of letters are visible there. So Raubitschek's final epsilon in  $\pi[\omicron\epsilon\sigma]\epsilon$  seems doubtful.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, Ure's (1948) preferring  $\acute{\rho}\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  to  $\pi\acute{o}\acute{\iota}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  for lack of space is unnecessary, since the longer form fits in well (he does not make it clear whether he thought he saw the last epsilon). So we ought to write  $\pi[\omicron\acute{\iota}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon]$ , i.e. Mnasalkes' normal version. This almost fills the big gap. In the small gap before the name Empediondas, there is space for about two more letters. As no traces of letters are visible in the small area between the gaps, and the pronoun  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$  does not normally come after the verb, we shall have to assume an empty space. After  $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\delta\alpha\iota$  there is only a very small space, but the syntactical cut is made visible: from  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho$  the letters are clearly bigger, bolder, deeper, and also further apart. Since the sigma is still reversed and the bars of the alphas partly rising, the handwriting could be the same as before. Few letters need to be discussed. The upper part of the final iota of  $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\delta\alpha\iota$  is clear, but the lower part has been obliterated by a hole. The letters  $-\sigma\iota\omicron\nu-$  are clearer on the old photograph than they are now on the original. The fourth letter from the end is fully rounded at the top, whereas all other alphas have a pointed top, mostly to the l. (the one in  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota$ , however, is symmetrical); whether the break through this letter follows an earlier horizontal bar is impossible to tell, but since it must be a vowel sign (or  $H$ ) for metrical reasons, and since omicron, the only other possibility from an epigraphical point of view apart from alpha, makes no sense, alpha must be correct. *Interpretation:* Potter's signatures; (C) with additional dedications to humans, (a) 'Mnasalkes made (me) for Empediondas', (b) 'But the latter took and gave the same love-gift to Aischylos' (metrical).

The writer of these four inscriptions, probably Mnasalkes himself, shows some strikingly individual features in his handwriting (which may point to his being quite practised in this field). (1) The sigma always consists of a four-stroke wavy line the wrong way round. (2) In the painted inscriptions (A) and (B) and in some places in the incised one (C) the 'horizontal' bar of the rounded alpha slopes upwards<sup>45</sup> (see dr.) instead of downwards as it normally does in this typically Boiotian letter-form (R).

For the name  $M\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  see Bechtel, p. 319. For the question of final [s], which in (B) is not written, and was therefore probably not pronounced, see §204. For the augment, which is not written in (A) and (C), and the question of elision or crasis, see §224.

(C) needs special attention, since it adds a name and a hexameter to the signature. The whole was translated—in two hexameters—by Bauer and repeated by Schefold thus (I mark the first syllable of each foot): 'Mnásalkes schúf dies Gefäß im Auftrag des Émpedióndas. Únd als Liebesgeschénk überbrácht' er's dem Áischylos sélbst dann.' This immediately reveals some

of the problems with the interpretation of this inscription. I assume that 'selbst' is meant to refer to 'es', not to 'er'<sup>46</sup> (though this is not obvious from the translation).

The name  $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\delta\alpha\varsigma$  was rightly interpreted by Ure in his second letter as a patronymic from  $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ . See Bechtel (pp. 152 f.), who lists both full names in  $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron-$  and, particularly frequent in Boiotia, short names from the same stem, such as  $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  (i.e.  $-\omega\nu$ ),  $\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\nu$  (Akraiphia, 3rd cent.),  $\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\delta\epsilon$  (Lebadeia, before 350), or  $[\epsilon\mu]\pi\epsilon\delta\delta\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha$  (Tanagra, gen.).<sup>47</sup> At any rate, Empediondas must have been a human.

The first problem in the hexameter line is who is meant by  $\acute{\omicron}$ : Mnasalkes or Empediondas? Bauer seems to suggest Mnasalkes, but this seems distinctly odd.<sup>48</sup> Now, Raubitschek pointed to *Od.* 21. 366, where  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\omicron} \theta\eta\kappa\epsilon \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  shows an almost perfect parallel to our phrase. In the Homeric passage we find that  $\acute{\omicron}$  designates a person different from the subject of the previous verb: '(So they spoke.) But he laid down . . .'. The same will be true in our case: Empediondas is now the subject, as also in Ure's opinion. Our hexameter is clearly epic in style, as is evident from the parallel just mentioned, the metre, the construction  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  + verb,<sup>49</sup> demonstrative  $\acute{\omicron}$  (without  $-\delta\epsilon$ ), and the lack of augment in  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\epsilon$ .<sup>50</sup> The word  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  is not otherwise attested in this form with certainty;<sup>51</sup> frequent in literature is  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$  ( $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\iota\zeta$ ) 'cup sacred to friendship, loving-cup' (see LSJ, s.v.).

For the construction  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\epsilon . . . \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu . . . \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$ , there are two possible interpretations depending on the uses of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in early Boiotian:<sup>52</sup> (1)  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  is neuter (sc.  $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$ ), and  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$  is used adjectivally; (2)  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  is neuter (or masculine) and  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$  is an anaphoric pronoun 'gave it (sc. this vase) as a treat'. Since the inscription is clearly epic in style, in possibility (1)  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$ , as an adjective, cannot be (1a) demonstrative, 'this love-gift' (see Chantraine (1953), 155 bottom, 156 bottom), but the meaning could very well be (1b) 'the same love-gift'. Possibility (2), on the other hand, is difficult, since the vase is normally the speaker (in the 1st person sg.) in this kind of inscription, and since  $(\acute{\epsilon})\mu\acute{\epsilon}$  is not preserved (and does not occur on any of Mnasalkes' vases),

<sup>46</sup> At the end of the inscr., and in view of the possible misunderstanding, the writer would hardly have dropped the  $-\varsigma$  had he meant to say  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  'himself'. Also the  $-\varsigma$  is written in the first name, although it may not have been pronounced (see above and §204).

<sup>47</sup> Raubitschek, p. 164 n. 16 (read 'p. 187' in her reference).

<sup>48</sup> Either we would have to accept Bauer's suggestion 'by order of', 'on behalf of' for the dat., which seems far-fetched, or it would mean that Mnasalkes had first made it for one person (Empediondas) and then changed his mind in favour of another (Aischylos).

<sup>49</sup> An interpretation along the lines of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho \eta\acute{\omicron} \delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa' \acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (or  $\eta\acute{\omicron} \delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\epsilon \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ) 'but then what he gave (me/then), I/they brought . . .', is less likely; also the imperfect tense would make no sense.

<sup>50</sup> The use of the aorist  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\epsilon$  is not a severe difficulty. Ure in his first letter: 'Presumably Empediondas knew what he was going to do with the vase when he ordered it from Mnasalkes and the aorist is anticipatory.'

<sup>51</sup> It is plausibly restored by J. D. Beazley in a graffito on an Attic rf. cup:  $[\phi\iota\lambda]\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  (Immerwahr, no. 484).

<sup>52</sup> Taking  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$  as a gen. sg. does not, as far as I can see, lead to any reasonable interpretation: 'brought it to Aischylos as his (Mnasalkes') love-gift' (this would be odd because of the hyperbaton); or 'brought it as a love-gift to his (Mnasalkes' not Empediondas) Aischylos' (this seems odd because of its meaning).

<sup>44</sup> She probably took one of the scratches in the flaked-off area below, which also show on the old phs., for the remains of a letter. But autopsy showed that this can hardly be right, since these scratches do not continue into the upper half of the line, where the surface is preserved and should show them even more clearly.

<sup>45</sup> A Boiotian parallel for this is *LSAG* 94. 2b (dr. pl. 7).

we would have to understand it implicitly. Therefore the switch from the 1st person ‘made (me)’ to the 3rd ‘gave it’ is awkward,<sup>53</sup> which practically rules out possibility (2).

We should therefore prefer (1*b*), ‘the same love-gift’. This would imply that Mnasalkes had already made the vase as a love-gift, or—if the dative ‘for Empediondas’ was added later—had made it into one. Why should a potter not have had a young lover himself, for instance his apprentice?

(There is a very likely parallel to this, namely a coiled snake of the early sixth century in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, published by J. Boardman.<sup>54</sup> The snake is similar to our BOI 6C (see ad loc.) and has been proven ancient by thermoluminescence analysis (see ad BOI 6 with n. 64). It bears the Boiotian graffito Γρύτῆς Ἐρμαίου ἔδωκε.



Source: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1956. 314

The restoration Γρύτῆς by I. K. Raubitschek (1966: 159, ad ‘Polon’ 3) is better than Γρύπῆς (Boardman), since in view of the other letters and the spaces between them a pi would be too wide and the spaces to its left and right uneven (see my dr.). Γρύτῆς may be identical with Γρύτῶν the potter of BOI 1A–B, whose name evokes the notion ‘oil-flask’ (see ad loc.). The dative Ἐρμαίου (for the lack of aspiration see §253), on the other hand, was interpreted by Boardman as a woman’s name (Ἐρμαία).<sup>55</sup> This is possible, although no such female name, as far as I know, is attested in Boiotia. On the other hand, masculine Ἐρμαίος (nom.) occurs on a fifth-century inscription from Thespiiai (IG vii. 1888g. 10), and the Boiotians had indeed a special preference for masculine names with Ἐρμαι- (see Bechtel, p. 163).<sup>56</sup> A gift from a potter to his boy-lover seems therefore at least as likely.)

Back to Mnasalkes. If the handwriting in the second part were the same as that in the first, which seems possible from the letter-forms, we would have to assume that Empediondas brought the vase back to Mnasalkes after a few years in order to have his own dedication inscribed. This would be odd. On the other hand, we have observed that from and including αὐτάρ the letters are bigger, bolder, deeper, and further apart. Therefore it seems more attractive to assume that Empediondas, Mnasalkes’ apprentice and

ἐρόμενος, had learnt not only the art of potting, but also the art of writing from his master, including the latter’s peculiar reversed sigmas and slightly unusual alphas. The version I prefer is therefore: (a) ‘Mnasalkes made (me) for Empediondas’; (b) ‘But the latter took and gave the same love-gift to Aischylos’. See also §307 for similar relationships.

As far as the Homeric parallel is concerned, it seems unlikely that *Od.* 21. 366, where the verb is different and one dactyl precedes αὐτάρ, was the actual model. But the sentence-opening αὐτὰρ ὁ . . . is frequent in Homer,<sup>57</sup> and the combination δῶκε φέρων or ἦκε φέρων is also well attested (mostly in the *Odyssey*).<sup>58</sup> So the present passage Αὐτὰρ ὁ δῶκε φέρων could have been built up from existing models. Were there other well-known epic texts at that time which showed this formula fairly often? Or were there still people (in Boiotia) in the second half of the sixth century whose experience embraced a wider and perhaps still partly oral epic tradition? Since our hexameter can hardly have been copied from other objects but seems to have been individually composed for the present object, we may consider Empediondas—or at least a friend of his who helped him—to have been fairly skilled in verse-making.

\*BOI 5A–B (A) LOST, (B) VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUS. IV 1864 (INCISED BEFORE FIRING)

(A) Gourd aryballos from Greece (1897 or earlier); ex Tyszkiewicz coll. (B) Ring aryballos from Thebes (1896 or earlier). *Bibliography*: (A) Pollak (1897), 105–10 with ph. (105) and dr. (106); Solmsen (1898), 137–43; Perrot–Chipiez (1914), 40, dr. 42; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 440. 9; Pfuhl (1923), 129; Hoppin (1924), 21; P. N. Ure (1927), 11; mentioned by Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 92; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 158, no. ‘Phithadas’ 1. (B) Eichler (1930), 1–4, with dr. (p. 1); I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 158, no. ‘Phithadas’ 2, phs. pl. 45e–f. *Photographs*: (A) Pollak invis. (B) Raubitschek invis. *Scene*: None. *Date*: within a generation of 550 (Raubitschek, p. 161, referring to P. N. Ure (1946), 49); 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162).

(A) ΦΙΘΑΔΑΣΕΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ (B) ΦΙΘΕΜΕΠΟΙΕΞΕ

(A) Φιθαδασεμεποιεσε (B) Φιθεμεποιεσε

(A) Φιθάδᾱς ἐμ’ ἐποίῃσε.<sup>59</sup> (B) Φιθέμ’ ἐποίῃσε.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Il.* 1. 333, 488, 597, 2. 50, 105, 107, 224, etc.; *Od.* 4. 532, 5. 94, 243, 270, 354, 6. 224, etc.

<sup>58</sup> There are, however, only two cases where φέρων ends in the penthemimeres and is immediately preceded by the verb as in our inscr.: *Od.* 9. 361 τρὶς μὲν ἔδωκα φέρων, *Od.* 17. 333 τὸν κατέθηκε φέρων. In all other cases, mostly with θῆ- (*Od.* 8. 482, 15. 122, 20. 97, 21. 182, 21. 378 f.), but also with δω- (*Od.* 22. 146; *Il.* 7. 303 f. and—structurally the same—*Il.* 23. 824 f.), the two elements are separated, and the participle usually ends in the hephthemimeres (as also in *Od.* 21. 366, compared by Raubitschek). Occasionally, other verbs are used in this way, e.g. *Od.* 1. 127 ἔστησε φέρων (hephth.).

<sup>59</sup> This is more likely than ἐμὲ ποίῃσε (see §224).

<sup>60</sup> This is more likely than Φιθέμ- and -με ποί- (see §224).

<sup>53</sup> This was felt by Ure (he took Empediondas for the customer who ordered the vase), when he wrote in his first letter: ‘The ΑΥΤΟ at the end of the inscr. is not in the best Greek style, but I take the writer to be a very amateur versifier who needed the two syllables to complete his hexameter.’

<sup>54</sup> Ashmolean Museum 1956. 314. Vidi 27 July 1990. See Boardman (1961a), 55 f., no. 6.

<sup>55</sup> It cannot be the god’s name, which we expect as Ἐρμᾱς or uncontracted Ἐρμάᾱς (or Ἐρμᾱ-, respectively), but not with the cluster -αῖα-; see §253.

<sup>56</sup> This was probably because of the month-name Ἐρμαῖος (see Trümper (1997), 244 f.) or the respective festival.



*Epigraphy:* (A) The inscr. was obviously easily legible—when the vase was available for examination. (B) Incised ‘in den noch feuchten Ton’ (Eichler). *Interpretation:* Potter’s signatures.

Solmsen groups the name  $\Phi\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  in (A) with  $\Phi\iota\theta\omega\nu$  (as  $N\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu$ ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  and  $M\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu$ ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ ), which he considers the same name as  $\Pi\iota\theta\omega\nu$ . This can only be true if we have here a discrepancy with respect to Grassmann’s law (see e.g. Mayrhofer (1986), 112 ff., esp. 115). Eichler took the name in (B) as an asigmatic Boiotian nominative form. He expressly rejects the possibility of reading abbreviated  $\Phi\iota\theta(\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma) \acute{\epsilon}\mu'$  . . . (later preferred by Raubitschek), since such an abbreviation would be ‘unerhört’ and not justifiable in view of the ample space on the vase. Yet, he still considers it possible that this potter is identical with Phithadas—only that here he used the ‘Kurz- und Koseform’ of his name. If it is indeed the same potter in both cases, this would be another instance where we know the two names of one and the same person; for more examples see  $\Gamma\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\varsigma/\Gamma\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu$  mentioned above (see ad BOI 1), and §228. For  $\Phi\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu'$  . . . compare  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\mu'$  . . . in BOI 3 (for the type of name see §235).

That we have a four-stroke sigma in (B), whereas the painted inscription (A) apparently had a three-stroke one, is, it is true, slightly worrying with respect to the identity of the writers. Yet Polon’s signature shows the same two forms (BOI 6B vs. the others), which were both fully acceptable; see also Gryton’s different sigmas in BOI 1 and Menaidas’ different mus in BOI 2.

\*<sup>o</sup>BOI 6A–E (A) PARIS, LOUVRE L 4 (CA 70) (INCISED), (B) PARIS, LOUVRE CA 938, (C) PARIS, LOUVRE CA 638 (INCISED), (D) PARIS, LOUVRE CA 1634 (INCISED BEFORE FIRING), (E) BOSTON, MUS. OF FINE ARTS 13. 115 (INCISED AFTER FIRING)

(A) Fr. of an aryballos from Thebes (1887 or earlier). (B) Plastic vase (‘rhyton’) ending in a bull’s head from Boiotia (1898 or earlier). (C) Plastic vase in the shape of a coiled snake from Thebes (1895 or earlier). (D) Plastic vase in the shape of an animal’s head (‘panthère’, Ducat) from Greece (Attica, Helbing) (1899 or earlier). (E) Plastic vase in the shape of a seated monkey from ? (1912 or earlier). *Bibliography:* (A) E. Pottier, *CVA* France, 9 (1929), 3, ph. pl. 1. 6; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 158, no. ‘Polon’ 1; Ducat (1966), 187; A. Waiblinger, *CVA* France, 26 (1974), 22, ph. pl. 17. 2. (B) Maximova (1927), 108 n. 1; Boardman (1961b), 105 n. 5; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 158 f., no. ‘Polon’ 2, ph. pl. 50b; Ducat (1966), 187, 189; A. Waiblinger, *CVA* France, 26 (1974), 21, ph. pl. 16. 1; mentioned by Kilinski II (1990), 4 n. 2, 49 n. 63, 52. (C) Robinson–Harcum (1930), i. 40 f.; Boardman (1961a), 55 f.; Ducat (1963), 433 n. 2; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 159, no. ‘Polon’ 3, ph. pl. 51c; Ducat (1966), 186, 189; A. Waiblinger, *CVA* France, 26 (1974), 21 f., ph. pl. 17. 1. (D) Helbing (1899), 14, no. 286 (*sic*); I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 160, no. ‘Polon’ 4, phs. pl. 51d–e; Ducat (1966), 187 ff.; A. Waiblinger, *CVA* France, 26

(1974), 22, phs. pl. 17. 4–5. (E) Fairbanks (1928), 175 f., no. 502, ph. pl. 49; Richter (1930), 79, ph. pl. 58. 185; McDermott (1938), 257, no. 387; Ducat (1966), 187, ph. pl. 24. 6; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 160, no. ‘Polon’ 5, phs. pl. 51f–g. *Photographs:* (A) *CVA* Pottier sm., Waiblinger cl. (B) and (D) Raubitschek and *CVA* cl. (C) Raubitschek and *CVA* incomplete and uncl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. (E) Fairbanks, Richter, Ducat invis.; Raubitschek rather uncl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* (A) 1st h. 6th cent. (Waiblinger). (B) 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162); 2nd q. 6th cent. (Waiblinger). (C) and (E) 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162). (D) 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162); towards mid-6th cent. (Waiblinger).

(A)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  (B)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$   
(C)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$  (D)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$   
(E)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$

(A)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  [ . . . ] (B)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$  (C)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$   
(D)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$  (E)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$

(A)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon$  [ . . . ] or  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu' \acute{\epsilon}$  [ . . . ]. (B)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$ .  
(C)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu' \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$ .<sup>61</sup> (D)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu' \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$ .  
(E)  $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu' \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$ .

*Epigraphy:* (A) —. (B) At the beginning there is only space enough for the damaged first letter. At the end there was no more space, if the painter was reluctant to continue round the curve; this will have been the reason why he did not insert the pronoun  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon$  as in the other, similar texts, and perhaps also explains his choice of the shortest spelling of the verb. (C) —. (D) The text is cited wrongly by Ducat. (E) —. *Interpretation:* (B)–(E) Potter’s signatures; (A) less certain.

(A) For the peculiar way of writing mu and nu (as if starting from a rounded pi), I know of only one parallel: the mu in COR 96B. Certainly the appearance of the vase and its modest decoration are different from those of (B)–(E). Yet Waiblinger points to BOI 2A which has a similar shape. What is certain is that, first, the inscription from an epigraphical point of view is not Corinthian,<sup>62</sup> and, secondly, that it is written by a different hand from the others. But of course the verb is lacking, and we cannot be sure that it was ‘(he) made’. It is therefore not certain that this is a potter’s signature and that this Polon is the same as the potter. I see no obvious reason why the inscription should not be genuine (the vase is genuine, see below).

The other Polon pieces, or at least their inscriptions, have been often suspected too. Here is the evidence:

<sup>61</sup> (C), (D), (E): this is more likely than  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon \rho\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$  (see §224).

<sup>62</sup> The vase was grouped with the Corinthian ware by Pottier, although it came from Boiotia; according to Waiblinger, its Boiotian manufacture is not to be doubted.

(B) Maximova suspected the whole vase of being a forgery,<sup>63</sup> but thermoluminescence analysis<sup>64</sup> has shown that the suspicion was not justified (see below). As the inscription was painted before firing, it must be genuine too.

(C) Boardman takes the vase, and Ducat at least the inscription, for a modern forgery. Waiblinger (p. 16) reports a thermoluminescence analysis done at Oxford, which indicated an age of less than 250 years for the firing of this vase, whereas (A), (B), (D), and BOI 2A yielded a result of c.1,300–3,000 years. Nevertheless, she considers the vase authentic, but to have been refired in the nineteenth century<sup>65</sup> and the (forged or genuine) inscription subsequently coloured. Raubitschek observes that the inscription seems to be by the same hand as (D) and (E).

(D) L. D. Caskey (on the museum's inventory card) considered the inscription, and Ducat (p. 189) the whole object, to be modern. The latter opinion has been proved wrong through thermoluminescence analysis (see above). Waiblinger is positive about the inscription being incised 'avant cuisson', which seems likely, to judge from the smooth edges of the letters. This inscription, therefore, is very important for the whole group, since it shows that Polon's signature was also incised (see ad BOI 7 for Gamedes). As for the material, it is surprising that one and the same vase should contain both Corinthian clay (light parts) and Boiotian clay (red parts), as Waiblinger (p. 22) and J. Gautier (*CVA* France, 26, p. 59) observe. Although this seems to bring our piece together with (E), which is also said to be Corinthian (see below), Waiblinger goes too far when she says, 'son origine corinthienne semble se préciser'. For the object is described (*CVA* France, 26, p. 59) as 'façonné avec une argile claire, analogue à celle qui a été utilisée à Corinthe, et décoré de motifs en relief dont la pâte céramique rouge est semblable à celle des vases béotiens'. So considering that (1) only part of the clay is perhaps Corinthian and the rest is not, and may be Boiotian; that (2) the decoration has good Boiotian parallels, as Waiblinger herself stresses; that (3) the vase has an inscription which was incised before firing and has close parallels on vases found in Boiotia; and that (4) the inscription on this vase is certainly not Corinthian, the argument in favour of a Boiotian origin is much stronger. That the potter should have had his training in Corinth is of course possible, but seems to be supported only by the use of what could be Corinthian clay, and this, it seems to me, is a weak argument.

(E) Fairbanks and McDermott think the inscription is modern, and M. Padgett informs me (*per litt.*) that the vase is Corinthian and that the inscription is 'certainly incised after firing, probably in modern times'. Yet not only does Amyx (p. 516), following

Payne, deny the existence of Corinthian monkey vases, but Fairbanks gives the description of the clay as 'pale dull red', his third (and main) adjective being not at all what we would expect for Corinthian.<sup>66</sup> If the clay is Boiotian, we could accept the inscription as genuine; if it is Corinthian, we may still assume that unfired clay was exported.<sup>67</sup>

Considering all these facts we can expect not to be mistaken if we accept as genuine: (A), found in Boiotia a decade earlier than the others; (B), painted inscription, object last fired in antiquity; and (D), inscription incised before firing, object last fired in antiquity. These three cover all variations of Polon's inscriptions so far known. In the case of (C) (object last fired in modern times) and (E) (no analyses as yet done), we must remain sceptical. But (E) differs from the others in its rare form of the second letter pi (with ascending start of the loop as in BOI 2, see ad loc.), which would not immediately suggest a forgery. Moreover, as Raubitschek observed, the handwriting not only of these two (C and E), but also of (D) is very similar. (D), however, is not to be doubted, and this would be a strong argument for the authenticity of (C) and (E) (in this connection it would be worth while comparing the pale clay of (D) and the clay of (E) by scientific means).<sup>68</sup> Of course we should always bear in mind the possibility that more than one individual was entitled to apply the signature of the owner of what was presumably a large enterprise (see ad BOI 7 and AIG 3E).

The name<sup>69</sup> of the potter is likely to be a heavily shortened form of the *Πολυ-* compound names (see §§229, 237). For the pronoun and augment see §224; for the stem of the verb see §209.

\*BOI 7A–C (A) PARIS, LOUVRE MNB 501, (B) LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1873. 2–8. 2 (INCISED BEFORE FIRING), (C) ATHENS (?)

(A) Oinochoe from excavations made by farmers at Tanagra (1872 or earlier). (B) Aryballos probably from Thespiiai (1870 or earlier). (C) Fr. of the collar of a large bf. (?) jar from Mount Mavrovouni in southern Boiotia (April 1968). *Bibliography*: (A) Rayet (1875), 172 f.; de Witte (1878), 548–50; Klein (1887), 31, no. 1; Rayet–Collignon (1888), 80, dr. 81 fig. 42; von Rohden (1888), 1970, with dr. fig. 2107; dr. by E. Pottier in *WV* (1888),

<sup>66</sup> For the quality of Corinthian clay see e.g. Amyx, pp. 535 f. On pp. 536 f. he describes the technique of neutron activation analysis. This may, when applied, also be of some help in the case of these vases. Amyx (p. 536) stresses too that 'pale' clay need not be automatically Corinthian clay.

<sup>67</sup> Amyx (p. 536 n. 4; see also n. 8) suggests that we should make a clearer distinction between 'provenance' (i.e. where a vase was found) and 'place of manufacture' (where it was made). One should, I think, add a third category: 'origin of clay'.

<sup>68</sup> They have been described thus: (D) 'marne verdâtre presque sans quartz' (J. Gautier *apud* Waiblinger, p. 58) and 'vert pâle' (Waiblinger, p. 22); (E) 'clay pale dull red, containing fine particles of stone, now gray from exposure to fire' (Fairbanks).

<sup>69</sup> Bechtel (p. 380) cites a Phokian *Πόλων*, and five attestations from the Kyrenaika are listed in Fraser–Matthews; \**Πόλλων*, \**Πούλων*, \**Πώλων* seem not to exist.

<sup>63</sup> Or did Maximova misunderstand E. Pottier, who wrote to her about his suspicions? She is certainly dealing with the bull vase, but citing an inscr. that is more similar to (C) or (D). Ducat obviously copied her, without having checked the inscr.; see below, (D).

<sup>64</sup> A useful recent account of this method with further bibl. is given by Heilmeyer (1989).

<sup>65</sup> See *ibid.* 58: the remarks by J. Gautier on the clay and firing of the vase.

pl. 1. 2 and 7; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 287–90, with dr. (p. 287); Kretschmer (1894), 52, no. 1; Perrot–Chipiez (1914), 41, dr. 44; Nicole (1916), 376, no. I. 4. 6. 1; Ducati (1922), 203, drs. 202 f.; Pfuhl (1923), 127–9, dr. fig. 94; Hoppin (1924), 18 f.; P. N. Ure (1927), 14; ph. Merlin [n.d.], pl. 10; Elgnowski (1964), *passim*, phs. pls. 17. 11, 19. 4; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 155, no. ‘Gamedes’ 1, phs. pl. 44a–c; A. Waiblinger, *CVA* France, 26 (1974), 31, phs. pl. 28. 1, 3, 5; Kilinski II (1990), 19 f., 52, and *passim*, phs. pl. 15. 3–4. (B) Heydemann (1870a), 10, dr. pl. 10. 7; Dumont (1874), 8 no. 12, 10, 62 (non vidi); Rayet (1875), 171 f.; de Witte (1878), 550 f., dr. 549; Klein (1887), 31, no. 2; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 287–90, with dr. (p. 290); *BM Cat.* A (unpublished), no. 189; Kretschmer (1894), 52, no. 2; Walters–Birch (1905), i. 300, ph. pl. 17. 6; Nicole (1916), 376, no. I. 4. 6. 2; Hoppin (1924), 17; P. N. Ure (1927), 10; Beazley (1927/8), 195; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 155, no. ‘Gamedes’ 2, phs. pl. 44d–e. (C) Fossey (1970), with ph. and dr.; Tomlinson–Fossey (1970), 251 no. D. vi, dr. 250 fig. 4. 20; mentioned by Kilinski II (1990), 4, nn. 1 f. *Photographs*: (A) Merlin cl. but only (b); Elgnowski quite cl. but only (b); Raubitschek and *CVA* cl.; Kilinski II cl. but only (b). (B) Walters–Birch and Raubitschek uncl. Vidi 22 Aug. 1990. (C) Fossey quite cl. *Scene*: (A) Shepherd with cattle, not related to the inscrs. which are painted inside the lip and on the frieze. (B) and (C) none. *Date*: (A) 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162); c. mid-6th cent. (Waiblinger); early 2nd h. 6th cent. (Kilinski II, p. 65). (B) 1st h. 6th cent. (Raubitschek, p. 162). (C) —.

(A) (a) ΓΑΜΕΔΕΣΕΡΟΕΣΕ (b) ΓΑΜΕΔΕ Σ ΕΡΟΕ Σ Ε  
(B) ΓΑΜΕΔΕΣΕΡΟΕΣΕ (C) ΣΕΡΟ.

(A) (a) Γαμεδεσεροεσε (b) Γαμεδε Σ εροε σ ε  
(B) Γαμεδεσεροεσε (C) [...]σερο[...]

(A) (a) and (b) Γᾱμῑῑδῑς ἑπόῑσε. (B) Γᾱμῑῑδῑς ἑπόῑσε.  
(C) [...]ς ἑπο[...]

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Potter’s (or potters’?) signatures. (C) is attributed to Gamedes by C. Fossey, and K. Kilinski II (*per litt.*) accepts this view; it seems uncertain to me, however.

Inscriptions (A) and (B) and their vases are not to be doubted: (A) is painted like the rest of the decoration. In the case of (B), I owe the following argument for authenticity to L. Burn and D. Williams (*per litt.*): ‘The letters are incised in a panel which has deliberately been left free to receive them. If the letters were incised after the original firing, so was the rest of the decoration. Since the rest of the decoration seems perfectly authentic, the conclusion should be that so are the letters.’ It is also important to notice that the decoration is led right up to the first and last letters and is therefore likely to have been completed after the inscription. More details were revealed by my subsequent autopsy: some of the decoration was done on the wheel, for instance the horizontal lines which are filled with paint. All the other incisions

were also done before the dark-brown paint was applied. This can be seen in the triangular spaces at the ends of the tongue pattern above and below, in the triangular pattern in the centre, and at many of the vertical lines where the drawing of the paint brush, drawn horizontally, left thick, dark rims. The same is true for the inscription, where the omicron, the bottoms of the delta and the alpha, and the whole of gamma are filled with paint. It is possible or even probable that some of the inscription and decoration was retraced after firing, and that somebody eventually filled in some black colour in the inscription (visible e.g. in the mu, the first epsilon, and sigma, but nowhere in the decoration).

Raubitschek refers to A. Birchall<sup>70</sup> for the results of a laboratory analysis which clearly showed that the paint, a fired slip, was even found in letters which first had to be cleared of deposit (probably calcium carbonate).

From all this it follows that the letters must have been incised before firing and must be genuine. We therefore have one painted and one incised signature of Gamedes on very different but roughly contemporary vases. The fact that the epsilons have horizontal bars in (B) and sloping ones in (A) may suggest different workers for different techniques in the same workshop (see ad BOI 6).

Rayet was the first to interpret the first element of the compound Γᾱμῑῑδῑς as ‘earth’, i.e. a name parallel to Διομῑδης, which seems the most plausible solution.<sup>71</sup>

#### °BOI 8 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 1727

Bf. exaleiptron (tripod kothon) from Tanagra (1881 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Löschcke (1881), with drs. pls. 3 f.; Furtwängler (1885), no. 1727; N. Kunisch, *CVA* Germany, 33 (1971), 68–70 (with ample bibl.), phs. pls. 196, 197. 5–7; *LIMC* iv, ‘Gorgo, Gorgones’ 317\*, ph. (not of the inscr.) pl. 185; Kilinski II (1990), 15 f., 52, and *passim*, phs. pl. 7. 1–2; *LIMC* vii, ‘Perseus’ 146. *Photographs*: *CVA* and Kilinski II not very cl. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Perseus (with winged shoes, and the *kibisis*, containing Medusa’s head, round the shoulders) is running to r. On the respective fields of the other two legs of the vase the sister Gorgons are seen pursuing him and the beheaded Medusa is shown collapsing (all unnamed). On other parts of the vase there are a sacrificial procession (with a pig), a dance, and a banquet scene, as well as palaestra scenes. *Date*: c. 570–560 (Kunisch); soon after 575 (Kilinski II, p. 65, implicitly); 575–550 (*LIMC*).

(←) ΓΕΡΞΕΥΞ

Περσευς  
Περσεύς.

<sup>70</sup> I am grateful to L. Burn for copies of the correspondence (Oct.–Nov. 1965).

<sup>71</sup> Heydemann had read Παμ(μ)εδες, Dumont Γαμ(μ)εδες; Kretschmer (p. 53) thought of an aphaeresis for Ἀγα-.

*Epigraphy*: The last two letters are now very unclear. *Interpretation*: Perseus pursued by the Gorgons (label).

If the date is correct, the tailed rho is one of the earliest attested (see §101). For the cluster [rs] see §214.

°BOI 9 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG V. I. 4859

Exaleiptron from Boiotia (bought in 1906, found ?). *Bibliography*: first mentioned in Burrows–Ure (1911), 76 n. 33, 80 n. 64; Kern (1913), ix f., ph. pl. 10; Neugebauer (1932), 17; Scheibler (1964), 95, with ph. fig. 16; I. K. Raubitschek (1966), 162 f., with dr. of (b), ph. pl. 52b; Gehrig–Greifenhagen–Kunisch (1968), 54; Scheibler (1968), 394; N. Kunisch, *CVA* Germany, 33 (1971), 71 f., with dr. of (b), phs. pl. 198. 3 and 5; Wachter (1989a); mentioned by Kilinski II (1990), 51 n. 75, 52 n. 79, 56 n. 22. *Photographs*: Kern only (a), cl.; Scheibler (1964) invis.; Raubitschek only (a), quite cl.; *CVA* (a) cl., (b) uncl. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: None. *Date*: c.575 (Gehrig *et al.*); mid to 3rd q. 6th cent. (Kunisch, because of the palmette ornaments); 2nd q. 6th cent. (K. Kilinski II, *per litt.*).

(a) ΠΟΛΥΤΙΜΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣΠΑΝΨΥΤΟΕΚΑΛΟΣ  
(b) ΠΟΛΥΤΙΜΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣΠΑΝΨΥΤ ΔΙΟΝΑ

(a) Πολυτιμιδασκαλοσπανχυτοεκαλος  
(b) Πολυτιμιδασκαλοσπανχυτ[. . .]αλονα[.]

(a) Πολυτιμιδᾶς καλός, πάνχυ τοε καλός. (b) Πολυτιμιδᾶς καλός, πάνχυ τ[οε κ]αλό(ς), να[έ . ?].

*Epigraphy*: Both painted, (a) on the lid, (b) on the rim of the vase. (b) Autopsy has shown that the gap after the second tau is somewhat wider than might be expected for three letters. But the spaces between the letters are irregular. Whether the old reading κ]αλό(ς), να[έ . ?] was correct can no longer be checked because of further damage; only the beginning, up to the second tau, is now legible. *Interpretation*: *Kalos*-inscriptions (each perhaps a short dialogue): ‘Polytimidas is handsome. Yes, very handsome (indeed)!’

Inscription (a) seems to have been slightly shorter than (b), probably because of lack of space. For the reading and interpretation, as well as a short general discussion, see Wachter (see also §307 below). The adverb πάνχυ (i.e. πάγχυ; for the spelling see §114) is attested in early poetry, but only twice in Attic literature (drama). Since our inscription is anything but poetic, πάνχυ has to be considered a common Boiotian word.<sup>72</sup> Also, τοε and—if correctly

<sup>72</sup> D. Knoepfler (*per litt.*) kindly draws my attention to another Boiotian adverb, namely προταινί, which is rare in Attic (only Eur. [?] *Rh.* 423, explained as Boiotian by the scholion), but is attested several times in Boiotia, e.g. *IG* vii. 1739. 14 προτηνί in the meaning of ‘πρότερον’, and *SEG* 28. 461. 9 προτεινί. More attestations in *BCH* 102 (1978), 364. See Chantraine, s.v. ποταίνιος, and Frisk, s.vv. ποταίνιος and προταινί.

read—ναέ (i.e. τοί and ναί; for the spelling see §225) belong to the more colloquial sphere of discourse, and the same will be true for the loss of final [s] (see §204).

*Kalos*-inscriptions (see §309) are rare outside Attica, and this is a very early one too (see also Kilinski II, p. 52); a second Boiotian example is BOI 19. A later Polytimidas is attested at Thespiiai, *DGE* 478B. 5 (see *LSAG* 95. 19a; soon after 424).

BOI 10 ATHENS, P. AND A. CANELLOPOULOS MUS. 384

Fr. of a bf. skyphos from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Maffre (1975), 467–76, phs. 468 f. figs. 29 f.; Kilinski II (1990), 42, 52, 59 n. 45. *Photographs*: Maffre mostly cl. *Scene*: A woman to r. (a), another one to r. (c), bent forward, washing her hair, a woman to l. (d), pouring water over (c)’s head. In the free space above (c)’s back is inscr. (b). Under the handle there is a dog (e). On the other side there are a woman (f) to r., spinning, and two others, (g) and (h), facing each other, grinding. A lion under the handle seems not to have been named. *Date*: 4th q. 6th cent. (Maffre, p. 476).

(a) ϩ (b) ΟΚΕ | ΤΕΡΙΑ | ΜΑΣ (c) ΕΥΦΑΡΨΑ  
(d) ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΑ (e) ΦΙΛΟΦΕΡΑ (f) (←) ΕΥΦΑΡΙΣ  
(g) (←) ΕΥΦΑΡΨΑ (h) ΟΔΟΜΑ

(a) . . . . α (b) [. . .]οκε | [. . .]τέρια[. . . ?] | [. . .]ρασ[. . . ?]  
(c) Ευφαρχα (d) Ευφροσυνα (e) Φιλοφερα  
(f) Ευφάρια (g) Ευφαρχα (h) Οδομα

(a) . . . . α, (b) [. . .]ῶκε | [. . .]ποτ[?]τέρια[. . . ?] | [. . .]ρασ[. . . ?],  
(c) Εὐφάρχᾱ, (d) Εὐφροσύνᾱ, (e) Φιλοφέρᾱ, (f) Εὐφάρια,  
(g) Εὐφάρχᾱ, (h) Οδομά.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Μόλπᾱ would be a possible reading of the woman’s name (see *CHA* 1b, and see Pape–Benseler). (b) seems to have been a long inscr. in three lines, with probably no more than a quarter of each preserved. Perhaps a dedication with ‘gave’ and in l. 2, as Nicholas Milner suggested to me, [πο]τέρια[. . .]? The other inscs. are well preserved; (g), which is hard to see on the phs., is said to be clear on the vase. *Interpretation*: (a) and (c)–(h): Toilet and domestic scene (labels). (b) Not clear, perhaps a dedication.

The writing system is clearly ‘red’ (Ψ = [k<sup>h</sup>]). The rho has a tail (see §101), and the vertical stroke of the phi does not go beyond the circle (see §102); otherwise the letter-forms look archaic. The writing system and the endings in –ᾱ make the Boiotian origin of the writer almost certain (Maffre, p. 472: Thessalian is less likely because of the form of the lambda).

The names—except (e) the dog’s, which is the equivalent of Attic etc. φιλόθηρος ‘fond of hunting’ (a speaking name, see §239)—have nothing to do with the activities of the figures; they are just various proper names, as Maffre (pp. 472 f.) explains. On

p. 472 (with nn. 164–8) he cites further occurrences of *Εὐφροσύνη*, *Εὐφάριος* and *-ια*, *Εὐφάρχα* and *-ίδας* from Boiotia.

(a) is unclear (see above). (b) The restoration of the three lines is not clear.<sup>73</sup> (c) and (g) contain a glide [w] (see §207); why the same name occurs twice is not clear. (d) For the name see Bechtel, p. 565. (e) For the second [p<sup>h</sup>], i.e. the former labiovelar, see Maffre, p. 474 with nn. 183 f., and e.g. Lejeune, §§30–41.

(f) For *Εὐφάρια* Maffre (p. 474) briefly offers two explanations: (1) ‘celle qui porte bien’ (related to *φέρω*); (2) ‘celle qui a un beau voile’ (related to *φᾶρος*, Attic *φάρος*). Both etymologies seem to be possible. To justify the second, where we may expect a digamma (i.e. *φαρF-*, see Myc. *pa-we-a<sub>(a)</sub>*), we can refer to the fact that *καλός* is already written without *F* on the slightly earlier vase BOI 9 (c.550–525). Two other Boiotian inscriptions of the sixth century, it is true, still show such a *F*,<sup>74</sup> but the first is hexametric and the second shows it in a proper name; these are both contexts which tend to enforce archaic spelling. This interpretation is therefore not impossible.<sup>75</sup> In order to justify the first etymology, we could connect the name with names in *-φάρης* (see Bechtel, pp. 442 f.), for example *Λαφάρης*, in which the element *-φαρ-* clearly has a verbal character (see also *Λεωφορίδης* and *Φερέλαος*, *ibid.* 445 and 444, respectively) and of which our *-φάρια* could be the feminine form; for the change [er] > [ar] which we would have to assume for this solution (see §216) we have one clear Boiotian example in *Φαράδας Θηβαγένης*<sup>76</sup> as opposed to *Φεράδ[ας]*.<sup>77</sup> In both cases we expect the feminine of an *s*-stem, i.e. *Εὐφάρειᾶ*, rather than *-ιδᾶ*,<sup>78</sup> and we must therefore assume that an original *-εια* > *\*-esja* could already be written *-ια* at the time. This is perfectly possible in view of BOI 3 (see §221).

(h) *Qodómā* is attested as a servant’s name in literature (see Maffre, p. 474 with n. 182); its etymology is unknown (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. *κοδομεύς*).

<sup>73</sup> BOI 11A–B WÜRZBURG, MARTIN VON WAGNER MUS.  
DER UNIV. H 4885 AND 4886

Two kantharoi allegedly from Vratsi (Tanagra) in Boiotia (found ?). *Bibliography*: F. Hölscher, *CVA* Germany, 39 (1975): (A), 41

<sup>73</sup> Maffre’s reading ]ηος (word-end) in the third line cannot be correct, since *H* would have to designate [h] in this state of alphabet, which is the old Boiotian one (see (e) *Φιλοφέρᾶ* not *-φῆρᾶ*), and with this value it does not normally occur word-internally. An inscr. ending in *ός* or *άς*, however, is hard to imagine. Also P. Roesch’s suggestion (*apud* Maffre, p. 471 n. 159) that ]ηος is a special spelling for ]αιος, is out of the question, since this possibility only arose after the introduction of the Ionic alphabet around 400, when *H* was no longer used for [h]. See also *CEG* 446 = *GD* 38. 5 *γυναικι* (c.450–430?), and *GD* 39 still with *-ai-passim* (early 4th cent.).

<sup>74</sup> *CEG* 334 and, in a similar phonetic situation, *LSAG* 94. 2b.

<sup>75</sup> Maffre should not have transcribed this second possibility with a long *ā*; for Boiotian lost [w] after a liquid in the Attic way, i.e. without any compensatory lengthening (see e.g. Thumb–Scherer, p. 30; Schwyzler, p. 228; Lejeune, §159).

<sup>76</sup> *IG* vii. 4149. 12 from the Ptoion (Bechtel (1921), 264).

<sup>77</sup> *IG* vii. 1751. 6 from Thespiiai (Bechtel (1921), 264).

<sup>78</sup> There is also *Εὐφάριος*, interpreted by Bechtel (p. 443) as the patronymic adjective *-φάριος* from *-φάρης*. In our case, a patronymic seems less suited.

f., ph. pl. 35, and (B), 42, ph. pl. 36; Kilinski II (1990), 31 f., 42, 52, 66, phs. (A) pl. 32. 1, (B) pl. 32. 2. *Photographs*: *CVA* quite cl.; Kilinski II quite cl., but only (A. 1) and (B. 1). Vidi 8 Feb. 1991. *Scene*: Two young men coming from the l. (a) and r. (c), carrying hens. These serve as encouragement for two cocks, which are fighting in the centre. (b) is written above the l. cock, which has his head above his opponent’s. The scene is repeated on either side of both kantharoi; on (B) there are little sketches of riders etc. in the free space above the cocks. *Date*: c.500 (Hölscher); c.515–500 (Kilinski II, p. 66).

(A) (1) (a) KRITON (b) NIKΑ (c) (←)? φ

(2) (a) KRITON (b) NIKΑ (c) lost

(B) (1) (a) KRITON (b) NIKΑ (c) lost

(2) (a) ΤON (b) lost (c) lost.

(A) and (B) (a) *Κριτον* (b) *Νικα* (c) [. . .]αφ[. . . ?]  
or [. . . ?]φα[. . .] (twice each)

(A) and (B) (a) *Κρίτων*, (b) *νίκᾶ*, (c) [. . .]αφ[. . . ?]  
or [. . . ?]φα[. . .] (twice each).

*Epigraphy*: (A. 1c) was read  $\xi\Lambda$ ; I thought I could see a phi and an alpha (?), see my dr. (the inscr. was probably retrograde). *Interpretation*: Cock-fight. (a) and (c): labels of the cock owners; (b) comment: ‘(with him is) victory’, or invocation: ‘(with him be) Victory!’

The cocks’ owners, (a) *Κρίτων* (see §229) and the other, whose name cannot be restored (c), are in attendance. (b) *νίκᾶ* is not the name of the cock (who is of course male), nor a verb ‘he is winning’,<sup>79</sup> nor the imperative ‘win!’ nor an exclamation ‘victory!’<sup>80</sup> Therefore I prefer to take it as a comment or an invocation (see above).

BOI 12 READING, UNIV., URE MUS. 38. IV. 9

Fr. of kantharos, from near the Kabirion at Thebes<sup>81</sup> (1938 or earlier). *Bibliography*: A. D. Ure (1951), 194–7, phs. pl. 42c–d; P. N. and A. D. Ure, *CVA* Great Britain, 12 (1954), 51, ph. pl. 33. 7. *Photographs*: Ure (1951) uncl.; *CVA* sm. *Scene*: Reclining dwarf with a bird on his r. hand (where Kabiros would hold a cup, see BOI 16). *Date*: mid-5th cent. (Ure (1951), 194; (1954)).

<sup>79</sup> Expected *\*νικῆι* in Boiotian (see e.g. Buck, §41. 1; Lejeune, §298d). We cannot read (a) and (b) in one sentence (‘descriptive legend *Kriton nika* [Kriton wins!], Kilinski II), since the two words are always written in two lines; there would have been ample space for even longer sentences to be written in single lines.

<sup>80</sup> The former should be *\*νίκη*, and both should be written next to the owner’s mouth, not above a cock.

<sup>81</sup> J. Gardner (Reading) kindly sent me the text of A. D. Ure’s entry in the inventory: ‘Purchased from an Englishman who bought the vase in Paris. He bought it from a Greek resident in Paris whose brother (whom he knew and regarded as trustworthy) had bought it from a Boeotian peasant who said he had found it near the Theban Kabeirion.’

(a) (←) FOENHΣ (b) (←) FOEHΞ  
 (a) *Κοενης* (b) *Κοεης*

*Epigraphy:* (a) is painted in faint letters, (b) bolder, continuing (a). The whole starts next to the figure's mouth. The kappas (digammas?) and the nu are reversed (a reading *ποενης- vel sim.* is excluded). The last letter of (b) looks like a 'w' and is probably a four-stroke sigma turned through 90°. Ure (1951) argues that (b) is a correction of (a) by a different hand, but then it is strange that this second hand also wrote kappa the wrong way round. It is odd, too, that the hand of (a), who wrote a non-Ionic sigma and the frequent Boiotian <oe>-diphthong, used heta as [ē], and that the hand of (b), who wrote an Ionic sigma, still used the <oe>. *Interpretation:* Labels? Nonsense inscription?

Ure (1951: 196) interprets the inscriptions as two attempts to write *κοίης/κόης* (Hsch.), a title of the Kabiran priest. But in view of the epigraphical oddities and certain other difficulties attaching to this interpretation,<sup>82</sup> we should perhaps consider a nonsense inscription. For the diphthong <oe> see §225.

°BOI 13 PARIS, LOUVRE CA 925

Rf. bell-krater from Boiotia (1898 or earlier). *Bibliography:* A. D. Ure (1953), 247, ph. pl. 67 fig. 7; ph. Devambez (1966), 141; A. Waiblinger, *CVA* France, 26 (1974), 45, phs. pls. 44. 1, 45. 3; *LIMC* iii, 'Danae' 9\*, ph. pl. 244. *Photographs:* Ure sm.; Devambez quite cl.; *CVA* and *LIMC* uncl. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene:* Danae (named) reclining, receiving the gold rain. *Date:* towards 430 (Waiblinger); c.410–400 (*LIMC*).

ΔΑΝΑΑ  
*Δαναα*  
*Δανάα.*

*Epigraphy:* —. *Interpretation:* Danae receiving the gold rain (label).

The name is as expected in a dialect other than Ionic and Attic. Danae and Zeus' child was Perseus, also attested on Boiotian vases (see BOI 8).

<sup>82</sup> Chantraine, s.v. *κοῖον*, cites a form of a verb derived from this title, namely *κοιᾶται*. The title *κοίης* is therefore an *a*-stem. Although we do not know how to explain the Ionic form of the Hesychian gloss, we certainly cannot expect such an Ionic form on our Boiotian vase; and an *s*-stem, which would have [e] in Boiotian too, is not a likely formation for such a title. Moreover, the Kabiran title *κοίης* in Hsch. is explained as *ἱερεὺς Καβείρων*, which makes it doubtful that it referred to the Boiotian cult, which recognized only one *Κάβιρος*. More likely it belonged to one of the Kabiria at Samothrake or Lemnos.

BOI 14 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 9716

Cup from ? (acquired Jan./Feb. 1891). *Bibliography:* Cavvadias (1891), 9, no. 24; Kalinka (1892), accurate dr. pl. 6; Collignon–Couve (1902–4), no. 1116, with dr.; dr. Röhl, *IIGA* (1907), 86. 30; A. D. Ure (1926), 57, with ph. of (b) fig. 4; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 94, 95. 20, ph. pl. 10; Wachter (1989b), *passim*. *Photographs:* Ure quite cl.; Jeffery cl. *Scene:* none, only an ivy leaf under each handle (see the ph. in Ure). *Date:* c.420 (Ure, Jeffery).

(a) ΑΒΑΔΕCΙΗΘΙΚΛΜ ΝΟΓΡΞΤΥ+ΦΨ  
 (b) ΑΒΛΔΕCΙΗΘΙΚΛ ΜΝΟΓΡΞΤΥ+ΟΨ

(a) αβγδεζζήθικλμ | νοπρστυξφχ,  
 (b) αβγδεζζήθικλ | μνοπρστυξφχ.

*Epigraphy:* This 23-letter alphabet is painted twice, each time in two lines, on either side of the cup. Two small errors occur: on one side the (Attic-type) gamma has a horizontal bar, which changes it into an alpha; on the other side the phi lacks the vertical stroke, which leaves it as an omicron. For the two additional 'signs' after the chi on side (a) of the vase, see below. *Interpretation:* Abecedaria.

Cavvadias immediately observed the similarity of the letter-forms to those of the inscriptions from the Boiotian Kabirion. The letter qoppa is no longer present (see §108). For the type of alphabet see Wachter (see also §106 below).

In alphabet (a) the first line leads up to mu, whereas in (b), which shows wider spaces between the letters, mu starts the second line. Therefore in (a) there was more space at the very end of the sequence. Kalinka (pp. 104 ff., followed by Jeffery, who, however, did not discuss the matter) thought that the two signs after the chi (Ψ), which are lacking on side (b), represent the Ionic forms *Ψ* and *Ω* (there were no signs for [ps] and [ō] in the Boiotian alphabet). This is very unlikely for several reasons. (1) There is no direct influence of the East Ionic alphabet to be seen in the letter-forms (but there is Attic influence in the form of the gamma; see §106) or in the actual sequence of our abecedaria. (2) The two additional signs do not at all resemble the Ionic letters *Ψ* and *Ω* (nor Ionic *Ξ*). (3) The letter *Ψ* is in fact already there, namely as chi. (4) For a fourth argument we need to investigate the order in which the painter painted the two alphabets. Kalinka of course presupposes the order (b)–(a).<sup>83</sup> The true order, however, is (a)–(b). This can be seen from the decoration. Next to the cord-like wavy garlands on both sides there are rows of dots. On side (a) the painter made twenty-four of them in a row independent of the waves below. But on side (b) there is only half that number;

<sup>83</sup> 'In ihnen' (sc. the two signs at the end) 'willkürlich gebildete, rein zufällige Formen zu sehen, nur bestimmt, den noch übrigen Raum der Zeile zu füllen, verbietet schon die Anordnung der ersten Zeile, in welche mit augenscheinlicher Rücksichtnahme auf sie ein Buchstabe (M) mehr aufgenommen ist als auf der Kehrseite.'

eight of the twelve are arranged randomly above the waves, but the last four to the right are neatly placed, one each between two 'crests' of the wavy lines below. The chronology is obvious: the painter first did the twenty-four-dot side with its abecedarium (*a*) and then the twelve-dot side with its abecedarium (*b*), having arrived—if somewhat late—at the much neater, and more economical, arrangement of the decoration just described.<sup>84</sup> The possible objection that he could have painted the two alphabets first and the whole of the decoration last is unlikely because he would not then have forgotten the direction of the wavy lines he had applied on the first side. Also the fact that he got one of the gammas wrong is easier to understand if the wrong one, which is on side (*a*), was done first. On the other hand, his forgetting the vertical bar of the phi on side (*b*) looks rather like a hasty omission towards the end of the work when he seems to have been in a hurry (see §112). If this chronology (*a*)–(*b*) is correct, one cannot see how he could have set out to write the allegedly 'complete' alphabet (i.e. the one with the two 'Ionic' letters) first and then be so silly as to risk an incomplete second one by starting with clearly and intentionally wider spaces between the letters on the next side. On the contrary, he was being cleverer the second time when he expanded the spaces in order to get a properly filled-up second side. The two 'signs' are therefore mere space-fillers.

## BOI 15 PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 743

Lekane from ? (c.1874 or earlier). *Bibliography*: first mentioned by P. N. Ure (1927), 20; A. D. Ure (1935), 79 f., phs. figs. 1–3; mentioned by Wolters–Bruns (1940), 132, drs. 136 and pl. 34; Vian (1945), 16 f., dr. pl. 2. 1; Flacelière–Devambez (1966), 96–8, ph. pl. 12. 2; Brommer (1973), 108, no. D. 2; A. Waiblinger, *CVA* France, 26 (1974), 36 f., phs. pls. 31. 3, 40. 1, and esp. 34. 1, 2, 4; *LIMC* ii, 'Ares' 44\*, ph. pl. 363; *LIMC* iv, 'Gagenes' 1; Vollkommer (1988), 40 no. 260, ph. 41 fig. 51. *Photographs*: A. D. Ure sm.; Flacelière–Devambez only (*b*)–(*d*), cl.; *CVA* quite cl.; *LIMC* only (*a*)–(*b*), sm.; Vollkommer uncl.<sup>85</sup> *Scene*: A warrior (*a*) on horseback to r., seconding a gigantic warrior with spear (*b*). The latter is fighting an archer to l. (*c*) who is backed by a woman (*d*) who is about to throw her spear. *Date*: last q. 5th cent. (Waiblinger; *LIMC*); 420–400 (Vollkommer).

(*a*) ΑΡΕΣ (*b*) ΛΑΛΕΝΕΞ (*c*) (←) ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΞ  
(*d*) (←) ΑΘΑΝΑ

(*a*) Αρες (*b*) Γαγενες (*c*) Ηερακλες (*d*) Αθανα

(*a*) Ἀρεῖς, (*b*) Γᾱγενῆς, (*c*) Η῔ρακλῆς, (*d*) Ἀθᾱνᾱ.

<sup>84</sup> Of course he worked from left to right, as is evident all over the vase from the paint, which, as we proceed in that direction, becomes thinner and thinner, then suddenly thick again, thus indicating the painter's dipping his brush into the pot.

<sup>85</sup> This vase could not be found when I visited the Louvre on 6 and 7 Aug. 1990, but I was shown a good photograph.

*Epigraphy*: The sigma of (*a*) is of the three-stroke type (on the ph. that I saw, the bottom end was clearly visible). *Interpretation*: Herakles and (*a*) Gegenes (labels).

The starting-point principle (see §104) is still perfectly observed on this vase. For the myth see §418. All names are as expected, (*b*) and (*d*) of course with long [ā]; for (*c*) see §503, for (*d*) see §247.

## BOI 16 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 10426

Fr. of a big deep bowl from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: Winnefeld (1888), 420 f., dr. pl. 9; Kern (1890); Reinach (1890), 344 f., dr. 343; Pick (1898), 151 n. 36; W. Dittenberger, *IG* vii (1892), no. 3599; Kretschmer (1894), 54; Roscher (1884–1937), ii. 2538, s.v. Megaloi Theoi, with dr. fig. 3; Romagnoli (1907), 161, dr. 163 fig. 15; Collignon–Couve (1902–4), no. 1142; Fränkel (1912a), 50; Perrot–Chipiez (1914), 296, dr. 297 fig. 194; O. Kern, *RE* x (1919), 1440 f.; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 472B. 1; mentioned by Pfuhr (1923), 716, dr. fig. 613; Lapalus (1935), 9–15; Wolters–Bruns (1940), 43, no. 53, 96 no. K. 1 (bibl.), dr. pl. 5, ph. pl. 44. 1; Sparkes (1967), 125, with dr. fig. 2; Snowden (1970), 161, ph. 236 fig. 96; Braun–Haevernick (1981), 62, cat. no. 302, phs. pl. 22. 1–2; *LIMC* i, 'Aithiopes' 32; Burkert (1985), 282 with nn. 18 f.; Moret (1991), with phs. 245 ff. figs. 6 ff.; *LIMC* vi, 'Krateia' 1\*, ph. pl. 48, 'Mitos' 1.; *LIMC* vii, 'Pais' 1, 'Pratolaos' 1, 'Satyra' ii. 2. *Photographs*: Wolters–Bruns quite cl.; Snowden, Braun–Haevernick, Moret, and *LIMC* only (*a*)–(*e*), cl. *Scene*: A man to r. (*a*) and a woman to l. (*b*) standing close to him with one hand on his shoulder; a boy to l. (*c*) watching them, his hands folded in front of him. To their r. a youth to l. (*d*) is about to dip an oinochoe into a large krater, and the deity (*e*) is leaning back (head to r. facing l.) and stretching out his arm with a kantharos (as if to have it refilled). On an isolated fr. there is the face of a woman with her chiton pulled over her head (*f*). The figures (*a*), (*c*), and (*f*) have grotesque faces, the others not. The whole painting shows strong Attic influence.<sup>86</sup> *Date*: after 440 (Wolters–Bruns, p. 125); late 5th to early 4th cent. (*LIMC* i); 410–400 (Braun–Haevernick, p. 6; *LIMC* vi, vii).

(*a*) ΜΙΤΟΞ (*b*) ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ (*c*) ΠΡΑΤΟΛΑΟΞ  
(*d*) ΓΑΙΞ (*e*) ΚΑΒΙΡΟΞ (*f*) ΞΑΤΥ

(*a*) Μίτος (*b*) Κρατεία (*c*) Πρατολαος (*d*) Παις  
(*e*) Καβιρος (*f*) Σατυ[. . .]

(*a*) Μίτος, (*b*) Κράτεια, (*c*) Πρατόλαος, (*d*) Πάις, (*e*) Κάβιρος,  
(*f*) Σατύ[ρᾱ].

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Probably a sacrificial procession (labels).

<sup>86</sup> Kern (1919) is incorrect to say: 'eine kostbare attische Vasenscherbe'. The form of the bowl, typical of Kabiran ware, the bf. technique at this late date, and the form Πρατόλαος prove that it is not Attic, but Boiotian.

The writing is as expected in Boiotia at the time.<sup>87</sup> (c) For  $-\lambda\alpha\sigma$  with its uncontracted vowels, see §223.  $\Pi\rho\alpha\tau\omicron-$  is the normal form of ‘first’ in Boiotian, Doric, etc. and is etymologically unclear.<sup>88</sup> (d) For the word  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$  see n. 88 just above, and ad COR 19g (see also Chantraine, s.v.; and Frisk, s.v.).

The scene is traditionally linked to some unknown Orphic anthropogony myth in the context of the Kabirion. This seems implausible to me, and I suggest that the scene represents a sacrificial procession to Kabiros (see §475).

\*<sup>o</sup>BOI 17 BOSTON, MUS. OF FINE ARTS OI. 8069

Cup from ? (1901 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Fairbanks (1928), 198, no. 566, ph. pl. 71; Wolters–Bruns (1940), 117, dr. pl. 28. 1; Clairmont (1951), 20 f., no. K. 11; mentioned in Braun–Haevernick (1981), 34 n. 181; *LIMC* vii, ‘Paridis Iudicium’ 110\*, phs. pl. 127. *Photographs*: Fairbanks uncl.; *LIMC* vii (a) uncl., (b)–(e) quite cl. I am grateful to M. Padgett, who inspected the vase for me. *Scene*: Paris (a) with a panther skin, holding a lyre and sitting on a rock. Approaching Hermes (b) with *kerykeion*, are Hera (c) with sceptre, Athena (d) with shield and spear. Sitting on a rock opposite, with little Eros on her hand, Aphrodite (e). *Date*: later than the usual Kabiran style (Wolters–Bruns); late 5th or early 4th cent. (M. Padgett, *per litt.*).

(a)  $\varsigma$  (b) ME (c) ERA (d) A  $\odot$ AN (e) A $\odot$

(a) .  $\alpha$ [. .]s (b) . . .  $\mu\epsilon$ [. . ?] (c) [.] $\epsilon\rho\alpha$  (d) A $\theta\alpha\nu$

(e) A $\phi\rho\theta$ [. . .]

(a)  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}$ [ $\rho\iota$ ]s, (b)  $H\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon$ [s] (rather than  $H\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon$ [ $\alpha$ s] ),

(c) [H] $\epsilon\rho\alpha$ , (d) A $\theta\alpha\nu$ ( $\alpha$ ), (e) A $\phi\rho\theta$ [ $\delta\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha$ ].

*Epigraphy*: (a) A single sigma to the l. of Paris’ head is clearly visible. As this is likely to be the final letter of the name (there is nothing in front of Paris’ face, according to M. Padgett), we may look for more to its left; and indeed, some other traces can be detected (see dr.). (b) On the original ph. some traces of letters show to the l. and r. of Hermes’ *kerykeion*; mu and epsilon are clear (it is impossible to read an alpha instead of the epsilon), and after that there seems to be space for no more than  $-\varsigma$  before  $H\epsilon-$  of (c) (see dr.). (c) The heta and the l. part of the epsilon are obliterated (M. Padgett). (d) Clear. (e) Since after the alpha to the r. of Aphrodite’s head there is a clear ghost of a phi, the alpha cannot just be the end of (d). After the phi there is  $\odot$  of

<sup>87</sup> That it is specifically Boiotian, as claimed by Braun–Haevernick (p. 7), is not true. What is meant is probably that it is not yet East Ionic. (Ibid. n. 50, in ‘Nach IG VII Nr. 2427 ist um 370 v. Chr. das ionische Alphabet noch im Gebrauch . . .’ it should read ‘das boiotische Alphabet’.)

<sup>88</sup> See e.g. Lejeune, §298b with n. 2. He suggests a possible origin \* $\pi\rho\alpha(\mathcal{F})\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . Yet, this presents a problem, for in Boiotian contraction should not have occurred: see  $-\lambda\alpha\sigma$  not  $-\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  in our very name, and  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$ , our (d), which never turned into \* $\pi\eta\varsigma$  in this dialect.

the rho and, just before the palmette or even slightly covered by it, another trace of a letter (omicron—and a ghost of a delta underneath?). *Interpretation*: Judgement of Paris (labels).

It is clear from the photograph that the paint with which the figures and the inscriptions are drawn is on the whole well preserved (see the strings of the lyre, the *kerykeion*, the crest of Athena’s helmet, etc.), yet many letters are very ill-defined. Moreover, we find that most of the well-preserved letters are next to the heads, whereas those in the spaces between the figures are hardly visible; the only well-preserved letter in a space is the second alpha of (d). The conclusion must be that the painter himself wanted to efface the writing before the vase was fired. As the paint did not show up with sharp contrast at that stage (see §112 with n. 722), he will have tried not to get too close to the figures so as not to damage them. A further argument for such a procedure is the beginning of (a), which is covered by the well-preserved floral decoration. This means that, first, the figures and then the inscriptions were applied, next the inscriptions were partly wiped out, and that last of all the rest of the decoration was painted. Like the painting and the writing, the effacing too was done in a rather careless manner.

(a) and (c) pose no problems. For (b)  $H\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon$ [s], a more likely reading than  $H\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon$ [ $\alpha$ s], see §253. The last alpha of (d) (for the name see §247) was never written. The only explanation<sup>89</sup> that I can think of is accidental crasis with (e), i.e. A $\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\phi\rho\theta\delta\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha$ , by the writer when he applied the labels; the same did not occur between (c) and (d) though.

BOI 18 OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUS. G. 249 (V 262)

Deep bowl (with horizontal handles) from ? (1892 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Fröhner (1892a), no. 210, dr. pl. 45; P. Gardner (1893), 18 f., no. 262, dr. pl. 26; Walters (1892/3), 81; Kretschmer (1894), 228; Romagnoli (1907), 160, dr. 162 fig. 14; Bieber (1920), 154, with dr.; Pfuhl (1923), 717, dr. fig. 615 (only Kirke scene); Lapalus (1930), 65–70 with fig. 1, 74 f. with fig. 3; Wolters–Bruns (1940), 109, no. M. 16 (bibl.); phs. *EAA* ii. 238 f. figs. 360 f.; Bieber (1961), 48, drs. 49 figs. 205 f.; Webster (1978), 61, no. BV. 1; Braun–Haevernick (1981), 8 (not in cat.), ph. pl. 23. 1; *LIMC* i, ‘Aithiopes’ 31; ph. Brommer (1983), pl. 28b; *LIMC* iii, Boreas’ 3\*, ph. pl. 108; ph. Moret (1991), 231 fig. 3; *LIMC* vi, ‘Kirke’ 32\* (ph. only of the Kirke side), ‘Odysseus’ 191. *Photographs*: Wolters–Bruns, *EAA*, Braun–Haevernick, Brommer, and Moret cl.; *LIMC* iii only (b), cl. Vidi 27 July 1990. *Scene*: Caricature of a bearded man (a) leaping to the l. over (a raft made of) two amphorae which are floating on the waves of the sea. He points a trident down into the water, apparently just missing a fish. To the r. a bearded head with inflated cheeks (b), as if suspended from the wall, seems to blow upon the man’s back.

<sup>89</sup> Unless we assume a simple mistake; see §112.



On the reverse of the vase there is a scene with Odysseus and Kirke (no inscrls.). *Date*: 410–400 (Braun–Haevernick, p. 8); 400–375 (Webster); late 5th to early 4th cent. (*LIMC* i); 440–430 (*LIMC* iii); late 5th cent. (Moret, p. 229; *LIMC* vi, ‘Odysseus’); 3rd q. 4th cent. (*sic*, *LIMC* vi, ‘Kirke’).

(a) ΟΛΥΞΕΥΞ (b) ΒΟΡΙΑΞ

(a) Ολυσευς (b) Βοριας

(a) Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς, (b) Βορίᾱς.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Odysseus on his raft, and Boreas (labels).

The vase shows non-Boiotian lambda, but still not quite the normal Ionic alphabet, in view of the rho (see §108). The starting-point principle (see §104) is no longer observed: each inscription runs towards the relevant face. The vase is thought to be Kabiran. For the scene and its background see §461.

(a) For the name Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς see §254. (b) Βορέης is attested in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The -ι- of our form Βορίᾱς is a common Boiotian feature (see §221). The Attic form would be Βορρᾱς (see n. 714).

\*BOI 19 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 442

Deep cup (with horizontal handles) from Exarchos in Lokris (1882 or earlier). *Bibliography*: first mentioned by C. Smith (1888), 188; Blümner (1889), 150–6, dr. 151; Wernicke (1890), 27; Klein (1898), 53; Collignon–Couve (1902–4), no. 1114. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Lively scene in a potter’s workshop, grotesque silhouette-painting, palmette decoration under the handles. The inscr. has no obvious connection with the figures. *Date*: late 5th cent.?

ΞΙΒΩΛΚΑΛΟΞ

Ξιβωνκαλος

Ξίβων καλός.

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. seems to be in the same bf. technique as the painting. *Interpretation*: *Kalos*-inscription.

The inscription is in full Ionic script. The vase was first grouped with the Boiotian pottery by Blümner. The name is unparalleled (~ Ξίφων?). For another, more elaborate Boiotian *kalos*-inscription see BOI 9 (and see §309).

\*BOI 20 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 10470

Fr. of a bf. jar from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: Winnefeld (1888), 416 f., with drs. figs. 2 f.; Szanto (1890), 402, no. 40, with dr.; Kalinka (1892), 103; mentioned by Kretschmer (1894), 4 n. 5, and 54; W. Dittenberger, *IG* vii (1892), no. 3671;

Perrot–Chipiez (1914), 295–9, with drs. figs. 193 and 196; Wolters–Bruns (1940), 46 no. 69, 101 f. no. K. 28, dr. pl. 20. 3. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Probably a sacrificial procession; not directly related to the inscr. *Date*: c.400?

ΞΜΙΚΡΟΞ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΚΑΒΙΡΟΙ

Σμικρος | ανεθεκε | Καβιροι

Σμίκρος ἀνέθεκε Καβίροι.

*Epigraphy*: Written in three lines in a reserved field. *Interpretation*: Dedication.

The scene probably shows a sacrificial procession, to judge from the remains of a bull’s back (Wolters–Bruns, p. 101).<sup>90</sup> Smikros is either the potter himself<sup>91</sup> or a customer (see §302).

BOI 21 BOSTON, MUS. OF FINE ARTS 99. 533

Deep bowl from ? (1899 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Fairbanks (1928), 196 f., no. 562, ph. pl. 69; Wolters–Bruns (1940), 109 f., no. M. 18, dr. pl. 37. 2–3; Clairmont (1951), 21 f., no. K. 12; Sparkes (1967), 126; Snowden (1970), 161, ph. 237 fig. 97; Webster (1978), 63, no. BV. 6; Braun–Haevernick (1981), 27, 65, cat. no. 366; *LIMC* iv, ‘Hera’ 437. *Photographs*: Fairbanks uncl.; Snowden (a) quite cl., (b) cl. *Scene*: Two women to r., Hera (a), with sceptre, and Aphrodite (unnamed), half-naked and holding a wreath, are sitting on rocks; Hermes, with *kerykeion*, is approaching from the r. On the other side two women are sitting on rocks, facing each other and playing *morra*;<sup>92</sup> on another rock to their r. a bearded man facing l. and (b) is sitting, holding a lyre. *Date*: 400–375 (Webster); c.420 (*LIMC*).

(a) HERA (b) Λ

(a) Ηερα (b) Α(. . .)

(a) Ηέρα, (b) Α(. . .).

*Epigraphy*: M. Padgett informs me (*per litt.*) that there are no more letters than these; the single letter of (b) is of the form Λ, i.e. different from the alpha in (a). Inscr. (b) seems to start next to the man’s face and to lead away from him to l. *Interpretation*: Probably the Judgement of Paris (labels).

For the odd composition of the scene and its possible meaning see §437.

<sup>90</sup> A cup of the Kabiran form is brought to Kabiros, next to whom stands a bull, in a procession shown on the vase Athens 10466 (Braun–Haevernick cat. no. 297); see the discussion (of BOI 16), §475.

<sup>91</sup> He is not the Attic potter Smikros (*ARV*, p. 20) who is earlier and uses three-stroke sigma and untailed rho.

<sup>92</sup> For this game see e.g. K. Schneider, *RE* xv/2 (1932), 1516. 15 ff. (s.v. *micare*).

## °BOI 22 LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1893. 3-3. I

Deep bowl from ? (1893 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Walters (1892/3), with dr. pl. 4; Perrot-Chipiez (1914), 298 f., with drs. fig. 195 and 197 (p. 301); Romagnoli (1907), 160, dr. 161 fig. 12; Robert (1919), 151, with dr. fig. 123; Pfuhl (1923), 717, dr. fig. 616; Lapalus (1930), 70-4 with inaccurate dr. fig. 2; Wolters-Bruns (1940), 99, no. K. 19 (bibl.); Bieber (1961), 48, ph. 49 fig. 204; Braun-Haevernick (1981), 67, cat. no. 398; *LIMC* i, 'Aithiopes' 30\*, ph. pl. 325; ph. Brommer (1983), pl. 21a; ph. Moret (1991), 253 fig. 12; *LIMC* vi, 'Kirke' 30, 'Odysseus' 147\*, ph. pl. 631. *Photographs*: Bieber uncl.; Brommer, *LIMC* i and vi (similar), and Moret cl. Vidi 22 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Kirke with a pot, which Odysseus is about to take from her; behind him a loom and one of his companions, half pig. *Date*: late 5th to early 4th cent. (*LIMC* i); 3rd q. 4th cent. (Braun-Haevernick, indirectly,<sup>93</sup> because of the 'Rebrankenverzierung'; Moret, p. 229; *LIMC* vi, 'Kirke'); 450-420 (*LIMC* vi, 'Odysseus').

KIRKA

Κῖρκα

Κίρκᾱ.

*Epigraphy*: Walters (p. 79) reports traces of more inscs., of which I could see nothing. *Interpretation*: Odysseus and Kirke (label).

The name is as expected in a dialect other than Ionic and Attic. For other representations of this myth in Boiotia see §460.

## \*BOI 23 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 10425

Deep bowl from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: first mentioned by Winnefeld (1888), 421; mentioned by Kern (1890), 8; Wolters-Bruns (1940), 43 no. 54, 98 no. K. 9, drs. pls. 10 f., ph. of the reverse pl. 44. 4; mentioned by Bruneau (1962), 204 with n. 5, ph. 203; Snowden (1970), 161, ph. 235 fig. 95 top; Braun-Haevernick (1981), 16, 25, 63, cat. no. 303; *LIMC* vi, 'Kephalos' 34. *Photographs*: Bruneau and Snowden quite cl. *Scene*: Caricature pygmy wearing a *petasos*, running after his dog and a fox (the 'Termessan fox') who is looking back. On the other side a cart laden with four amphorae (wine supply for the Kabirion?). *Date*: 3rd q. 4th cent. (Braun-Haevernick, because of the 'Rebrankenverzierung', see BOI 22); mid-4th cent. (*LIMC*).

ΚΕΟΑΛΟΞ

Κεφαλος

Κέφαλος.

<sup>93</sup> They date the very similar example in the University of Mississippi (their cat. no. 402, ph. *CVA* USA, 4, pl. 18. 2) to this period, see their p. 17 (bottom).

*Epigraphy*: Of the vertical stroke of the phi two small dots remain; it was more clearly seen by Wolters (in Wolters-Bruns), to judge by his dr. The sigma is slightly irregular, but seems to have an upper rising stroke. *Interpretation*: Kephalos and the Termessan fox (label).

For a few remarks on the myth and the type of scene see §423.

## \*BOI 24 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 10530. —

Fr. of a deep bowl from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: mentioned by Szanto (1890), 411; W. Dittenberger, *IG* vii (1892), no. 4117; Wolters-Bruns (1940), 43 no. 55, 100 no. K. 23, dr. pl. 8. 2; Braun-Haevernick (1981), 16, 27, 63, cat. no. 309. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Head of a pygmy (named). *Date*: 3rd q. 4th cent. (Braun-Haevernick, because of the 'Rebrankenverzierung', see BOI 22).

ΥΩΝ

[. . .] . ὕων

[. . .] κύων.

*Epigraphy*: Too little of the bottom-r. part of the first letter is preserved to exclude a round or slightly angular loop. As the tailed R-shape rho seems to have been used well down into the 4th cent. (see BOI 18, 21, and 22), a reading [. . .] ρύων is also possible. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene (label).

Braun-Haevernick take for granted the reading and interpretation *Κεγκύων*. Wolters-Bruns, however, were more cautious. With the alternative reading of a tailed rho we may restore [*Ἀμφιτ*]ρύων.

## \*BOI 25 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. INV. ?

Frs. of a rf. cup from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: W. Dittenberger, *IG* vii (1892), no. 3932; Wolters-Bruns (1940), 66 no. 264 with ph. and dr., and 88. *Photographs*: Wolters-Bruns invis. *Scene*: Part of a head and an arm with a drinking-horn, obviously a seated Kabiros; not directly related to the inscr. *Date*: —.

ΒΙΡΟΙ

[. . .] . βίροι . (?) [. . . ?]

[. . .] *Καβίρῶν* . (?) [. . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: The top-r. end of the kappa is preserved, as is the peak of the alpha. What looks like part of another omicron (or theta or phi) after the iota, is probably a plaster filling like the whole of the adjacent fr. *Interpretation*: Dedication.

## BOI 26 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 10522

Fr. of a black cup from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: Szanto (1890), 407, no. 77, with dr.; W. Dittenberger, *IG* vii (1892), no. 3626; Wolters-Bruns (1940), 54, no. 145, with dr. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: None. *Date*: —.

ΟΣΣΤΙΔΑΣΤΟΙΓΑΙΔ

[. . .]οσστιδαστοιπαιδ[. . .]  
[Εὐ?ν]οσστίδᾱς τοῖ Παιδ[? . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: On the original ph., provided by the museum, TID and part of the A show clearly in the reflection of direct light. Of the rest only illegible traces are visible. *Interpretation*: Dedication.

Wolters-Bruns refer to the Tanagraian hero Eunostos (citing A. Schiff, *RE* vi (1909), 1137. 50). There is also one Φιλόνοστος (Phalanna; Bechtel, p. 337). For the doubling of the sigma see §115.

## BOI 27 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 10530. 338

Fr. of a black cup from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: Szanto (1890), 409 no. 88 (with dr.), 413; W. Dittenberger, *IG* vii (1892), no. 3646; Wolters-Bruns (1940), 65, no. 261. *Photographs*: —. I could not obtain an original ph. *Scene*: None. *Date*: —.

ΛΕΟΛΗΟΗΙ

Λεονηοηι[. . .]  
Λέων ho ηι[αρεύς (?) . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

## BOI 28 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 10530. 327

Fr. of a black cup from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: Szanto (1890), 413; W. Dittenberger, *IG* vii (1892), no. 3970; Wolters-Bruns (1940), 67, no. 273. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: None. *Date*: —.

ΔΙΤΟΚΑ

[. . .]διτοκα[. . .]  
[. . . Παι]δὶ τὸ Κα[βίρῳ . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: On the original ph. I can see clearly only the kappa and the preceding omicron (a filled-in circle). *Interpretation*: Dedication.

See also, for example, *IG* vii. 3620 (= Wolters-Bruns (1940), 54, no. 144) Παιδὶ Καβίρῳ, without the article. Both formulae are attested several times. The article could have been meant to represent the dative or genitive both syntactically and phonologically.

## BOI 29 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 10530. 326

Fr. of a black cup from the Kabirion (1887/8). *Bibliography*: Szanto (1890), 411; W. Dittenberger, *IG* vii (1892), no. 3710; Wolters-Bruns (1940), 54, no. 143, with dr. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: None. *Date*: —.

ΩΡΟΞΚΑ

[. . .]ωροσκα[. . .]  
[. . .]ωρος κα[λός] or [. . .]ωρος Κα[βίρῳ . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Kalos-inscription or dedication.

## BOI 30 BOSTON, MUS. OF FINE ARTS 98. 899

Alabastron, Boiotian imitation of Corinthian, from ? (1898 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Anon. (1899a), 142, no. 6; Fairbanks (1928), 184 f., no. 540, ph. pl. 54; mentioned by Kilinski II (1990), 53 with n. 88. *Photographs*: Fairbanks invis. *Scene*: Bearded creature with wings running to the l., on the other side a cock. *Date*: 6th cent.?

(a) (←) ΑΒΕΞΙΒΓΤΞϜ (b) Ϝ⊙Ε

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Nonsense inscription.

Although the vase, which is unanimously considered to be of Boiotian make, imitates Corinthian style, the alphabet of this nonsense inscription is not Corinthian for two reasons. (1) The inscription starts as an abecedarium with non-Corinthian beta. (2) The straight letter l is more likely to be a non-Corinthian iota than a Corinthian gamma, which is normally curved. The alphabet will therefore be Boiotian. The closed Ϝ shows that the document is in the old local alphabet. Having got so far, we should point to the important presence of Ϝ; for this letter shows that at some stage the Boiotian alphabet still contained this Euboian letter no. 15, elsewhere used as ksi, but dead in the 'red' alphabets (see §106). Nonsense inscriptions like this can be most valuable precisely because they are the only inscriptions—apart from abecedaria—where we may expect dead letters.

### 3. Aigina

*Introduction:* There are few painted and inscribed vases for which we can claim an Aiginetan origin. Their Aiginetan provenance is the primary condition. One of the pieces here listed is of Attic clay but bears a non-Attic inscription (AIG 1), one is even more doubtful because of its very fragmentary inscription (AIG 2), and the rest are a series of fragments of East Greek clay, most of which, however, bear non-Ionic inscriptions (AIG 3).

AIG 1 FORMERLY BERLIN, ANTIQUARIUM A 42  
(NOW INV. 31. 573)

Fr. krater stand from Aigina (c.1910); lost in World War II. *Bibliography:* Karo (1928); R. Eilmann and K. Gebauer, *CVA Germany*, 2 (1938), 24 f. (bibl. and dr.), phs. pls. 31 f., dr. pl. 33; Jeffery (1949), 26, dr. 27 fig. 3; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 110, 112, 2, dr. pl. 16; Schefold (1964), 41, and (1966), 43 f., with dr. fig. 13; C. Dehl-von Kaenel, *CVA Germany*, 53 (1986), 13 f.; Ferrari (1987); Immerwahr (1990), 9, no. 10. *Photographs:* *CVA* (Eilmann–Gebauer) uncl. *Scene:* Five similar men walking to r. holding spears. Only one, the leader, is named (see the wider space in front of him). *Date:* 2nd h. 7th cent. (Karo, p. 11); c.650 (Jeffery, *LSAG*); before 650 (Schefold); c.660 (Immerwahr).

ΜΕΜΕΛΑΣ  
Μενελας  
Μενέλᾱς.

*Epigraphy:* On the original ph. (Ant. 6902) it is not possible to distinguish the forms of the alpha and the sigma because of a crack with heavy splintering. But the reading is clear and no letter is missing. *Interpretation:* Unspecified scene with Menelaos (label).

Karo (p. 13) thinks that the letter-form ϝ on an Athenian vase is ‘sonderbar’, but mentions the occurrence of the same lambda in the Dipylon inscription (*LSAG* 67 ff., 76. 1). Jeffery (*LSAG*) sums up: ‘the provenance, the Doric form of the name, and the non-Attic *lambda* all combine to suggest that the painter was Aiginetan.’ Strictly speaking, it is only the Doric form of the name that clearly points to an Aiginetan rather than Athenian writer (and painter?), but the combination of the various data is very much in favour of Jeffery’s view.<sup>94</sup> As the clay is certainly Attic

(clay from Aigina looks different),<sup>95</sup> it seems possible that the stand was made in Athens (Schefold calls it an ‘early Attic pedestal’), either by an Aiginetan for dedication on Aigina, or by an Athenian for the same purpose (export).<sup>96</sup> But in theory it is possible that Attic clay was brought to Aigina and was potted, painted, and fired there. Therefore Morris (1984) claims—of course on the grounds of our vase—that the Middle Protoattic style was generally produced on Aigina. But considering that a large quantity of this style of ware was found in Athens too, we cannot safely accept her theory—at least as long as this style is not attested in a potters’ quarter or a kiln on Aigina.

Most recently, Ferrari has asserted that the inscription is not a label, since it is running towards the figure next to which it is written. As the figures are all alike, she interprets the scene as a chorus of men and explains the Doric form (on a vase which she takes for plain Attic) as due to a literary background, claiming that if the inscription is ‘a quote from the song being performed by the chorus, or its title, its form will be faithful to the one that appeared in the text’ (her parallels of chorus representations from other Attic vases, however, are all much later and show no Doric inscriptions). This interpretation can hardly be correct, and is certainly not the most obvious explanation. First, Ferrari is incorrect to say that the inscription contradicts the starting-point principle (see §104) and cannot therefore be a label. In fact, the inscription is most naturally attributable to the figure not to its right, but to its left: in front of this figure there is a wider space than that between the others, therefore this figure is meant to represent the leader of the group, and this makes him most worthy of the only label on the vase and indeed of a famous king’s name. Hence any interpretation which starts from the assumption that this name is not a label is implausible. Secondly, as far as I am aware, mythical names of this type are always used in their epic form in choral lyric,<sup>97</sup> while here the name is in its prosaic form (see §506).

<sup>95</sup> Payne (1931: 39 n. 1) pointed out that Aiginetan clay crumbles if subjected to such a heat as is necessary to produce high-quality ware. Farnsworth (1964: 223 f.) describes it from a mineralogical point of view: it is good for the famous Aiginetan cooking-ware (see Poll. 7. 197, Hdt. 5. 88. 2 f.), but does not contain muscovite nor fire red like the Athenian clay. See also Jones *et al.* (1986: 164–8).

<sup>96</sup> See the slightly earlier vase *ABV* 5. 4 by the Nettos P. (= *LSAG* 76. 6b, Immerwahr, no. 57; ph. e.g. Schefold (1964) and (1966), fig. 44a; (1993), fig. 68) which was found on Aigina, but whose inscrs. are clearly Attic, to judge by the forms *Ἀθῆναία* and *Περ(ρ)εύς* (the latter as opposed to Aiginetan gen. *Θέρσιος* in *LSAG* 113. 7, with [rs] preserved; see §214).

<sup>97</sup> Bacch. *Dith.* 15. 48 *Μενέλαος*, *Ep.* 5. 117 *Ἀγέλαον*; Pind. *Isth.* 5. 32 and fr. 169a. 47 *Ἰόλαος*, *Pyth.* 9. 79, 11. 60, *Isth.* 7. 9 *Ἰόλαον*. The use of the contemporary name *Ἀρκεσίλας*, Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 65 and -*λαν Nem.* 11. 11, proves the rule.

<sup>94</sup> No valid arguments against this view are provided by Lorber, p. 4 nn. 18 and 20.

## AIG 2 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 2226

Fr. of a bf. krater (?) from Aigina (1866). *Bibliography*: Benndorf (1868–83), 104 f., dr. pl. 54. 1; Collignon–Couve (1902–4), no. 650; Beazley (1935), 475; J. M. Cook (1934/5), 196 with n. 1, ph. pl. 54f; Rumpf (1953), 31; ph. Kübler (1950), 67 fig. 63; mentioned by Friis Johansen (1967), 86; Immerwahr (1990), 10, no. 15; Schefold (1993), 135 f., with ph. fig. 132. *Photographs*: Cook, Kübler, Schefold cl. *Scene*: Head of a man (named). *Date*: 7th cent., slightly younger than AIG 1 (Beazley); c.640 (Immerwahr); c.650 (Schefold).

ΑΛ

Αγ[. . .] or Αλ[. . .]

Άγ[αμμένων] or Άλ[έξανδρος] (?).

*Epigraphy*: Both readings, Benndorf's Ag(amemnon) and Rumpf's Al(exandros), are possible. Some scholars are certain that the fr. is Attic. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene, perhaps heroic (label).

\*AIG 3A–F AIGINA, MUS. (A) INV. ?, (B1–2) INV. ?,  
(C) K 64, (D) K 53, (E) (MANY FRs.), (F) INV. ?

Many frs. of 'Chian' cups of different shape from Aigina (a few c.1901; the rest late 1960s / early 1970s, as I am informed by D. Williams). *Bibliography*: 15 frs.<sup>98</sup> already in Furtwängler (1906), 455 f., nos. 244, 245. 1–14, ph. pl. 129; the same in Cook–Woodhead (1952), 161 f., 165, cat. nos. 1–15; new finds in D. Williams (1982), 67 f., ph. 66 fig. 6 (only (C) and (D)); D. Williams (1983) (announcing further articles, p. 156), nos. 1, 23, 41, 62 f., 76–146, phs. of (A) p. 157 fig. 1, of (B1) p. 167 fig. 8. 23, of (B2) p. 168 fig. 9. 41, of (C) p. 171 fig. 12. 62, of (D) p. 171 fig. 12. 63, of (E) pp. 173–7 figs. 13. 76–102, 14. 103–26, 15. 124, 16. 124, 17. 127–39, of (F) p. 177 fig. 17. 140–6; Boardman (1986). *Photographs*: Furtwängler quite cl.; (A) Williams (1983) sm. and uncl.; (B) *ibid.*, cl.; (C) and (D) Williams (1982) and (1983) cl.; (E) and (F) Williams (1983) cl. *Scene*: (A) Male and female figures, a monster; the inscribed fr. is not positioned. (B)–(F) None. *Date*: (A) and (B1) c.600–575, the others c.580–550 (Williams (1983), 183).

(A) ΚΑΛΗΕΙΜ (B) (1) ΜΕΘ (2) ΕΘΗΚ

(C) ΘΗΦΑΙΙΙ (D) ΘΗΚ (E) (many frs., see below)

(F) (only one or two letters).

(A) καληειμ[. . .] (B) (1) [. . .]νέθ[. . .]

(2) [. . .]έθ[. . .] (C) [. . .]τηφαιη[. . .] (D) [. . .]θ[. . .]

(E) Αριστοφαντος : καιδαμονιδας : ανεθεταν (see below)

(F) (only one or two letters).

<sup>98</sup> Among them e.g. our (A), (B2), and the first part of fr. 78 of (E), as numbered by D. Williams (1983).

(A) καλή ειμ[ι]. (B) (1) [. . .]νέθ[ηκε . . .].

(2) [. . .]νέθ[ηκε . . .]. (C) [. . .]τηι φαίη[ι . . . ?].

(D) [. . .]νέθ[ηκε . . .]. (E) Αριστόφαντος καὶ Δαμονιδᾶς  
ἀνεθέταν (see below). (F) (only one or two letters).

*Epigraphy*: (C) The last two strokes, of which only the lower ends are visible, could also be a second iota and the first stroke of an eta, i.e. [. . .]τηι φαίη[ι . . .]. (E) These are the most important frs. for the restitution of the whole text: no. 76 [. . . ?] αριστοφαν[. . .]; no. 95 [. . .]αντοσ[. . .]; no. 99 [. . . αριστοφαν]τος : [. . .] (similarly no. 100); no. 101 [. . . αριστοφαν]τοσκ[αι . . .] (probably similarly no. 102); no. 107 [. . . αριστοφαντ]ος : καιδ[αμονιδας . . .] and no. 108 [. . . κ]αιδαμ[ονιδας . . .] (similarly no. 109); no. 117 [. . .]μονιδ[. . .]; no. 123 [. . . δαμονιδας : [. . .] and no. 125 [. . . δαμονιδας] : ανεθ[. . .] (similarly no. 126); no. 124 [. . . δαμονιδας] : ανεθε[τ]αν vac. (similarly nos. 127–35). The only two incoherences are these: in no. 101 there is no word division before καί, and no. 78 [. . .]κααριστο[φαν]τος must belong to a text of different formulation. In no. 133 [. . . ανεθ]ετα[ν] instead of the tau originally a nu was written, as Williams (1983: 176) observed (see below). *Interpretation*: (A) Beauty label to one of the (female) figures, or statement by the vase (fem.). (B)–(E) Dedications, (E) perhaps metrical. (F) Not clear.

(A) is not a normal *kalos*-inscription. It is even unknown whether it is the cup (sc. ἡ κύλιξ *vel sim.*, see §306) or one of the ladies painted on it (see §309) that is making this statement. For the diphthong in the verb see §219. The inscription is in the Ionic dialect. Williams (1983) thinks that (B1) and (C) are by the same scribe. (A), (B2), (C), and (D) in terms of writing system are clearly East Ionic because of the use of eta. This suggests that the vases were either made in Ionia or at least by Ionians working abroad. Particularly revealing is the more modern Φ in (C) (see below). (C): for the crasis or inverted elision see §224.

On the other hand, (E), a stereotyped inscription of which many other examples are preserved (though also in fragments) has nothing Ionic about it. In fact, the name Δαμονιδᾶς as well as the verb ἀνεθέταν, correctly interpreted as the Doric form of the secondary 3rd person dual (but wrongly accentuated ἀνέθεταν) by Williams (1983: 184),<sup>99</sup> are clearly non-Ionic. Damonidas must therefore be considered an Aiginetan (the name Aristophantos cannot be assigned to a particular region of origin). The dedication may form an iambic trimeter. The only slight difficulty may be the scansion of Damonidas. But (1) the name may be built on the hypocoristic Δάμων 'tamer' rather than Δάμων, and (2) the stem of such hypocoristics can have a long or short [o] already in Homer (see Risch, pp. 56 f.), i.e. the patronymic in -ιδᾶς can be formed both from Δάμωv- and from Δάμωv-. But even if both syllables

<sup>99</sup> Compare Boiotian ἐποῖσάταν, *LSAG* 95. 17 = *DGE* 443 (c.475–450?). It is worth while noting that Cook–Woodhead (pp. 161 f.), from the few frs. known at the time, had already concluded that Aristophan- (whom they thought to be -phanes) had a partner. They also referred to two frs. with the remains of a non-sg. verb, which—quite understandably—led them to assume a pl. form: [. . .]νέθ[. . .] and [. . .]αν.

should be long in prose, we may always assert metrical adaptation of a proper name (see §222) in order to get the three short syllables Δᾱμῶνι- required by the metre.

Different scribes are certainly involved in writing this stereotyped inscription (*E*) (see ad NAU 17e and BOI 6). The sigmas in fr. nos. 77, 78, 87, 88, 100, 124 are of the three-stroke type, those in nos. 76, 89, 90, 99, 101, 102, 123, 126 of the four-stroke. Most of the alphas show the form Δ, but those in fr. nos. 62, 78, 81, 91, 103, 118 are of the form Δ.<sup>100</sup>

Of all (*E*) fragments only no. 78 [. . .]καίῃριστο[φαν]τος does not fit into the normal pattern. If it is a dedication (as suggested by Williams (1983), 184), it could have been [X ἀνέθηκε]καὶ Ἀριστόφαντος; or, perhaps better, continued on a separate line—and then maybe as a trimeter too: [X]καὶ Ἀριστόφαντος / [ἀνέθετην] (see NAU 10c). If Williams (ibid.) is right to say that this fragment and the Ionic inscription (*C*) are by the same writer, this would suggest that 'X' is an Ionian and not Aristophantos' normal partner, Damonidas (this still does not tell us anything about Aristophantos' origin).

Williams (ibid.) interprets the Doric features of (*E*) as follows: 'This would, in turn, suggest that these double dedications were dictated by a Dorian speaker either to an intermediary or more likely in person to the Chian potters, who being Ionians were unused to the Doric dialect, a fact which may account for the correction on no. 133.' This error on fr. no. 133 is indeed most interesting and very important for the question of origin of this pottery, but I believe that a conclusion different from Williams's is to be drawn. On the fragment we now read [. . . ἀνέθ]έτᾱ[ν]. But the writer had first written a nu after the epsilon. Then he more or less erased the nu, overwrote it with the tau, and to its right completed the form -τᾱν. Now, it is a priori unlikely that persons dictating were involved in the production of these inscriptions. For it seems difficult to believe that not only this inscription but the dozens of identical ones—and probably many others not preserved—were written with somebody constantly dictating the same text. Could not a writer, whatever his origin, have painted on his own and repeatedly a short Doric inscription? The mistake is therefore much more likely to have originated in the mind of the writer himself—without external interference. In fact, what he first wrote is not just a random mistake but ἀνέθεν, viz. the third person plural instead of dual of the same aorist stem. And it is here that we have to abandon the theory of Ionian writers of these inscriptions. For this is a non-Ionic form<sup>101</sup> which could not have occurred to an Ionian. Using the plural instead of the dual was no doubt possible, if not common, at least in spoken Doric at the time,<sup>102</sup> so the

mistake is forgivable. This piece shows clearly that Dorians could function at least as the writers of inscriptions on these vases.

A second indication of Dorians rather than Ionians as the writers of these dedications is the letter-form of phi; for although the diagnostic value of letter-forms should not be overestimated, it is symptomatic that the only Ionic inscription with this letter, namely (*C*), shows the modern form Φ, which was in use in eastern Greece earlier than in mainland Greece (see §102), while the dedications (*E*) all have the more traditional φ. If we assume that the vases which show Ionic forms were both inscribed and painted by Ionians, we must assume too that the Dorians who wrote on certain vases also painted them. They may have been trained by Ionians, of course.

All this leads us to the conclusion that our (*E*) vases were very probably produced on Aigina itself rather than being 'the pottery from Chios' (Williams's (1983) title), since it is likely that vases inscribed mainly<sup>103</sup> by Dorians and dedicated in Doric surroundings mostly by a Dorian (Damonidas), were also *produced* in these Doric surroundings by indigenous people and not produced abroad and sent home by Aiginetan émigrés. We also have to consider that the amount of 'Chian' material discovered in Aigina has now increased from 15 to 74 fragments. Therefore, there comes into effect here too the argument, duly emphasized by Boardman (1956) and (1986) in connection with the problem 'Naukratis or Chios?' (see ad NAU 1), that such a quantity of cheap ware, fragile as it would be after firing, is unlikely to have been transported from elsewhere. In addition, I do not see why a potter who worked in Chian style should not have opened a workshop on Aigina, particularly with an indigenous partner. Also, it was quite natural to import clay to Aigina, since the local stuff was of a quality unsuited to fine pottery (see ad AIG 1, with n. 95)—a striking parallel to the situation at Naukratis as described by Boardman (1986) (see ad NAU 1). But if we still want to assume a place of production other than Aigina,<sup>104</sup> we should not consider Chios, but follow Williams (1983: 185 with n. 60) and prefer Naukratis. It was this settlement in Egypt with which we know that the Aiginetans had close connections,<sup>105</sup> not Chios.

The function of these numerous dedications of rather dull pieces by the same persons will have been the same as in the case of the Naukratite fragments (see ad NAU 1).

examples of dual forms on vases, COR 28A and COR 131 (only the latter was known to Cuny, p. 477); I have not come across any counter-examples at Corinth, but collective labels are of course rare (see §401). Further east, on the Doric islands out in the Aegean, however, the dual is not in use in the inscs. we have (Cuny, pp. 477 f.).

<sup>103</sup> Of all frs., 12 show clear Doric features and only 4, namely (*A*), (*B*2), (*C*), and (*D*), clear Ionic ones; 52 others also belong to the group (*E*) and are therefore to be counted on the Doric side.

<sup>104</sup> I think, however, that the statement by Boardman (1986: 253), repeated from his earlier article (1956: 59), is too categorical: 'Of course there was no Chian factory there [i.e. on Aigina] and the vases must have come, with the dedicator, probably from the place in which he ordered them.'

<sup>105</sup> Hdt. 2. 178 χωρὶς δὲ (i.e. apart from the joint foundation by different Greeks of the Hellenion at Naukratis) Αἰγινῶνται ἐπὶ ἑωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός.

<sup>100</sup> None of these forms, nor any other, is specifically diagnostic of either the East Ionic or the Aiginetan alphabet. I also abstain from attempting an attribution to certain writers, not having seen the originals.

<sup>101</sup> See Risch (1982), *passim*.

<sup>102</sup> We have hardly any examples, but in the Argive dialect (see Cuny (1906), 474 f.), which was probably the closest to the Aiginetan, we read *LSAG* 169. 28 = *DGE* 79. 2 τοῖ(Ὶ) Φανάκου(ν) (c.475–450?), though also (earlier) *LSAG* 168. 6 = *DGE* 79. 1 τῶν Φανάδων (c.590–570?). Further west, at Corinth, we have two



## 4. Uncertain Origin and Pseudo-Corinthian

*Introduction:* This section catalogues eight vases, of which two (INC 1 and 2) are unique in style and cannot be attributed with certainty to any precise place of production (the inscription on INC 1 may point to an Ionic dialect). The rest show Corinthian style but non-Corinthian inscriptions. Of these, one may point to Thessalian dialect (PCO 1), one is unidentified Doric (PCO 2), two are in Sikyonian script (PCO 3 and 4), one is in East Greek script but probably in Doric (Corinthian?) dialect (PCO 5), and one may be in Attic script (PCO 6).

\*INC 1 ROME, MUS. CAPITOLINI, PALAZZO DEI  
CONSERVATORI 172

Krater from Caere (1869 or earlier). *Bibliography:* Förster (1869), with dr. *MonIned* 9, pl. 4; Klein (1887), 27 f.; Dümmler (1888), 17; Kretschmer (1894), 10–12 (bibl.); Ducati (1911), with phs. 35 fig. 1 and pl. 1f; Nicole (1916), 376, no. I. 2; Hoppin (1924), 6 (bibl.); ph. Merlin [n.d.], pl. 11; *EAA* i. 653 f., s.v. Aristonothos, with phs. figs. 834 (p. 652) and 835; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 239, 241. 24 (bibl.); Arias–Hirmer–Shefton (1962), 274 f., ph. pl. 15; G. Q. Giglioli and V. Bianco, *CVA Italy*, 39 (1965), Cratere di Aristonothos, pp. 3–5 (bibl.), phs. pls. 4–9, esp. 8; Helbig (1966), 376–8, no. 1575; Friis Johansen (1967), 35; Orlandini (1983), 332 f., with bibl. n. 2 (pp. 543 f.), col. phs. figs. 284–6 (after p. 336); Guarducci (1974), 477 f., with ph. fig. 188; *LIMC* vi, ‘Odysseus/Uthuze’ 56; Schefold (1993), 160 ff., with ph. fig. 167. *Photographs:* Ducati, Merlin, *EAA*, Arias–Hirmer–Shefton, Orlandini, Schefold uncl.; *CVA* and Guarducci quite cl. *Scene:* Naval battle, on the other side the blinding of Polyphemos; not related to the inscr. *Date:* 7th cent. (Kretschmer); c.650 (Giglioli–Bianco, Orlandini, Schefold).

(←) ἈΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΦΟΣ ΕΓΟΙΞΕΝ

*Ἀριστονοφος εποισεν*

*Ἀριστόνοθος* (or *Ἀρίστον{ο}φος?*) *ἐποί(ε)σεν*.

*Epigraphy:* The line of writing makes a right-angled turn exactly between the name and the verb. The reading is indisputable.

*Interpretation:* Potter’s signature.

Nothing decisive regarding the place of manufacture of this famous vase can be learned from the letter-forms or the writing system. Several writing systems can be excluded, however—namely all the san users and all the scripts with crooked iota—while all Ionian

and some other scripts, for instance Lakonian, remain possible. Two letter-forms are individually interesting, (1) the rho, which is the earliest example of the P-type (see §101), and (2) the phi, which—if the letter is meant to be a phi—is of the same age as the earliest certain examples of the Φ-type, which are from Naxos (see §102); the next oldest examples of P are from Corinth, those of Φ from East Ionia.

It was soon noticed that *-νοφος* does not make sense as a second element of the name (and the same is true for *-ονοφος*). Of the various suggestions, Kretschmer rightly rejects the view (which was nevertheless brought up again by Ducati) that *Ἀριστόνοφος* could be *Ἀριστόνοφος* (i.e. *-νους*); for the vase is from a period when φ did not yet represent a spirant and could not therefore be confused with digamma. Kretschmer accepts the interpretation *Ἀριστόνοθος* (originally an idea of Wilamowitz’s), duly adding ‘wenn schon sie nicht so sicher ist, wie er annimmt’. These doubts remain; for the reading was, and still is, clearly *-νοφος*. Kretschmer considers a writing error Φ for Θ (see §109) to be the most likely solution (taken up again by Orlandini),<sup>106</sup> but considers the error *-νοφος* for *-λοφος* also possible (p. 227). For the last few decades, *Aristonothos* has been the accepted reading.

Although we shall have to assume a mistake anyway, and an odd one indeed, in what is probably the writer’s own name, there may yet be other possible solutions. It occurs to me, for instance, that the middle omicron could be a case of ‘reversed’ A.W. (see §111), i.e. a vowel wrongly inserted from the letter-name which was νω at least in parts of East Ionia (Democr. fr. 19; see Wachter (1991a), 51); similar examples are *Τέρ{ο}πών*, *Ἡέφ{ι}αιστο(ς)*, *ἐποί{ο}εσεν*, and probably *Ἀφορ{ο}δί[τηι]*.<sup>107</sup> The use of nu before a labial stop is of course frequent (see §114), and although *\*Ἀρίστομπος* is not attested, there are other names with *δμφή*, ‘voice’, as their second element (Bechtel, p. 348: *Ἐπόμφης*, *Κλιόμφας*), and its formation would be a current one, like, for example, *Ἀριστότιμος* (ibid. 71, 428), *Ἀριστόφᾶμος* (ibid. 71, [446]).

In the case of *ἐποίσεν* too Kretschmer suspects a writing error. It is true that there are similar forms; Kretschmer (pp. 12 and 227) cites *SGDI* 3536 *ποῖσαι, πεποίκει* from Knidos, *ARV*

<sup>106</sup> In view of the early Naxian examples, the form Φ instead of φ may not be used as an argument for this mistake. Likewise, Orlandini is not on safe ground when he argues from the certain case of the lapse (Φ instead of Θ) in Tataie’s graffito (*LSAG* 240. 3, where there are both proper Θ and φ too!) that our vase must be Kymeian; Jeffery’s doubts because of ξ instead of normal Kymeian ζ or ς are stronger.

<sup>107</sup> See Wachter (1991a), 74 n. 115, 80; for the last example see §205 below.

1531. 3 ἐποίσεν (but see *ARV* 1531. 4 ἐποίεσε; both incised), and *CEG* 825 Πολύκλετος ἐποίησε (c.400–380?). Yet this verb is comparatively frequent and a vast number of counter-examples from all regions show ἐποίεσε(ν). Kretschmer observes that our potter was an Ionian (this includes Attic), because of the nu ephelkystikon (see §202).<sup>108</sup> If so, we can now cite an even earlier Ionic example of this verb, namely *EUC* 1 with ἐποίεσε[ν . . . ?] (Ischia, 8th cent.). A different aorist formation is therefore unlikely. On the other hand, it seems not impossible that in rapid speech [e'poiēse] was pronounced as [e'poēse] as early as the seventh century. For this pronunciation two vowel signs may have appeared to be sufficient (see the later spellings ἐπόεσε, e.g. *BOI* 6*B*, *BOI* 7*A–B*). Nevertheless, -ποισ- is likely not to have been an acceptable spelling. We may therefore speak of a (second) spelling mistake (see §112).

As the nu ephelkystikon points to an Ionian, the phi with its modern form Φ seems fully acceptable (if it is indeed meant to be a phi), and in view of the fact that examples as early as the mid-seventh century are known exclusively from Naxos, this may be a slight clue to the place of production of this vase or the place of origin of its artist. I cannot see the reason for its being grouped with the Etruscan material in *LIMC* (for Ionians in Etruria see ad *COR* 40*b*).

In discussing the painted scene, which shows Odysseus and his companions blinding Polyphemos, Friis Johansen points to the Cyclops' household gear, which seems to reflect its description in *Od.* 9. 219–23 and 247 (see §509).

#### INC 2 MARKET

One-handled flat vase from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Anon. (1967), no. A8, with ph. *Photographs*: Anon. quite cl. up to the third alpha, two more letters uncl., and the rest invis. *Scene*: None (dot and stripe decoration). *Date*: c.550 (Anon.).

ΚΑΤΑΓΥΝΟΝΘΟΓΟΙΕΞΛ

Καταπυγὸν ἡ ποιεῖσα σκαὶ ἡ φέρων

Καταπύγῳν ἡ ποιεῖσᾶς καὶ ἡ φέρῳν.

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. runs horizontally on the free band round the 'equator' of the vase, starting next to the handle and also ending next to it, presumably. The ph. shows only the letters up to the second kappa (though this, as well as the preceding sigma, is uncl.); the rest of the text is given in the description section. *Interpretation*: Erotic inscription, probably by a potter-lover.

<sup>108</sup> This is a point which argues against Dümmler's suggestion, Ἀρίστων ὁ Qω(ι)ς ἐποί(η)σεν (attempted on the grounds that Φ is similar to the Ψ-type qoppa), since Kos was Doric. A second difficulty for Dümmler's interpretation is his assumption of a syncopated syllable. Thirdly, there is no writing system with o for [ō] and s for [s] which would not write <ho> for the article. Fourthly, the normal position of an ethnic is after the verb (see §227).

The alphabet is not distinctive of any place or region, nor does the dialect give any clue. Anon. describes the vase as 'Western-Corinthian'. Whatever that means, the script is certainly not Corinthian.

The adjective καταπύγῳν designates the 'female' homosexual partner (see *Ar. Nub.* 529, *Vesp.* 687 f., *Ach.* 79). The vase says: 'The one who made this vase and the one who brought it as a gift is (or shall be) καταπύγῳν'. Unless we take the potter and painter of this vase as not identical, which in view of the unpretentious decoration seems an implausible assumption, the writer describes himself. The fact that the first word is singular suggests that the potter and the bearer are identical. As it seems odd that this person should apply καταπύγῳν to himself as a simple term of abuse, we may prefer to take it literally. Was he a boy, a potter's apprentice perhaps, giving a vase to his elder?

The vase is described as a 'dish', so it would have to be held horizontally as in the photograph and is probably open at the top. Therefore I take it as an exaleipton, i.e. an ointment-container, which would very well fit the sphere just described (see §307).

#### PCO I PARIS, LOUVRE E 415 (INV. S 1151)

Pointed aryballos from Italy (Payne) (1841 or earlier). *Bibliography*: L. J. J. Dubois (1841), 92, no. 403; Pottier (1899*a*), 469; Perrot–Chipiez (1911), 595, with dr. fig. 303; Friis Johansen (1923), 172, with drs. figs. 115 f.; Payne (1931), 38, no. 2; F. Villard, *CVA* France, 21 (1965), 46 f., pls. 44. 3, 5, 45. 8–9; Lejeune (1945), 97–101; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 125 n. 3; Lorber (1979), 12 f., no. 8; Cordano (1984), 291, no. 6. *Photographs*: *CVA* cl. *Scene*: Dogs chasing a hare (see *DOC* 3). The inscr. (on the handle) is not related. *Date*: PC (Pottier, Payne); 3rd q. 7th cent. (Lejeune, Jeffery).

ΑΓΛΟΥΝ

Ἀπλοῦν

ἄπλοῦν (?).

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

Although Pottier had cautiously offered several explanations, Friis Johansen and Payne considered the inscription, whose reading is clear, to have 'pas de sens' and to be 'unintelligible'. Lejeune, taking up one of Pottier's suggestions, emphasized that Ἀπλοῦν is the normal form of Apollon's name in Thessalian dialect,<sup>109</sup> where inherited [ō] and [ou],<sup>110</sup> as well as secondary [ō] (owing to contraction or compensatory lengthening), were pronounced as [ō]. Yet our testimonies for the spelling <ou> of an inherited

<sup>109</sup> See e.g. Burkert (1975), 5 n. 18.

<sup>110</sup> Lorber (p. 12 n. 58) is incorrect to think that our case contains an 'ou-Laut' (the error was pointed out by Heubeck (1980), 282 n. 3). In the 'parallel' for early ou in Thessalian which Lorber cites (namely *LSAG* 97, 99. 2; c.550?) the two cases are different (one inherited diphthong and one spurious diphthong).



[ō] start only at a time when the Ionic alphabet was used in Thessaly, i.e. two centuries or more later, and it is by no means clear that this spelling was possible at the time of our vase (nor can the opposite be proven).

Jeffery argues that ‘an inscription painted on a vase of Corinthian fabric and showing no non-Corinthian letters is more likely to be Corinthian than Thessalian’, preferring a supposed (owner’s) name: *Ἀπλου[ιος ?]* (as suggested by Pottier and Lejeune). Yet in view of other Corinthian ware with non-Corinthian painted inscriptions (see the following pieces), this argument is not a strong one. More important is the fact that incomplete names are extremely rare in Greek inscriptions; therefore this solution is not satisfactory. Our inscription is complete, and the writer could easily have written in smaller letters and fitted in \**Ἀπλούνιος*, had he meant to do so. The god’s name is therefore more likely than an abbreviated human name, though we would have to accept it as Thessalian in view of the last syllable—for which there seems to be no justification outside that dialect—and find a justification for the nominative case instead of the genitive or dative, which would be much easier to interpret.

Should we therefore reconsider a different solution, first and last proposed by Dubois, who wrote ‘ΑΓΛΟΥΝ (*simple*)’? For *ἀπλοῦς* can indeed mean ‘simple, not mixed’ (see LSJ), and our neuter form could refer to the actual contents of the vase, for example *ἐλαφρον* or *μύρον*. The lack of the initial [h], however, would suggest that the inscription is not Corinthian (which in view of the letter-forms it may, but need not, be).<sup>111</sup> If this interpretation is correct, <ou> is another example of rendering a secondary [ō] as a spurious diphthong (see §220).<sup>112</sup>

#### PCO 2 ROME, MUS. ETRUSCO DI VILLA GIULIA 22679

Jug from Formello near Veii, by the Chigi P. (Amyx) (1882). *Bibliography*: Ghirardini (1882), 296–300; not in Kretschmer (1894); Friis Johansen (1923), 103 f., no. 84, phs. pls. 49 f.; Payne (1931), 38 f. no. 4, cat. no. 39; C. Q. Giglioli, *CVA* Italy, 1 (1925), 1, phs. pls. 1–4; Payne (1933b), 14 f., phs. pls. 27–9; mentioned by Lejeune (1945), 102; not in Arena (1967); phs. Holloway (1973), 27–9 figs. 15–17; Lorber (1979), 14 f., no. 13, ph. pl. 2; *LIMC* i, ‘Alexandros’ 5\*, ph. pl. 376; *LIMC* ii, ‘Aphrodite’ 1423, ‘Athena’ 405\*, ph. pl. 750; Amyx (1988), 557, no. 2 (cat. p. 32, no. A-3, bibl.); Schefold (1993), 127 ff., with ph. fig. 120b; *LIMC* vii, ‘Paridis Iudicium’ 26. *Photographs*: Friis Johansen invis.; *CVA* uncl.; Payne (1933b) invis.; Lorber cl.; Holloway and *LIMC* i sm. but quite cl.; *LIMC* ii and Schefold (b) and (c) quite cl., (a) invis. *Scene*: A young man (a) is facing a procession of Hermes (only part of his *kerykeion* is preserved) and three women, (b), (c), and

one whose name is lost. *Date*: c.630 (*LIMC* i, vii; Schefold); c.640–630 (*LIMC* ii); MPC ii–LPC (i.e. 670–630) (Amyx).

(a) ΑΓ ΟΞ (b) ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ (c) ΑΦΡΟ  
(a) Αλ[. . .] . ος (b) Αθαναία (c) Αφρο . [ . . .]  
(a) Αλ[έξ?ανδ]ρος, (b) Αθαναία, (c) Αφροδ[ίτ]ρα.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The gap is too large to decide whether [ks] was written -χσ- or -ξ-. (c) The delta must have been of the D shape.

*Interpretation*: Judgement of Paris (labels).

Several letter-forms are non-Corinthian, namely sigma, iota, and delta. The latter is the most important, for a Corinthian who wrote ‘for export’ (or worked abroad) would have changed the former two, but there would have been no need to change the Corinthian delta. It seems therefore more likely that the vase was made by a non-Corinthian at Corinth. Where he came from cannot be established; Rumpf (1927: 148) suggested that the alphabet is Aiginetan (the vase is not, see Payne (1931), 39 n. 1), but it could also be Rhodian, Lakonian, Syracusan, etc.

(a) and (c) are as expected. (b) *Ἀθαναία* is not the normal Corinthian form (see §247). It may be the epic form in non-Ionic dialect, or the Attic form in non-Attic dialect, but we cannot be sure.

#### PCO 3 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. INV. ?

Fr. aryballos from the Argive Heraion (1892–5). *Bibliography*: Heermance (1905), 185, no. 1, with dr. fig. 101; Friis Johansen (1923), 103, no. 82, dr. fig. 55; Payne (1931), 38, no. 3; Lejeune (1945), 102 n. 3; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 139, 143. 1; Lorber (1979), 13, no. 11, ph. pl. 2; Amyx (1988), 600, no. 2. *Photographs*: Lorber sm. *Scene*: Only part of a bird is preserved (the inscr. is not necessarily its label). *Date*: PC (Payne); c.650–640 (Jeffery).

(←) or (→) ΜΦΞ

[ . . . ? ] σφϵ . [ . . . ] or [ . . . ] . ϵφσ[ . . . ? ].

*Epigraphy*: In his dr. Heermance indicates an oblique down-stroke to the r. of the (Sikyonian) epsilon. The letter to the l. looks like a san. Jeffery only reads [ . . . ] φϵ[ . . . ] or [ . . . ] ϵφ[ . . . ], but if san is correct, qoppa is not expected. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

#### PCO 4 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 1147

Column krater from Caere, by the Memnon P. (1834). *Bibliography*: Abeken (1836), 310–12, with dr. *MonIned* 2, pl. 38b; Jahn (1854), p. cxlvii; *CIG* (iv), no. 7376; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3165; Furtwängler (1885), no. 1147 (bibl.); Kretschmer (1894), 51; Payne (1931), 169 no. 75, cat. no. 1170; ph. Rodenwaldt (1939), 118 fig. 106; Lejeune (1943), 184, 191; Caskey–Beazley (1954), 15; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 140 f., 143. 4, dr. pl. 23; *EAA*

<sup>111</sup> The comparison in Plat. *Crat.* 405c of τὸ ἀπλοῦν and Thessalian Ἀπλουν ‘Apollon’ (*ἀπλῶν*, *ἀπλόν* codd.) presupposes the absence of the initial [h] of this adjective in spoken Attic at Platon’s time; see also *Crat.* 404c on Ἡρᾶ / ἁήρ.

<sup>112</sup> Another possible interpretation makes less sense and is less well paralleled: ἁπλουν ‘not suitable for export (?)’.

iv. 999, with ph. fig. 1189; Schefold (1964), 86, and (1966), 92, ph. [pl.] 76c; Benson (1969), 120, no. B. 1 (no ph.: pl. 34. 12 is his next entry); Lorber (1979), 43, no. 46, ph. pl. 12; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 808\*, ph. pl. 136; Amyx (1988), 567, no. 43 (cat. p. 234, no. A-1, bibl.), phs. pl. 103. 1a-b; *LIMC* vi, 'Memnon' 29; Schefold (1993), 323, ph. 324 fig. 362. *Photographs*: Rodenwaldt cl.; *EAA* sm.; Schefold and *LIMC* quite cl.; Lorber cl.; Amyx sm. *Scene*: Two warriors (a) and (b), fighting. *Date*: 575-550 (Jeffery); c.580 (Schefold; *LIMC* i).

(a) (←) A+IΓXYM (b) MΣMNON  
 (a) *Aχιλεὺς* (b) *Μεμνον*  
 (a) *Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς*, (b) *Μέμνων*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Achilles and Memnon (labels).

The alphabet is Sikyonian because of the letter-form Σ for ε. This letter, used for [ē], primary [ē] and secondary [ē], but not for [h],<sup>113</sup> cannot therefore have been the eighth letter (H) in the alphabet, but either the fifth (E) or an addition at the end as Corinthian B (ε) (see §106). The latter explanation, apparently accepted by Jeffery (p. 138), who assumes deliberate alteration to avoid confusion with beta, leaves us with the odd result that letter no. 5 would have been a dead letter in the Sikyonian alphabet (unless at some stage there was a reform by which the place at the end was abolished and its letter-form transposed to fifth place in the sequence). We cannot decide so long as there is no Sikyonian abecedarium.

The vase looks normal MC in style (Lorber) and may therefore have been produced in Corinth by a Sikyonian (rather than for a Sikyonian, unless we assume that it was exported to Etruria as a secondhand object). The names present no problems. Amyx reports a black-glazed fragment from Corinth (Corinth, Arch. Mus. C-73-50) with a Sikyonian graffito [. . .] ἀνέθε[κε], i.e. another Corinthian-Sikyonian connection (the two cities are of course only 15 km. apart).

#### PCO 5 IZMIR, ARCH. MUS. INV. ?

Frs. of a large open vase from Old Smyrna (1949). *Bibliography*: mentioned by J. M. Cook (1950), 10; Caskey-Beazley (1954), 15; Jeffery (1964), 46, no. 3, ph. pl. 8c; J. M. Cook (1965), 115 f., no. 3a (3b and 3h are uninscribed), phs. pls. 23a, 24. 3; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 810; *LIMC* iii, 'Eos' 300\*, ph. pl. 580; *LIMC* vi, 'Memnon' 28. *Photographs*: Jeffery, Cook (1965), and *LIMC* quite cl. *Scene*: Head of a woman holding her mantle over her head, facing r. (a). On the r., drawn smaller, a charioteer to l. waiting (b), and a warrior fighting to r. (no name preserved). *Date*:

'relatively early 6th c.' (Cook (1965), 116); 2nd q. 6th cent. (Caskey-Beazley; *LIMC* i); c.575-570 (*LIMC* iii); c.570 (*LIMC* vi).

(a) AFOΣ (b) (←) AΙΘΙΟΥ  
 (a) *AḶos* (b) *Aιθιοῦ*  
 (a) *ἈḶός*, (b) *Αἰθιοῦ*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Achilles and Memnon (labels).

Cook (1950) suggests Aiolic manufacture, and so do Caskey-Beazley: 'East Greek (Aeolian) black-figure'. But in his later publication, Cook (1965: 116) observes not only a certain resemblance to Chalcidian, but (as already *apud* Jeffery) he sees the closest parallel in the Corinthian vase Vatican 126. This latter vase (see n. 348), attributed by Amyx to the Cavalcade P.,<sup>114</sup> is a LC I red-ground krater, whose clay according to Cook is very similar to that of our fragments. Among the red-ground LC I vases, which 'were the basis of a flourishing export market',<sup>115</sup> there are also kraters of 'Chalcidian' shape. For Cook the similarity between our fragments and Vatican 126 is so striking that he is tempted to attribute them to the same painter and wonders whether these vases really are of Corinthian manufacture (though he is convinced that the artist, wherever he worked, must have had a Corinthian training); on the other hand, he sees no reason to assume an Aiolic pottery school of any kind.

Jeffery observes that the inscriptions on our fragment are not Corinthian (I iota, Σ sigma). Now, if Amyx's attribution of Vatican 126 to the Cavalcade painter, who also painted our COR 23 (though earlier in his life: MC, according to Amyx, p. 383), and Cook's attribution of our fragments to the painter of the vase Vatican 126 are correct, this would mean that (1) our fragments are Corinthian, and (2) this Corinthian painter could himself (or let someone else) write non-Corinthian on his vases. It would be understandable if a Corinthian had primarily avoided his own iota, san, and epsilon (Σ, Μ, Β; the sounds of the third sign do not occur on our fragment) on a vase that he made for Asia Minor. Jeffery's comparison of our piece with other vases of Corinthian style that bear non-Corinthian writing therefore seems justified.<sup>116</sup>

As for the dialect, Jeffery is probably right to say that (a) *AḶos* could be Doric or Aiolic, since this form can stand for [āwōs] or [awwōs]. Even the fact that for Corinthian we may expect an initial [h] is not decisive, because its absence may be due to the use of an East Greek alphabet. See §249. From the point of view of the letters used, nothing argues either against or particularly in favour of East Aiolic: omega is sometimes used there, sometimes not (Jeffery, pp. 361 and 378); as regards the digamma, we know that it was part of the early East Ionic alphabet (see §106), and there is plenty of evidence that Sappho's and Alcaeus' texts

<sup>114</sup> Amyx, pp. 198 and 345 (see also p. 294).

<sup>115</sup> Amyx, p. 390 (see also p. 539).

<sup>113</sup> In the only inscr. that shows all these sounds, namely *LSAG* 141, 143. 8 (incomplete ph. pl. 23), Jeffery (p. 405) wrongly writes *πδλεν* instead of *πδλεν* (the correct transcription is found in *GD* 96).

<sup>116</sup> The case of the Chigi jug (our PCO 2), however, is not fully comparable. There we have no material by the same painter inscribed in the Corinthian alphabet, and there is an indication that points to a non-Corinthian writer.

contained it (Jeffery). The only point that may help towards a decision is the spelling: as we still find digamma used in the papyri of the two Lesbian poets (in initial position), we have no reason to doubt that the East Aiolic form of ‘Dawn’, which is  $\alpha\upsilon\omega\varsigma$  (scanned —, see Sappho fr. 103. 13 L–P, etc.), was already spelled with an upsilon (i.e.  $\alpha\upsilon$ –, perhaps  $\alpha\upsilon\phi$ –) and not simply with digamma (i.e.  $\alpha\phi$ – or perhaps  $\alpha\phi\phi$ –) at the time of the poets.<sup>117</sup> We may therefore consider our inscription Doric (i.e. Corinthian) rather than Aiolic, which agrees with what we observe from the style of these vases. The writing of intervocalic [w] in a Corinthian inscription of the time, however, needs careful attention, since it is likely to reflect an original from poetry (see §§208, 506).

We could here add a historical point that may argue against an Aiolic form. In the sixth century, Smyrna was basically an Ionic city, and we have no indication of a substantial Aiolic element among the population at that time. Even if there was an Aiolic Smyrnaian who went to Corinth to learn his profession, would he produce ‘Aiolicizing’ vase inscriptions on his products for the home market? And if our painter was a Corinthian, either an émigré at Smyrna or located at Corinth and working for export to Smyrna, would he inscribe his vases in Aiolic?

(b) Aithiops as the name of Memnon’s charioteer, i.e. an ethnic used as a name, makes perfect sense. Yet, it cannot be safely argued to reflect a poetic source: at least in an epic poem we would expect Memnon’s man to have a more individual name (see ad COR 80e). On the other hand, whoever chose this label was well aware of the oriental origin of the charioteer’s master. Unfortunately, the label cannot tell us anything about the dialect.

<sup>117</sup> The Aiolic forms  $\alpha\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\bar{\alpha}$  (~~~; Attic  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ ),  $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$  (Homeric  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ; see ad LAK 7),  $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\rho$  (Attic  $\acute{\alpha}\eta\rho$ ) have a phonologically different origin and are to be judged separately; see Lejeune, §188 n. 5.

## PCO 6 ATHENS, AKROPOLIS MUS. 2578

Fr. of a pinax from the Athenian Akropolis (1886 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Studniczka (1886b), 116 f., dr. pl. 8. 1; Graef–Langlotz (1925), 251 f., no. 2578, ph. pl. 109; Payne (1931), 142; Beazley (1956), 43, no. 6; Brommer (1984b), 179 with n. 9 [whose text is part of n. 10]; *LIMC* ii, ‘Athena’ 343\*, ph. pl. 743; not in Amyx (1988); Schefold (1993), 212, with ph. fig. 218. *Photographs*: Graef–Langlotz, *LIMC*, Schefold cl. *Scene*: Hands of Eileithyia to r. (no name preserved); head of Zeus (named) seated to r.; at the top the little Athena, armed, is emerging (no name preserved). *Date*: 2nd q. 6th cent. (Payne; *LIMC*); c.570 (Schefold).

ΙΕΥ

Ζευ[. . .]

Ζεῦ[ς].

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Birth of Athena (label).

Graef–Langlotz held that the inscription is Attic, although Studniczka had already pointed out that the clay and style are pure Corinthian. Since the sign Ε (for which see §219) is not expected in this name in Corinthian, and all Corinthian attestations of Zeus’ name indeed show Β (see §258), the inscription cannot be said to be Corinthian. Considering the fact that the fragment was found on the Athenian Akropolis, the pinax must have been dedicated there. Furthermore, we may conclude from its subject-matter, which suits the place perfectly, that the pinax was at least chosen for the purpose of this dedication. In fact, the discrepancy between the style and the alphabet suggests that it was *produced* for this purpose, either by a Corinthian working in Athens (and using Corinthian clay), or—which seems the more natural explanation to me—by a Corinthian in Corinth working for export to Athens.

## 5. Corinth

*Introduction:* The numbers in this chapter are those of Amyx (p. 556 ff.), which are meant to be more or less in a chronological order. Inscriptions not contained in Amyx's work are inserted where it seemed appropriate for reasons of style (COR 1A, 24A, 24B, 28A, 50A, 64A, 64B, 79A, 114A, 115A, 131). At the end of the section (pp. 116–18) a small selection of Corinthian graffiti on vases is added, mainly for their linguistic importance (for a more complete list see Amyx, pp. 593 ff.). The pinakes in Section 6 are from the same production centres but were all found in Corinth, whereas the vases that are preserved had mostly been exported, almost all to Italy (see also n. 568). For the Corinthian alphabet, which is of a common type (similar to East Ionic) but contains a distinctive series of less common letter-forms (mainly beta, iota, san, and the special, though frequent, epsilon), see §§103, 106 f.

The main period of Corinthian vase-painting is relatively short, and the inscribed pieces span just over a century, most of them no more than about 30 years (approximately 580–550). Towards the end of the period, Corinthian workshops started imitating Attic fashion; see e.g. Dunbabin–Dunbabin (1962), 284–9, esp. 285: this practice 'begins before the middle of the sixth century . . . After the middle of the century these imitations of Attic are the only Corinthian figured vases, except for a few unimportant vases in the conventionalizing style . . . The shapes are commonly those of Attic vases; the red slip which covers either the figured panel or, more frequently, the whole surface of the vase gives the outward appearance of an Attic vase; and the drawing in details closely imitates Attic models. The clay is often brownish, like that of some conventionalizing vases' (by which the 'proper' Corinthian style after 550 is understood, see *ibid.* 271–84). Some very late products (see COR 124; 5th cent.) have to be considered separately.

A. W. Johnston has kindly pointed out to me a Corinthian inscription, known for over ten years but—as far as I know—still unpublished, and which I would never have found myself. We read in Bottini *et al.* (1983), 458 (excavation at Timmari): ' . . . la tomba 20, a fossa, da cui provengono i frammenti di un cratere tardo-corinzio databile attorno alla metà del VI sec. Sul corpo, presenta una serie di figure femminili danzanti, due delle quali sono designate dalle iscrizioni *Τιμωι*, *ΠυρFίς*: la prima, abbastanza diffusa, ha attinenza con il mito di Teseo.' I doubt the connection with Theseus (was Bottini thinking of the hero's return to Athens as shown on the François Vase, *ABV* 76. 1?), preferring an ordinary non-heroic dancing scene (see §479). The two names will be (a) *Τιμῶι* (surely not with an omega; see §236) and—if designating a woman—(b) *ΠυρFίς* (see §§209, 231), meaning 'the Honourable' (see §308) and 'Redhead', 'Ginger', respectively.

I have chosen not to include a few very fragmentary dipinti from the Corinthian Kerameikos, published—mostly without, or with uncl., ph.—by Boegehold;<sup>118</sup> a dipinto (painted after firing?) [*Αρι*]στομῆδε[ος?] (possessive gen.?) under the foot of a cup from Perachora (Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 10, dr. pl. 163); nine of the eleven fragments listed by Amyx on p. 600 (among them Lorber's nos. 6, 31, 43, 60, 134, 137, and 149; for no. 11 see PCO 3, for no. 53 see COR 96A); Lorber's no. 67; the nonsense inscription on a PC dinos, Technau (1929), 63, bottom, no. 1 (and the two scraps, 64, no. 4); the nonsense inscriptions listed by Amyx on p. 601 (among them Lorber's nos. 89, 95, 98, 105 f., and 136); and the only inscribed Corinthian rf. vase, whose inscriptions were obscure (read *Ποντια* and *Καδωρος*) and are now mostly illegible (only *-TIA* and *-O-* survive, obviously not in Corinthian script; see I. McPhee and A. D. Trendall in: *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx* (Columbia, 1986), 164–6.) Only very recently have Neeft's (1991b) additions to Amyx (1988) been brought to my attention; of the inscriptions that he records (pp. 87–90), only nos. 132 and 139 are not found in this book.

### COR I AIGINA, MUS. K 267

Frs. of a pyxis from Aigina (shortly before 1895). *Bibliography:* Pallat (1897), 320–3, dr. fig. 38; Studniczka (1899), 361–78, with drs.; Payne (1931), 98 with dr. fig. 30, 161 no. 1; R. Carpenter (1938), 59; Lejeune (1945), 102; Kraiker (1951), 50, no. 267, ph. pl. 19; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 125 with n. 2, 131. 4, ph. pl. 18; Arena (1967), 67 f., no. 2; Guarducci (1974), 458; Lorber (1979), 7–10, no. 1, phs. pl. 1; Amyx (1988), 556 f., no. 1 (cat. p. 30, bibl.). *Photographs:* Kraiker, Jeffery, Lorber (complete): quite cl. *Scene:* Man and woman in a chariot, so probably a wedded couple (no names preserved); inscr. (a) is written through the wheel. The chariot is drawn by two winged horses; (b) is under the horses' bellies, (c) between their front legs. In front of them a warrior is walking; behind him is (d), between his legs (e). Inscr. (f) and (g) are written on the base of the vase. *Date:* early 2nd q. 7th cent. (Lorber, referring to Payne and Kraiker); 675–650 (Jeffery); MPC–LPC (i.e. 690–630) (Amyx).

<sup>118</sup> See Boegehold (1984), 359, no. 2 (plate) [ . . . ]*κρᾶν*[ . . . ]; no. 3 (kotyle) [ . . . ?] *Σῶταδ*[*ās* . . . | . . . ]*ετα*[ . . . ] (the first part could also be read (←); the last letter of the second part is more likely an alpha than a lambda which may lead to a restoration *ἀνέθεκε*] *ε τα*[i and a name of a goddess]; pp. 359 f., no. 9 (bowl), very uncl.; p. 360, no. 10 (kotyle) [ . . . ]*φικλ*[ . . . ] (a name?) and no. 13 (kotyle) *Δ[α]ρρεος* (gen.?). See COR 126 and Introd. to ch. 6 (COP).

(a) (←)  $\xi\eta\Delta$  (b) (→) ?  $\mathcal{M}\Delta\mathcal{O}$  (c)  $\mathcal{B}$  (d) (←)  $\mathcal{B}$   
 (e) (←)  $\mathcal{T}\mathcal{P}\mathcal{O}\Phi$  (f)  $\Delta\mathcal{E}$  (g)  $\mathcal{F}$

(a) [...].  $\nu\alpha$  [...]. (b)  $\Sigma\alpha\theta$  [...]. (c)  $h$  [...]. (d) [...].  $\nu$   $\epsilon$  ...  
 [...] (e)  $\tau\rho\phi\phi\delta$  [...] (f) [...].  $\delta\epsilon\alpha$  [...] (g) [...]  $\xi$  [...].

(a) [...].  $\rho\nu\alpha\phi$  [...], (b)  $\Sigma\alpha\theta$  [...], (c)  $H$  [...] (or perhaps  
 (c) + (b)  $H$  [...]  $\theta\alpha\varsigma$ ), (d) [...].  $\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$  [...], (e)  $\sigma\tau\rho\phi\phi\delta$  [...],  
 (f) [...].  $\delta\epsilon\alpha$  [...] (g) [...]  $\xi$  [...].

*Epigraphy:* (a)  $\delta\rho\nu\alpha\phi$  (or  $\alpha$ -,  $-\phi$ ), Payne; [...]  $\mu\alpha\nu\alpha\phi$  [...], Jeffery; Amyx reads it the wrong way round. It is not certain whether the trace to the r. of the wheel is a letter, perhaps belonging to (a). (b) Considering the starting-point principle (see §104), we have to be sceptical about the traditional reading  $\theta\acute{o}\alpha\varsigma$  and should also consider  $\Sigma\alpha\theta$  [...]; for the direction from l. to r. see (f), at least its epsilon. (c)  $\mathcal{A}[\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$  is an impossible reading, as explained by Arena. To take the letter for a digamma, as considered again by Amyx, is not possible in view of the steeply sloping bars of the epsilon in (f). Reading (b) retrograde is possible if we take (c) as the beginning and (b) as the end of one name running in a circle:  $H$  [...]  $\theta\alpha\varsigma$ . This would leave us with only one horse-name. (d) The only certain letter is  $B$  ( $\epsilon$ ); the one before it could be  $\tau$  or  $\zeta$ . Lorber reconsiders Pallat's observation that there is probably a  $\nu$  before this  $\tau$  (or  $\zeta$ ). This was rejected by Studniczka, since it implies at least one more letter preceding these, precisely where the handle is. Yet we could of course assume that the inscr. began above the handle and continued below. After the  $\epsilon$  there are traces of at least one, more likely two letters, the first of which could be  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\nu$ , the second  $\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$ ; after those there seems to be space for only one more letter next to the heel, if any at all. From this Studniczka made the first part of a name  $T\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$ -, continuing with (e), where a small trace of a letter ( $\sigma$ ?) and  $\tau\rho\phi$  are legible. The whole was restored to give the name  $T\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\phi\phi\delta$  (unattested elsewhere). Yet, at the end of (e) there is only space for the partly preserved letter  $\phi$  next to the heel, which does not leave the possibility of a full (masc. nom. or dat.) case-form. So Studniczka looked for a  $-\varsigma$  beyond the leg, where in fact there is a small trace of a letter. But this cannot be a  $\mathcal{M}$  ( $\varsigma$ ) because of its almost right angle; it may have been a delta. *Interpretation:* Not clear.

The scene was interpreted by Studniczka as the wedding of Eriphyle and Amphiarao, merely on the grounds of the names of the horses Thoas and Dias. Yet (b) is more likely to be  $\Sigma\alpha\theta$  [...]. (see e.g.  $\Sigma\omega\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , Bechtel, p. 414) or else the end of a longer name; and to read (c) as  $\mathcal{A}[\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$  is not possible. Of course, giving up the traditional reading of the only inscription that seemed to make a complete name, viz. (b)  $\theta\acute{o}\alpha\varsigma$ , renders the old interpretation of the scene obsolete. Amyx has already rejected an earlier hypothesis according to which (a) was Amphiarao's name.

As regards (d) and (e), the remains do not allow Studniczka's reading either. There is no final  $-\varsigma$  but a different letter at the end of his alleged name Telestrophos, and there was probably

something before  $\tau\epsilon$ -. More probably we are dealing with a sequence (d) + (e) [...].  $\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$  [...]  $\sigma\tau\rho\phi\phi\delta$  [...], which would have to be split up into  $-\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$  and  $\Sigma\tau\rho\phi\phi\delta$ - (name and patronymic?) *vel sim.*

To conclude, we know next to nothing about this inscription. We cannot even be certain whether some of its parts are labels; (f) and (g) on the bottom of the vase are not—at least no traces of figures are preserved there.

#### COR I A AIGINA, MUS. 2061

Fr. of an oinochoe from Aigina (found ?). *Bibliography:* LIMC i, 'Amazones' 254\*, ph. pl. 474; Walter-Karydi (1991), 523 with n. 19, col. ph. Farbtafel A (opp. p. 524); Schefold (1993), 143 f., with ph. fig. 144. *Photographs:* LIMC cl.; Walter-Karydi sm.; Schefold cl. *Scene:* Warrior to r. (no inscr. preserved), woman to l. (labelled) wearing helmet and holding bow, stretching out her r. arm towards the warrior's face (or his chin, to plead for mercy?). *Date:* PC, c.640 (LIMC; Schefold).

(←)  $\Delta\mathcal{M}\mathcal{A}\mathcal{M}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{O}\mathcal{N}$

$\mathcal{A}\mu\alpha\sigma\zeta\omicron\nu$

$\mathcal{A}\mu\alpha\sigma\zeta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ .

*Epigraphy:* —. *Interpretation:* Unidentified battle of Amazons (with Herakles or Achilles?) (label).

P. Devambez (LIMC, p. 638) thinks of Achilles and Penthesileia but wonders why the painter did not use the actual name of the Amazon. He argues that either the myth may not yet have been precisely fixed at Corinth at the time, or that this oddity is just due the painter's imprecise knowledge of the story. Considering 'la façon fautive dont est orthographié le mot Amazone' he favours the second possibility. We can hardly decide, because, as we shall see, we must not speak of a wrong spelling. Also it seems perfectly all right to label Achilles' adversary with her generic name. But of course the uncertainty remains whether the Amazon is indeed pleading for mercy, and whether the warrior, whose name is lost, was indeed Achilles (we may also think of Herakles; see §413).

In order to explain the  $\langle\sigma\zeta\rangle$  spelling, we first have to look at the etymology (or rather popular etymology) of the Amazons' name. In antiquity it was sometimes analysed as  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  'without breasts', sometimes as  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  'with one breast'.<sup>119</sup> Here the former seems more likely (unless we assume that the word is in non-Corinthian dialect; see §503). The second element was invariably connected with the word 'breast',  $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  in Attic and  $\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{o}\varsigma$  in East Ionic, and we must assume that it was pronounced in exactly the same way as in the noun. The difference

<sup>119</sup> See both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v.; Schwyzler, p. 433; Wachter (1987), 157 f., §63i (on *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 566).

between the Attic and Ionic forms is explained (e.g. by both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. *μαστός*) by two different formations from a root *\*mad-* meaning ‘inebriate, feed’ (*vel sim.*), viz. *\*mad-tos* > *μαστός* and *\*mad-jos* > *μαζός*. There was also a late form *μασθός*, which is probably due to some analogical process (see *ibid.*); it is further evidence for the phonological uncertainty and variability typical of words belonging to the sphere of popular and intimate talk. Returning to our Corinthian form, we have to establish what its <ζ> stands for. This is generally a difficult matter in Greek. For not only could this letter represent consonant clusters of different etymological origins—the most important ones being *\*[dj]* (e.g. in *Ζεύς*, *ἐλπίζω*) and *\*[sd]* (e.g. in *ἰζώ*, *ῥζος*, *Ἀθήναζε*)—but also it seems that, apart from very special results in some dialects, both *[z<sup>d</sup>]* and *[d<sup>z</sup>]* could emerge as the result of the coincidence and even be exchangeable over a wide area (for the whole problem see e.g. Schwyzler, p. 330). Which pronunciation was used where and when, it is impossible to say with certainty. Our Corinthian form is an important piece of evidence, first, for the pronunciation with a preceding sibilant, and, secondly, for the Ionic variant with a voiced cluster. In fact, it could well be just the same as the normal *μαζός*; at any rate, it further isolates the Attic voiceless variant of *μαστός*. Of course we have to ask why the writer used the unusual combination <σζ>. <sup>120</sup> We could easily understand if he had been somewhat reluctant to use plain <ζ> for a consonant cluster, but then he could have written <σδ> (as the Lesbian writers did). The spelling that he actually adopted therefore may be a graphic compromise of the type <ξσ> (instead of ‘simple’ <ξ> or ‘logical’ <κσ>; see ad COR 70f), or he may have felt the need for a geminate sibilant before the dental stop (see Lejeune, §105; Threutte, p. 546), in which case we may compare the cases of <σστ> etc. (see §115), or we may even imagine an occasional pronunciation *[zd<sup>z</sup>]*; I see no way of deciding.

As for the etymology of the word for ‘breast’, the explanation of the difference by two fundamentally different formations going back to such a remote time as to allow the change *\*[dt]* > *[st]* seems very unsatisfying to me. Should we not perhaps prefer to consider a more recent change, phonological or analogical, which led to the isolated Attic form? The derivation in *\*-jos* would have yielded a regular form *μαζός*, and the Attic form would just be a devoiced variant of the normal form in its pronunciation with *[z<sup>d</sup>]*, clearly represented on our early Corinthian vase.

[COR 2, INSCRIPTION NOT CORINTHIAN; SEE PCO 2]

### COR 3 BASLE (PRIVATE)

Aryballos from ? (1953 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Benson (1953), 75 f. with n. 19, phs. pl. 2a–b; Hopper (1962), 147; Schefold

(1964), 42, and (1966), 44, ph. [pl.] 29c; Friis Johansen (1967), 75 f., with ph. fig. 17, cat. p. 247, no. A. 13; Arena (1967), 69, no. 3; Lorber (1979), 16 f., no. 14, phs. (by C. Niggli, Basle) pl. 3; Amyx (1988), 557, no. 3 (not in cat.); Schefold (1993), 138 f., with ph. fig. 139. *Photographs*: Benson, Schefold, Friis Johansen *invis.*; Lorber quite cl. (except for the first letter). *Scene*: Warrior (named) behind a charioteer (unnamed) in a chariot. *Date*: c.630 (Schefold); c.625 (Friis Johansen); 630–615 (Arena, p. 69); ‘Übergangsstil’ (Lorber, p. 16); no date in Amyx.

ΠΑΤΡΟΦΙΟΜ

Πατροφίος

Πάτροφλος.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unspecified scene with Patroklos (label).

We cannot prove that this is indeed a reflection of *Il.* 16. 130 ff. (as suggested by Friis Johansen and Lorber). On the other hand, we should not just call the name an ‘afterthought, added to give heroic status to the scene’ (Amyx, p. 642); for there is no doubt that the painter had *the* Patroklos in mind.

### COR 4 LOST

Alabastron from Samothrake (once with the Kaimakam of Imbros; <sup>121</sup> 1894 or earlier). *Bibliography*: B. Graef, *RE* i/2 (1894), 1775. 5–25; A. de Ridder, *RUM* (1896), 385–92, with dr. (non *vidi*); Fredrich (1908), 112 n. 1, with dr. (from de Ridder) fig. 32; Payne (1931), 130, 161 no. 2, 283, cat. no. 366 (bibl.); Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 10; Arena (1967), 70 f., no. 5; Lorber (1979), 25 f., no. 24 (with bibl. and the same dr.); Neumann (1980), 299; Heubeck (1980), 283; *LIMC* i, ‘Amazones’ 1, with dr.; Amyx (1988), 557, no. 4 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, ‘Iolaos’ 37. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Three women (a)–(c), fighting against three men (d)–(f). *Date*: EC (Lorber); late 7th cent. (*LIMC*); no date in Amyx.

(a) ΔΔΒΙΞΜΑ (b) (←) ΑΓΚΞΝΟΦΑ (c) ΔΝΔΡΟΜΒΔΔ  
(d) (←) ΕΒΡΑΚΓΒΜ (e) ΑΣΟΓΑΜ (f) (←) ΑΜΞ (→) ΞΒΓΟ

(a) . . ε . ιμα . . (b) Αλκινόφα (c) Ανδρομέδα  
(d) Ηερακλές (e) Αιολας (f) . ασι[. ?]ιελο.

(a) Ἀρετιμα . . (b) Ἀλκινόφα, (c) Ἀνδρομέδα,  
(d) Ηερακλές, (e) Αἰολᾶς, (f) Νασι[. ?]ιελον.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Ἀγγισιμάχα, de Ridder; *Arexisaka*, Payne; *Areximacha*, Beazley (*apud* Payne). <sup>122</sup> (e) There is not enough space

<sup>120</sup> Attested early in two Argive laws, *LSAG* 168. 9 (c.575–550) and *LSAG* 169. 20 = *GD* 84 = *DGE* 78 (c.480?), more frequent and widespread from the late 4th cent. (see Schwyzler, p. 218).

<sup>121</sup> Arena (n. 41) says his efforts to find out about the present location of the vase have been fruitless.

<sup>122</sup> Heubeck’s suggestion of a name in *-τῖμα* is hardly right. For our only eyewitness saw two more signs.

between the lambda and the final -s for -λα<sup>ς</sup>ος, and since intervocalic digamma is written in (b), we would not expect -λαος; so -λας will be correct. (f) De Ridder is very positive about his reading 'Menoitās' and sceptical about the drawing (which was made by someone else). Payne, however, doubts it. Indeed, it would be inconsistent with the starting-point principle (see §104). Most recent scholars therefore read the name from r. to l.: Arena suggests *Νασιμῆλδον* (for *Ῥνασιμῆλδον*) or *Πασίμῆλος*, and Neumann *Πασιμέλδον*; the latter was accepted by Heubeck ('so gut wie sicher') and later by Amyx, who does not even dot the letters. It is, however, far from being certain: (1) there is a gap between the final ι of the first part and the first letter of the second part, and (2) the latter, usually read as μ or σ, cannot be either of these two—not at least if we want to take the letter between the ε and the ο as a lambda (with its angle at the top!), which leaves the alleged mu in an odd position in relation to the line of writing. *Interpretation*: Herakles and the Amazons (labels).

(a) Unclear and impossible to restore unless the vase is rediscovered. (b) For the intervocalic [w], which seems to point to a poetic source, see §506 (also §457, penultimate paragraph).

(c) is the leader of three Amazons fighting Herakles, i.e. probably their queen, who is *Ἱππολύτη* in literature. As Lorber (p. 26 n. 146 with bibl.) observed, on early Attic bf. vases with this myth she is called *Ἀνδρομάχῃ* (e.g. *ABV* 98. 46 = Immerwahr, no. 174; ph. Schefold (1993), fig. 258; see also *ETR* 4). The latter is of course a speaking name (see §239) and most appropriate for an Amazon in a fight—against men, naturally. See also *Il.* 3. 189 (etc.) *Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειραι*. The same cannot be said of our Corinthian *Ἀνδρομέδᾱ* ('ruling over men', 'caring for men?'). It is, however, worth mentioning that all three variants of the queen's name are exact metrical equivalents. May we suspect poetic sources behind these names? (See §510.)

(d) See §506. (e) As Payne saw ("*Αἰόλας* = *Ἰόλαος*") and Heubeck again stressed, this name is supposed to read *Ἰόλᾱς*, designating Herakles' companion.<sup>123</sup> Whether it is a misreading or a misspelling we cannot decide without the original (the two letters can be similar: A Δ Λ Φ). (f) For the label interpreted as *Πασίμῆλος* Arena cites Xen. *Hell.* 4. 4. 4, 7, to which Amyx adds *SGDI* 3398. Yet, on the basis of the drawing, we should read something different (see above).

#### COR 5 FORMERLY CORINTH, ARCH. MUS.

Fr. of an aryballos from Corinth (1901); missing, according to Amyx. *Bibliography*: Powell (1903), 27 f., with dr.; Arena (1967),

<sup>123</sup> Arena (p. 71) proposed to stick to *Αἰ-*. But his *Αἰόλας* is impossible, since his way of explaining the formation of the name (-*ας* instead of -*ες* instead of -*ους*) only creates new—and bigger—problems. Masson (1981/2: 543) for this reason reads *Αἰόλας*, adducing a case of *Αἰόλαος* in an inscr. from Argos (with omega, i.e. much later; I could not find a ph. of it). But we have to reject *Αἰόλας* altogether, since we would expect \**Αἰφο-* in Corinthian at this time (see §209), no matter whether we want to connect it with *αἰ(φ)όλος* or with *αἰ(φ)εῖ* (see Chantraine and Frisk, s.vv.).

75, no. 12, with dr. from Powell; Lorber (1979), 22, no. 21 (with dr. from Powell); Amyx (1988), 557, no. 5 (not in cat.); *LIMC* vii, 'Pareunos' 1, with dr. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: A warrior (on his knees?, Lorber), attacked from the l. (no name preserved); to the r. the remains of another warrior (named), naked and painted in dark colour, fighting to r. *Date*: EC (Lorber and Amyx, i.e. 620/615–595/590); 610–590 (*LIMC*).

(←) ΓΑΡΒΥΝΟΜ

*Παρευνος*

*Πάρευνος*.

*Epigraphy*: The bar after the -s, which could belong to a tau, is probably part of the painting. *Interpretation*: Battle scene, probably non-heroic (label).

A warrior called 'bedfellow' (for names from this sphere see Bechtel, pp. 482, 497, 502, 505). This is neither a mythical nor a speaking name (see §239); indeed, it is extremely ill-suited to the scene. The only plausible conclusion seems to be that our man is taken from contemporary Corinth, i.e. he is a historical figure (see §243), represented as a warrior on this vase (see §§471 f.).

#### COR 6 FORMERLY WROCLAW, ARCH. MUS.

Aryballos<sup>124</sup> from Aigina (c.1830–42?); lost in World War II.<sup>125</sup> *Bibliography*: F. T. Welcker (1842), with dr. (by E. G. Schaubert) *MonIned* 3, pl. 46. 2; Konitzer (1861); Kretschmer (1888), 174, no. 39; Rossbach (1889), 4, 5 (dr.), 6–19; Mayer (1892), 481–7; Kretschmer (1894), 26, no. 43; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3132; Weicker (1902), 139; Harrison (1903), 304, with Rossbach's dr. fig. 83; A. B. Cook (1940), 797 f.; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; Payne (1931), 99, 126–8 with Rossbach's dr. fig. 45A, 161 no. 4, cat. no. 481; Buschor (1944), 20; Amandry (1944), 32–4; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 10; Arena (1966), 475 ff., on (a); Arena (1967), 71 f., no. 7; Kanowski (1973); Brown (1975); Lorber (1979), 19 f., no. 17 (with bibl. and Rossbach's dr.); Amandry–Amyx (1982), 102, no. 4; Amyx (1988), 557 f., no. 6 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, 'Herakles' 199I, with dr.; *LIMC* vi, 'Lapythos' 1. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: A chariot to l.; on the reins an owl (unnamed) and on a spear a Siren (a) are sitting. Behind the chariot a woman to r. (b), seconding Herakles (c) who is fighting some six heads of the Hydra, while a crab (unnamed) is attacking his foot. From the other side a warrior (d) is fighting two other heads of the monster, watched by his charioteer (e) who is waiting in a chariot to r., looking back over his shoulders. *Date*: EC (Lorber, p. 18); 615–600 (Arena, p. 70); 'Corinthien Ancien/Moyen' (c.600–595) (Amandry–Amyx, p. 102); Amyx

<sup>124</sup> Arena cites W. Truszkowski, who wrote to him in 1956 that the vase no longer existed.

<sup>125</sup> J. Ziomecki, *per litt.* (9 Sept. 1992).



(1988), by placing it before COR 8 and 13, seems to disagree with his and Amandry's earlier view; c.600–595 (*LIMC* v); c.580 (*LIMC* vi).

(a) (←) ΦΟΥΜ (b) (←) ΑΘΑΝΑ (c) (←) ΕΒΡΑΚΛΕΣ  
(d) ΕΞΟΓΑΦΟΜ (e) ΓΑΠΥΘΟΜ

(a) Φους (b) Αθανα (c) Ηερακλες (d) ΦιολαΦος  
(e) Λαπυθος

(a) Φους, (b) Αθάνᾱ, (c) Ηερακλῆς, (d) ΦιόλᾱΦος,  
(e) Λᾱπυθος.

*Epigraphy:* The readings still now accepted are exactly those of Konitzer. (a) is the only label that is not clear. Konitzer, who gives the first correct readings of all the other names, has Φους; Roszbach's dr. shows a Φ with a slight bend on the bottom of the vertical stroke which makes the letter look almost like an (E-shape) epsilon; yet, on p. 14 with n. 1 he reads ΦΟΥΜ, adding: 'Diese Lesung des Namens ist keinen Bedenken unterworfen. Ein Punkt in dem O beruht nur auf einem Fehler des Thons.' All readings other than Φους should be considered as purely speculative interpretations (see the discussion below). *Interpretation:* Herakles and the Hydra (mixed) (labels).

This vase was last seen a century ago. For the iconographical and literary background of the scene see §411.

The biggest problem is the name (a) ΦΟΥΜ Φους (next to a Siren sitting on a spear). It has interested many, as it is said to have been clearly readable, though it is an otherwise unknown word or name. In the mean time the old reading has been often taken for granted, transcribed 'Vus', and interpreted as a sort of 'Seelenvogel' accompanying Athena. This is so uncertain, however, that we ought to reject it altogether.<sup>126</sup> Kretschmer (1894)<sup>127</sup> took the letters as a nonsense inscription. Payne rejected this view, since the other inscriptions on the vase are not of that kind; his own interpretation of Φους as an onomatopoeic name for an owl, however, is not an attractive solution either.<sup>128</sup> Arena took up Payne's idea, but preferred the reading with E-, trying to connect his Έους (a reading that was taken over by Lorber, p. 20 n. 113, and Amyx) with ἰωή 'roar' in Homer. This, again, is unsatisfactory, since the initial [i] in this word is short,<sup>129</sup> whereas our letter E (if read correctly) almost invariably stands for a long vowel. Also, the formation is odd. And in ancient Greece would we

<sup>126</sup> Weicker boldly transcribes Φούς and provides interpretations such as 'Seelendämon' (p. 32), 'Todesdämon' (p. 43) or 'menschenköpfigen Vogeldämon' (p. 139), while himself admitting (ibid.) that we lack any literary testimony of such a creature. One might also wonder whether in a scene with the killing of the Hydra such a personified 'soul' (on the side of the successful!) makes sense, as it perhaps would in the case of a dying warrior.

<sup>127</sup> He (and later Cook) duly demolished Mayer's phonetically impossible connection with φάυξ or πᾶυξ 'diving bird' (for a similar case see INC 1).

<sup>128</sup> Of course he was aware of the fact that the real owl is sitting far to the l. of the human-headed bird in question. He tried to get over this problem by explaining the scene as 'three distinct stages in the evolution of Athena'. Should we expect such an elaborate splitting in this otherwise realistic scene?

<sup>129</sup> —, always at line-end, e.g. *Il.* 4. 276, 11. 308; *Od.* 17. 261.

expect a personified war-cry in the shape of a Siren? Kanowski's reading Σύρε[ν] (from l. to r.!) was duly rejected by Brown, who gives a good discussion of all the important problems it raises.<sup>130</sup> Brown's own solution, however, is impossible too.<sup>131</sup> Amandry's idea (Amandry–Amyx, p. 113 n. 54) of taking the word as a property label [Ηερακλ]έους (sc. ἄρμα), as on COR 19 where this is written under the belly of the horses in a very similar representation of the scene, cannot be correct either. For there is no space for the six lost letters,<sup>132</sup> and no trace of them was ever observed. In addition, there are linguistic objections to this suggestion. First, we cannot expect a long o-sound in this genitive form in Corinth (see §221). Secondly, COR 19 has a β-shape epsilon in the ending of the genitive Ηερακλέος, which makes a big difference. Thirdly, we should emphasize that on COR 19 there is a special reason why the horses are declared to be Herakles' (they penetrate into the scene on the other side of the vase); on our vase there is no such problem. To conclude: we first have to accept that the F or E is the first letter, for there does not seem to be enough space for another letter above the head of the Siren, to judge from the upper margin of the frieze (Brown); and the other labels also start *beside* the heads, not above them. Secondly, we have to accept that the inscription starts next to the Siren's head and therefore is its label. Here Amandry–Amyx (ibid.) saw a problem, because this would mean that 'la sirène devient un personnage important de la scène, et il est curieux qu'elle n'apparaisse que deux fois, épisodiquement, dans les représentations du mythe', whereas, they argue, the Siren should have nothing to do with the scene as such, being (like the lizards, the owl, and other birds in the related scenes) a common decorative element on Corinthian vases.<sup>133</sup> Should we perhaps argue that

<sup>130</sup> The starting-point principle (see §104) is otherwise carefully observed on this vase. The letter E would be inverted; also we would expect the B shape. The omicron, on which all the old readings and drs. agree (apart from a few scratches within, see Roszbach, above), cannot be a rho. There is no trace of, and no space for, a final nu. The alleged -v- instead of normal [i] (Attic σῆρεν: Immerwahr, no. 215) or [ē] (Attic σῆρεν: Immerwahr, no. 229) in this name is an *ad hoc* assumption (one should not rush to compare Ηυομένᾱ of our COR 113).

<sup>131</sup> Taking up earlier ideas, he thought of a 'Seelenvogel' type of soul of Io, Herakles' ancestress, here in the gen. case. As a justification for the bird shape of her soul, he connects her name with Arena's ἰωή. But without a better reason for ἰω as a bird and an explanation of the contrast between the long [i] of her name and the [i] of ἰωή, this does not hold, and some arguments (adduced by Brown) will turn against his theory rather than support it: (1) the fact that the other names are all in the nom. and the general rarity of the gen. in Corinthian label-inscrs. (his parallels, p. 138 with n. 5, are Attic) make his interpretation as a gen. doubtful; (2) instances of an E spelling instead of iota are also very rare (only COR 27a Πρέαμος is comparable; the cases in diphthongs as COR 10 Αἶφας, COR 47 Αἶσφυλῆος (see §225) and in interconsonantal position as on the pinax COP 37 with Α(μ)φιτρετᾶν should be kept apart); (3) Io's name, as Brown is perfectly aware (p. 139 n. 12), is well attested in Corinth (COR 71 etc. Φιόι; see §236), and there is no way of justifying the lack of an initial [w] without getting into a circular argument.

<sup>132</sup> Amandry suggests that the label started somewhere next to the owl to the l. This is impossible, as a glance on the dr. shows.

<sup>133</sup> Still, I should emphasize that the second vase with a Siren in our context (aryballos in Basle, BS 425; Amandry–Amyx, pp. 105–7, no. 6) shows the siren at exactly the same spot (though flying). This suggests that in the underlying iconographical tradition (Amandry–Amyx, pp. 107, 115) this mythical creature somehow belonged there (next to the goddess).



where the Siren's head is, the painter was intending to paint the head of a charioteer, who would deserve a label? Yet, whether charioteer or Siren, the fact remains that there is a label, and we do not understand it. I should add that the biggest problem for a solution as far as language is concerned is probably not the indistinct first letter but the <ov>. This digraph can represent three clearly defined origins (see §220 for the Corinthian examples). It could be (1) an inherited diphthong, but this is rare in Greek (there is only one possible example on Corinthian vases), and in the present case I can put forward no solution of this kind. (2) It could stand for contracted [o] + [o]. Here, a masculine noun of the type of νοῦς < νόος would be ideal, and indeed we may postulate \**Φοῦς* < \**Φόος* 'strength' (for the contraction see §220), a cognate of Sanskrit *vayas-* (ntr.) 'strength'.<sup>134</sup> (3) <ov> could reflect a former group \*[ons]; but here we would have to 'conjecture', for instance *Μοῦσ(α)*.<sup>135</sup> Or should we try with *Φόχ[ο]* 'chariot'?<sup>136</sup> The case remains open.

(b) See §247. (c)–(d) See §506 for the intervocalic digamma.

(e) Since the time of Kretschmer, who (p. 27) gives the parallels *Μίκυθος*, *Σμίκυθος*, *Μήκυθος*, *Γόργυθος*, *Σαμύθα*, and (p. 41) discusses the loss of nasals before stops (see §201), *Λά(μ)πυθος* has been the accepted interpretation of this name.<sup>137</sup> Yet, one could also interpret the name as *Λάπυθος*, i.e. an older *Λᾱφόπυθος* (see *Ἡρόπυθος*, *Μητρόπυθος*, *Δημόπυθος*, *Πυθόδημος*, and especially *Πυθόλεως*, all in Bechtel, pp. 389 f.).<sup>138</sup> The fact that in the mythical name (d) *Φιλόλαφος* on the same vase there is an intervocalic digamma and no contraction, is not an argument against this, since in (d) the spelling is archaizing. But who is the person named *Λάπυθος*? Iolaos was Herakles' companion, and above all his charioteer,<sup>139</sup> so we have no need for an additional man. He cannot be Athena's charioteer either because he is standing in the opposite chariot. So he may be human, and the scene may be of the 'mixed' type (see §402).

#### COR 7 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 341

Aryballos, from Karystos (?) (1845 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Raoul-Rochette (1845), 6 f. (n. 1); Letronne (1846), 380 f.; Jahn (1854), pp. xxvi, cxlvii n. 1050; *CIG* (iv), no. 7380b; Pervanoglu (1861), 47; mentioned by Jahn (1863a), 62 f.; Benndorf (1868–83),

54, dr. pl. 30. 10; Heydemann (1870a), 7, dr. pl. 7. 3; von Rohden (1888), 1962, dr. 1963 fig. 2098; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 234 f., no. 5, and Dumont–Chaplain (1890), 32; Kretschmer (1888), 156, no. 1; Rossbach (1892), 10; Wilisch (1892), 50, 156, no. 1; Kretschmer (1894), 16, no. 1; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3131; Collignon–Couve (1902–4), no. 618, ph. pl. 25; Payne (1931), 99, 161 no. 3, cat. no. 482, ph. pl. 31. 1, dr. 95 fig. 29c; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 10, dr. pl. 19; Alföldi (1967), esp. 14 (with dr.) and 19 f.; Arena (1967), 71, no. 6, ph. pl. 1. 2; Lorber (1979), 20 f., no. 18, ph. pl. 3; Amyx (1988), 558, no. 7 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, 'Hippobatas, Hippostrophos' 1\*, ph. pl. 309. *Photographs*: Collignon–Couve only (b), rather uncl.; Payne sm.; Arena quite cl.; Lorber cl.; *LIMC* quite cl. *Scene*: A warrior (a) walking behind two horses, on one of which his page (b) is sitting. *Date*: EC (Lorber); 4th q. 7th cent. (*LIMC*).

(a) (←) ΒΞΓΓΟΠΛΑΤΑΜ (b) (←) ΒΞΓΟΜΤΡΟΦΟ(→)Μ

(a) *Ἱπποβάτας* (b) *Ἱπποστροφος*

(a) *Ἱπποβάτᾱς*, (b) *Ἱπ(π)οστρόφος*.

*Epigraphy*: Jahn (1854), was the first to read (a) correctly with –β–. (b) is written in a circle; the final –ς is upside-down (obviously the writer held the aryballos with its opening facing upwards when he painted the inscr. and after the symmetrical sequence ΟΦΟ forgot that the –ς had to stand on its head).

*Interpretation*: Non-heroic marching scene (labels).

An eagle, about to catch a hare, probably means a good omen for the battle. On the battle technique see Alföldi.

(a) Arena cites Aesch. *Pers.* 26, where this formation is used together with adjectives and nouns in a predicative construction.<sup>140</sup> This type of agent noun had developed from compound (possessive) adjectives already by Homeric times (see Risch, p. 32). Instead of Alföldi's 'Roßbesteiger' (whence Lorber's 'Pferdebesteiger'), which was probably due to analogy with ἀποβάτης, we should adopt a more general translation 'horse-goer', by which the painter meant to express: 'rider shown marching beside his horse'. The label is therefore of the speaking type (see §239), and we may equally well take it as a generic noun or as an *ad hoc* name. The same is true for (b), which I therefore leave with the original adjectival accent (as Lorber did). Letronne compared *Ναύστροφος*, taking the label for a name (Arena and Amyx did the same, writing *Ἱππό-*). As for the meaning, Alföldi's 'Roßlenker' (see already Letronne) is better than Lorber's 'Pferdewender', which is too literal as a translation for a proper name (see also e.g. *Il.* 17. 699 ἔστρεφε μώνυχας ἵππους). The formation is not attested elsewhere, as far as I know, and may be accepted as a compound adjective.

<sup>140</sup> The identical inscr. on another Corinthian vase (Arena's no. 46, Munich SH 346) is forged, according to Amyx.

<sup>134</sup> The same formation as in the Sanskrit noun is ruled out for our *Φοῦς*, since its first vowel would have to be an IE \**e* (see γένος, κλέος, etc.), and [ē] + [ō] is not contracted in Corinthian (see §221 with n. 808).

<sup>135</sup> Sirens were daughters of the Muses. The missing alpha could be explained by A.W. (see §111).

<sup>136</sup> Of course, the third and fourth letters would presuppose that the name was hardly legible in the last cent., which seems unlikely (see above).

<sup>137</sup> Masson (1981/2), 542: 'à peu près évident'.

<sup>138</sup> The second element could be the root of *πυθάνομαι*, see the adjectives in –*πυθής* and *νηπυθής*: ἀπυεστον (Hsch.), alongside *νηπυθής* (for names in –*ής*, see §228).

<sup>139</sup> See e.g. Hes. *Scut.* 77 and 323 (almost formulaic); Apollod. 2. 5. 2 in the context of the labour of the Hydra.

## COR 8 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-71-321

Fr. of an aryballos from Corinth (1971). *Bibliography*: Amandry–Amyx (1982), *passim*, no. 2, dr. fig. 1. 2, ph. pl. 18. 2; Amyx (1988), 558, no. 8 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, 'Iolaos' 24\*, ph. pl. 460. *Photographs*: Amandry–Amyx and *LIMC* quite cl. *Scene*: Several heads of the Hydra, three of which are being attacked by a man to l. (named). *Date*: 'Corinthien Ancien' (c.610–600) (Amandry–Amyx); Amyx (1988), by placing it after COR 6 and before COR 13, seems to disagree with his and Amandry's earlier view; c.610–600 (*LIMC*).

(←) ϜΞΟΓΔϜΟΜ

ϜιολαϜος

ϜιόλαϜος.

*Epigraphy*: The second digamma looks somewhat strange on the ph., probably because the small, glued-on fr. with the lower parts of -λαϜ- is not perfectly aligned with the main fr. *Interpretation*: Herakles and the Hydra (label). (See COR 6.)

## COR 9 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 1555

Fr. of an aryballos from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Hopper (1962), 146, and Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 4, ph. pl. 61, no dr.; Friis Johansen (1967), 66, cat. p. 245, no. A. 2c; Lorber (1979), 17, no. 15, with dr.; *LIMC* i, 'Aias' i. 40; Amyx (1988), 558, no. 9 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Hopper uncl. *Scene*: Fight between two warriors (one name partly preserved). *Date*: 'Übergangsstil' (Lorber, p. 16); EC (*LIMC*); Amyx apparently takes it for EC too.

(←) ΟΡ

[. . .]ορ

[Ϝεκτ?]ῶρ.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unidentified battle scene, perhaps with Hektor (label).

## COR 10 AMSTERDAM, A. PIERSON MUS. 480

Aryballos from Greece, Warrior Group (see Amyx) (acquired 1922, ex Arndt coll.). *Bibliography*: C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *CVA* Netherlands, 1 (1927), 7, ph. pl. 5. 3; Payne (1931), 162 no. 7, cat. no. 500; Snijder (1937), 131, no. 1276; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 10; Friis Johansen (1967), 64–6, ph. 65 fig. 11, cat. p. 245, no. A. 2a; Arena (1967), 73, no. 10, phs. pl. 3; Lorber (1979), 21 f., no. 20, phs. pl. 4; *LIMC* i, 'Aias' i. 33\*, ph. pl. 234; mentioned at *LIMC* iv, 'Hektor' (ii. E. 1); Amyx (1988), 558, no. 10 (cat. p. 99, no. 6). *Photographs*: *CVA* and Friis Johansen (a) invis., (b) uncl.; Arena quite cl.; Lorber cl.; *LIMC* invis. *Scene*: Fight

between two warriors, one with a spear (a), the other with a stone (b). *Date*: EC (Lorber; *LIMC*); EC (i.e. 620/615–595/590) (Amyx).

(a) ΔΕΦΔΜ (b) ΒΔΟΡ

(a) ΑεϜας (b) Εαορ

(a) ΑεϜας, (b) Ἑκτῶρ or Ἑρτῶρ.

*Epigraphy*: The inscra. are painted (Friis Johansen, n. 109, correcting Payne). *Interpretation*: Hektor and Aias (labels).

One of the two heroes is fighting with a stone, after having thrown his spears. This reflects *Il.* 7. 258–72 (Friis Johansen). Inscription (a), as Lorber observes, contradicts the starting-point principle (see §104).

(b) Εαορ is certainly misspelled and must be a copying error (see §§112, 250). On the other hand, (a) ΑεϜας, has, it is true, an unusual spelling of the diphthong (see §225; for its [w] see §209), but this is by no means faulty (as Amyx suggests by his transcription: Α<ι>Ϝας, Ἑ<ο>τῶρ). It must be copied too, presumably from the same source as (b). What this source was, we do not know, perhaps another vase. Our painter will have been illiterate.

## COR 11 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 1598

Fr. of an aryballos from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Hopper (1962), 152, and Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 3, ph. pl. 63, dr. pl. 163; Arena (1967), 70, no. 4; Lorber (1979), 30, no. 29; Amyx (1988), 558, no. 11 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Hopper quite cl. *Scene*: None preserved. *Date*: EC (Lorber).

ΕΥΓΑ

[. . .] (?) ηυλα [. . .]

[. . .] (?) ηυλαι [. . .].

*Epigraphy*: In front of the Η there is what was thought to be another heta, but turned through 90°. I doubt that the first sign is a letter at all (the long strokes are not parallel). Of the last letter a sharp angle is preserved, which makes iota (or gamma?) more likely than qoppa (or theta, omicron, phi). *Interpretation*: Not clear, probably not a label.

Arena's remark on the first 'letter', 'Per la posizione coricata di Ε vedasi un esempio corrispondente a Tera IG XII 3, 402', is of no help, since on our vase we also have normal heta. Jeffery (followed by the others) interprets the inscription as a proper name Ὑλαῖος (Bechtel, pp. 507, 544) or Ὑλαῖος. In view of the fact that the Corinthian (and indeed the Greek) phoneme [h] is more or less confined to the word-initial position this seems plausible. This also argues against the first 'sign' being an [h], since in that case the latter would be at the end of a word.

## °COR 12 PARIS, LOUVRE E 635

Krater from Caere, the Eurytios Krater (ex Campana inv. 33; 1856 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Newton–Birch (1856), 7, no. 21; *CatCamp* ii. 23; F. T. Welcker (1859), 243–57, with dr. *MonIned* 6, pl. 33; drs. de Longpérier (1870), pls. 66, 71 f. (non vidi); E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 246–8, 253, no. 10; Kretschmer (1888), 168, no. 28; Kretschmer (1894), 21, no. 22; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3133; Perrot–Chipiez (1911), 620, dr. fig. 335; Pottier (1897), 56, phs. pls. 48 f.; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; Pfuhl (1923), 209–24 *passim*, ph. fig. 176; Payne (1931), 162 no. 8, and 302 (bibl.), cat. no. 780, drs. figs. 34A, 62B, and pl. 26. 8–9, ph. pl. 27; ph. of the reverse, Rodenwaldt (1939), 119 fig. 107; ph. Merlin [n.d.], pl. 25; phs. Schmalenbach (1948), pls. 26 f.; ph. *EAA* ii. 846 fig. 1110; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 10; Arias–Hirmer–Shefton (1962), 282, phs. pl. 32 and col. pl. ix; Schefold (1964), 66, 86, and (1966), 70, 92, phs. [pls.] 60a, 78a, and col. pl. iii; Arena (1967), 73 f., no. 11; col. ph. Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard (1971), 42 fig. 44; Bakır (1974), 12, no. K. 20 (bibl.), ph. pl. 10; Lorber (1979), 23–5, no. 23, phs. pl. 5; Simon–Hirmer (1981), 52 (bibl.), col. ph. pl. xi; *LIMC* i, ‘Aias’ i. 120\*, ph. pl. 248; Brommer (1982/3), 89 n. 3; *LIMC* iii, ‘Deion’ i\*, ph. pl. 268; *LIMC* iv, ‘Eurytos’ i. 1\*, ph. pl. 62; *LIMC* v, ‘Iole’ i. 1\*, ph. pl. 465, ‘Iphitos’ i. 1, mentioned before ‘Herakles’ 2794; Amyx (1988), 558 f., no. 12 (cat. p. 147, bibl., incl. more ph. references), phs. pl. 57. 1a–c; *LIMC* vi, ‘Klytios’ i. 1\*, ph. pl. 38, and mentioned at ‘Odysseus’ (ii. 7e); Schefold (1993), 251 f. with ph. fig. 270, and 328 with ph. fig. 368. *Photographs*: Pottier sm.; Pfuhl only (a)–(g), rather uncl.; Payne only (d) and (e) (uncl.), (f) and (g) (cl.); Merlin rather uncl.; Schmalenbach only (f) and (g) cl., rest uncl. or invis.; *EAA* only (d) and (e) (quite cl.), (f) and (g) (cl.); Arias–Hirmer–Shefton (a) uncl., (b) and (c) quite cl., (d)–(g) cl., rest invis.; Schefold (1964) and (1966) (a) (fig. 78), (b), and (c) quite cl., (d)–(g) cl., (h) and (j) uncl., (i) quite cl.; Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard only (d)–(g), cl.; Bakır only (a), (f), (g), quite cl.; Lorber mostly cl.; Simon–Hirmer only (a) uncl., (b)–(g) quite cl.; *LIMC* i only (h)–(j), uncl.; *LIMC* iii only (b)–(f) quite cl., (a) and (g) uncl.; *LIMC* iv only (a) uncl., (b)–(g) rather uncl.; Amyx only details of the rim, inscs. invis. or sm.; *LIMC* v only (f) and (g), cl.; *LIMC* vi (b)–(f) quite cl., (a) and (g) uncl.; Schefold (1993) (a)–(c) invis., (d)–(g) cl., (h)–(j) uncl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Four *klinai*, on the two to the l. two men each, (a) and (b), (c) and (d), on the two to the r. one man each, (e) and the guest (g); between the two latter, standing to r. but turning her head to l., a woman (f). Under one handle two warriors (h) and (j), between them the dead Aias (i) over his sword. Also, a fight over the dead body of a warrior and a cooking scene, uninscribed. *Date*: c.600 (Schefold; *LIMC* i); EC, ‘an der Schwelle des Mittelkorinthischen’ (Lorber, p. 24); 600–590 (Simon–Hirmer; *LIMC* iii–vi); EC (i.e. 620/615–595/590) (Amyx).

(a) (←) ΤΟΙΟΜ (b) ΚΙΥΤΞΟΜ (c) (←) ΔΞΔΔΞΦΟΝ  
(d) ΒΥΡΥΤΞΟΜ (e) (←) ΕΞΦΞΤΟΜ (f) ΕΞΟΓΔ

(g) (←) ΕΒΡΑΚΤΒΜ (h) Δ ΟΜ ΒΜ (i) (←) ΑΞΕΦΑΜ  
(j) ΟΓΞΜΒΥΜ

(a) Τόξος (b) Κλυτίος (c) Διδαιφόν (d) Ευρύτιος  
(e) Φίφίτος (f) Φιολα (g) Ηερακλές (h) Δ[.]ομ[.]ε[.]ς  
(i) Αίφας (j) Ολισεύς

(a) Τόξος, (b) Κλύτιος, (c) Διδαιφόν, (d) Ευρύτιος,  
(e) Φίφίτος, (f) Φιολά, (g) Ηερακλές. (h) Δ[ι]ομέ[δ]ε[ς],  
(i) Αίφας, (j) Όλισ(σ)εύς.

*Epigraphy*: (h) Of the first epsilon the vertical hasta is visible, of the other letters two are invis., the rest is cl. (j) The second and third letters have caused some confusion. Newton–Birch read ΟΔΞΜΒΥΜ, Welcker in the text ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ, in *MonIned* ΟΔΥΜΒΥΜ, Longpérier (and Perrot–Chipiez) ΟΔΥΜΒΥΜ, Pottier ΟΓ. ΜΒΥΜ, Payne ΟΛ. ΜΒΥΜ. Arena prefers delta, after having been told by F. Villard (who saw the vase) that the reading had to be ΟΔΥΜΒΥΜ (Villard, however, did not pay much attention to the problem of the second letter). Brommer, on the other hand, refers to a letter by A. Pasquier about the reading being ΟΛΞΜΒΥΜ, with certain iota. Autopsy showed that Pasquier was right. Not only is the iota quite cl., but also the lambda: (1) the deltas are always Δ never δ on this vase, whereas the hasta of our letter is perfectly vertical; (2) the lower end of the hasta is well preserved and is not touched from the r. by any other stroke (see dr.). *Interpretation*: Herakles at Oichalia (labels). Suicide of Aias (labels).

In the scene under the handle, Diomedes and Odysseus are looking at the dead Aias, son of Telamon. This myth was related in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 2 PEG, EGF). For the reading of Odysseus’ name, which oscillated between Όλις- and Όδυς- (see above), greater confidence should have been placed in Newton–Birch’s version with iota—though at that time neither COR 74 nor COR 88, nor the Attic cup with Όλιςσέυς (*ARV* 1300. 2, first published in 1872), was known, and iota was therefore definitely a *lectio ‘difficillima’*. Autopsy confirmed that this vase has the normal Corinthian form with [l] and [i] (see §254). For Aias’ name see §209.

The main scene is particularly interesting if we compare it with the literary parallels, for the order of the names suggests a reflection of an epic poetic text in this painting (see §416).

(a) Instead of Τόξος, the literary sources show Τόξεύς, i.e. a different type of hypocoristic.

(b) Κλύτιος seems to be unanimously transmitted in all the sources that we have.

(c) Διδαιφόν is a more complicated case. From a passage in Hesiod (fr. 26. 27–31 M–W) and from our vase, the most likely reading of the name seems to be Διδήων in Ionic, Διδαιφόν in Corinthian (see §416). Kretschmer suggested that the name was formed after a present \*διδαιφω, a reduplicated variant of normal δαίω ‘burn’ (like τιταίνω alongside τείνω, and λιταίομαι), whereas Δήων, partly transmitted in the literary documents,

would be a derivative from δῆιος ‘grim, hot’, which he also connected with δαίω. There is no doubt that the root of δαίω had a [w] (\*δαF-jw, see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v.; Lejeune, §177), but in the case of δῆιος we are not sure (see Chantraine, s.v.). And in the mean time Mycenaean has shown that the many Δηι-names, from which one would hesitate to separate the short name Δηίων, did not have a [w]: see *da-i-qo-ta* /Dāik<sup>w</sup>hontās/ (i.e. the exact equivalent of later Δηιδόντης), not <sup>†</sup>*da-wi-qo-ta*. We should therefore give up the connection of δαίω with the Δηι-names. On the other hand, it seems unnatural to separate our Διδηίων from Δηίων and the compound names with Δηι-, and in that case we may have to conclude that in our Corinthian form the digamma is etymologically unjustified,<sup>141</sup> which in several other Corinthian vase inscriptions seems to be due to a reflection of a poetic background (see §506). Such a view is supported in the present case by the order of the names, as mentioned above (see §416).<sup>142</sup> The basic etymology and meaning of the names in question are still unclear. It seems attractive to connect them with δῆιος ‘grim, hot’, which would then have to be separated from δαίω.

(d) King Εὔρυτος is attested without -ι- three times in the *Catalogue of Ships* (II. 2. 596, 621, 730), in the Hesiodic fragment, and in many other occurrences in literature. Εὔρυτιδον on COR 107 and CHA 2 are different characters. Our form Εὔρύτιος may be a mixture of the two well-known mythical names.

(e) *Φίπιτος* is explained by Kretschmer (p. 43) as derived from the (originally instrumental) case-form *Φίφι* with the suffix -το-. The starting-point would be the same as for the compound names *Ίφικλῆς*, *Ίφιγένεια*, etc. But since derivation with -το- is not a normal way to form hypocoristics, we would do better to think in terms of a name like \**Ίφίτιμος*, -τέλης, of which *Ίπιτος* would be the regular hypocoristic (see §228).

(f) *Φιολά* corresponds to Eurytos’ daughter, who is *Ίόλεια* in the above-mentioned passage from Hesiod, Callim. *Epigr.* 6. 3, and *Suid.*, s.v., but otherwise *Ίόλη* in literature (e.g. in Attic: Soph. *Trach.* 381, etc.). On an Attic bf. amphora by the Sappho P.,<sup>143</sup> we read genitive *Ίολέας* (together with *Ίπιτος*, Εὔρυτος, and two nonsense labels *αντφολο* and *τιονο*); it cannot be decided from the script whether this form contains [ē] or [ĕ]. The name of *Ίόλη* is interpreted (S. Eitrem, *RE* ix/2 (1916), 1847. 42) as a feminine hypocoristic name from *Ίόλαος*, Corinthian *Φιολᾶ(Φο)ς* (for the type of hypocoristic see §228). In view of our Corinthian form a connection with the name *Φιολᾶ(Φο)ς* is indisputable. But the assumption of a hypocoristic form seems implausible to me. For such a hypocoristic formation cannot be reconciled with the epic form. And the epic form itself can hardly be a hypocoristic,

for these are normally either shorter or of an easier declension (or both) than the full-blown names. This is not true for *Ίόλεια*, whose underlying compound name must have been \**Φιο-λᾶFā*. Should we therefore take *Ίόλεια* as the full compound name? But how are we to explain the accent and the short [ā]? There are only very few women’s names with *λᾶFός* in their second element: one example is Boiotian *Ἀρχελάα* (IG vii. 3043, Koroneia); six more (in -λέα, once -λεία) are listed by Bechtel (1902: 24) for Attica. Their rarity seems to be due to the phonological changes which obscured this second element to an extent which made it impossible to distinguish these names from hypocoristic formations. In Ionic and Attic, after the change [ā] > [ē] and the loss of intervocalic [w], \*-λήη was the result even in pre-Homeric times. This could theoretically (1) be contracted (this may have been the origin of *Ίόλη*), or (2)—with preservation of the number of syllables—develop into -λέη/-λέᾶ (this may be reflected in the form *Ίολέα*—with analogical [ā]—of the above-mentioned Attic vase). The former would have looked like a hypocoristic in -η/-ᾶ (at least the accent was eventually changed, probably first in the vocative), the latter like one in -έη/-ᾶ. In Doric after the loss of the [w] contraction was bound to occur: \*-λᾶFā > \*-λαῖ; this would again have looked like a hypocoristic of the first type. In epic language such names are also very rare: apart from *Ίόλεια* there is only one other name in -λεια, namely *Πενθεσίλεια*. The famous Amazon is not mentioned in Homer and Hesiod, but she must have figured for instance in the *Aithiopsis* (Procl., *Chr.*, see PEG and EGF; note the spelling *Πενθεσιληα* on the Tabulae Veronensis and Iliaca ‘Thierry’, test. 9 f. PEG = 3ii/iii EGF). Although her name is not attested in a preserved hexameter line, it is a fair guess that it was mainly used at the end of a line. Indeed, our only testimony of *Ίόλεια* in a hexameter (in Hesiod, as above) shows exactly this position. This may yield the clue to the explanation of the accent and the final [ā], which have to be secondary if the name is to represent the full-blown compound form. For in epic language the metrical structure of the traditional mythological names had to be preserved, and one solution was to keep non-Ionic features; cases like this are *Αἰνείας* (§245; < \*-e<sup>h</sup>iās), *Ἑρμείας* (§253; < \*-āās), *Il.* 12. 394 *Ἀλκμάονα*, or the masculine counterparts of our -λεια names, viz. names like *Μενελάος*, all with non-Ionic long [ā]. May we assume that our names *Ίόλεια* and *Πενθεσίλεια* were meant to be in -λεῖᾶ in the times of East Ionic epic, and were eventually reinterpreted as -λειᾶ—perhaps only in the course of transmission? It seems understandable if the epic poets, instead of canonizing original \**Ίολᾶā* and \**Πενθεσιλᾶā*, or artificial \*-λᾶη, or an Ionic pre-form \*-λήη, preferred to adopt the phonological structure well known from other women’s names like *Ίπποδάμεια*, *Περσεφόνη*, *Ίφιμέδεια*; this was a particularly easy step if *Πενθεσιλεία* and *Ίολεία* were indeed mainly placed at the end of the line. As regards the accent of our Corinthian form, considering the likely reflections of epic poetry in our painted scene I prefer *Φιολᾶ*. With this accent we remain closer to the epic scansion than if we assume a hypocoristic *Φιολᾶ*. The existence of a form *Φιολᾶ* (which our vase-painter may actually have

<sup>141</sup> This is of course the view already expressed by Heubeck (1970a: 67 f.) and (1980: 282), who is sceptical about Kretschmer’s etymology (as is Lejeune, §177 with nn. 4 and 11). Masson (1981/2: 543) shares this view, and points to the digamma in COR 57i *ΏρίFων* (see ad loc.).

<sup>142</sup> It has to be stressed that only intervocalic digamma seems to be inserted in this way, but not digamma after a diphthong (see §209). This is in accordance with my reconstruction of the name in the literary tradition with a hiatus between the [ā] and the [ī] (see §416).

<sup>143</sup> *ABV* 508, top; Kretschmer, p. 130; ph. Schefold (1978), 149.

pronounced with a double-long vowel, i.e. \**Fiolāā*, in order to retain the epic scansion) is supported by the [*Πε*]νθεσιλα-form of the Amazon's name on one of the 'Argive' shield-bands from Olympia.<sup>144</sup> Of this name, no other form is attested which could suggest that there ever existed a hypocoristic; we may therefore write [*Πε*]νθεσιλα̃ (see §416 with n. 1039).

(*g*) For *Hēρακλῆς* see §506.

#### COR 13 ATHENS, P. AND A. CANELLOPOULOS MUS. 392

Aryballos from ?, near the Boar-Hunt P. (Amandry, Amyx) (found ?). *Bibliography*: Brommer (1972), 459 f. (with wrong inv. no.), phs. 457 f. figs. 10–13; Amandry (1973), 189–95, phs. 191 figs. 1a–f; Lorber (1979), 22 f., no. 22, ph. pl. 4; Amandry–Amyx (1982), 102, no. 3; Amyx (1988), 559, no. 13 (cat. p. 164, no. B-3); *LIMC* v, 'Herakles' 2011, with dr., 'Iolaos' 25. *Photographs*: Brommer and Amandry uncl.; Lorber only part of (*b*), uncl. *Scene*: An archer to r. (*a*), who has left his bow behind, and his companion to l. (*b*) are fighting the Hydra between them. To the r. a horse is waiting. *Date*: EC (Lorber); 'Corinthien Ancien' (c.600) (Amandry–Amyx); Amyx (1988), by placing it after COR 6 and 8, seems to disagree with his and Amandry's earlier view; c.600 (*LIMC*).

(*a*) (←) ΒΒΡΑΚΓΒΜ (*b*) ΕΞΟΓΔΦΟΜ

(*a*) *Hēρακλῆς* (*b*) *FiolāFos*

(*a*) *Hēρακλῆς*, (*b*) *FiolāFos*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Herakles and the Hydra (labels). (See COR 6.)

#### COR 14 UNIVERSITY (MS), THE UNIV. OF MISSISSIPPI, UNIV. MUSEUMS, 1977. 3. 35

Aryballos from ?, probably by the Boar-Hunt P. (see Amyx) (before 1958<sup>145</sup>). *Bibliography*: mentioned by Zancani-Montuoro (1964), 74 with n. 43, ph. pl. 17c; Lorber (1979), 44, no. 48; *LIMC* i, 'Aias' i. 124; Turnbull (1986) (with further bibl.), ph. p. 51; Amyx (1988), 559 f., no. 14 (cat. p. 342, no. AP-3), phs. pls. 135. 2a–b, 136. 1a–d. *Photographs*: Zancani-Montuoro only (*b*), uncl.; Turnbull (*b*), (*e*), (*f*) quite cl., rest uncl.; Amyx (*a*) invis., rest uncl. *Scene*: A man to r., making the gesture of grief (*a*). At his feet the head of the dead Aias Telamonios (*b*), lying over his sword, head to the l.; the inscr. is above his back. Next to him another man facing l. and making the gesture of grief (*c*). Behind him, also facing l. and pointing down at the dead man with both hands, another man (*d*) (who seems to be saying: 'Did I not warn you? There he lies, dead! What a disaster!'). Next comes a horseman (*e*) on his horse (*f*), galloping on the l. towards the main scene.

<sup>144</sup> Kunze (1950), 149 ff., 212, no. xxix. β.

<sup>145</sup> The previous owner, D. M. Robinson, died on 2 Jan. 1958.

Behind him, facing l., a smaller figure (*g*) (a monkey, according to Turnbull and Amyx), making the same gesture as (*c*). *Date*: 600–575 (Turnbull); MC (i.e. 595/590–570) (Amyx).

(*a*) — (*b*) (←) ΑΞΦΑΜ (*c*) (←) Ο (*d*) (←) ΘΡ VMBM  
(*e*) (←) ΝΞΚΞΓΟ (*f*) (←) ΓΟΔ ΟΜ (*g*) ?

(*a*) *ΑιFas* (*b*) *ΑιFas* (*c*) *Διο* [. . .] (*d*) *Θρ* . . *νμες*  
(*e*) *Νικιπο*. (*f*) *Ποδ* . . *ος* (*g*) *Π* [. . .]

(*a*) *ΑιFas*, (*b*) *ΑιFas*, (*c*) *Διο*μ[έδῆς?], (*d*) *Θρ* . . *νμες*,  
(*e*) *Νικιπ(π)ος*, (*f*) *Ποδ* . . *ος*, (*g*) *Π* [. . .].

*Epigraphy*: The surface is badly worn. (*a*) is invis. on the phs. (*c*) Turnbull's reading 'Diomedes' is possible from the remains. (*d*) Of the beginning only the theta is certain, and the third and fourth letters in particular (read as ασ by Turnbull) seem very dubious to me (the remains could even belong to three letters). (*f*) The fourth letter is not an alpha as read by Turnbull and Amyx, but a lambda, nu, or pi; the fifth does not seem to have a tail as Amyx suspects. (*g*) Turnbull's interpretation is *πιθακος*. *Interpretation*: Suicide of Aias (mixed) (labels).

Inscriptions (*a*)–(*c*) make perfect sense. (*e*) is also plausible (for the absence of aspiration between the two elements of this *νπιπο*- compound see §210);<sup>146</sup> Nikippos is a fairly common, non-heroic personal name (Amyx) and may be a horsey name here (see §238).

Despite these plausible names, one cannot help suspecting some mistakes or even nonsense inscriptions among the rest (see §§112, 403). Turnbull interprets label (*d*) *Θρ* . . *νμες* as *Θρασυμέδ(δῆ)ς*, which would presuppose a mistake; she justifies Thrasydes' presence on this occasion by reason of his being a son of Nestor (Amyx refers to COR 23, where Nestor is present). As regards (*f*), her reading *Ποδαρχος* (?) is hardly possible: the third from last letter is not a X or +, but a clear Λ, which should probably be read as a digamma. Amyx thinks of *Πόδαργος*, yet his reading *Ποδα* . . *ος* seems too optimistic, since the fourth letter in my view cannot be an alpha. A name with *Ποδλ*-, *Ποδν*-, or *Ποδπ*- suggests a mistake or nonsense. The closest restoration I can think of is *ΠόρνοFος* (?) for *Πρόνοος*. (*g*) is entirely uncertain. For the [w] in (*a*) and (*b*) *ΑιFas* see §209; for its absence in (*c*) *Διο*μ[έδῆς?] and its possible occurrence in (*f*) see §506.

#### COR 15 VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUS. IV 3473

Aryballos from Caere, by the Boar-Hunt P. (see Amyx) (1865 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Brunn (1865a), 140; Conze (1866), with dr. pl. Q; Kretschmer (1888), 160, no. 7; Masner (1892), 5, no. 55 (bibl.); Kretschmer (1894), 27, no. 44; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899),

<sup>146</sup> Amyx's emphasis on the fact that (*e*) is written with kappa like COR 91 [H?]επ(π)ονίκα̃, but unlike COR 58 Νίϙων, is pointless: this distribution of the velar signs is exactly what we expect.

no. 3138; Payne (1931), 162 no. 10, cat. no. 807; Friis Johansen (1967), 73 n. 118, cat. p. 246, no. A. 11; Arena (1967), 77, no. 17; Lorber (1979), 45, no. 51 (bibl.), phs. pl. 13; *LIMC* i, 'Aineias' 29, with dr.; Amyx (1988), 560, no. 15 (cat. p. 163, no. A-2, bibl.). *Photographs*: Lorber uncl. (worn off). *Scene*: Two warriors (one named, the other not) fighting with spears, behind their backs their pages on horses. *Date*: MC (Lorber); c.590–580 (*LIMC*); MC (i.e. 595/590–570) (Amyx).

(←) ΔΞΜΒΑΜ

Αινεας

Αἰνέας.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unspecified fight involving Aineias (label).

There is nothing to suggest any particular fight in the *Iliad*. For the form of the name see §245.

\*COR 16 LIVERPOOL, NAT. MUS. AND GALLERIES ON  
MERSEYSIDE, LIVERPOOL MUS. 49. 50. 3

Aryballos from Greece (bought by C. T. Seltman in the Athens market), recalling the Käppeli, Wellcome, and Akrai Painters (see Amyx) (1949 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1988), 560, no. 16 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 137. 1. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 30 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Two horsemen, (a) and (b), on dark horses, unnamed and (c), galloping to r. An unbearded figure to r. (d), holding a lyre, is facing a bearded one (e); a huge krater or lebes is standing between the two. *Date*: probably early MC (Amyx).

(a) (←) ΚΑΜΤΟΡ (b) *vac.* ΕΓΟΜΑΧΞΔΑΜ

(c) ΑΞΘΟΝ (d) ΦΟΡΙΠΟΜ (e) (←) ΑΜΤΥΓΟΤΑΜ

(a) Καστορ (b) Ιπομαχιδας (c) Αιθον (d) Φορβος

(e) . αστυπoτας

(a) Κάστωρ, (b) Ἴπ(π)ομαχίδας, (c) Αἰθών, (d) Φορβός (Φόρβος?), (e) Ἰαστυπότης.

*Epigraphy*: (b) starts next to the head (Amyx's dr. is wrong); there was never a heta. (c) The theta contains not a two-bar cross, but a three-bar star. (d) A reading Φοῦβος is impossible; at the bottom of the rho there are horizontal scratches and the beginning of the beta, but no lower loop. (e) Στ . . ῥτας, Amyx. But see my dr.: the alpha is certain, although the part above the break [br.] (to its r. on the dr.) is repainted on plaster [pl.]. Before that, the trace which looks like the lower end of a vertical hasta emerging from this plaster on a fr. with the original surface proved in fact to be paint; the restoration of a digamma is the only plausible one. The letter after the (quite clear) upsilon at first sight looks like a qoppa, since the black flake of some mineral and a dark oval hole, together with perhaps some paint (repainted?), resembles a

vertical tail under a 'circle'. However, its upper part is not as round as all other circular letters, but clearly angular and can only be the upper part of a pi or beta. Indeed, to the r. of the flake there are more traces of paint, which make up a vertical hasta exactly parallel with the others. That the letter is a pi not a beta can be seen from the missing bottom part, which should show clearly on the well-preserved surface beyond the fine groove (not a break: it runs horizontally round the vase). *Interpretation*: Scene of return (?), probably non-heroic (i.e. pseudo-heroic) (labels).

For the interpretation of this scene see §472.

(a) as well as (c)—which means 'shiny', 'red-brown' (see §229)—pose no linguistic problems. For the lack of aspiration in (b) Ἴπ(π)ομαχίδας see §210.

(e) is not otherwise attested. The second element -πότης, with one exception (viz. δεσπότης 'lord'), means 'drinker' in all the attested compound nouns and adjectives<sup>147</sup>, and the same is true for the few personal names<sup>148</sup> (except perhaps Μανδρο-, only attested in imperial times: Bechtel, pp. 293, 382). We therefore have two possible meanings: 'city-drinker' (a speaking name (§239) or nickname?) or 'lord of the city' (a title?), and a decision seems possible only on the grounds of the whole scene (see §472).

The label of the younger man is (d) Φορβος. Here, too, we may try to understand a speaking name, a nickname, or a title, i.e. a noun rather than a name.<sup>149</sup> Now, forms like τóμος, φόρος, λόγος, etc. are nouns of action (and result), and so not suitable here. Hence our noun must belong to the type πομπός 'leader, escort', τροφός 'nourisher', etc., and we need to accentuate φορβός 'the one who feeds'. This type of agent-noun is old in Greek.<sup>150</sup> If we assume a title parallel to (e), we could understand 'food officer (of the city)'; if we assume a nickname parallel to the equivalent possibility with (e), we might understand 'who feeds himself' (see φέρβομαι).

COR 17 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-54-I

Aryballos from Corinth, related to the Liebighaus Group (see Amyx) (1954). *Bibliography*: Roebuck–Roebuck (1955), with ph. pl. 63, dr. pl. 64; Latte (1956); ph. *EAA* ii. 847 fig. 1111; Guarducci (1959/60), 281–3, with ph. fig. 2, dr. fig. 3; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 14c; Boegehold (1965), with dr. p. 259, ph. pl. 56; Guarducci (1967), 175 f., no. 4, ph. and dr. figs. 53a–b; Arena (1967), 83 f., no. 26; Threutte (1967); A. E. Raubitschek (1969);

<sup>147</sup> προ-, ζα-, πολυ-, ισχυρο-, ἀκρο-, χοο-, ἀμετρο-, ἥδν-, βραχυ-, ὑδρο-, οἶνο-, ζωρο-, ἀκρατο-, γλυκυ-, αἰμη/ο-, (ε)λαρο-, ψυχο-, θερμο-, ψυχρο-, κατα-. Also simplex πότης.

<sup>148</sup> Φίλο- (Bechtel, p. 382); Ἀκρατο-, Πουλυ-, Χοο- (Pape–Benseler).

<sup>149</sup> As a real name it would have to be considered a hypocoristic of the compound names in -φορβος (see Bechtel, p. 456, with six examples; Εὐφορβος is also heroic, see DOH 1 and §449), like Φόρβας (*Iliad*, a nt-stem). The gen. Φόρβου in Apollod. 1. 7. 7, cited by Amyx, may be from Φόρβος, but could also belong to \*Φόρβης (from φορβή).

<sup>150</sup> Although, as Schwyzler (p. 459) suspects, it is probably not of PIE age.

Lazzarini (1973/4), 362 f.; A. E. Raubitschek (1973); Gallavotti (1976); Annibaldis-Vox (1977); ph. Bianchi Bandinelli-Paribeni (1976), no. 102; Guarducci (1978*b*), with ph. (non vidi); Lorber (1979), 35–7, no. 39, phs. pl. 8; Gallavotti (1980); Hansen, *CEG* (1983), no. 452; Guarducci (1987), 55 f., with ph. fig. 23 and col. ph. pl. 3; Amyx (1988), 560 f., no. 17 (cat. p. 165, no. C-2). *Photographs*: Roebuck-Roebuck and Lorber cl.; *EAA*, Boegehold, Bianchi Bandinelli-Paribeni, Guarducci (1959/60), (1967), (1987) mostly quite cl., but partly invis. *Scene*: A diaulos-player to r. (a) is playing for a single dancer facing l., who is leaping high in front of a queue of six more dancers standing behind him in pairs. Inscr. (b) begins in front of the leading dancer's face, and then, in a wavy line, passes under him, above the first pair of his companions, under the second pair, and finally ends in front of the third pair. On the handle there is a woman's face as on COR 18 (ph. in Roebuck-Roebuck). *Date*: MC (Roebuck-Roebuck, Lorber); 580–575 (Arena, p. 83, referring to Roebuck-Roebuck, p. 160); c.580 (Guarducci (1987)); MC (i.e. 595/590–570) (Amyx).

(a) (←) ΓΟΥΤΒΡΓΟΜ

(b) (←) ΓΥΡΦΞΑΜΓΡΟΧΟΡΒΓΟΜΒΜΟ(→)ΜΑΓΤΟΔΒΦΟΞΟΓΓΑ

(a) Πολυτερος

(b) Πυρφιασπροχορευομενοσαντοδεφοιολλα

(a) Πολύτερος,

(b) Πυρφιάς προχορευόμενος· αὐτὸ δέ Φοι ὄλπα.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Starts behind the head of the diaulos-player and turns towards the large free space around the handle. (b) The reading is not a problem. Only the 5th letter from the end has been read in two different ways: while most scholars take it for an iota, Raubitschek (inspired by Boegehold) reads a mu. This is wrong, for two reasons. (1) As Lorber (p. 36 n. 218) points out, the real mu in this inscr. looks different (its outer strokes are almost parallel and of different length); (2) if we wanted to read a mu, we would have to assume that the writer turned the vase through about 120°, which is much more than he had to, and after having written the mu turned it back again through about 30° to continue. On the other hand, the letter is perfect both in shape and position if we take it for an iota. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic dancing scene. (a) Label. (b) Label and—at the same time—dedication (metrical, with property formula) to a human artist: ‘(This is) Pyrrhias the leading dancer, and his (is) the olpa.’

In writing the serpentine-line inscription the writer changed direction when going over the top curve, because the rim (now broken off) prevented him from continuing in the same direction. As the Roebucks say, this vase must have been a special order for a particular event, and was eventually dedicated by its owner to Apollon, at whose temple it was found.<sup>151</sup> For the scene and its general implications see §479.

<sup>151</sup> Lorber assumes that Pyrrhias had the vase expressly made for dedication. But in that case we would expect the god to be mentioned too.

This inscription caused heated discussion, at the end of which Latte's interpretation has proved right. Considering the many—and in part odd—suggestions which were put forward after his article, the different views should be briefly discussed. The arguments mainly concern linguistic matters, but also epigraphical and metrical ones.

(a) Πολύτερος is taken as a proper name by most scholars,<sup>152</sup> and is of course a speaking name (see §239), carefully chosen for a diaulos-player. It is not possible to take it as an adjective, as some scholars have thought.<sup>153</sup> For the morphological discrepancy (observed by Latte) of -τερος instead of -τερής of the underlying adjective many parallels have been found, notably COR 24*f* Πολυπένθα with πολυπενθής (*Il.* 9. 563 and *Od.* 14. 386; Arena, p. 87), or Homeric ἄτερος and the name Εὐτέρπη (*Hes. Th.* 77) with ἀτερής (Heubeck (1980), 283).<sup>154</sup> The equivalent phenomenon for masculine names, which we need here, is even better attested.<sup>155</sup> It is an example of the ‘cautious’ type of hypocoristic in -ος; this formation was occasionally used to avoid a more radical shortening (i.e. Πόλυτος) that would have destroyed the meaning of a speaking name (see §228). Also, the fact that in some cases the resulting pair of hypocoristic and full-blown names was—in historical times—of the same number of syllables, for instance -κλος from -κλής (< -κλέης), may have led to this ‘moderate’ type of ‘shortening’.

(b) The name Πυρφιάς is well attested in the area;<sup>156</sup> for its [w] see §209, for its formation §230. Since inscription (b) tells us about a leading dancer (προχορευόμενος), and starts with the name Πυρφιάς next to the face of the representation of a leading dancer, there can be no doubt that the person represented is meant to be Πυρφιάς. We are reminded of the scene at *Il.* 18. 604–6, in which acrobats (κυβιστητήρε) are performing in the midst of a dance involving young men and women, while the crowd is watching

<sup>152</sup> Roebuck-Roebuck, Guarducci (1959/60), Arena, Raubitschek (1969) and (1973), Guarducci (1978*b*), Lorber.

<sup>153</sup> (1) We know of no adjective \*πολύτερος, only πολυτερής. (2) The form cannot refer to ὄλλα (as Gallavotti (1976) suggests), nor be an adverb in -ὄς specifying προχορευόμενος (as held by Annibaldis-Vox), since for epigraphical reasons it must be an inscr. independent of the hexameter line and used as a label for the diaulos-player. For the same reason it cannot be the subject of the second part of (b) (as Gallavotti (1976) and—differently—(1980) wants; see below, n. 161), which also would force us to accept a mistake ὄλλα(ν), an unjustifiable lack of a verb (ἐδόκε *vel sim.*), and an odd addition to the perfect hexameter.

<sup>154</sup> Neumann (1980: 299) added some more examples of -ᾱ formations on -ης adjectives, a rare type according to him: Τιμάνθα (Bechtel, p. 56), Οἰνάνθη (Bechtel, p. 596 = Bechtel (1902), 103; Amyx, no. Gr 8 = Lorber, no. 33, Φοινάνθα), Θιοκύδα (Bechtel, p. 474), Καλλισθένα (ibid. 400), Θειβαγένα (ibid. 474).

<sup>155</sup> We may compare e.g. Βρύ-, Ἀρέσ-, and Φάλ-ανθος etc. with the more frequent names in -άνθης (Bechtel, pp. 55 f.), Εὐφέτος with Εὐέτης, Καλλέτης etc. (p. 168), Πάντ-ευχος with Ἐπεύχης, Διεύχους (gen.) etc. (p. 182), Εὐθαρσος with Λεωθάρης etc. (p. 198), Πυρλάμπος with Πυρλάμης (p. 274), Σώμενος with Σωμένης etc. (pp. 311 f.), Εὐπειθος with Εὐπείθης etc. (pp. 366 f.), Πάγχαρος etc. with Παγχάρης etc. (p. 465). It is understandable if this also worked in the opposite direction in, e.g., Καλλινίκης (Sparta) or Κληνίκεος (gen.) etc. alongside normal -νικος (pp. 334 f.); see also Bechtel, pp. 388 (top) and 451 (top).

<sup>156</sup> See also COR 29; at Sikyon *LSAG* 143. 8 (= *GD* 96; c.500?); at Mykenai *LSAG* 174. 2 = *GD* 80 = *DGE* 97 (c.500–480?; also in Bechtel, p. 392).

and listening *τερπόμενοι*—just as those attending *Πολύτερπος*’ music and the dance by *Πυρφίᾱς* and his group will have been. Latte’s interpretation can be summed up by the following translation of the hexameter line: ‘(This is) Pyrwias the leading dancer, and his (is) the olpa’.

Some of the objections made to this interpretation are just wrong; they will be discussed in the notes.<sup>157</sup> What is certain is that (b) is a hexameter.<sup>158</sup> The lengthening of the syllable before the hephthemimeres is frequent (Chantraine (1942), 104 f.).<sup>159</sup> In the name *Πυρφίᾱς* the [i], which is normally short, must be lengthened for metrical reasons; this is frequent with proper names in inscriptions (see §222) and is further proof for the suggestion that Pyrwias was a real person, not just an imaginary character (as Polyterpos may be). The verb of which *προχορευόμενος* is the participle was hitherto attested only in the active tense (Eur. *Phoen.* 791, mentioned by Latte).<sup>160</sup> I do not think we have to assume a deponent verb; for the middle may just have its normal meaning: ‘dancing in his own interest’, namely to win the prize, an *ὄλπα* (full of perfumed oil, of course).

The principal interpretations of the second part of the line<sup>161</sup> are the following (they all agree in reading the fifth letter from the end as an iota). (1) The Roebucks take it as a votive inscription and read *αὐτῶ(ι) δέ Φοι ὄλπα*. (2) Latte<sup>162</sup> stresses the fact that *Φοι* (citing Schwyzler–Debrunner, p. 189), as well as *αὐτῶ*, can be genitive and reads *αὐτῶ δέ Φοι ὄλπα*, taking the line as an

owner’s inscription. That a genitive in –o should cause problems, as claimed by Boegehold and Threatte, is not true. The single letter omicron is a possible spelling for the secondary [ō] in Corinth (see §220), as has been correctly stated by Arena (followed by Guarducci (1978b) and Lorber), which is all we need to know in order to accept our form as a genitive.<sup>163</sup> For the dative makes no sense, even if we supply ‘sc. ἐστίν’; what we need is not, ‘he has an olpa’, but, ‘the olpa is his’.

Since it is not too difficult to imagine even more wrong readings and interpretations that may be suggested in the future,<sup>164</sup> it is worth while supporting Latte’s solution as strongly as possible. And as we are dealing with a hexameter, we should of course primarily examine epic language for parallels.

First, we have to look for other examples of a non-reflexive<sup>165</sup> use of the enclitic personal pronoun + emphasizing *αὐτός*. There are a few (Schwyzler–Debrunner, p. 191), for instance *Il.* 15. 226 *ἡμὲν ἐμοὶ πολὺν κέρδιον ἢ δέ οἱ αὐτῶι | ἔπλετο*.<sup>166</sup> As for the position of *αὐτῶ* before *Φοι*, Latte cites Bechtel (1924: 165) with examples from Herodotus. Indeed, both positions are equally possible; see also *Il.* 11. 117 *αὐτὴν γάρ μιν*. There are also reflexive examples, even with the same order as in our text (Schwyzler–Debrunner, p. 195): Epich. fr. 71. 3 *CGF αὐτῶι τέ οἱ; Od.* 17. 595 *αὐτὸν μὲν σε; 4. 244 αὐτόν μιν . . . δαμάσσεας; Hdt.* 2. 100. 4 *αὐτὴν μιν . . . ῥύβαι*.

Secondly, we need parallels for *Φοι* used as a genitive. There are none preserved in epic,<sup>167</sup> but there are a few in Herodotus,<sup>168</sup> namely 1. 82. 8 *τῶν οἱ συλλοχίτων διεφθαρμένων; 3. 15. 3 ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατήρ εἶχε ἀρχήν; 3. 153. 1 τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε*. Since this usage is an archaic feature,<sup>169</sup> we can easily accept it for our inscription. But we must stress that it is not a Homeric feature, though it occurs in a clearly epic-type line; possibly at the time of our vase neither a bisyllabic genitive form *έο* of the enclitic pronoun was in use in Corinthian, nor a monosyllabic form like Homeric *εὔ* (diphthong) or contracted Attic *οὔ* (spurious diphthong), but only *Φοι* for genitive and dative.

<sup>157</sup> Raubitschek’s (1973) *αὐτῶ δ’ ἔφο μολπά* (duly doubted by Lorber, p. 36 n. 218) is based on a wrong reading (see above). As for *ἔφο*, his Boiotian parallel (*LSAG* 92, 94. 9) is a possessive pronoun, which does not make sense here. It is unlikely that there ever was a gen. \**sewō* of the 3rd person sg. personal pronoun. Homeric *έο* (whence *εὔ*, Attic *οὔ*) never had a digamma; it is formed secondarily (see Schwyzler, pp. 604/5) after interrogative *τέο* (< \**k<sup>o</sup>eso*).

<sup>158</sup> Annibaldis–Vox take the whole as 5 + 2½ anapaests (*πολυτέρπος Πυρφίᾱς προχορευόμενος· αὐτῶ δέ Φοι ὄλπα*), which is wrong. The first word (1½ anapaests) for epigraphical reasons does not belong with the rest, and their odd metre surely cannot be expected, whereas a hexameter can.

<sup>159</sup> Some of the cases ‘with no claim to length at all’ in West (1982), 38, are to be explained like that too.

<sup>160</sup> Stoessl (1987: 105) gives a wrong text (*προχορεύμενος, δέ Φοι*) and—consequently?—misses its metrical structure.

<sup>161</sup> The following three suggestions are wrong. (1) Boegehold’s reading *αὐτῶ (dat.) Δε Φοῖ <μ>ολπά*. It was already criticized by Threatte, who, however, missed the decisive points. (i) The reading lacks a letter. (ii) The deity *Δηώ* should be called \**Δᾱώ* in early Corinth (it is a hypocoristic form of *Δημήτηρ*, see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v.; for the formation see §236). (iii) Her name never had a [w], neither in the suffix (which is –ōi–), nor in the first element of the compound name (otherwise we should have Attic \**Δηυμήτηρ* or \**Δευμήτηρ*); the old etymology \**Δεφα–ματηρ* (which should have given Attic \**Δεαμήτηρ*, see similarly uncontracted *βασιλέα*) has long been proven wrong by Cyprian *ta-ma-ti-ri* (*ICS* 182). (iv) His reconstruction destroys the metre. (v) It does not produce good sense. (2) Gallavotti’s interpretations (1976: . . . ὄλπα πολύτερπος ‘la boc-cetta diventissima’; 1980: . . . αὐτῶ(ι) δέ Φοι ὄλπα(v) *Πολύτερπος* sc. *ἔδοκε*). These are impossible for many reasons (see n. 153), e.g. because of the arrangement of the inscr. on the vase; this is easy to see if one produces a hypothetical drawing of how the painter would have written the inscr. had he wanted *Π/πολύτερπος* to form the end of (b). (3) Annibaldis–Vox’s interpretation *πολυτέρπος Πυρφίᾱς προχορευόμενος· αὐτῶ δέ Φοι ὄλπα*. There is no doubt that *Πολύτερπος* refers to the diaulos-player and is an inscr. on its own, viz. his label (see above, also for their wrong metrical analysis).

<sup>162</sup> Followed by Guarducci (1959/60), Arena, Gallavotti (1976), Guarducci (1978b), Lorber, Heubeck (1980: 283), Hansen, Amyx, and myself.

<sup>163</sup> Gallavotti (1980), obviously giving up his earlier theory (1976), brings the dat. back into the discussion, showing that in Corinth an iota ‘adscriptum’ could be lost early. This may be true, although of his examples (see pp. 276–82; Arena, p. 84) only the pinakes COP 7 and 9 are relevant, and there the iota is lost in the proclitic position of the article (see §226). But since his main purpose, namely establishing an interpretation *αὐτῶ(ι) δέ Φοι ὄλπα(v) Πολύτερπος* sc. *ἔδοκε*, is erroneous not only for epigraphical, but also for syntactical and metrical reasons (see nn. 153 and 161), the argument is pointless anyway.

<sup>164</sup> e.g.—both with etymologically unjustified digamma (see §506)—*αὐτῶ δέ Φοι ὄλπα* ‘the olpa (or Olpa) may miss him’; or *αὐτῶ δ’ ἔφοι ὄλπα* ‘his be the olpa’ (with thematic optative as in *Il.* 9. 142, 11. 838, 14. 333; *Od.* 17. 421, 19. 77; *εἰς Il.* 9. 284; *εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον* at *Hdt.* 7. 6. 4).

<sup>165</sup> The sentence cannot mean ‘(this is) Pyrwias the leading dancer, and (he gained) the olpa for himself’, because in this case we would expect the acc. *ὄλπαν*.

<sup>166</sup> The composer of our inscr. therefore could also have written: *ὄλπα δέ Φοι αὐτῶ*.

<sup>167</sup> The instances *Il.* 6. 289 *ἐνθ’ ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι*, 18. 460 *ὃ γὰρ ἦν οἱ*, 20. 183 *εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ παῖδες* all mean ‘have’ (viz. *εἶναι* + dat.), not ‘belong to’ (viz. *εἶναι* + gen.).

<sup>168</sup> Cited by Latte from Schwyzler–Debrunner, p. 189.

<sup>169</sup> Greek *μοι, τοι (σοι), οἱ* = Indo-Iranian \**mai, tai, sai*, also used for both gen. and dat.; see Schwyzler–Debrunner, pp. 148, 189 f.



Thirdly, we have to ask whether the prosodic value of our enclitic *φοι* is normal at this place in the line. It is, as many Homeric examples show.<sup>170</sup> Therefore the possible objection that our form ought perhaps to be written *φῆοι*<sup>171</sup> (< \**σῶοι*) and lengthen the preceding vowel,<sup>172</sup> need not worry us.<sup>173</sup>

Finally we have to ask whether *ὄλπα* can mean the actual vase, a spherical aryballos. This has long been confirmed by the Roebucks (p. 162), who have shown that *ὄλπα* or *-ις* seems to have been the normal Doric expression for a small oil-flask used for gymnastics: Ath. 11. 495c τὴν δὲ ὄλπην Κλείταρχος (4th cent.) Κορινθίους μὲν φησι καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κυπρίους τὴν λήκυθον ἀποδιδόναι, Θεσσαλοὺς δὲ τὴν πρόχοον.<sup>174</sup> This is also plausible from its etymology (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. *ἔλπος*), as was pointed out by Gallavotti (1976: 221). A *λήκυθος* was a flask for perfumed oil (*Od.* 6. 79; Ar. *Plut.* 810 f., where the content is *μύρον*). From the attestation for Corinth and Byzantion (the one for Cyprus is more difficult to connect) we may conclude that this use is an old feature of Corinthian-Megarian dialect (Byzantion was founded by Megarians in the mid-seventh century). Now, it is well known that the shape of the oil-flask was different at Corinth and Athens in the early sixth century. While it is true that there are occasional examples of spherical flasks in Athens,<sup>175</sup> and of elongated ones in Corinth,<sup>176</sup> there is no doubt that the spherical shape is based at Corinth and the elongated one in Athens, and that the rare exceptions are due to mutual influence.<sup>177</sup> Our word *ὄλπα* is therefore written on the local Corinthian shape of oil-flask, i.e. in local Corinthian dialect it meant 'spherical flask for perfumed oil'. I wonder whether any Corinthian would ever have thought (as

Amyx does)<sup>178</sup> of a different vessel when reading this line on our vase. Therefore our aryballos is *the* *ὄλπα*, the prize Pyrwias won for his dancing.<sup>179</sup>

°COR 18 LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1865. 12–13. I

Aryballos from Corinth (c.1852, Rhousopoulos). *Bibliography*: Gerhard (1856); Rhousopoulos (1862), with bibl. and dr. pl. A; Kretschmer (1888), 185, no. 5; not in *BM Cat.* B (1893); Kretschmer (1894), 18, no. 8; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3121; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 348; Perrot–Chipiez (1911), 619, drs. figs. 332 f.; mentioned by Ducati (1922), 114; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 121. 2; Payne (1931), 162 no. 5, cat. no. 480, new dr. fig. 70; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 125, 131. 9, ph. pl. 19; Arena (1967), 72 f., no. 8, ph. pl. 1. 3; Guarducci (1974), 462 f.; Lorber (1979), 28–30, no. 28, ph. pl. 8; ph. B. F. Cook (1987), 58; Amyx (1988), 561, no. 18 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Jeffery, Arena, Lorber, Cook quite cl. Vidi 13 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: On the handle there is the head of a woman (*a*); below, on the body of the vase, a list of men's names, (*b*)–(*j*). *Date*: c.625 (Jeffery); EC (Lorber);<sup>180</sup> the number in Amyx suggests that he even considers it MC (i.e. 595/590–570), which seems most reasonable (see COR 17).

(a) ΑΞΝΒΤΑΒΜΞ (b) ΜΒΝΒΑΜ (c) ΘΒΡΟΝ  
(d) ΜΥΡΜΞΔΑΜ (e) ΒΥΔΞΡΟΜ (f) ΓΥΜΑΝΔΡΞΔΑΜ  
(g) +ΑΡΞΕΚΤΞΔΑΜ (h) ΔΒΞΞΓΟΜ (i) ΞΕΝΦΟΜ (j) ΦΡΥΞ

(a) Αινεταεμι (b) Μενεας (c) Θερον (d) Μυρμιδας  
(e) Ευδιφος (f) Λυσανδριδας (g) Χαρικλιδας  
(h) Δεξιλος (i) ΞενΦον (j) Φρυξ

(a) Αἰνέτᾱ ἐμί. (b) Μεν(ν?)έας, (c) Θέρων, (d) Μυρμιδᾱς,  
(e) Εὐδιφος, (f) Λῦσανδριδᾱς, (g) Χαρικλιδᾱς,  
(h) Δέξιλ(λ?)ος, (i) ΞένΦων, (j) Φρύξ.

<sup>178</sup> Saying: 'it could, in Doric usage, designate an aryballos, in this instance the vase upon which it is written; but if a different shape is meant, then this aryballos is a thank-offering for having won a prize consisting of a different sort of vase.' We do not hear that *ὄλπα* designated any other shape of vase at Corinth (as it did in Thessaly), and in view of the popularity of the globular shape at Corinth this seems unlikely.

<sup>179</sup> It is irrelevant to this question that there were more expressions for oil-flasks in Doric. One is *ἀρυβαλῖδα*: *λήκυθον*, *Δωριεῖς* (Hsch.). The definition of an aryballos by Ath. 11. 783f as 'a vessel fairly wide below, but narrow above, like the purses which can be pulled close' (*ἀρύβαλλος ποτήριον κάτωθεν εὐρύτερον, ἄνω δὲ συνηγμένον, ὡς τὰ συσπαστὰ βαλάντια*) suggests that this expression mainly described the shape of the vase. The second is *λακυθος*, not attested before the 4th cent. (Epidauros; *IG* iv<sup>2</sup>/1. 123. 130), but we have no reason to assume that it was not used in Doric from archaic times onwards. Its etymology is unknown, see both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. (in view of its 'suffix' *-υθος* it may be of non-Greek epichoric origin). We have no reason to assume a pseudo-Doric long [ā]. This noun too need not have been an exact synonym of *ὄλπα* (it may have been of a different stylistic level, expressed a particular function, or whatever).

<sup>180</sup> See also Lorber (pp. 28 f. with nn. 165 f.), who says that the letter-forms are late EC, not transitional or even earlier (i.e. Protocorinthian), as was suggested by Payne (and Jeffery).

<sup>170</sup> See e.g. *Il.* 3. 348 ἀνεγνάμφθη δέ οἱ αἰχμή (= 7. 259, 17. 44; similarly 13. 562); 5. 295 παρέτρεσαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι (similar 8. 122, 314, 15. 452, 20. 489); 15. 464 παρεπλάγχθη δέ οἱ ἄλλη; 16. 348 ἐνέπλησθεν δέ οἱ ἄμφω; 17. 230 εἴξην δέ οἱ Αἴας; see also *Il.* 15. 226 cited above. Other similar cases without preceding δέ: *Il.* 5. 4, 14. 403, 19. 169, 23. 337.

<sup>171</sup> As COR 19f *Φαδέστος* and COR 76f *Φεκάβ[α]* (but see COR 70b *Φεκάβα*, not much, if at all, later).

<sup>172</sup> The cases for \**FF*–, e.g. ἀπό ἔο, cited by Lejeune, §128, are probably all due to metrical necessity.

<sup>173</sup> Considering the different metrical values of οἶ, Schwyzer (p. 607 with n. 6) asserts that the anaphoric form may be a form without [w], corresponding directly to Avestan *hē*, Prakrit *se*, Old Persian *šai*. Yet this seems not very likely to me. First, this and other epigraphical examples clearly have a digamma (see also *LSAG* 168. 9 *φοι*, probably enclitic, from Argos; *IG* vii. 2407. 7 *φοι*, enclitic, from 4th-cent. Boiotia; *LSAG* 104. 20 = *DGE* 323D. 14 *φοι*, enclitic, Delphi, c.400), and the same is true of Sappho fr. 165 L–P. Secondly, digamma could be disregarded by Homer in the postconsonantal position (see Chantraine (1942), 118), therefore examples like *Il.* 23. 865 μέγῃρε γάρ οἶ, 24. 53 νεμεσσηθέωμιν οἶ ἡμεῖς could still reflect *φοι*, and indeed *Il.* 20. 183 εἰσὶν γάρ οἶ παῖδες, 21. 516 μέμβλετο γάρ οἶ τεῖχος etc. must reflect it.

<sup>174</sup> See also Theocr. 2. 156 παρ' ἐμὶν ἐπίθει τὴν Δωρίδα πολλάκις ὄλπαν, where—in an erotic context—this meaning is also most plausible.

<sup>175</sup> They are dated to the early 6th cent.; see e.g. Boardman (1974), 189 f.

<sup>176</sup> LC; see Amyx, pp. 499 f. with bibl.

<sup>177</sup> There are only two 'Attic' lekythoi among our inscribed Corinthian vases. (1) COR 112 ('Spätphase des Tydeusmalers', Lorber, p. 69); this artist also painted a modern shape of krater, e.g. COR 115 and 116, and perhaps shows an Attic reminiscence in COR 114b. (2) COR 86 (Dionysios P.); the square frame of the picture on this vase is in reserved technique, which is Attic, and the arrangement of the inscs. looks Attic too (see Lorber, pp. 90 n. 570, 74 n. 469).

*Epigraphy:* (a) Rhousopoulos saw ΒΜΞ, which was accepted by Kretschmer (p. 36 n. 3). Payne read ΕΜΞ. Autopsy showed a clear upper loop of the first of these letters (see the two drs., both made independently from the original). This confirms the reading of the first editor, who was not aware of the fact that for linguistic reasons we might expect an Ε. (i) For the first letter, which does not show very clearly on the phs., see dr. *Interpretation:* Probably a love-gift. (a) Label of the woman represented. (b)–(j) List of men's names.

The two different forms of nu are noteworthy. In (b)–(j), stichic writing is applied, one name per line, always from left to right, often sloping downwards because of lack of space; it is therefore a 'list', although not very orderly arranged. The ten names, no doubt designating contemporary individuals, give a good insight into Corinthian prosopography and name formation at the time.

(a) Αἰνέτα ἐμί (for the spelling of the verb with a normal epsilon see §219) starts at the mouth of a woman's portrait, as if to represent her own speech (Guarducci (1978b: 400) points to the parallel COP 5a). Therefore it is probably not the vase that is speaking, as was assumed earlier;<sup>181</sup> and indeed, at first sight one certainly understands the label as a nominative singular feminine, 'I am Aineta', not as a genitive singular masculine, 'I am Aineta's' (sc. wife, lover, etc.). It is then likely that Aineta, whose name means 'the praised one', is a hetaira (see §308); hetairai often have speaking names (see §239).

(b)–(j) The most plausible interpretation of this list of men's names is that these are the woman's admirers (Lorber, Amyx). (There were almost too many of them to get their names on the vase!) The fact that Men(n)as' name, the first in the list, is written in bigger and bolder letters than the rest (Rhousopoulos), may be due to his primary importance in the affair.

There is only one compound name proper, (e) Εὐδίορος (Bechtel, p. 136). Another name, (f) Αἰσανδρίδης, is a derivative from a compound name (Bechtel, p. 50). For the -ιδης suffix, very common at Corinth (see §239), see also (d) Μυρμιδῆς (from μυρμός 'ant', Bechtel, p. 584) and (g) Χαρικλίδης. The latter was explained by Kretschmer as derived from Χάρικλος, hypocoristic of Χαρικλῆς (Bechtel, p. 248; see §228); we may compare the mythical, also hypocoristic, name Χαρικλῶν (COR 46Ba). This is easier than Lejeune's suggestion (1945: 110) that our derivative be interpreted as Χαρικλείδης, since there is no evidence that a group [ēi] of [-klēidās] (from \*-κλε(ε)σ(σ)-ιδῆς) could already have been reduced to [ī], as may have been the case with the original diphthong [ei] in view of COR 49 Φῆδιδῆς (which is, however, slightly later) (see §219).

<sup>181</sup> This was still upheld by Gallavotti (1976), 222, who—wrongly—denied that the head depicted is a woman's head. The rest of his hypothesis (i.e. of a (male) dancer Aineta, a musician Menneas, and six dancers (c)–(h)), inspired by the stylistically similar vase COR 17, remains in the air. Also, (i) and (j) are super-numerary—even if he tries to reduce them to one person: 'Xenon the Phrygian' (notwithstanding the other instance of (a?) Phryx in Corinth, viz. COR 102j; see §241).

(h) Δέξιλος (from Δέξιλος, -λοχος, etc.) probably belongs to the common type of hypocoristic (see §228), although it could also be 'expressive' Δέξιλλ(λ)ος (Bechtel, p. 119).

Two names, (c) Θέροβ (Bechtel, p. 558, who supposes a derivative from the name of the island Θήρα) and (i) Ξένφον (Bechtel, p. 342), are formed with a very old suffix for hypocoristic names (see §229). For the [w] in (i) see §209.

(b) Μενέας (or, again, 'expressive' Μεν(ν)έας: Bechtel, p. 312) seems to be derived, with the suffix -ια-, from the s-stem μενεσ-.<sup>182</sup> The resulting [-eiās] would then have been reduced to [-eās] (see §221). Alternatively we may consider the suffix -εῖα- (see ad ITH 2); it seems plausible that in a combination of the preceding s-stem \*[-e<sup>h</sup>-] and this suffix, the first or second short [ē] of the resulting [eeās] would get lost (see §221). For the name of Aineias, whose middle syllable is always long in literature (see §245), the first formation seems more likely.)

The last name of the list is a simple ethnic, (j) Φρύξ (see §241).

#### °COR 19 PARIS, LOUVRE CA 3004

Skyphos from Attica (Kouvara), by the Samos P. (see Amyx) (1944 or earlier). *Bibliography:* Amandry (1944), with dr. and ph. pl. 3/4, and more phs. figs. 1–9, 15–17; Brommer (1953), 65, no. 6; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 126, 131. 14b, ph. pl. 19; ph. Schefold (1964) and (1966), [pl.] 54c; Flacelière-Devambez (1966), 81 f., ph. pl. 5; Arena (1967), 80 f., no. 23, phs. pls. 5–7; Hampe (1975), 97; Lorber (1979), 34 f., no. 37, phs. pl. 9; Amandry–Amyx (1982), 102, no. 13; Amyx (1988), 561, no. 19 (cat. pp. 190 f., no. A-4, bibl.), ph. pl. 73. 2; *LIMC* v, 'Iolaos' 26\*, ph. pl. 461 (not under 'Herakles' 1990 ff.?). *Photographs:* Jeffery only (e)–(g), quite cl.; Flacelière-Devambez and *LIMC* only (c) and (d), rather uncl.; Schefold only (d) and (e), cl.; Arena cl.; Lorber mostly cl.; Amyx only (e)–(g) (cl.) and (d), (h) (uncl.). Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene:* On one side a chariot to l. (a), waiting (the label starts under the bellies of the horses), Athena (b) with a jug, Herakles (c) fighting the Hydra from the l., while his companion (d) is helping from the r. On the other side six padded dancers, (e)–(i), one standing next to a dinos plunging his hand into it, and five dancing. The question as to which name designates which figure in the dancing scene has never been seriously addressed, as far as I know. The men, one (1) standing next to the dinos under the handle, the rest (2–6) dancing, are all dressed in the same way, but unlike the mythical figures. Only five names are available for the whole group of six men. Beginning at the r., the first dancer (6) is clearly (i), the second (5) (h). If we then jump to the l. and try to figure out whose name (e) is, at first sight it must be attributed to the man who is not dancing, but is turned towards the krater (1). We then realize that the second dancer from the l. (3) actually seems to bear two

<sup>182</sup> See the compound names in -μένης (Bechtel, pp. 309 ff.). Similarly Κρατέας (p. 260), Κυδέας (p. 270), Τελέας (p. 422).

names, (*f*) and (*g*), at least one of which cannot be his but must belong to either (2) or (4). From the arrangement of the inscs. the most probable solution is that (2) is (*f*) (the name actually starts to his r. and ends to his l.), (3) is (*g*), and (4) lacks a name. *Date*: mid-1st q. 6th cent. (Amandry, p. 32); c.580 (Schefold); MC (Lorber); Corinthien Moyen avancé, c.580–570 (Amandry-Amyx; LIMC).

(*a*) (←) ΕΒΡΑ ΚΓΒΟ Μ (*b*) (←) Δ (*c*) (←) ΕΒΡΑ ΚΓΒΜ  
(*d*) ΞΞΟΓΔΜ (*e*) ΓΟΡΔΞΟΜ (*f*) (←) ΞΘΔΔΒΜΞΟΜ  
(*g*) ΓΔΞΧΝΞΟΜ (*h*) (←) ΓΟΜΞΟΜ (*i*) ΟΞΞΟΜ

(*a*) *Ηερακλεος* (*b*) [...]α (*c*) *Ηερακλες* (*d*) *Φιολας*  
(*e*) *Λορδιος* (*f*) *Φαδεσιος* (*g*) *Παιχνιος* (*h*) *Ομοιος*  
(*i*) [...]οξιος

(*a*) *Ηερακλέος*, (*b*) [*Ἀθάν*]α, (*c*) *Ηερακλῆς*, (*d*) *Φιόλας*.  
(*e*) *Λόρδιος*, (*f*) *Φαδέσιος*, (*g*) *Παίχνιος*, (*h*) *Ὁμόιος*,  
(*i*) [...]όξιος.

*Epigraphy*: (*b*) Of the nu nothing is now preserved. (*c*) The first two letters are faint but cl. (*i*) In the dr. I indicate what Amandry took for the lambda (writing *Λόξιος*). This is almost certainly not part of a letter; in fact I could not see any certain traces of a letter on the badly worn pointed end of the fr. in question. No more than one letter can be missing between the omicron and the horizontal line which runs round the vase beneath the rim. *Interpretation*: Herakles and the Hydra (labels). Padded men dancing (labels).

The two scenes on this vase are not of equal width. This explains label (*a*), which is very unusual, since horses are not normally named after their owner. Arena's suggestion that they are named *Ηερακλέος*, i.e. 'of Herakles', because they are impinging upon the dancing scene, is therefore plausible.<sup>183</sup> See §221 for the genitive form, §247 for (*b*), §506 for (*c*) and (*d*), and §411 for the iconography and the literary background of this first scene.

The second scene is a lively representation of padded dancers with speaking names (see §239).

Name (*e*) contains the root of the verb *λορδόω* 'bend oneself supinely, so as to throw the head back' (LSJ). Arena cites Plato comic. fr. 174. 17 Kock, where drunken women brought offerings to a—possibly ithyphallic—deity, dative *Λόρδωνι*.<sup>184</sup> But since there are no women in our scene, and especially since *Λόρδιος* is most likely the name of the dancer who stands next to the dinos

to the left (in which there must be wine), I prefer to connect it with the drinking aspect of the god *Λόρδων*, whose name is probably just the participle of *λορδόω*, i.e. 'he who drinks by throwing his head back'. This meaning of our name fits the painting much better than an obscene one,<sup>185</sup> since the dancer in question is having a break and is shown reaching into the dinos. (It seems more likely to me that he is dipping his cup into the vessel to get himself a drink,<sup>186</sup> than that he is stirring the contents.) His name could then be classed as a speaking name, connected with what he is going to do in just a moment. This view is the more likely, since the following names are speaking names too (see also §239).

(*f*) Arena (p. 81) was the first to give the correct reading *Φαδέσιος*,<sup>187</sup> referring to *Ἀδηςίδες* (priestesses of an unknown kind at Argos, Hsch.) and Boiotian *Φαδύσιος*.<sup>188</sup> It was Neumann (1980: 298) who adduced the closest parallel, namely *IG v/1. 1295. 3 Βαδηΐας*,<sup>189</sup> and compared similar hypocoristics like *Αἰνήσιος*, *Δώσιος*, *Χαρήσιος*, *Ἐγέρτιος*, etc., which are thematized first elements of *τερψίμβροτος*-compounds (for which see Risch, pp. 191–3, §41a). The stem that is used in our case is that of the future of *ἀνδάνω*, viz. *άδησ-*, so the [a] will be short and the [e] long (the latter is also suggested by the Lakonian name *Βαδηΐας*).<sup>190</sup> Amyx is certainly right to say that the meaning of this name is probably active, 'pleasure-giving'. For the post-consonantal [h] in this name see §211. 'Sweetness' is frequently connected with dance and music: see *Od.* 12. 187 *ἡμέων* (the Sirens) *μελίγηρυν ἀπὸ στομάτων ὅπ' ἀκούσαι*, *Od.* 8. 64 *δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν*; and there are, for example, the compounds *ἡδυβόης*, *ἡδυμελής*, *ἡδύφθογγος*, *ἡδύφωνος*. The name is therefore a speaking name.

(*g*) Arena (p. 81), in view of our Corinthian name *Παίχνιος*, seems to reject the statement in LSJ that *παίχνιον*<sup>191</sup> is Ionic. Or does he (also) dispute that it is the equivalent of the common noun *παίγνιον*?<sup>192</sup> This would be unjustified, for Arena's explanation of our *Παίχνιος* from "*\*παιχμα* da *\*παιγ-σμα* . . . con successiva evoluzione di *χμ* a *χν*" is implausible, since adjectives in *-ιος* are not built on an [m]-form of the neuter suffix *\*-mn(t)-* (with its [m] mysteriously changed into [n]).<sup>193</sup> Buck (§66) seems to think that these changes between *χ* and *γ* reflect a phonological phenomenon, scattered over a wide area (the forms with aspirate are somewhat more frequent in East Ionia, but they also occur elsewhere). Schwyzler (pp. 523 f.), on the other hand, explains the cases of neuter nouns in *-γμα/-χμα*, for example

<sup>185</sup> The latter is the view accepted by Amyx.

<sup>186</sup> Stoessl (1987), 103.

<sup>187</sup> Breitholtz (1960: 133) reads *Φαδένιος*, Stoessl (1987: 103) *Φαδεσιος*; both readings are wrong and mean nothing.

<sup>188</sup> *BCH* 21 (1897), 553 ff. (line 18) (unless this is connected with *Ἀδούσιος*).

<sup>189</sup> See Bechtel, p. 21 (from *Φαδεσι-*), and id. (1923), 299, 321.

<sup>190</sup> Stoessl's observation (1987: 103 f.) that the whole series of names forms (part of?) a cretic line (which is a priori unlikely) is therefore inaccurate.

<sup>191</sup> Callim. fr. 202. 28, 33 Pfeiffer, compared by Amandry.

<sup>192</sup> Arena's words are: '*παίχνιον* di Callimaco, . . . , che a torto, credo, viene considerato come il corrispondente ionico di *παίγνιον*, cfr. Liddell-Scott.'

<sup>193</sup> Also, I see no reason to assume that such a noun *\*παίχμα* (which may well have existed alongside *παίγμα*) should have been 'limitata all'area dorica'.

<sup>183</sup> Yet I do not believe that the artist was 'preso dallo scrupolo di non essersi mantenuto nello spazio definito dalle anse nella distribuzione dei due quadri'. On the contrary, it was fully on purpose that he arranged the whole picture like that. Not only did he place the horses' backs, above which (between their heads and the charioteer) there would have been a plain space, precisely under one handle of the cup. But he also achieved a very suggestive distribution of the two quiet and the two agitated scenes: the dancer pausing at the dinos and the chariot waiting for the end of the fight are off-side next to the handles, while either the lively dance or the fight—with Herakles and the Hydra right in the centre—are in front of the drinker's eyes.

<sup>184</sup> This is in fact a restoration from *δόρδωνι*, Ath. cod. A.

πράγμα and πρήγμα (the latter *LSAG* 344. 48 = *GD* 4C. 5 = *DGE* 688C. 5, c.475–450?), with different suffixes containing \*-mn(t)- and \*-smn(t)-, respectively. This may be correct in principle, although variants from dialects as close together as φάργματα at Epidauros (*DGE* 108\*. 1. 253 = *IG* iv. 1484. 253, 4th cent.) and φάργμα at Argos (*DGE* 89. 8 = *GD* 87. 8, 3rd cent.) may hardly be traced back to the times of their formation, but will be different generalizations by analogy with other nouns, in which the difference is old. Schwyzer's kind of explanation is very appropriate to our name. For it may be best explained<sup>194</sup> as a derivative in -ιο- from an adjective \*παίχνος, which would be another case formed with the (complex) suffix \*-sno-, such as λύχνος.<sup>195</sup>

Some remarks on the etymology of the words in question. The group [gn] of παίγνιον and its cognates is normally explained by dissimilation of a [dn] group (Schwyzer, p. 208), which may have been encouraged by the etymological ambiguity of -ζ- in παίζω (-ζ- can be from \*[dj] or \*[gj]; Lejeune, §67 n. 4). The noun παίγμα and its derivatives are explained accordingly (i.e. < \*paidm-; Lejeune, §66 n. 5), since all these words are thought to be connected with παιδ- 'child'.

Yet there are indications that the velar stem παίγ- may have had an origin of its own. (1) Its most characteristic representatives, viz. παίγμα and its derivatives, are consistently used in musical contexts in early times.<sup>196</sup> (2) The presence of the velar in the verbal paradigm of παίζω in Attic and later in the Koine is much stronger than expected,<sup>197</sup> whereas with other verbs in -ίζω or -άζω such forms are not at all typical of Attic.<sup>198</sup> (3) Although it is normally assumed that this verb in Homer already means 'play like a child' (*Odyssey*); it does not occur in the *Iliad*, this is not true: there is always the clear context of music and dance, never of children's play,<sup>199</sup> nor is it the case that a ball-game is an integral part.<sup>200</sup> (4) There is good evidence for a semantic

development from 'entertain oneself' to 'play as a child does' (e.g. French *jouer* < Latin *gaudium*, German *spielen* < OHG *spilōn* 'dance'), but not so much for the opposite. Should we really believe that from an exclusive starting-point παιδ- 'child', a shift of meaning from 'behave childishly' to 'dance and play music' (not after all an activity specifically associated with childhood), and at the same time an introduction of a velar into the paradigms and derivatives of the stem, led to the situation as attested? (5) We should also remember that the stem of παῖς was originally bisyllabic (πάϊς, see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. παῖς). This can be well observed in the epic nom. πάϊς, although it is often used in a formulaic way<sup>201</sup> and the monosyllabic form occurs also.<sup>202</sup> In the verb, however, no sign of the hiatus, i.e. †παῖζω, is attested; see the end of the hexameter line on the Dipylon jug from Athens (2nd h. 8th cent.),<sup>203</sup> ἀταλότατα παῖζει, used of an ὀρχηστής 'dancer'. (6) Finally the dissimilation [dn] > [gn]<sup>204</sup> occurs rarely and unpredictably and seems to be a phenomenon of popular language. It is hard to imagine such a lasting success in a case where it would have led from a form with clear etymology to a wholly isolated one.

It seems therefore possible, if not likely, that we must start from a stem παίγ- 'play music, dance', and that παιδ- 'child' was only secondarily connected with it. This could have occurred the more easily as παῖζειν could be interpreted as a derivative in \*-jō from παιδ- as well as from παίγ-, as mentioned above.

There is only one possible sign of this confusion in Homeric times, namely *Od.* 8. 251, where παῖσατε, the only epic form of this verb not in the present stem, is transmitted, although the meaning is clearly 'dance'; I would therefore recommend that we prefer the *lectio difficilior* παῖσατε of codd. L<sup>8</sup> and M<sup>13</sup>.

Be that as it may, the stem παίγ- deserves more weight than it is usually given. And it is from this stem that we have to start for our Corinthian form.<sup>205</sup> Considering the connection of παίγ- with music and dance, and the representation on the vase, our dancer's name Παίχνιος must mean something like 'joyful dancer' and is a speaking name.

(h) *Qōmos*. Derived from *kōmos* 'merry revelling with dancing and wine after the meal' (see *h. Merc.* 480 f.; Hdt. 1. 21. 2, etc., cited by LSJ, s.v.),<sup>206</sup> a speaking name as well.

<sup>194</sup> Although simple phonetic analogy with the -γμα/-χμα cases cannot be entirely excluded.

<sup>195</sup> For this suffix see Schwyzer, p. 489. The latter adjective is to be compared with Latin *lūna* < \*louk-snā.

<sup>196</sup> φιλοπαίγμων is attested in *Od.* 23. 134, used of ὀρχηθμός 'dance' (v.l. πολύ-), and in Hes. fr. 123. 3 M–W it is used of ὀρχηστήρες 'dancers'; it is also attested later. *παίγμοσύνη* (pl.) is used by Stesich. fr. 232. 2 *PMG* *παίγμοσύνας* < τε > φιλεῖ μολπὰς τ' Ἀπόλλων (some musical activities, probably also dance). *παίγμα* itself is only attested later, namely Eur. *Bacch.* 160 f. (lyr.) λωτὸς ὅταν . . . ἱερὰ παίγματα βρέμῃ (the sound produced by the flute); *Lyr. Alex. Adesp.* 37. 15 Λύδιος αὐλὸς ἐμοὶ τὰ δὲ Λύδια παίγματα λύρας, καὶ Φρύγιος κάλαμος τὰ δὲ ταύρεα τύμπανα ποεῖ (music piece or sound produced by the lyre).

<sup>197</sup> See LSJ, s.v. παίζω, and Chantraine, s.v. παῖς, p. 849 (top-r.).

<sup>198</sup> They are often Doric (see Schwyzer, pp. 737 f.).

<sup>199</sup> *Od.* 6. 100 (Nausikaa and her companions, playing a dancing ball game on the beach after their picnic), 6. 106 (Nymphs, compared to them; we expect Nymphs to dance as their pastime), 7. 291 (again Nausikaa's companions playing on the beach); 23. 147 (men and women dancing in the hall). The same is true for the Homeric hymns: *h. Cer.* 425 (Nymphs); *h. Apoll.* 201 (the gods dancing), *h. Ven.* 118–20 (Aphrodite describes herself as kidnapped by Hermes ἐκ χοροῦ Ἀρτέμιδος where πολλὰ δὲ νύμφαι καὶ παρθέναι παίζουσι, watched by a crowd); *h. Apoll.* 206 (playing music and presumably singing).

<sup>200</sup> Heubeck (1979: 117): 'παῖζει . . . , das jeweils auf das "mit dem Tanz verbundene Fangballspiel" geht' (with bibl.). The ball only comes in at *Od.* 6. 100, and is expressly named.

<sup>201</sup> Especially in the *Iliad* and Hesiod (in the *Iliad* mostly followed by the hephthemimeres and preceded by a gen. -οιο or -αο; exceptions are 6. 467, 18. 569, 22. 484, 492, 499, 24. 726). In the *Odyssey* its use is freer.

<sup>202</sup> e.g. *Il.* 7. 44, 21. 216. The oblique cases seem to be always without hiatus.

<sup>203</sup> *LSAG* 76. 1 = *CEG* 432.

<sup>204</sup> Schwyzer, p. 208; Threutte, p. 566; see also ad *CHA* 111c with n. 564.

<sup>205</sup> The stem must have ended in the voiced velar, otherwise neither παῖζω (but only †παῖττω) nor παίγνιος (-χν-) is unaltered in Greek; see Lejeune, §67) could have been derived from it.

<sup>206</sup> Arena cites Satyrs named *Kōmos* on Attic rf. vases (labels all invis. in *CVA*): *ARV* 1188. 1, 1055. 76, and 1253. 57 (= Lezzi-Hafter (1988), 315, no. 31). Kretschmer (pp. 85 and 231) derives *Kōmarchos* on an Attic vase (*ARV* 26. 1, showing a komos scene) from *kōmē* and *ἄρχω*, adding 'der Vasenmaler aber scheint *kōmos* darin gesucht zu haben'. But why should there not in this non-political sphere have been a homonym *kōmarchos* derived from *kōmos*? See *πλάτιφοῖναρχον* (acc.) at Tiryas (*LSAG* 443. 9a).

(i) The lambda of Amandry's reading  $\Lambda\acute{o}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  is most uncertain. A connection with  $\lambda\omicron\xi\acute{o}\varsigma$  'slanting, crosswise' is not impossible, although this word is very technical and seems not to be used for the way drunkards walk.<sup>207</sup> Therefore we should also consider  $[\Phi]\acute{o}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ :<sup>208</sup>  $\phi\omicron\xi\acute{o}\varsigma$  is used of Thersites' head in *Il.* 2. 219:  $\phi\omicron\xi\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\grave{\eta}\nu \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$ . It means 'pointed' (used not only of the head), and here may refer to the dancer's padded bottom. Unlike  $\lambda\omicron\xi\acute{o}\varsigma$ , it also occurs in onomastics (Bechtel, p. 490,  $\Phi\acute{o}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , tyrant of Chalkis in the sixth century, etc.).

From these names we cannot conclude much that adds to our knowledge of the Doric  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , apart from the fact that there was wine ( $\Lambda\acute{o}\rho\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ), music, and dance ( $\Phi\eta\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\chi\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $Q\acute{o}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ). I would not even say that 'les danseurs sont individualisés en une certaine mesure par les noms qu'ils portent' (Amandry, p. 49), since the names are interchangeable (apart perhaps from  $\Lambda\acute{o}\rho\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , attached to one who is not dancing and whose name is somewhat more closely connected with what he is doing or going to do). It is also hazardous to talk about 'comédie'. See also §479.

## COR 20 DELPHI, ARCH. MUS. 4050

Fr. of a cup from Delphi (29 June 1896). *Bibliography*: Perdrizet (1908), 144, no. 130, with ph. fig. 590; Payne (1931), 163 no. 13*bis*, cat. no. 958; Arena (1967), 79, no. 21; Lorber (1979), 34, no. 36; not in *LIMC* ii, 'Apollon' (c.723), or vi, 'Mousai?'; Amyx (1988), 562, no. 20 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 142. 1. *Photographs*: Perdrizet sm. but cl. *Scene*: Upper half of a (named) youth to l., extending his hands. Behind him a pair of hands holding a wreath. *Date*: MC (Lorber); MC (according to the place in Amyx's list).

ΑΓΒΓΓΟΜ  
Απελλον  
Ἀπέλλον.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Apollon (label).

The god was perhaps followed by a Muse. The inscription runs from his body towards his face, which is unusual with regard to the starting-point principle (see §104). His name is as expected (see COR 28*Ad*, COR Gr 23, COP App. 1*D*; and see Burkert (1975)).

## COR 21 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. CP-988

Fr. of a skyphos from Corinth (1896–1927). *Bibliography*: Weinberg (1943), 76, no. 321, ph. pl. 40; Lorber (1979), 49, no. 57, ph. pl. 14; Amyx (1988), 562, no. 21 (not in cat.).

<sup>207</sup> Even more difficult to explain and to connect with our painted scene is Apollon's epithet  $\Lambda\omicron\xi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ .

<sup>208</sup>  $[T]\acute{o}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  suits less well.

*Photographs*: Weinberg quite cl.; Lorber cl. *Scene*: Heads of two horses, on one of them a rider (Lorber), waiting (i.e. the groom), in front of them a warrior (named), fighting to r. (i.e. the master). *Date*: MC (Lorber); MC (according to the place in Amyx's list).

(←) ΤΟΝΞΟΜ  
Τονιοσ[. . . ?]  
Τόνιος.

*Epigraphy*: It is not quite clear that the word is complete, although Amyx says it is. *Interpretation*: Battle scene, probably non-heroic (label).

If the word is complete, the resulting name, which is not otherwise attested (Lorber, p. 49 n. 302), with its meaning 'the strong one' (from  $\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ) makes good sense for a warrior who has just dismounted his horse. The verb  $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  can be used with  $\delta\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , meaning 'to speed along/off' with horses (*Il.* 23. 375  $\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta \delta\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ) or on foot (ibid. 758  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron \delta\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ). As the root  $*\tau\epsilon\nu$ - seems not to be otherwise used in onomastics, this is probably just a spontaneously formed speaking (or horsey) name (see §§238 f.), without necessarily a historical person behind it.

## COR 22 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 2529

Fr. of a cup from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Brock (1962), 260, and Jeffery (1962), 395, no. 14, ph. pl. 106, dr. pl. 163; Arena (1967), 117, no. 81; Lorber (1979), 87, no. 141; Amyx (1988), 562, no. 22 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Brock cl. *Scene*: Lower part of three women to r. and one to l.; in between is the inscr. *Date*: LC (Lorber); apparently still MC (according to the place in Amyx's list).

ΧΑΡΞΤΒΜ  
Χαριτες  
Χάριτες.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Charites (labels).

The direction-principle (see §105) and the plural form suggest that the label belongs to the group of three women. As the Charites are meeting another woman on our vase, we may think in terms of a wedding procession (see e.g. that of Herakles and Hebe on COR 28A).

COR 23 BASLE, ANTIKENMUS. UND SAMMLUNG  
LUDWIG BS 1404

Cup from ?, by the Cavalcade P. (see Amyx) (1969 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry (1969), 21–3, no. 40,

phs. pls. 9–11; Schefold (1978), 251 f., with ph. fig. 337; Lorber (1979), 43 f., no. 47, phs. pl. 13; Simon–Hirmer (1981), 51 f. (bibl.), ph. pl. 28; *LIMC* i, ‘Agamemnon’ 62\*, ph. pl. 199, ‘Aias’ i. 122\*, ph. pl. 248, ‘Aias’ ii. 7\*, ph. pl. 253; mentioned at *LIMC* iii, ‘Diomedes’ (v. *N.* xi); Amyx (1988), 562, no. 23 (cat. p. 197, no. A-2, bibl.), phs. pl. 80. 1a–c; mentioned at *LIMC* vi, ‘Odysseus’ (ii. *Je*); Schefold (1993), 328 f., with ph. fig. 369; *LIMC* vii, ‘Nestor’ 28\*, ph. pl. 755. *Photographs*: Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry, Schefold, Lorber, Simon–Hirmer, *LIMC* i, ‘Aias’ i, quite cl.; *LIMC* i, ‘Aias’ ii, only (g), cl.; *LIMC* i, ‘Agamemnon’, only (e), partly, and (f)–(g), cl.; Amyx sm.; *LIMC* vii quite cl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1988. *Scene*: A rider (unnamed), a naked warrior (a),<sup>209</sup> a man in long robe (b), an old man in long robe (c), all facing r. In front of the latter lies Aias (d), face down over his sword. To the r. (all facing l.), another old man in long robe (e), a younger man in long robe (f), two naked warriors (g) and (h), and, finally, a rider (unnamed). *Date*: c.580 (Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry; Schefold; Simon–Hirmer; *LIMC*); MC (Lorber); MC (i.e. 595/590–570) (Amyx).

(a) (←) ΔΞΟΜΒΔΒΜ (b) ΜΒΥ (c) ΦΟΞΝΞΞ  
(d) ΑΞΕΦΑΜ (e) ΝΒΜΤΟΔ (f) (←) ΑΓΔΑΜΒΜΝΟΝ  
(g) (←) ΤΒΟΡΡΟΜ (h) ΑΞΕΦΑΜ

(a) Διομεδης (b) [. . .]σευ(ς) (c) Φοινιξ (d) ΑιΦας  
(e) Νεστορ (f) Αγαμεμνον (g) Τεορρος (h) ΑιΦας

(a) Διομέδης, (b) [Ολι(σ)]σεύ(ς), (c) Φοῖνιξ, (d) Αἴφας,  
(e) Νέστωρ, (f) Αγαμέμνων, (g) Τεόρρος, (h) Αἴφας.

*Epigraphy*: (b) ‘Das Schluss-Sigma fehlt oder war nach l. verschoben, wo jetzt die Fehlstelle anschliesst’ (Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry). The first suggestion must be correct, since the surface is not damaged either next to the head (where a narrow Μ would just have fitted in) or beyond. If the letter were set aside to l., it should be (at least partly) visible, and we would expect the painter to have started to turn the inscr. to the l. for the last few letters, as he did with (f). *Interpretation*: Suicide of Aias (labels).

For the scene see §458. Labels (a), (c)–(f), and (h) (for which see §209) are as expected. In (b) the final –ς was never written (see §204); for the name see §254. In (g) the diphthong is written in an unusual way; the opposite phenomenon occurs in COR 82d [K]λεῦβρυλος (see §225).

°COR 24 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUS.  
OF ART 27. 116

Column krater from Italy (Payne; Lorber, n. 256), by the Detroit P. (see Amyx) (1928 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Alexander

<sup>209</sup> For the sake of symmetry, (a) Diomedes, although a king, is represented naked.

(1928), with ph. and dr.; Payne (1931), 163 no. 17, cat. no. 1187, dr. pl. 33. 5; Jeffery (1948), 202; Beazley (1950), 310; Ghali-Kahil (1955), 117, no. 112; Schefold (1964), 80, and (1966), 85, dr. [pl.] 70a; Arena (1967), 86 f., no. 29, ph. pl. 9; Lorber (1979), 41 f., no. 44, phs. pl. 11; *LIMC* i, ‘Alexandros’ 67\*, dr. pl. 389; *LIMC* iii, ‘Automedousa’ 2 (not under ‘Deiphobos’); *LIMC* iv, ‘Hektor’ 10 (the inscr. wrongly cited as *HEKTOP*), ‘Helene’ 190; Amyx (1988), 562 f., no. 24 (cat. p. 196, no. A-5, bibl.), phs. pl. 79. 1a–c; *LIMC* v, ‘Hippolytos’ ii. 1. *Photographs*: Alexander invis.; Arena, Lorber, Amyx uncl. (worn off). *Scene*: Two couples, each a warrior in long robe and his lady in long exquisite dress, facing each other: (a) and unnamed, (b) and unnamed. In a chariot to r. the bridal pair, (c) and (d), are faced by a man and a woman to l., unnamed and (e), standing beyond the four horses, (f) (under their bellies) and (g) (between their forelegs). In front of the horses another couple (a warrior and woman) with only one name (h) in between them,<sup>210</sup> and finally a naked warrior (i) approaching from the r. *Date*: early 6th cent. (Alexander); c.580 (Schefold; *LIMC*); MC (Lorber); MC (i.e. 595/590–570) (Amyx).

(a) (←) ΔΑΛΦΟΝ (b) (←) ΒΚΤΟΡ (c) (←) ΑΓΒΞΙΑΜΔΡΟΜ  
(d) ΒΒΓΒΝΑ (e) ΑΥΤΟΜΒΔΟΝΜΑ (f) ΓΟΥΓΒΜΘΔ  
(g) ΞΔΥΘΟΜ (h) (←) ΒΞΓΓΟΞ (i) (←) ΒΞΓΟΥΤΟΜ

(a) Δαιφον (b) Εκτορ (c) Αλεξανδρος (d) Ηελενα  
(e) Αυτομεδουσα (f) Πολυπενθα (g) Ξανθος  
(h) Ηιπποι (i) Ηιπολυτος

(a) Δαίφον, (b) Ἐκτόρ, (c) Ἀλέξανδρος, (d) Ηελένᾱ,  
(e) Αὐτομέδουσα, (f) Πολυπένθᾱ, (g) Ξάνθος, (h) Ηιππόι,  
(i) Ηιπ(π)όλυτος.

*Epigraphy*: (e) On the reception of Beazley’s correct reading see Lorber, n. 257. (h) The space is big enough for two pis (Lorber).<sup>211</sup> The last iota was first supposed to exist by Arena. From original detailed photographs<sup>212</sup> this letter is very likely, also because no other letter in which a Greek name can terminate fits better (see dr.: in black are the remains of paint; in outline, the slightly darker shadows indicate where there was once paint; dotted are other marks on the surface). After the iota there are no more letters (Payne’s suggestion, *Ἰππομέδων*?, is impossible); the surface is no more damaged than higher up where the other letters are. If the reading is correct this agrees with the direction-principle (see §105), which suggests that the label belongs to the woman to its r. *Interpretation*: Wedding of Paris and Helene (mixed) (labels).

<sup>210</sup> This cannot be—as Lorber (hesitatingly) considers—the horses’ label, since they are too far away.

<sup>211</sup> On Alexander’s dr. the remaining pi and omicron are next to each other, which is correct. Arena (using Alexander’s dr.) therefore transcribes *h[ι]π(π)όι* (?). Lorber’s transcription *h[ι]π[π]όι* (?), on the other hand, is inaccurate (notwithstanding his severe criticism of Arena in n. 258). Amyx adopts Arena’s reading.

<sup>212</sup> I am very grateful to J. R. Mertens, who took them for me.

Arena (p. 87, 'Nota') corrects Jeffery, who suspected foreign (Argive) letter-forms (obviously she did not see the vase or good photographs of it). Two of them, in fact, were just wrong readings. The third, the lambda in (d), which *was* accepted as foreign by Arena (Argive λ), will be due to some slight inattention on the part of the writer, since the three other lambdas are all normal (Γ), as Lorber points out.

For the interpretation of the scene and its literary implications see §439.

(a) The name Δαίφρων must mean Paris and Hektor's brother Δηίφροβος. The form of the name used here, Δαίφρων, is probably to be understood as a hypocoristic from a compound name (in -φροβος, -φρονος, etc.). As it is not otherwise attested, it is difficult to draw conclusions as to its origin (see §§504, 510). For (b) see §250. (c) is as expected. (d) Ηελένα is also attested on COR 76 and CHA 15. In her Lakonian homeland her name had an initial [w] (see §251); the fact that here it has *H*- not *F*- shows that at Corinth she was primarily known not as an indigenous Peloponnesian heroine but from a different source (see §504). (e) First correctly read and attributed to the woman by Beazley; for the spurious diphthong see §220. (f) For the 'cautious' formation of this hypocoristic name see §228; here too, a more radical shortening \*Πολύπα would have obscured the meaning. For other horse-names see §244; this is a very elaborate one (see §509). (g) Ξάνθος, on the other hand, is a common horse-name (see §244). (h) Ηιππιδί is a feminine hypocoristic (see §236). (i) Ηιπ(π)όλυτος, in view of (h), would seem to be a horsey name (see §238). As Amyx points out, Hippolytos is not attested as the name of a Trojan.

#### COR 24A BERNE, ARCH. SEMINAR DER UNIV. 36

Fr. column krater from Sicily (?), attributed by Zimmermann (pp. 7 f.) to the painter of Munich 237<sup>213</sup> (1978 or earlier). *Bibliography*: A. Zimmermann (1986), with phs. pls. 1–7, esp. 4 f.; *LIMC* vi, 'Memnon' 30\*, ph. pl. 234. *Photographs*: Zimmermann cl.; *LIMC* (a)–(c) only, quite cl. *Scene*: Chariot and 'three maidens' to r. (no names preserved) watching two warriors, one (a) in front of the other (unnamed), who are fighting against two others, one (c) in front of the other (unnamed), over the body of a dead warrior (b), head to the l. Behind (c) and his companion there are three women to l., the front one named (d), and a chariot. *Date*: early MC (Zimmermann); c.580–570 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΜΒΜΝ(←)ΟΝ (b) (←) ΔΝΤΞΓΧ(→)ΟΜ  
(c) (←) Δ+ΞΓ(→)ΒΥΜ (d) (←) ΟΒΤΞΜ

(a) Μέμνον (b) Αντιλχος (c) Αχιλλεύς (d) Θέτις  
(a) Μέμνων, (b) Αντίλο(ο)χος, (c) Άχιλλ(λ)εύς, (d) Θέτις.

<sup>213</sup> The Munich vase is Amyx, p. 156, no. 5. I claim no expertise, but in my view the Cavalcade and Detroit Painters (Amyx, pp. 196 ff.) are just as close.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The last letter was at first a Μ and was then corrected (the final stroke is still faintly visible). (d) Although there is a break running through the theta, it seems never to have had a proper cross (Φ ?). *Interpretation*: Achilles and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).

(a) Μέμνων (corrected from -ος), (b), and (c) are written round in circles for lack of space. In (d) the theta is probably faulty (see §109). Therefore the omitted omicron in (b) (see §112) will also have to do with the writer's lack of skill. For the position of Antilochos' head, lying towards his opponent, see §449 with n. 1124.

#### \*<sup>o</sup>COR 24B PANORAMA (THESSALONIKI), COLL. S. ANDREADIS

Frs. of a column krater from Sane on the western peninsula of Chalkidike, placed by Vojatzi (pp. 85 f. with nn. 663–8) near the Cavalcade P. (c.1969–73?, see *ibid.* n. 586). *Bibliography*: Vojatzi (1982), 71–87, 114, no. B. 39, phs. pls. 6–10; *LIMC* iii, 'Boreadai' 4\*, ph. pl. 100, but not among 'Dioskouroi' 218 ff.; *LIMC* iv, 'Harpyiai' 21; *LIMC* v, 'Iason' 7\*, ph. pl. 426; Schefold (1993), 267, with ph. fig. 287; *LIMC* vii, 'Phineus' 18. *Photographs*: Vojatzi mostly uncl.; Schefold and *LIMC* v only (a)–(d), sm. and uncl.; *LIMC* iii only (e), uncl. *Scene*: A naked hero (a) to r. is holding his hands from behind over the eyes of a man (b), who is sitting on a throne to r. From the r. two heroes are approaching, of whose names only (d) is preserved. One of them is holding (b)'s hand. Between them and (b) there is a woman to r. (c). On a second set of frs. there are two letters, (e), next to a winged figure. *Date*: MC, c.575 (Vojatzi, pp. 79, 85 f. with nn. 663–8; *LIMC*).

(a) (←) ΒΣΑΜΟΝ (b) ΦΣΜΒΥΜ (c) (←) ΤΣ Α Α  
(d) (←) ΓΟVΓΓDVKM (e) ΑΓ

(a) Ειασον (b) Φινευς (c) Τι . α . δρα  
(d) Πο'λυδ(ε)υκ(ε)ς (e) [ . . . ]αλ[ . . . ]

(a) Ειάσων, (b) Φινεύς, (c) Τῆμάνδρα, (d) Πο'λυδ(ε)ύκ(ε)ς.  
(e) [K]άλ[aiś].

*Epigraphy*: (a) Vojatzi (p. 77 with n. 595) claims that the first letter is a heta with a non-continuous l. hasta, for which she compares COR 66u Ηίππαλγμος. But there (no ph. is available) the curves are less clear than in our example, they are on the wrong side, and there is a clear middle horizontal bar. Here the letter is exactly the same as the normal β-type epsilons. (b) The second letter, which is badly preserved, is tentatively restored to an upsilon and interpreted as a spelling error by Vojatzi (*ibid.*). The original ph. indeed allows such a reading, though there seem to be traces of other strokes, which could be part of an iota (see *dr.*). Considering the much better preservation of the first and third letters, the most plausible solution is to assume an unsuccessful

correction from an upsilon to an iota. (c) G. Neumann (*apud* Vojatzi, pp. 77, 79 with n. 611) reads  $\Phi\iota\delta\alpha\iota[a]$ . Yet, the first letter is an incontestable tau, and the third is very different from the delta in (d). Now, on the ph. the last letter, as expected in a woman's name, is likely to be an alpha, the penultimate a rho, and the third from last a delta (only the two oblique strokes, in outlines, are clearly visible). Together with the surviving fourth letter (alpha) and the remains of the next one (nu) this gives  $-\alpha\gamma\delta\rho\alpha$ . The result is  $T\iota . \alpha\gamma\delta\rho\alpha$  and the third letter must therefore be considered a mu, though a slightly odd one. (d) The third letter is inserted above the narrow space between omicron and lambda; this was done in a second step, since the paint is thinner. The inserted letter can only be an upsilon. Vojatzi writes a lambda because she reads the whole inscr. upside-down (if we read it retrograde, the direction of script is in line with the direction-principle (see §105), and the pi, lambda, upsilons, and final san are all normal instead of upside-down or unusual). It seems unlikely that there ever was an epsilon at the place occupied by the sword-handle; indeed the fact that the final san is placed slightly lower in order to avoid the handle argues against this possibility. (e) is to the l. of the second group of frs.; the alpha is clear, the lambda less so, the rest invis. *Interpretation*: Argonauts visiting Phineus (labels).

For the myth represented, see Vojatzi *passim*, and see also §424 below.

(a) Vojatzi tries to read  $H\iota\alpha\sigma\omega\nu$ . It is true that there is a South Italian vase (Kretschmer, p. 213, St Petersburg inv. 1718, cited by Vojatzi) with  $H\iota\alpha\sigma\omega\nu$ , but this vase shows certain other irregularities in the initial aspiration and is therefore not wholly reliable as a parallel. It is also true that there are a number of Etruscan attestations of this name with aspiration, but others are without; the Etruscan forms (chronologically from the mid-fifth to the second century, according to de Simone (1968), 52 f.) are: *Easun*, *Hiasunu*, *Heiasun*, *Heasun*, *Eiasun* (these are respectively ET OI G. 24, AT S. 5, Vc S. 3, AV S. 3, and Vs S. 21). Since the first letter of the name on our vase is clearly an  $\beta$ -type epsilon, we are obliged to read  $E\iota\alpha\sigma\omega\nu$  and to compare the Etruscan forms that contain an <e> or <ei>, whether preceded by an <h> or not. Again, it is true that the spelling  $\beta\varsigma$  (instead of  $\epsilon$ ) is not expected in Corinthian, but in view of the Etruscan forms with <ei> we should not rush to do away with it, as it could just be a special, non-epichoric spelling (see §§219, 505). In Homer and Hesiod the first iota of our name is short (e.g. *Il.* 7. 469  $\epsilon\pi' \text{ } \text{I}\eta\sigma\sigma\omega\nu\iota$ , 21. 41  $\nu\iota\delta\varsigma \text{ } \text{I}\eta\sigma\sigma\omega\nu\varsigma$ ). Apparently at an early stage the spelling of this name fluctuated both in aspiration and in its first vowel (or diphthong). A situation like this may suggest some kind of popular etymology (see §510; see  $\iota\alpha\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota \text{ } \iota\alpha\sigma\alpha\mu\eta\nu$  with long  $[\bar{\iota}]$  and long  $[\bar{\alpha}]$ ,  $\text{I}\alpha\sigma\omega\epsilon\varsigma$  with short  $[i]$  and long  $[\bar{\alpha}]$ ). It is most tempting to compare the case of our (d); see §505.

(b) For the explanation of the original upsilon as second letter in  $\Phi\iota\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  and the subsequent correction see §424. (c) G. Neumann's interpretation of this figure (see *apud* Vojatzi) as one of the wives of Phineus is appropriate, since she stands next to the king. Yet,

her name is not Idaia but  $T\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\delta\rho\alpha$  (see above, and §424 below). The mu is somewhat oddly shaped; a similar letter-form with crossed bars occurs for a nu on the pinax COP 84A.

(d) The name  $\Pi\omicron^{\nu}\lambda\upsilon\delta\upsilon\kappa\varsigma$  is clearly Polydeukes'. For the incomplete diphthong [eu] Vojatzi (p. 78 with n. 599) refers to Kretschmer, pp. 37 ff. (see also his pp. 137, 139), and Arena (pp. 130 f.), but the examples treated there are different. Considering the oddly shaped mu in (c) and the missing last vowel in our name (see §112),<sup>214</sup> a mistake is much more likely than a phonological change; it may be a case of A.W. (see §111) with the letter-name  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}(\lambda\tau\alpha)$ . Vojatzi mentions the only other possible attestation of this name on a Corinthian vase, namely COR 37 (see ad loc.). It is interesting that the insertion of the first upsilon produced  $\Pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\upsilon\delta\upsilon\kappa\varsigma$ , i.e. a form with a long first syllable. This reminds us of metrical lengthening and may be an indication of a poetic source behind this painting (see (a) and §505).

(e) The tentative interpretation  $[K]\acute{\alpha}\lambda[ai\varsigma]$  by Vojatzi (p. 79) would make perfect sense (for the name of this hero see also §425 with n. 1068). I do not have an original photograph of this fragment.

#### COR 25 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 992

Cup from Corinth, by the Klyka (or better: K(a)lyka?) P. (see Amyx (1885 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Sophoulis (1885), with dr. pl. 7; Kretschmer (1888), 161, no. 12; Kretschmer (1894), 18, no. 11; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3125; Collignon-Couve (1902-4), no. 621; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 347; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 121. 6; dr. Pfuhl (1923), fig. 191; Payne (1931), 163 no. 12, cat. no. 995; ph. *EAA* ii. 849 fig. 1114; Arena (1967), 78, no. 19; Lorber (1979), 33 f., no. 35, ph. pl. 8; Amyx (1988), 563, no. 25 (cat. p. 200, no. A-1), phs. pl. 83. 1a-d. *Photographs*: *EAA* cl.; Lorber quite cl.; Amyx sm. *Scene*: Two women's heads (named). Round the cup, padded dancers and battle scenes (no labels). *Date*: MC (Lorber).

(a)  $\text{N}\epsilon\beta\text{P}\epsilon\text{M}$  (b)  $\text{K}\Gamma\text{V}\text{K}\text{A}$

(a)  $\text{N}\epsilon\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$  (b)  $\text{K}\lambda\upsilon\kappa\alpha$

(a)  $\text{N}\epsilon\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ , (b)  $\text{K}(\alpha)\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\bar{\alpha}$ .

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Probably two hetairai (labels).

Lorber plausibly takes the two women as hetairai. The cup with its different scenes will have been used at symposia (see §308).

(a) Bechtel (p. 590) derives  $\text{N}\epsilon\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$  from  $\nu\epsilon\beta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  'fawn'. The  $\nu\epsilon\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$  'hide of a deer calf' is an attribute of Maenads (Fränkel (1912a), 43 with n. 2), and may also fit a hetaira (see §239). Arena refers to Pape-Benseler, where there are one or two slaves with this name.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>214</sup> We can hardly argue for  $-\kappa(\bar{\alpha})\varsigma$ , i.e. with A.W. (see §111), since a change of inflectional category from a  $s$ - to an  $a$ -stem is implausible in Doric.

<sup>215</sup> Amyx says, 'not in P.-B.'



(b) There are four possible interpretations: *Κλύκα* stands for (1) *Κλύτα* (Sophoulis); (2) *Κ(α)λύκα* (Blass); (3) *Γλύκα* (Kretschmer, p. 41); (4) *Γλ(α)ύκα*. By way of explanation, the first possibility could be epigraphical ('Verschreibung', Kretschmer) or phonological (assimilation), the second epigraphical (not just 'Verschreibung', but A.W.; see §111), the third phonological (assimilation of the [g] to the following [k], or neutralization of the opposition [g]:[k] before an [l]), and the fourth phonological (as the third) plus epigraphical (A.W.). Solution (3) was widely accepted (e.g. by Payne and Amyx),<sup>216</sup> but most of the parallels Kretschmer adduces for the sound-change in question are hardly comparable.<sup>217</sup> On the other hand, Blass's reading *Κ(α)λύκα*, attested as *Καλύκα* for a Nereid on an Attic vase<sup>218</sup> and frequent as a mythical name, would be just as appropriate for a hetaira (see §239) in view of one *Καλύκιο* ('Sklavin oder Hetäre', Bechtel, p. 595) and the expression *καλυκώπιδες*, a mark of beauty in nymphs and young women (see LSJ).<sup>219</sup> To sum up: First, *Γλύκη* and *Καλύκα* both exist and make good sense. Secondly, phonological changes *Κλυτ-* > *Κλυκ-*, as well as *Γλυκ-* > *Κλυκ-* or *Γλ(α)υκ-* > *Κλ(α)υκ-*, are hard to establish, at least in mainland Greece,<sup>220</sup> and to assume a simple mistake is also unsatisfactory. Thirdly, the mistake *Κ(α)λύκα* is now easy to explain, namely by A.W. I therefore think we should favour the latter, i.e. Blass's, interpretation.

COR 26 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-26-3  
(FORMERLY T-132)

Fr. of a column krater from Corinth, near the Klyka (or better: K(a)lyka?) P. (see Amyx) (1926). *Bibliography*: Shear (1926), 448, with ph. fig. 3; Payne (1931), 166 no. 52, cat. no. 1451; Milne (1942b), 222 n. 15; Benson (1953), 108, no. 7; Arena (1967), 104 f., no. 64; Lorber (1979), 67 f., no. 101, ph. pl. 27; Amyx (1988), 563, no. 26 (cat. p. 200, no. B-1), ph. pl. 83, 2. *Photographs*: Shear cl.; Lorber, Amyx cl. *Scene*: A woman (a) with a tray on her head, a man (b) and the back of another man's head, perhaps (c), all heading to r., probably in a procession. *Date*: LC (Lorber); before COR 113 but by the same painter (Lorber, p. 69); Amyx, however: 'not by the Tydeus Painter'.

<sup>216</sup> The name *Γλύκη* is well attested; Heubeck (1980: 283) cites Bechtel (1902), 10 and 105, and Bechtel, p. 510, *Γλύκη*; Pherecr. fr. 70 PCC; Ar. *Ran.* 1343, *Ecc.* 43; *Γλύκῃ BCH* 105 (1981), 564 f.; see also Fraser-Matthews. These have to be accepted, in spite of Neumann's doubts (1980: 298) because of the formation (one would expect *Γλυκεία*). Only one case of *Γλύκη*, namely where it is the name of a Nereid (on an Attic vase, *ARV* 192. 106), may be safely argued to represent the common Nereid-name *Γλ(α)ύκη* (with A.W.; not 'verschrieben' . . .?', as Kretschmer, p. 202, says); see ad COR 74i.

<sup>217</sup> See Kretschmer, pp. 144 f., and Threatte, p. 437. The only exact parallel is the gloss *καλυκίων* (Hsch.) which we cannot date or locate. The phenomenon does not seem to have had any regularity.

<sup>218</sup> *ARV* 146. 2 (see §457 on COR 77e).

<sup>219</sup> To increase the confusion: apart from *καλυκώπις* there is also *γλυκώπις*.

<sup>220</sup> In Crete, however, neutralization of voiced and voiceless stops in clusters like /kl/ and /gl/ seems to have occurred; see Jeffery-Morpurgo Davies (1970), 136 f.

(a)  $\kappa\Delta\Gamma\xi\omicron$  (b)  $\Delta A$  (c)  $\Gamma\omicron\Delta\xi\vartheta\omicron M$

(a) *Καλιο* . [ . . . ] (b)  $\Delta a$  [ . . . ] (c) [ . . . ? ] .  $\pi\omicron\delta\iota\varphi\omicron\varsigma$

(a) *Καλ(λ)ιο* . [ . . . ], (b)  $\Delta a$  [  $\mu$ - . . . ? ], (c)  $[H]_{\epsilon\pi}(\pi)\acute{o}\delta\iota\varphi\omicron\varsigma$  or  $[H]_{\epsilon\pi}\acute{o}\delta\iota\varphi\omicron\varsigma$ .

*Epigraphy*: (a) Most likely the woman's name, for it seems improbable that (a) + (b) are to be taken together, e.g. as *Καλ(λ)ιοπ[ί]δα[ς]*, because of the sharp turn in the writing-line that we should have to assume. The last letter, of which the lower part of a vertical stroke is preserved, could be β, γ, Ϝ, λ, μ, ν, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ, χ, i.e. Milne's restoration -*όπα* is not certain. (b) If the delta is the beginning of a name, which is likely, this name is the first man's. (c) The first letter is by no means clear, so Payne's alternative suggestion of an upsilon has to be taken seriously. *Interpretation*: Sacrificial procession (labels).

For the scene and parallels see §475.

If (a) *Καλ(λ)ιο* . [ . . . ] is the woman's name and (b)  $\Delta a$  [  $\mu$ - . . . ? ] the first man's name, as seems likely, name (c), written behind the second man's back but very close to the first man, would seem to belong to the second man, as is normally assumed. But this could only be true if there was a complete lack of space in front of and above the second man's head, which seems not very likely. Moreover, (c) runs up towards, rather than away from, the head(s) preserved, thus contradicting the starting-point principle (see §104). We should therefore consider the possibility that there was a small man, perhaps a boy, walking next to the two men and bearing name (c). As for the name (c) itself, Amyx cites Bechtel (p. 137) and Pape-Benseler for parallels.

COR 27 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 277

Flask (lagynos, Arena) from Kleonai, by Timonidas (1860). *Bibliography*: Pervanoglu (1860); Pervanoglu (1861), 46 f.; anon. (1863), 274 f.; Jahn (1863a), with dr. pl. 175, repeated in *WV* (1888), pl. 1. 1; Löschcke (1876), 116 n. 22; Klein (1887), 29, no. 2; von Rohden (1888), 1962, dr. 1963 fig. 2100; Kretschmer (1888), 157, no. 3; Kretschmer (1894), 16 f., no. 3; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3160; Collignon-Couve (1902-4), no. 620 (bibl.); Weicker (1905), 199-206, new and better dr. pl. 84; Nicole (1916), 376; Ducati (1922), 158 f., with dr.; Weicker's dr. in Pfuhl (1923), fig. 174; Hoppin (1924), 12 f., with bibl. and dr.; Payne (1931), 163 no. 14, cat. no. 1072, dr. pl. 34. 5; Jucker (1963), 51, no. 10, ph. pl. 19. 2; Arena (1967), 82 f., no. 25; Amandry (1973), 199 n. 30, dr. of (f) 200 fig. 5; Lejeune (1973), 203 f.; Lorber (1979), 37 f., no. 40, ph. and dr. pl. 10; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 251; Boegehold (1983); Amyx (1988), 563 f., no. 27 (cat. p. 201, no. 1), ph. and dr. pl. 84. 1a-b; *LIMC* vii, 'Priamos' 28\*, ph. pl. 399. *Photographs*: Jucker and Lorber only part of (h) (the first 11 to 12 letters), uncl.; Amyx and *LIMC* only (a), uncl., rest invis. *Scene*: Two old men, (a) and (b), facing r., meeting a woman with

a basket on her head (*c*). She seems to be walking back from where a youth (*f*), leading two horses, (*d*) and (*e*), is about to take a jug from a young woman (*g*), who is filling it at a spring. Behind a bush a heavily armed warrior (*i*) is hiding; round him also is inscr. (*h*). *Date*: MC (Lorber); 600–575 (*LIMC* i); c.570 (Amyx, p. 201; *LIMC* vii).

(*a*) ΓΡΕΑΜΟΜ (*b*) ΞΟ ΘΒΟΜ (*c*) — (*d*) ΑΜΟΠΙΑΜ  
(*e*) ΞΑΝΘΟΜ (*f*) ΤΡΟ ΞΓΟΜ (*g*) —  
(*h*) ΤΞΜΟΝΞΔΑΜ ΜΒΓΡΑ Β (*i*) ΑΧΞΓΒΥΜ

(*a*) Πρεαμος (*b*) Σο . ιθεις (*c*) [ . . . ]β[ . . . ]  
(*d*) Ασoβας (*e*) Ξανθος (*f*) Τρο . ιλος (*g*) [ . . . ]  
(*h*) Τιμονιδας μεγρα . ε (*i*) Αχιλεως

(*a*) Πρέαμος, (*b*) Σοσιθεις, (*c*) [ . . . ]β[ . . . ], (*d*) Ασόβας,  
(*e*) Ξάνθος, (*f*) Τρό . ιλος, (*g*) [ . . . ], (*h*) Τιμωνιδας μ' ἔγραψε.  
(*i*) Αχιλλ(λ)εύς.

*Epigraphy*: Arena's reading is based on a letter by L. Beschi.<sup>221</sup>

(*a*) The third letter (a *lectio difficilior*), which was wrongly corrected into an ξ by Löschke, is confirmed by Beschi. (*b*) Beschi is certain about the last four letters and almost sure about the iota (not mentioned by Amyx), but not about the first, which he reads as π or h, and the second, which he reads ο, without being sure whether there was anything in its interior. Weicker read Ἰφ- (ΣΦ), but his Ἰφίθεις was rejected by Payne ('does not fill the space'). Yet, Weicker's dr., on which Payne relies, cannot be accurate in this respect (the cause of the wide gap was of course the cylindrical projection of the globular body of the flask), and we must not expect more than one letter between the second letter and the iota, since Weicker would not otherwise have said 'der freibleibende . . . Raum genügt nur für einen breiten Buchstaben', sc. between his phi and the theta.<sup>222</sup> Therefore Amyx's rejection of Boegehold's Σο[σ]ίθεις seems precipitate, especially since Beschi saw an inverted lambda between the ρ and the ι, which may well be half of the missing M. The first M may have been written slightly obliquely; at least its outer strokes seem to have been parallel, which rules out an iota. To conclude, I read: Σοσιθεις. (*c*) This label (a woman's name) must have completely disappeared (Weicker was the only one to see a letter). (*f*) The name must be 'Troilos'. Yet the fourth letter is not clear. Weicker read τ, which could be part of a F or an E; but if it was in fact τ or Ϛ, it could have been part of a β (upsilon, which seems to have been Υ in (*i*), is ruled out). Yet Beschi asserts that τ is impossible and reads an inverted lambda as in (*b*), where, however, the similar traces will be part of a Μ, rather than something obscure. And since this writer consistently wrote from l. to r.,

we do not expect anything inverted at all. Therefore Boegehold's inverted λ (from autopsy) is highly unlikely (so is his suggestion that it may be compared with the fourth sign of COR 51a); nor may we take what he saw for the remains of a θ, since he can hardly have seen exactly those parts of the letter which were invis. to Weicker and vice versa. (*g*) This name has completely disappeared. (*h*) The last two letters are very small: the last one is certain, the one before is only 'uno sgorbio' (Beschi). If it is and always was only a blot, I would prefer to interpret it as a <ψ> (as on Timonidas' pinax, COP 18), not <φ> as the earlier editors did. *Interpretation*: (*a*)–(*g*) and (*i*): Achilleus and Troilos (labels). (*h*) Painter's signature.

As Lorber (pp. 37 f.) points out, this vase is unique because the inscriptions do not start near the heads of the figures and are all written from l. to r. (Lorber makes similar observations for the other piece signed by Timonidas, the pinax COP 18).

For the myth and the literary implications of the painted scene see §442.

(*a*) Priamos' name normally has a short [i],<sup>223</sup> sometimes [ī] through metrical lengthening (Πριαμίδης Il. 2. 817 etc.). If the reading of our form Πρέαμος with ε is correct, it reflects a slightly more open pronunciation of the [i] (see §219), which before a vowel is plausible. (*b*) The reading Σοσιθεις is uncertain. It is also slightly problematic since names in Σωσι- are on the whole non-epic.<sup>224</sup> (*c*) Unclear.

(*d*) Ασόβας is interpreted by Arena (following Kretschmer) as composed of *alpha privativum* and σοβας -άδος, a feminine adjective meaning 'capricious' (of courtesans and bacchanals, LSJ). This stem, which is also preserved in σοβ-αρός and σοβ-έω and expresses the notion 'violent, rushing, moving rapidly', is certainly very appropriate for a horse. But *alpha privativum* yields an odd meaning. Therefore J. Mansfield (*apud* Amyx) suggests *alpha intensivum*. This is unlikely too, however, for several reasons. First, adjectives with *alpha intensivum* (or *copulativum*) are normally formed with nouns<sup>225</sup> and there is only one noun from the stem in question, σοβή, which has a very specialized meaning, namely 'solid part of the horse's or bull's tail' (LSJ, also μυιοσόβη). Secondly, a compound from this noun should end in -ος not -ας (see αντίαχος, ἄδνος). Thirdly, our prefix should be written ha- in early Corinthian, and unless there existed a very common adjective \*(h)άσοβος or the like with a positive meaning 'speedy', which is not attested, nobody would ever have understood the α- of our name in this rare sense. It is also hardly possible to start from the feminine σοβάς, because this has the function of an adjective not of a noun and belongs to a specialized semantic field. In view of these difficulties, the best solution seems to be to start from a

<sup>221</sup> Beschi after an autopsy in 1966 wrote: 'Pochissime le tracce di colore e le lettere completamente scomparse. Si riesce solo a rilevarne l'impronta (un'ombra appena percettibile) facendo passare sul vasetto una luce radente.'

<sup>222</sup> Despite his remark about the drawing made by E. Gillieron, 'von mir in allen Einzelheiten geprüft', Weicker seems to have closed his eyes to this minor and almost inevitable inaccuracy.

<sup>223</sup> In Lesbian Πρί- was changed to Πέρρ-: Sappho fr. 44. 16 L–P Πέραμοιο (with epic scansion), Alc. fr. 42. 2 L–P Περράμοιο. See e.g. Lejeune, §138 n. 2.

<sup>224</sup> The only one I could find is a very dubious Σωσιφάνης, son of Menelaos and Helene, in Σ Theocr. 18. 45.

<sup>225</sup> In the cases cited, e.g., by Chantraine, s.v. α-, these would be λόχος, δελφύς, κέλευθος; βρόμος, ξύλον, ιαχή, ἔδνα.

different kind of prefix, i.e. to take  $\mathcal{A}$ - for the prefix  $\acute{\alpha}\nu(a)$ ,-<sup>226</sup> and to interpret the whole name as masculine  $\mathcal{A}(\nu)\sigma\acute{o}\beta\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ , i.e. a derivative in  $-\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  from our stem (the prefix would be in its apocopated form, and we would have to assume omission of the nasal sign in preconsonantal position, see §201). There is in fact a verb  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\beta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  meaning ‘to start the game (in a hunt)’ (Plato), which would be appropriate for a horse, at least one that could also be used for hunting. But since names in  $-\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  should be formed from stems in  $-\alpha$ -, it is more likely that the forms in  $\sigma\sigma\beta\alpha$ -, i.e.  $\sigma\sigma\beta\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\sigma\sigma\beta\acute{\eta}$ , played a role in the formation of our name. Or we may assume the existence of a noun  $^{*}\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\beta\acute{\alpha}$  ‘jump’ (according to the analogy e.g.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\phi\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  :  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\phi\sigma\rho\acute{\alpha}$  =  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  :  $x$ ), from which our formation would be easy to explain.<sup>227</sup> At any rate, this horse-name is very unusual (see §244).

(e) Although  $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$  is a common horse-name (see §244), it is also frequent in mythological contexts (see §506). (f) The reading of the fourth letter is not certain (for this problem see §257). (g) Unclear. (h) is as expected (for the name see §240, for the verb §202), and the same is true for (i).

[COR 28; SEE COP 18]

°COR 28A ROME, MUS. ETRUSCO DI VILLA GIULIA (?)  
(PARTLY INCISED)

Aryballos from Vulci, Necropolis dell’ Osteria (19 Feb. 1981).<sup>228</sup>

*Bibliography:* Sgubini Moretti–Pandolfini (1986), 86 f., 88 f., ph. 103 fig. 47. 1, dr. 104 fig. 48. 2; *LIMC* v, ‘Herakles’ 3331, with dr.; *LIMC* vi, ‘Mousai’ 122bis. *Photographs:* Sgubini Moretti–Pandolfini only (h) and (i), uncl. My original phs. (Sopr. Arch. Etr. Merid. negatives nos. 73114–21) are quite cl. *Scene:* Two groups of three women walking to r., named (a) behind the first group and (b) across the second. They are being led by a single woman (c) and are following Apollon (d), who is holding a lyre. In front of them a man (e) and a woman (f) in a chariot are greeted by Athena (g) and Aphrodite (h), who are beyond the horses and are holding a crown and an apple, respectively. Behind these two, also to l., there is a pair of women (i). Back to back with them is Zeus (j) on his throne, addressed by Hermes with *kerykeion* (k), behind whom Hera (l) is sitting on her throne (in frontal view, her head turned towards Hermes and Zeus). *Date:* ‘corinzio medio’ related to the ‘show-pieces’ (for which see Payne (1931), 118 ff.), and close to Timonidas (Sgubini Moretti–Pandolfini); early 6th cent. (*LIMC*).

(a) (←) ΜΟΜΑΞ (b) ΜΟΥΜΑΞ (incised) (c) ΚΑΓΓΞΟΓΑ  
(d) ΑΓΒΓΓΟΝ (e) (←) ΒΒΔΑΚΓΒΜ (f) (←) ΒΒΠΑ  
(g) ΑΘΑΝΑ (h) Α ΦΡΟΔΞΤΑ (i) (←) ΧΑΡΞΤΒ *vac.*  
(j) ΕΒΥΜ (k) (←) ΒΡΜΑΜ (l) ΕΒΡΑ

<sup>226</sup> Names with  $\mathcal{A}\nu(a)$ - are listed by Bechtel, pp. 43 f.

<sup>227</sup> Like the names in  $-\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  (Bechtel, pp. 15 ff.),  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  (p. 57 and 290),  $-\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\varsigma$  (p. 135), etc.

<sup>228</sup> My question concerning the present whereabouts of the vase was left unanswered; *LIMC* gives Villa Giulia.

(a) Μοσαι (b) Μουσαι (c) Καλλιοπα (d) Απελλον  
(e) Ηερακλες (f) Ηεβα (g) Αθανα (h) Αφροδιτα  
(i) Χαριτε (j) Ξευς (k) Ερμας (l) Ηερα

(a) Μόσαι, (b) Μούσαι, (c) Καλλιόπα, (d) Απέλλον,  
(e) Ηερακλῆς, (f) Ηέβα, (g) Ἀθάνᾱ, (h) Ἀφροδίτᾱ,  
(i) Χάριτε, (j) Ξεύς, (k) Ἑρμᾱς, (l) Ηέρᾱ.

*Epigraphy:* (b) Incised on the *himation* of the front Muse, since there was no room to apply the label in paint between the figures. (e) The rho looks more like a delta. (j) I am almost certain that I can see a medial bar in the first letter on the print of negative no. 73115. Both the letters and the paintings are very faint, and only outlines (showing white) are left. Also, on this part of the vase there are regular stripes over the whole surface, which are parallel to the horizontal bars in our letter and must not be confused with them (see dr.). (k) The second letter shows a correction (see dr.). *Interpretation:* Wedding of Herakles and Hebe (labels).

For the importance of our vase for the literary versions of the myth of Herakles’ deification see §421.

In view of the contrast between (a) *Μόσαι* and (b) *Μούσαι*, Pandolfini writes ‘È interessante notare come le due parole non mostrino nella grafia diversità rilevanti—a parte una naturale minore fluidità in quella graffita’, by which she probably means that there is no reason to believe that the graffito was done after the vase had left the potter’s workshop. She also notes<sup>229</sup> that this is one of the oldest examples of the secondary [ō] written <ov> in Corinth (see §220). The <ov>, which in view of its spelling was presumably written by a hand different from that of (a) and the other painted inscriptions, is a possible sign of literary language on this vase (see §505, also on the use of this digraph in 7th-cent. Kerkyra).

(c) The precise origin of the first element of the *καλλι*-compounds is not clear (see §212); there seems not to have been a [w], i.e.  $^{*}\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega$ -, since this should have been written in Corinthian (see §209). The second element will be  $^{*}wok$ - as the compound must mean ‘the one with the beautiful voice’ (this makes perfect sense for a Muse, whereas the root  $^{*}ok$ - does not; see ad COR Gr 15a), a perfect parallel being provided by the Siren *Ηιμερόπα* (with non-Attic ending) on the famous vase *ARV* 289. 1 (Brit. Mus. E 440, with *Ὀλυσσεύς* tied to the mast of his ship). For the loss of the intervocalic [w] see §506. Kalliope is the leader of the Muses (Hes. *Th.* 77–9), and her domain is epic poetry (a connection attested only later).

For (d) see COR 20, for (e) see §506, for (g) see §247; all are as expected, and so are (f) and (h). As for (i), Sgubini Moretti–Pandolfini (pp. 86 with n. 110 and 88) noticed that there are only two Charites, but failed to grasp that the form *Χάριτε* (dual) agrees

<sup>229</sup> Referring to Guarducci (1967: 172), who wrongly asserts that ‘per il dittongo improprio ov, si usano—ma soltanto dalla fine del VI secolo in poi—i due segni’ (sc. *ov*); see also e.g. Lorber, p. 36.

with this, and supplied *Xáριτε*(s). On COR 22 there are three of them, labelled *Xáριτες*. (*j*) If the reading with Ξ (i.e. Ξ) is correct, this is the third attestation of this peculiar spelling of Zeus' name in Corinth (see §258). (*k*) Pandolfini notices the lack of aspiration in *Ἑρμῆς* (as opposed to Herakles, Hebe, Hera), referring to the parallel from Perachora, our COR Gr 26(1) (see §253). The mistake in the second letter is quite revealing: originally, the painter was going to write *Ἑμῆς*, i.e. omitting the liquid before the nasal (see §203), then he corrected the mu into a rho. (*l*) is also as expected.

# COR 29 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 1568

Fr. of a skyphos from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Hopper (1962), 148, and Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 11, dr. pl. 163; Arena (1967), 87, no. 31; Lorber (1979), 49, no. 58; Amyx (1988), 564, no. 29 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: A *kline*, probably from a symposion scene. No human figures preserved. *Date*: MC (Lorber).

ΠΞΑ

[. . .]υρῤια . [. . . ?]

[. . . Π]υρῤια . [. . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: The first letter could be a Y- or ʔ-type upsilon. The last letter is not clear; Μ, which is the usual restoration, is possible. The inscr. can hardly be a label for somebody on the *kline*, for about 7–10 letters would be missing, too many for a name, and those letters that are preserved are written upside-down; they are therefore likely to be the end of a longer inscr., written in a bow. *Interpretation*: Not clear, probably a name.

As the preserved letters seem to be the end of a long inscription, we may assume something like [. . . ὁ δέῃνα (δ) Π]υρῤια μ[ῦ] [ῥαφει] *vel sim*. For the name see COR 17*b* and §209.

# COR 30 BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE, FEYTMANS P. 20

Cup from Greece, unattributed (Amyx) (1862 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Michaelis (1862), with dr. pl. B; Kretschmer (1888), 159, no. 6; Kretschmer (1894), 18, no. 9; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3122; Pottier (1909), 107–13, dr. pl. 13; Robert (1919), 202 f., with dr. fig. 157; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 121. 4; Payne (1931), 163 no. 13, cat. no. 996; Feytmans (1948), 20–7, no. 3, phs. pls. 4–7; Schefold (1964), 83, and (1966), 88, with dr. fig. 36; Arena (1967), 78 f., no. 20; Friis Johansen (1967), 70–5, with phs. figs. 15 f., cat. pp. 245 f. nos. A. 4*a*, A. 7, A. 9; von Steuben (1968), 46 f.; Lane (1971), 33, ph. pl. 28*a*; ph. Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni (1976), no. 231; Lorber (1979), 32 f., no. 34, phs. pl. 7; *LIMC* i, ‘Achilleus’ 558\*, ph. pl. 113, ‘Aias’ i. 22\*,

ph. pl. 234, ‘Aias’ ii. 6, ‘Aineias’ 30; *LIMC* iii, ‘Dolon’ 1\*, ph. pl. 525; mentioned at *LIMC* iv, ‘Hektor’ (ii. F. 1); Amyx (1988), 564, no. 30 (cat. p. 204, no. 6, bibl.); *LIMC* v, ‘Hippokles’ 1, with dr.; Schefold (1993), 315, ph. 314 fig. 346; *LIMC* vii, ‘Sarpedon’ 1\*, phs. pl. 519. *Photographs*: Feytmans cl. except (*d*); Friis Johansen (*d*)–(*g*) invis., rest quite cl.; Lane (*c*) cl., (*a*), (*b*), (*d*) uncl., rest invis.; Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni and *LIMC* i, ‘Aias’, (*e*)–(*g*) cl., (*h*) uncl., rest invis.; Lorber (*d*) and (*e*) uncl., rest cl.; *LIMC* i, ‘Achilleus’, only (*a*) and (*d*) uncl., (*b*)–(*c*) cl.; *LIMC* iii only (*i*), cl.; Schefold only (*a*) uncl. and (*b*)–(*c*) cl.; *LIMC* vii only (*a*)–(*c*) and (*i*) cl., (*d*) uncl. *Scene*: Two warriors, (*b*) and (*c*), fighting, behind their backs their pages, (*a*) and (*d*), on horseback. On the other side the same scene with (*f*) and (*g*) assisted by (*e*) and (*h*). Between the scenes, under the handle, (*i*) is running to r. and looking back. *Date*: MC (Lorber, p. 31 f.); 600–575 (Arena, p. 76; Lane); c.580 (Schefold; *LIMC* i, partly); c.590–580 (*LIMC* i, partly; v); c.590–575 (*LIMC* iii).

(*a*) (←) ΜΑΡΓΑΔΟΝ (*b*) (←) ΒΚΚΤΟΡ (*c*) Α+ΞΓΓΒΟΥΜ

(*d*) ΦΟΞΝΞΞ (*e*) (←) ΑΞΦΑΜ (*f*) (←) ΔΞΦΑΜ

(*g*) (←) ΔΞΝΒΑΜ (*h*) ΒΞΓΟΚΓΒΜ (*i*) (←) ΔΟΓΟΝ

(*a*) Σαρπαδον (*b*) Εκκτορ (*c*) Αχιλλεους (*d*) Φοινίξ

(*e*) Αιφας (*f*) Αιφας (*g*) Αινεας (*h*) Ηιποκλες (*i*) Δολον

(*a*) Σαρπαδδδν, (*b*) Έκκτδρ, (*c*) Αχιλλεούς, (*d*) Φοίνιξ.

(*e*) Αιφας, (*f*) Αιφας, (*g*) Αινέας, (*h*) Ηιπ(π)οκλές. (*i*) Δόλδν.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Fights between Achilles and Hektor, the Aiantes and Aineias (with peculiarities); Dolon running (labels).

The three scenes have been thought to reflect the *Iliad*; see §446.

(*b*), (*c*), and (*h*): a geminate is written once where we expect it, once where we do not expect it, and once it is absent where we would expect it; see §113.

(*a*) Sarpedon has an original long [ā] in the second syllable (see §448). (*b*) For the different spellings of Hektor's name see §250. For the doubling of the consonant see §115. Qoppa, not used here, still occurs in later inscriptions, as Arena points out (see §108).

(*c*) Lorber (p. 33 n. 189), following Amandry (1944: 29), thinks that *Αχιλλεους* is a genitive and to be assigned to the horse, not to the warrior. This is very unlikely. First, for Lorber to be right, the name would have to start further down, next to the horses' mouths, to run from right to left, and to bend anti-clockwise. As it is, it must be the man's label.<sup>230</sup> Secondly, Lorber's claim that we would expect Achilles' name to be written to the left of his head, as with Aineias on the other side of the vase, is unjustified. We may on the contrary assert that the writer wanted to write the name Achilles in perfect symmetry with the name Hektor, which was not possible on Aineias' side, since to the right of his

<sup>230</sup> The scene in COR 19 with gen. *Ἡρακλέος*, compared by Amandry, is therefore not comparable.

head and hand there was not enough space to start a name. Also, Aineias' side is more likely to have been labelled *after* Achilles' than vice versa, since the fight between Hektor and Achilles is the main scene (see §446). Thirdly, our form makes better sense as a nominative than as a genitive, in view of eight more nominative forms on this vase. Arena was therefore right to remark—without further explanation—that an interpretation as a genitive Ἀχιλλέους is unlikely. We need not regret that a nominative is more likely than a genitive. For it is much easier to assume that this spelling -εου- is an attempt at writing [eu] at a time when <ou> was already pronounced [ō] (as Heubeck (1980: 286) remarks), than to construct a genitive form [-ēous] or [-ēōs] instead of the Doric form, for which we expect [ō] (see §221). It is also unnecessary to suggest that in view of -κτο- and -εου- we have to assume foreign influence or that the writer was a foreigner (Arena). For there are other instances of Hektor's name with kappa instead of qoppa in Corinthian (see §108); and the spelling <εου> is exactly parallel to <αε> (see §225), only that there was no special sign for [ō] as there was for [ē] (see §§219 f.).

(d)–(f), and (i) are as expected. For (g) see §245. For -κλῆς, as in (h), see §506.

COR 31 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 2552  
(PARTLY INCISED)

Frs. of a cup from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Brock (1962), 264, and Jeffery (1962), 395, no. 15, ph. pl. 107, dr. pl. 163; Arena (1967), 106, no. 68; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 69, (d) only; Lorber (1979), 87 f., no. 142; Amyx (1988), 564 f., no. 31 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Brock quite cl. *Scene*: End of an inscr. (a), perhaps—though not necessarily—belonging to the first figure preserved, who is facing l. The next figure (b) is facing r. towards a throne to r. (no label preserved). Below the scene there is the incised inscr. (d). Another fr. shows part of a clothed figure, labelled (c), and a warrior to r. (no name preserved). The other frs. are uninscribed. All figures have black feet. *Date*: LC (Lorber).

(a) BM (b) Δ (c) ΓΜΟΜ  
(d) (incised) ∇ΓΟΜΜ ΜΒΘΒΚΒ

(a) [. . .]ες (b) [. . .] α (c) [Διον]υσος  
(d) [. . .] υλοσμ . νεθεκετ[. . .]

(a) [. . .]ες, (b) [. . .] α, (c) [Διόν]υσος.  
(d) [. . .]συλος μ' ἀνέθεκε τ[αῖ Ηῒρα?].

*Epigraphy*: (a) The reading [Ἀρτ]εμ[ις] ? (Brock, followed by Lorber, but not taken into account by Jeffery) is hardly possible, since the last two letters -ις would have to show to the r. of the figure. (b) If the letters are the end of a name, the first one can scarcely be a rho (of [Ἡῒ]ρα, as is often assumed); nor are nu or iota (for Athena or Eileithyia) likely; at all events the traces of the letter are hard to interpret. (d) [. . .]αυλος is also possible.

The broken-off alpha of ἀνέθεκε seems to be reflected in the angular break. *Interpretation*: (a)–(c) Unidentified scene with Dionysos (labels). (d) Incised dedication.

As there seems to be a representation of Zeus sitting on his throne on Olympos, Brock thinks of either the Birth of Athena or the Introduction of Herakles to Olympos. (a) The two letters—if the inscription indeed runs away from the head of the figure—are the end of a name, which excludes mu as the second letter. We may consider [Χάριτ]ες or [Ἄρ]ες. (Or is it the label of the warrior on the second fragment, usually interpreted as Herakles?) (b) To judge from the inscription, this is almost certainly a woman. (c) is as expected, and so is the fragmentary graffito (d), whose restoration by Jeffery was accepted by Arena and Amyx.

COR 32 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 2542

Frs. of a cup from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Brock (1962), 262, and Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 5, ph. pl. 106, drs. pls. 110, 163; Arena (1967), 82, no. 24; Lorber (1979), 35, no. 38; Amyx (1988), 565, no. 32 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, 'Herakles' 1828 and 2498; *LIMC* vi, 'Kerkopes' 1. *Photographs*: Brock quite cl. *Scene*: Geryones (no name preserved). Herakles (a) walking to r., throttling the lion. One of the Kerkopes (b) hanging head-down from the back of a figure who must again be Herakles walking to r. (no name preserved). *Date*: MC (Lorber); c.600–575 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΒΒΡΔΓ(←)ΒΜ (b) (←) ΑΤΞΜ  
(a) Ηεραλες (b) [. . .]βατις  
(a) Ηῒρα(κ)λῆς, (b) [. . .]βατις.

*Epigraphy*: (b) The possibility [. . .]βατις (Jeffery) does not seem likely from the ph., as already noted by Lorber, but Β, Γ, and perhaps Ρ do seem possible. *Interpretation*: Herakles with Geryones, the Nemean lion, and the Kerkopes (labels).

The vase must have borne a sequence of pictures showing several of Herakles' adventures (see n. 1108). Only two inscriptions survive. (a) The kappa is omitted, which is probably a mistake (see §112). The writer may have been distracted and confused, first by the lack of space and then by the need to turn the vase, at which point he also changed the direction of the script. He may even have been illiterate. (b) Jeffery thinks of Εὐρύβατος, one of the Kerkopes. Although this seems attractive, a form [Εὐρύ]βατις would be irregular. There may have been many other Kerkopes' names which are lost now.

COR 33 MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
SH 327

Pyxis from a place (formerly) called Mertese, near Corinth, by the Dodwell P. (see Amyx) (1806 or shortly before). *Bibliography*:

Dodwell (1819), 196 f. with col. dr.; *CIG* (i), no. 7 (bibl.); Abeken (1836), 309 f.; Jahn (1854), 65, no. 211 (bibl.); von Rohden (1888), 1953 ff., unsatisfactory col. dr. pl. 88 fig. 2046b (opp. p. 1935); Kretschmer (1888), 173, no. 38; Kretschmer (1894), 26, no. 42; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3120; Sieveking–Hackl (1912), 26 f., no. 327; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 121. 1; dr. Pfuhl (1923), fig. 192; Payne (1931), 163 no. 11, cat. no. 861; Benson (1953), 73, no. 1; Arena (1967), 77 f., no. 18; Lorber (1979), 45 f., no. 52, ph. pl. 14; *LIMC* i, ‘Agamemnon’ 1\*, ph. pl. 191; Amyx (1988), 565, no. 33 (cat. pp. 205 f., no. A-1, bibl.), phs. pl. 86. 1a–b; Schefold (1993), 298 f., with ph. fig. 322; *LIMC* vii, ‘Thersandros’ i. 1\*, ph. pl. 621. *Photographs*: Lorber mostly cl.; *LIMC* and Amyx slightly less cl.; Schefold only (a)–(d), quite cl. *Scene* (on the lid): A man (a) with *kerykeion*; a woman (b), touching the head of a boy (c), who is running; another woman (a servant?) (d), all to r. Then two men to r. attacking a boar from behind, (e) with a spear, (f) with his bow; another man (g) is lying under the boar, and another (h) is attacking it from the front. *Date*: 600 (Sieveking–Hackl); MC (Lorber; *LIMC*); c. 590 (Schefold).

(a) ΔΑΜΒΜΝΟΝ (b) ΑΓΚΑ (c) ΔΟΡΞΜΑΧΟΜ  
(d) ΜΑΚΞΜ (e) ΑΝΔΡΥΤΑΜ (f) ΓΑΡΟΝ  
(g) ΦΞΓΟΝ (h) ΘΕΡΜΑΝΔΡΟΜ

(a) Αγαμεμνον (b) Αλκα (c) Δοριμαχος (d) Σακis  
(e) Ανδρυτας (f) Λαρον (g) Φιλον (h) Θερσανδρος

(a) Αγαμέμνων, (b) Ἀλκᾶ, (c) Δορίμαχος, (d) σᾱκίς,  
(e) Ανδρῦτᾱς, (f) Λάρον, (g) Φίλων, (h) Θέρσανδρος.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Boar-hunt, probably pseudo-heroic (labels).

Amyx (1987: 167) emphasizes that this is the only work by the Dodwell P. that bears inscriptions. This, however, is not surprising, since he mostly painted animal friezes and ordinary hoplite and horsemen scenes.<sup>231</sup> It is clear that in many of the places where there are inscriptions on the vase the painter would otherwise have put some of the filling ornament that is scattered all over the painting. This ornamentation—or at least most of it—must therefore have been added after the inscriptions. We may conclude from this that the painter and the writer are the same person—an assumption which seems natural but is hardly ever provable.

(a) According to Lorber (p. 46), Agamemnon will here be a pseudo-heroic label because none of the other names is specifically heroic. On the other hand, we may argue for an epic origin for (c) (see below), and the fact that Agamemnon holds a *kerykeion* gives him a senior appearance. Nevertheless, the scene as a whole can hardly be linked with any specific mythical event (we

do not hear of Agamemnon as a participant in a boar-hunt). For (b) Amyx (1988: 565) refers to Bechtel, p. 612 (a παιδίσκη in the fourth century). It could also be understood as a hypocoristic (see §228) from a compound name like \*Ἀλκ-άνδρᾱ, -άνειρα, etc. (see also COR 39); for masculine names with this first element see Bechtel, pp. 35 f.

(c) Amyx says that Δορίμαχος could be ‘either Δορίμαχος or Δωρίμαχος’, citing Pape–Benseler. The former name is attested, for example, in *SGDI* 1987. 16 (Delphi, 2nd cent.), the latter in *SIG* 546B. 2 (3rd cent.; Bechtel, p. 144). Here at Corinth, however, only the second possibility is likely, for the following reasons. Bechtel (pp. 139 f. and 144) gives seven names with Δορυ- and one (the example from Delphi just cited) with Δορι-, and, on the other hand, six with Δωρι-. The first question is what the element Δορι- means and how it is to be explained morphologically. Bechtel derives it from δόρυ ‘wood, spear’. Indeed, a Δοριμαχος makes perfect sense as ‘fighting with a spear’.<sup>232</sup> As for the difference in quantity, the normal assumption is that Δορι- and Δωρι- go back to a form with [w].<sup>233</sup> In fact, \*ΔορϜι- in many dialects would automatically yield Δωρι- after the loss of [w], and the solitary Δορίμαχος, although attested in Delphi, may just be Attic (i.e. Koine), where the result of \*ΔορϜι- was \*Δῶρι-.<sup>234</sup> Yet in Corinthian in the early sixth century not only is a form Δῶρι- unexpected, but Δῶρι- too is unlikely, since in this environment the [w] is normally preserved (see §209). Now, such formations are relatively frequent in, and typical of, poetic language (e.g. δουριάλωτος, δουρίκτητος, δουρίληπτος, ‘prisoner of war’).<sup>235</sup> As our name does not suit Corinthian for phonological reasons, we may therefore most easily understand it as non-Corinthian, ultimately going back to the epic tradition in a dialect where [w] after a liquid was not preserved at the time (see §503). As the [o] must then be long for metrical reasons, we may take this form as an additional example of the secondary [ō] written <o> not <ou> (see §220).

In connection with (d) σᾱκίς Arena mentions σηκίς ‘servant’, Ar. *Vesp.* 768, and Pherecr. fr. 10 *PCG* (a slave’s name?). Perhaps the fact that the woman is dressed differently from (b) Ἀλκᾶ is meant to indicate different status. At any rate, the label is a speaking one, probably not even a name but a noun (see §239). The

<sup>232</sup> If we start from Δῶρος ‘Dorian’, there is a morphological difficulty (we would expect Δωρο-), and the name we get (‘fighting the Dorians’) is very odd, particularly for a Corinthian. (The latter problem is less grave in COR 114, where the bearer of this name is a defeated warrior.)

<sup>233</sup> Bechtel’s derivation, ΔορϜι- zu \*δῶρυ, altind. *dāru* (Holz), has to be slightly adjusted. There is no need to assume \*δῶρυ in Greek, for the long [ā] in Indo-Iranian is due to Brugmann’s law, a fairly regular sound-change that affected short PIE [o] in open syllable (see e.g. Mayrhofer (1986), 146 with n. 198, bibl.). The attested δόρυ is therefore sufficient as a starting-point. Even if the long-grade vocalism existed, it would have been shortened in \*δῶρwi- by Osthoff’s law, as is pointed out by Szemerényi (1987: 1515), who deals with Schulze’s earlier etymology of the name of the Dorians.

<sup>234</sup> For these changes see e.g. Buck, §25; Lejeune, §§159, 229.

<sup>235</sup> Outside epic all three exist with δορι-. The easiest justification of the [i] of their first element is to assume that they started as univerbations (‘Zusammenrückungen’; Risch, p. 219), e.g. δουρι κλειτός, δουρι κλυτός (both in Homer, the former in formulaic use in *Il.* 5. 55 and *Od.* 15. 52, the latter *Od.* 17. 71).

<sup>231</sup> See Amyx (1988), 205–8. The only piece where we might expect inscrs. is Amyx, pp. 208, 320, no. A-44, with Herakles and the Hydra (this is Amandry–Amyx (1982), 102, no. 7).

original [ā] is known from other Doric attestations of this root (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. *σηκός*). (e) Another testimony of the name *Ἀνδρῦτας*, apart from the geographer cited by Amyx (from *Σ* Ap. Rhod. 2. 159), is given by Bechtel (p. 52; 2nd cent.), who also cites an instance of underlying *Ἄνδρως* and lists similar formations under *Ἀισχύτης* (p. 30). (f) A parallel for the ethnic *Ἀάρον* as a proper name is cited by Kretschmer,<sup>236</sup> another one by Bechtel, p. 540, and a derivative (*Λακωνίδης*) *ibid.* 547; see also *Φρύξ* etc. (see §241). (g) *Φίλων* is a very common name (Amyx). (h) Arena cites one other occurrence of *Θέρσανδρος* from the neighbourhood of Corinth, namely *LSAG* 143. 8 (Sikyōn);<sup>237</sup> see also *Φιλοθέρης* (Epidauros), *Θερσάνωρ* *Θερσικλέος* (Sikyōn), *Θέρ[σ]ας* (Argos), all in Bechtel (p. 207). For the [rs] cluster see §214.

## COR 34 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 1776

Fr. of a pyxis (?) from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Hopper (1962), 169, and Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 9, dr. pl. 163; Lorber (1979), 44, no. 49 (with dr.); Amyx (1988), 565, no. 34 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Parts of a female figure (named?) standing on a kind of base. *Date*: MC (Lorber).

⊕βτ  
Θετ[. . .]  
Θέτ[ις?].

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. starts at some distance from the figure and runs upwards instead of downwards. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene, perhaps with Thetis in her bridal chariot (perhaps a label).

## COR 35 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 1842

Fr. of a pyxis lid from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Hopper (1962), 180, and Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 7, drs. pls. 78, 163; mentioned by Friis Johansen (1967), 83; Lorber (1979), 44 f., no. 50; Amyx (1988), 565 f., no. 35 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: A warrior striding to l. (named), another one to r. (no name preserved) stabbing a third who is lying on the ground (no name preserved). To the r. there are more warriors and an archer (no names preserved). *Date*: MC (Lorber).

<sup>236</sup> The labels on Graef–Langlotz (1925), 173 f., no. 1632 (dr. pl. 84; the frs. are not in *ABV*), cited by Lorber (n. 286), are real ethnics not names (the Spartan there is labelled [*Λα*]κεδαίμων[ος]).

<sup>237</sup> Amyx: ‘A name that is both heroic and everyday . . . localized at Corinth (son of Sisyphos) and Sikyōn (*AthMitt* 66 [1941], pp. 220 f.); but *SGDI* 3120, cited by Arena as a parallel, is *this inscription*. See also *SEG* 11 (1954), 244, lines 52 and 62.’ Did Amyx, who criticizes Arena, himself realize that *SEG* 11. 244 is the inscr. from Sikyōn (*LSAG* 143. 8, *GD* 96)?

ΞΥΜΒ  
[. . . ?]συμε[. . . ?]  
[Θρα?]συμε[δεσ?].

*Epigraphy*: If we assume the same orientation for all letters, the first is probably not a san but an iota. In order to read a san, we would have to assume a sharp turn in the inscr. Moreover on Hopper’s dr., which is likely to be more accurate than Jeffery’s (the two are rather dissimilar), there seems to be a large gap in front of the first letter: *vacat?* *Interpretation*: Unidentified battle scene (label).

Unidentified fight (maybe heroic), possibly featuring Thrasymedes (Jeffery suggested *Il.* 16. 321 ff. and 17. 378 ff.). J. Mansfield *apud* Amyx suggests an alternative [Θρα]σύμε[λος], a Trojan.

## COR 36 STAVROS (OR VATHY?)

Fr. of a skyphos from Ithaka (1932). *Bibliography*: Robertson (1948), 17 f., with dr. fig. 9; Arena (1967), 79 f., no. 22, dr. (the same) fig. 20; Lorber (1979), 48, no. 55, dr. (the same) fig. 33; not in *LIMC?*; Amyx (1988), 566, no. 36 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: A lost figure (a), then a woman (unnamed) following a man in chiton and himation (b), who is perhaps in a chariot. *Date*: ‘belongs in the first quarter of the sixth century, and probably not late in it’ (Robertson); MC (Lorber).

(a) ΟΞΜΑΞ (b) (←) ΟΝ  
(a) . οισαι (b) [. . .]ον  
(a) Μοίσαι, (b) [Ἀπέλλ]ων.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Robertson leaves no doubt about the third letter, giving Ξ twice in his transcriptions. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Apollon Musagetes (labels).

Lorber is certainly right to suspect at least one more Muse behind the preserved female figure, from whose face inscription (a) would have run towards the preserved figure.

For the scene and its possible settings see §406.

In view of the form (a) *Μοίσαι*, Robertson (who points to Hes. *Scut.* 201–6) refers to the Aiolic dialect, and from this inscription argues that -οι- might also be a Doric feature. Masson (1981/2: 543) reminds us of one *Μοισέας*, a *thearodokos* in Arkadia. Arena, on the other hand, notes that Eumelus of Corinth (fr. 696 *PMG*),<sup>238</sup> a follower of both epic and choral traditions, also uses this form, and concludes that its occurrence here might be due to literary influence. This is taken up by Amyx, who remarks: ‘poetic spelling’, pointing to COR 96B. I favour this second interpretation (see §508).

<sup>238</sup> See also Lorber, p. 48 n. 298 (with some bibl.).

## COR 37 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 2469

Fr. of a skyphos from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Brock (1962), 254, and Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 8, drs. pls. 100, 163; Arena (1967), 89, no. 35; Lorber (1979), 48 f., no. 56; *LIMC* iii, ‘Dioskouroi’ 1, with dr.; Amyx (1988), 566, no. 37 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: A rider on horseback (*a*). Inscr. (*b*) must have belonged to a figure in front of him, now lost. *Date*: MC (Lorber); c.590–580 (*LIMC*).

(*a*) ΚΑΜΜ(←)ΤΟΔ (*b*) (←) ΟΥ  
 (*a*) Κασστορ (*b*) [. . .] ρλ [. . .]  
 (*a*) Κάσσοτῶρ, (*b*) [. . .] ρλ [. . .]

*Epigraphy*: (*b*) As Amyx points out, the third letter is hardly an upsilon as had been assumed in order to get [Π]ολυ[δευ]κε[ς]. He also rightly argues that if only one letter were missing at the beginning, the inscr. could not start from the head of a figure analogous to the horseman (*a*). *Interpretation*: Unidentified (pseudo-heroic?) riding scene with Kastor (labels).

Label (*a*) first runs towards the rider’s head, then turns away *boustrophedon*. The rho seems to have only a very short prolongation of its vertical stroke. For the double consonant in (*a*), Jeffery gives a few references,<sup>239</sup> but see above all Kretschmer, p. 175, and Hermann (1923), 110 ff. (see §115). (*b*) [. . .] ρλ [. . .] is not clear; a reading as Polydeukes is hardly possible. The scene may—as Amyx suggests—be compared with COR 16, although on our vase a mounted Polydeukes, now lost, may of course have followed Kastor; the writer is certainly not the same.

COR 38 BONN, AKADEMISCHES KUNSTMUS.  
DER UNIV. 1114. 2

Fr. of a column krater from Selinus (gift c.1904–7: W. Geominy, *per litt.*). *Bibliography*: Greifenhagen (1936), 359 no. 14, dr. 362 fig. 15; Payne (1931), 169 no. 74; Arena (1967), 77, no. 16; Lorber (1979), 47 f., no. 54 (with dr. from Greifenhagen), ph. pl. 14; *LIMC* i, ‘Aias’ i. 31; *LIMC* iii, ‘Diomedes’ i. 106\*, ph. pl. 294; Amyx (1988), 566, no. 38 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Lorber and *LIMC* not very cl. *Scene*: Three warriors to r., one perhaps sitting, labelled (*a*) under the base of the handle, the second walking (*b*), the third probably walking as well (no name preserved). *Date*: MC (Lorber); EC (*LIMC* i); c.600 (*LIMC* iii).

(*a*) ΑΣΦΑΜ (*b*) ΔΣΟΜΒΔΒΜ  
 (*a*) Αῤφας (*b*) Διομεδῆς  
 (*a*) Αῤφας, (*b*) Διομῆδῆς.

<sup>239</sup> Buck, §89. 1; Walters–Birch (1905), ii. 270 with n. 1, who cites two Attic occurrences of this spelling of Kastor’s name, viz. *ARV* 1313. 5 and 619. 15. The latter vase is cited by Amyx too.

*Epigraphy*: Lorber dots the first three letters of (*a*) and the last five of (*b*); they are not to be doubted, however. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Aias and Diomedes (labels).

Arena points out that the iotas have only very shallow angles, but we should not consider the straight letter-form<sup>240</sup> as long as there are angles (see §103). For the [w] in (*a*) see §209. (*b*) is as expected.

## COR 39 IZMIR, ARCH. MUS. INV. ?

Fr. of a column krater (?) from Old Smyrna (1948–51). *Bibliography*: Anderson (1958/9), 150, no. 160, dr. pl. 30; Jeffery (1964), 45 f., no. 2, with dr.; Lorber (1979), 49, no. 59; Amyx (1988), 566, no. 39 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Lower part of a woman, the inscr. is written on her dress. *Date*: not EC, but MC, to judge from the letter-forms (Lorber, p. 49).

(←) ΑΓΚΘΛΑ  
 Αλκθλα  
 Αλκ(ᾶ)θλᾱ.

*Epigraphy*: Although the two lambdas are slightly different, no doubts about the reading have been expressed. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene (label).

Anderson reads “Αλκιθέα or Αλκιθόα (alt. Αλκαθόα)”, remarking, ‘nonsense inscriptions are common on Corinthian vases’ (which seems an exaggeration). Jeffery suggests similar solutions. J. M. Cook (*apud* Anderson) proposed a reading αφεθλα, which, however, raises great difficulties, since the alleged digamma lacks the lower oblique stroke, and the alleged epsilon (β is required) lacks two of the four oblique strokes; also we expect a female name. The easiest solution without indulging in corrections or restorations of this clearly legible inscription is to assume A.W. (see §111): Αλκ(ᾶ)θλᾱ, comparable to the masculine names (from Bechtel, p. 23) Εὔαθλος (5th cent.) and Πένταθλος (c.580).<sup>241</sup> This means that [w] was lost and [ae] contracted in Corinth at the time,<sup>242</sup> which is believable (see §§223, 506).

## COR 40 PARIS, LOUVRE E 632

Krater from Caere, by the Ophelandros P. (see Amyx) (ex Campana inv. 56; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* ii. 13; Dümmler (1885), with drs. pls. D, E; Körte (1893), 90 ff.; Kretschmer (1888), 164, no. 18; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 257 f., no. 23; Kretschmer (1894), 22 f., no. 26; Pottier

<sup>240</sup> ‘non si differenzierebbe di molto dallo ι ionico-attico’ (Arena).

<sup>241</sup> Double A.W., i.e. †Αλκ(α)θ(ε)λα, does not lead to satisfying results.

<sup>242</sup> See αφεθλα- *LSAG* 215. 5 = *DGE* 650 (c.525–500?; not in *CEG*) and *CEG* 394 (c.600–550?).



(1897), 55; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3145; Fränkel (1912b), 100–6, bibl.; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; Greifenhagen (1929), 102 n. 128, bibl.; Payne (1931), 122, 163 no. 15, cat. no. 1178; J. Schmidt, *RE* xviii/1 (1939), 349 f. (bibl.); Amandry (1944), 49 f.; Breitholtz (1960), 128 ff., 163–81; Bieber (1961), 38 f.; Webster (1961); Bouzek (1963), with bibl., pls. 2–4; Arena (1967), 84 f., no. 27, ph. pl. 8; Arena (1966), 477 ff., on (b); Webster (1970), 128; Trendall–Webster (1971), 19, no. I-6, with ph.; Seeberg (1971), 45, no. 226 (bibl.); Simon (1972), 42 f., dr. fig. 3; Zwierlein-Diehl (1975), 67–9; Hampe (1975), with bibl. *passim*, ph. p. 87; Lorber (1979), 38–40, no. 42 (bibl.), ph. pl. 12; *LIMC* iv, ‘Eunoos’ 1\*, ph. pl. 29; Stoessl (1987), 90–4; Amyx (1988), 566 f., no. 40 (cat. pp. 233 f., no. A-1, bibl.), phs. pl. 102. 1a–b. *Photographs*: Bouzek (both sides), rather uncl.; Arena (1967) quite cl.; Trendall–Webster (both sides) uncl.; Hampe uncl.; Lorber cl.; *LIMC* and Amyx uncl. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: A diaulos-player playing for a padded and long-bearded dancer (both unnamed). Two men, (a) with a short beard and (b) without beard, carrying a krater, are both watching the dancing scene, (a) looking back over his shoulder. To the r. a man (c) to l. with a short beard and a long but limp phallos, holding a stick in either hand, is beating or at least threatening the two. On the other side two men are shackled, heads in stocks and feet in fetters; a woman brings food on a plate; to the l. a store of six kraters (no inscrs.). *Date*: 600–575 (Trendall–Webster); MC (Lorber); 590–570 (*LIMC*).

(a) (←) ΒΥΝΟΜ (b) ΟΜΡΞΥΟΜ (c) (←) ΟΦΒΓΔΛΔΡΟΜ  
(a) *Eunos* (b) *Ομριφος* (c) *Οφέλανδρος*  
(a) *Eunos* (or *Eunos*), (b) *Ομριφος*, (c) *Οφέλανδρος*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Men carrying a krater (labels).

For a short discussion of the different views on the meaning of the scene see §480.

(c) *Οφέλανδρος* means ‘useful to men’.<sup>243</sup> It is attested as a human name.<sup>244</sup>

(b) *Ομριφος* presents problems: first because of its *-μρ-* cluster, and secondly because of its origin and meaning. In normal Greek an inherited cluster [mr] develops an epenthetic consonant and changes into [mbr]. The date for this change is not easy to establish. The parallel development [nr] > [ndr] had certainly started by Mycenaean times (e.g. *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* /Aleksandrā/). On the other hand, some instances of inherited [mr] written <μρ> in the sixth and fifth centuries (*Φιλομρότοι*, *Μροχός*, *Κλέομροτος* (*CEG* 394)), discussed by Heubeck (1970b),<sup>245</sup> could suggest a later date for [mr] > [mbr]. But since the presence of [b] and [d]

in the clusters [mr] and [nr], respectively, is almost automatic, the process may have remained reversible (i.e. the oppositions [mr]:[mbr] and [nr]:[ndr] neutralized) for a long period, so that at a time when the spelling was not yet standardized a writer was free to write the stop or to omit it.<sup>246</sup> Therefore the presence of <μρ> by itself is insufficient proof to decide whether our form contains inherited *\*-mr-* or *\*-mbr-*.<sup>247</sup> Three suggestions have been made: (1) *Ομριφος* is derived from *ὄμβρος* and means ‘rainy’<sup>248</sup> (though ‘rain-maker’, the most widely accepted meaning, is very unlikely from the point of view of formation; it does not fit the scene either). If that were the case [b], which is etymologically justified (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v.), would have been lost. (2) It means ‘the Umbrian’, i.e. a slave from there (suggestion by Fränkel, accepted by Payne).<sup>249</sup> The etymology of this ethnic is unknown, and we therefore do not know whether the [b] is etymologically justified or not (at any rate, it seems always to be there). As Fränkel pointed out, we should not be too sceptical about the possibility of slaves from Italy at the time; we have other foreigners such as *Φρύξ* (COR 18 and 102), etc. (see §241). The name *Ομβρικός* occurs on a Greek graffito dedication to Hera from Gravisca (*SEG* 27. 671, 6th cent., written in the East Ionic alphabet), where it is plausibly the ethnic. In this connection we should also remember that our vase was found at Caere. Relations between central Italy, to which hundreds if not thousands of Corinthian vases were imported, and the site of their production, may well have been such as to allow slaves to be traded in the opposite direction. (3) There is yet a third etymology (mentioned by Arena (1966)): *ὄβρια*, *ὄβρίκια* ‘young wild animals’ (particularly piglets). With these nouns Bechtel (p. 585) had plausibly associated a name *Ομβρίας* (*IG* v/2. 429. 4, acc., a freedman in Arkadia in the 5th cent., whose companion was *Χοιροθύων*), citing *ὄμβριον* *χοιρίδιον* (Hsch., corr. Nauck). Chantraine, s.v. *ὄβρια*, thinks that the nasal could be original. But the [b] also seems to belong. I can see no way of deciding between these interpretations,<sup>250</sup> of which none need be correct, since none provides us with a speaking name (§239) suitable to our scene.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>246</sup> There are also post-Mycenaean cases of omitted [d] in inherited [nr] clusters, e.g. Attic *Ἀνρομάχῃ* (see Kretschmer, pp. 41 and 183 f.; Threatte, p. 573); an uncertain case on our vases is COR 121a below.

<sup>247</sup> Remarkably on our vase there is also the parallel case with a written voiced stop, as was already noticed by Arena (1966), namely in *-ανδρος* (with epenthetic [d], see *ἀνήρ*). Still, it seems dangerous to draw any conclusions for the origin of our *-μρ-* from that.

<sup>248</sup> For the gloss cited by Körte (n. 62): *ὄμβρικός* ὑπὸ Ἀλικαρνασέων βάκχος, which has no bearing on our problem, see Schmidt (citing P. Kretschmer, who (1894) had accepted Körte’s solution, but later preferred the second explanation: *Glotta*, 6 (1915), 307; 21 (1933), 116) and Hampe (p. 89 with nn. 13–15).

<sup>249</sup> Heubeck (1980: 283) calls the interpretation as ‘Umbrian’ ‘ausgeschlossen’, because he is convinced that the characters on the vase are not slaves.

<sup>250</sup> Names derived from atmospheric phenomena (see Bechtel, pp. 598 f.: *Ψίαξ*, *Νίφων*, *Χίονις*, *Νεφέλη* etc.), from places (Bechtel, pp. 536–62), and from animals (Bechtel, pp. 580–92) are all well attested.

<sup>251</sup> Hampe (p. 96 f.) also thinks of *ὁ μικρός*, and duly rejects it right away. We would expect <ho> for the article (see ad COR 71e); and the mistake would be somewhat too heavy.

<sup>243</sup> The transcription as given by Amyx, *Οφέλανδρος* ‘i.e. *Οφήλανδρος* (Doric)’, is wrong. A long *e*-sound is only justified in the formation of the present tense *ὀφείλω* < \**ὀφέλ-ω* (see also Chantraine, s.v., and Frisk, s.v.).

<sup>244</sup> Bechtel, pp. 51, 354; *IG* vii. 2314, 2872; see also Myc. *a-re-ra-no* /Ophelānōr/.

<sup>245</sup> See also *CEG* 402 [... ἔ(μ)] *μοροτοῖσιν*; *IGDS* 22 = *LSAG* 276. 25 *Σμοροτιδᾶ* (gen.).

(a) For *Euvos*, too, there are several possibilities. (1) If it is to be read *Eῦνός* ('high-spirited', 'sensible', *vel sim.*), which is attested as *Eῦνοος* (Bechtel, p. 173), this would be another example of the secondary [ō] written with <ο> not <ου>. <sup>252</sup> (2) It may be a hypocoristic name *Eῦνος* from *Eῦνοος*, as preferred by Kretschmer and Bechtel (p. 173). (3) It may be a name connected with *εὐνή*, most likely a nickname meaning 'sleepy' (also from this root comes *Πάρεννος* on COR 5). <sup>253</sup> As we are likely to be dealing with a slave, the first possibility, a compound name, seems the least probable. <sup>254</sup>

[COR 40A; SEE COP 62]

COR 41 OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUS. 1912. 33

Fr. of a column krater from Naukratis (1903). *Bibliography*: Payne (1931), 164 no. 18, cat. no. 1190; H. G. G. Payne, *CVA Great Britain*, 9 (1931), 72, no. 20, ph. pl. 6. 20; Arena (1967), 87, no. 30; Lorber (1979), 51, no. 64, ph. pl. 14; Amyx (1988), 567, no. 41 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: *CVA* sm., Lorber cl. *Scene*: Part of a draped woman facing r. (no name preserved). To the r. scanty remains of another figure (named; not necessarily female as Lorber implies). *Date*: probably early 6th cent. (Payne); MC (Lorber).

(←) FOΞΜΒΥ

*Fouev[s]*

*Fouev[s]*.

*Epigraphy*: Lorber (p. 51) dots all the letters except the first, Amyx the third, fifth, and sixth. But the first, third, and fourth are certain. The second, preceded by a digamma and followed by an iota, must be an omicron (qoppa, the only alternative, is excluded for phonological reasons). The fifth letter consists of a vertical stroke and an oblique one sloping down from the top then turning back towards the vertical stroke; this only permits us to read β, since [l], [r], and [p] are unlikely after -οιυ-. The trace of the last visible letter also fits Payne's interpretation *Fouev[s]*. It cannot be decided whether the final san ever existed. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene, possibly heroic (label).

Arena refers to CHA 17, which is also an unidentified scene (see §465).

<sup>252</sup> Fränkel ruled out this possibility for phonological reasons, which is not justified; see §220.

<sup>253</sup> Bechtel (p. 177) does not connect the names with *Eῦν-* with 'bed', although both examples cited by him, *Eῦνανθίς* and *Eῦνήθεια* could with some imagination be linked to that sphere.

<sup>254</sup> Stoessl (1987: 93), on the contrary, asserts: 'natürlich *Eῦνους*'. How does he know?

\*COR 42 PALERMO, BANCO DI SICILIA, COLLEZIONE  
MORMINO 755

Frs. of a krater from ? (1969 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Benson (1969), 119, phs. pl. 42. 37 f.; Amyx (1988), 567, no. 42 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 142. 2. *Photographs*: Benson sm. *Scene*: Legs of horses to r. faced by a man (a), 'three maidens' to l., labelled (b) in front of the foremost, and other figures (no names preserved). *Date*: MC?

(a) Μ (b) (←) ΣΓΓΟΓΥΤΑ

(a) [. . .] . σ (b) [. . . ?] ιππολυτα

(a) [. . . ε?] υς, (b) [H?] ιππολύτᾱ.

*Epigraphy*: (a) has not previously received attention. Of the first letter only a tiny trace is preserved; from its position it can only have been an upsilon (as an iota it would be overlapping with the san). (b) It is not clear whether at the beginning a heta is broken off or never existed. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene (labels).

Amyx is right to say that (b) as one of 'three maidens' cannot be identified with any specific character or episode. Therefore we can not safely argue for Theseus in (a), and (b) may just be a horsey name (see §238).

[COR 43, INSCRIPTION NOT CORINTHIAN; SEE PCO 4]

°COR 44 PARIS, LOUVRE E 638BIS

Column krater (fragmentary), probably from Italy (ex Campana inv. —; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: not in *CatCamp*; mentioned by Pottier (1899a), 447 and 484; Pottier (1909), 113–36, dr. pl. 14; Payne (1931), 164 no. 20, cat. no. 1196; Wiencke (1954), 292 f., ph. pl. 56. 5; Mota (1957), 33; mentioned by Friis Johansen (1967), 83 f.; Arena (1967), 88, no. 34; Lorber (1979), 50 f., no. 63, phs. pl. 15; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 365\*, ph. pl. 94, 'Aineias' 26; mentioned at *LIMC* iv, 'Hektor' (ii. E. 9); Amyx (1988), 567, no. 44 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, 'Hippichos' 1, with dr.; *LIMC* vii, 'Pyraichmas' 1. *Photographs*: Wiencke only (a)–(c), uncl.; Lorber quite cl.; *LIMC* i only (a)–(c), quite cl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Achilleus (no name preserved) about to kill Troilos (a), holding him by his legs over the altar. From the r. some Trojans, (b)–(e), arrive to help Troilos. *Date*: MC (Lorber); 1st q. 6th cent. (*LIMC* i, 'Achilleus'); c. 580–570 (*LIMC* i, 'Aineias'; v).

(a) ΤΡΟΣΛΟΜ (b) (←) ΗΞΓΞ+ΟΜ (c) (←) ΠΥΡΑΞ+ΜΑΜ  
(d) (←) ΔΞΝΒΑΜ (e) (←) ΒΥΤΟΡ

(a) Τροίλος (b) Ηιπichος (c) Πυραιχμας (d) Αινεας  
(e) ΕΥτορ

(a) Τρόϊλος, (b) Ηίπ(π)ιχος, (c) Πυραίχμᾱς, (d) Αινέᾱς,  
(e) ΕΥτορ.

*Epigraphy:* (a) The fourth letter is somewhat hard to see, but certain (see dr.). *Interpretation:* Achilleus and Troilos (labels).

For the myth represented and the question of a literary background see §442.

(a) For Troilos' name see §257. (b) For names in  $\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$  see §234.<sup>255</sup> Name (c) also occurs on COR 82 (g). For (d) see §245; for (e) see §250.

#### COR 44A SAMOS, HERAION K 4126

Fr. of a column krater, from Samos (1964–5). *Bibliography:* Isler (1978), 100, no. 171, ph. pl. 51, dr. Beilage 6; *LIMC* i, 'Aineias' 30a and 'Alexandros' 87a\*, ph. pl. 393; not in Amyx (1988). *Photographs:* Isler cl.; *LIMC* quite cl. *Scene:* Two warriors to l., (a) and (b), fighting with spears. *Date:* MC, 585–575 (Isler; *LIMC*).

(a) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\Gamma\Delta$  (b)  $\Delta\Xi\text{NB}\Delta\text{M}$

(a)  $\Pi\alpha$ . (b)  $A\iota\upsilon\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$

(a)  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\rho[\iota\varsigma]$ , (b)  $A\iota\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ .

*Epigraphy:* (a) Of the third letter only the bottom end of a vertical stroke is preserved. *Interpretation:* Unidentified fight involving Aineias (and probably Paris) (labels).

Name (a) is as expected. For name (b) see §245.

#### COR 45 BASLE, ANTIKENMUS. UND SAMMLUNG LUDWIG BS 451 (PARTLY INCISED)

Column krater from ?, by the Athana P. (see Amyx) (1966 or earlier). *Bibliography:* Benson (1968), with phs. pls. 24 f. and col. pl. 23; Benson (1969), 120, no. C. 2 (bibl.), ph. pl. 36. 14; Schefold (1978), 182 f. with ph. fig. 243, 314 (bibl.); Lorber (1979), 42 f., no. 45, ph. pl. 12; J.-P. Descœudres, *CVA* Switzerland, 4 (1981), 47 f. (bibl.), phs. pls. 14. 1, 15. 1; *LIMC* iii, 'Diomedes' i. 9\*, ph. pl. 285; Amyx (1988), 567 f., no. 45 (cat. p. 235, no. A-2, bibl.), phs. pl. 104. 1a–b; Schefold (1993), 280 f., with ph. fig. 299. *Photographs:* Benson (1968) (a) cl., (b) quite cl.; Benson (1969), Lorber, *CVA*, Schefold, *LIMC* (a) cl., (b) uncl.; Amyx sm. *Scene:* A chariot to l. with a charioteer and a warrior; beyond the horses a woman (a) facing them. There are other figures to the l. and r. of this scene, all unnamed. Inscr. (b) ends next to the face of the first of three foot-warriors who are standing behind the chariot. *Date:* c.590/80 (Mus. label); MC (Lorber); c.580 (Schefold; *LIMC*).

<sup>255</sup> Arena (p. 88) mentions one Hippichos at Tegea, *IG* v/2. 36. 52; see also Fraser–Matthews (Thasos).

(a)  $\Delta\oplus\Delta\text{N}\Delta$  (b)  $\text{BM}$  (incised)

(a)  $A\theta\alpha\upsilon\alpha$  (b)  $\cdot\cdot\epsilon\varsigma$

(a)  $A\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ , (b)  $\rho\cdot\epsilon\varsigma$ .

*Epigraphy:* (b) Visible are a small circle, a reversed  $\Gamma$  (probably not a tau, which would require a top bar drawn in one stroke across the top of the vertical stroke), an unsuccessful  $\text{B}$ , and a  $\text{M}$ . *Interpretation:* Unspecified departure scene with Athena (label).

It is impossible to attribute a specific mythical event to this scene,<sup>256</sup> as Amyx rightly says. On the other hand, it seems too dismissive to say that this label was no more 'than an afterthought, bound to no specific occasion' (Amyx). For the painter obviously wanted to name Athena, and her alone, and must therefore have had a clear idea of her function in the scene—whatever it was. (a) For the name of Athena at Corinth see §247. The graffito (b) is likely to be nonsense and can hardly have belonged to the original drawing as intended by the painter.

#### \*<sup>o</sup>COR 46A–B PARIS, CABINET DES MÉDAILLES 1648 (FRÖHNER VI 400)

Frs. of a column krater (A), from ?, and a plate (B), once thought to be the lid of (A), from Italy (found ?). *Bibliography:* (A) Payne (1931), 169 no. 74bis, cat. after no. 1196;<sup>257</sup> Beazley (1957a), 239 n. 1;<sup>258</sup> Lorber (1979), 51 f., no. 66; not in *LIMC*?; Amyx (1988), 568, no. 46 (not in cat.).<sup>259</sup> (B) Beazley (1957b), 5, no. 1; Callipolitis–Feytmans (1962), 154, no. 71;<sup>260</sup> Brommer (1973), 331, no. C. 1; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 44; *LIMC* iii, 'Chariklo' i. 4, 'Cheiron' 56\*, ph. pl. 192. *Photographs:* (A) —. (B) *LIMC* quite cl. Vidi 8 Aug. 1990. *Scene:* (A) A bird to l. standing on the ground under a horse, to l. of which the two hind legs and the tail are preserved. Of the horseman one foot remains; he is labelled (a) underneath. Next, a warrior (b) rushing to r., apparently stabbing one to r. (c), who is on one knee (on the adjoining fr. his r. arm, on which he is leaning, is visible). From the r. two warriors, (d) and (e), are approaching. Next comes a warrior to r. (f), fighting one to l. (no name preserved) over the dead body of a third, with head to the r. (g). Finally, another pair fighting each other, (h) and (i). (B) A woman to r. (a); beyond a Centaur to r. (b). The latter receives a baby from a man facing him (no name preserved). Some purple colour is left on the Centaur's body and the woman's mantle. *Date:* (A) MC (Lorber). (B) 600–575 (*LIMC*), i.e. MC.

<sup>256</sup> Athena exhorting Hektor to fight with Achilleus (as in *Il.* 22. 226 ff.), according to Benson (1968); 'Ausfahrt des Tydeus' according to Schefold.

<sup>257</sup> 'I noticed pieces of a light-ground crater with many inscriptions, among them heroic names from the Trojan Cycle' (Payne).

<sup>258</sup> 'I noted Eumelos, Patroqlos, and Eurymachos' (Beazley).

<sup>259</sup> He reports that in 1974 these frs. could not be found.

<sup>260</sup> A full edition in *CVA*, fasc. 3, is announced 'prochainement'.

(A) (a) (←) ΒΥΜΒΓΟΜ (b) (←) ΓΑΤΡΟΚΓΟΜ  
(c) (←) ΒΥΡΥΜΑΧΟΜ (d) (←) ΔΑΞΓΥΓΟΜ  
(e) (←) ΔΞΜΥΜΟΜ (f) ΑΞΦΑΜ (g) (←) ΑΥΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΜ  
(h) ΔΞΟΜΒΔΒΜ (i) (←) ΟΥΑΜ (B) (a) (←) +ΑΡΞΥΓΟΞ  
(b) ΧΞΡΟΜ

(A) (a) *Ευμελος* (b) *Πατροκλος* (c) [ . . ? ] *ευρυμαχος*  
(d) *Δαιπυλος* (e) *Δινυμος* (f) *Αιφας* (g) *Ανδρομαχος*  
(h) *Διομεδες* (i) [ . . ] *ονας* (B) (a) *Χαριφλοι* (b) *Χιρον*

(A) (a) *Εὔμελος*, (b) *Πάτροκλος*, (c) *Εὐρύμαχος*,  
(d) *Δαῖπυλος*, (e) *Δι(ὄ)νυμος* (?), (f) *Αἴφας*, (g) *Ἀνδρόμαχος*,  
(h) *Διομέδης*, (i) [*Κεβρι?*] *όνās*. (B) (a) *Χαριφλῶι*, (b) *Χίρῶν*.

*Epigraphy*: (A) No full transcription has been available until now, as far as I know. (b) The final -ς is somewhat oddly shaped. (e) The reading is clear, including the third letter from the end, which is not a san. (B) (a) The chi is between + and X. *Interpretation*: (A) Unspecified battle scene with Patroklos etc. (mixed) (labels). (B) Chiron receiving the baby Achilleus (labels).

For the problems of finding a suitable place in the Trojan Cycle for the battle scene (A) see §462. For the myth of (B) see §435.

(A) There are no problems with most of the names, viz. (a) ('having good sheep and goats'), (b) (written with kappa as on COR 57; see §108), (c), (d), (f) (see §209), (g), and (h). The fragmentary name (i), which must belong to a Trojan (turned to l.), may be Kebriones.

(e) *Δινυμος* on the other hand, such as it is, makes no sense. There are three possibilities. (1) We could suppose that the writer intended to write *Αἰν-*. But there are not many names with *Αἰνο-* as their first element (Bechtel, p. 27), nor would \**Αἰνυμος* be an easily explicable formation (we do not want to assume a haplogy from *Αἰν-ὄνυμος*). (2) If we stick to what is written, *Δίδυμος* comes to mind, attested as a proper name already in Mycenaean (*di-du-mo*), though never in Greek mythology. But we would have to assume dissimilation for which there seems to be no exactly comparable example (see Schwyzler, pp. 258 f.). Should we therefore prefer (3) to read *Δι(ὄ)νυμος*? This could be explained by A.W. with the letter-name *ῶτα* (it would be a special case, since iota was not a consonant sign in Greek; see §111). The adjective *διώνυμος* means 'far-famed' (see LSJ; *Suid.*) and makes sense as a proper name (it is attested as such, non-heroic, in imperial times);<sup>261</sup> see also, at Corinth, COP 65a *Ὀνύμων*.<sup>262</sup>

The two names of (B) are as expected: (a) *Χαριφλῶι*, a hypocoristic from \**Χαρικλέφεια* (see §236), and (b) *Χίρῶν*, written not with an Ε (see §219) but an iota only (for the name see §248).

<sup>261</sup> See Pape-Benseler and SEG 32 (1982) nos. 462 (AD 135) and 469 (AD 161); for the latter references I am grateful to O. Masson.

<sup>262</sup> A fourth possibility is less likely: \**Δεινυμος*. First, we may expect *Δφ-* (see §209) and *-εν-* (see, however, COR 49 and §219). Secondly, *-νμο-* is not a suffix to form names with and is generally very rare. If it occurs it is based on *u*-stems (see Schwyzler, p. 494: *ῆδνυμος* from *ῆδν-*, *ἔτνυμος* with *ἔτεφός*; as for *φάρνυμος*, we may perhaps remind of *φέριστος*), but there is no \**δεινν-*.

## COR 47 PARIS, LOUVRE CA 809

'Quatrefoil' aryballos from Thebes (acquired 1897). *Bibliography*: Pottier (1899b), 6 f., with dr. fig. 3; mentioned by Kretschmer (1900), 134 with n. 3, dr. fig. 46; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 1596; Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 121. 5; E. Pottier, *CVA* France, 9 (1929), 6, phs. pl. 5. 3–4; Payne (1931), 164 no. 23, cat. no. 1263; Arena (1967), 90, no. 37, ph. pl. 10. 1; Lorber (1979), 54, no. 77; Amyx (1988), 568, no. 47 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: *CVA* (reversed) sm.; Arena cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 'tardo corinzio I (575–550 av. Cr.)' (Arena, p. 90); LC (Lorber, p. 53).

ΑΕΜΦΥΓΞΜΟΜΓΒΤΑΓΑ

*Αεσφυλινος πεταλα*

*Αεσφυλίνος Πετάλᾱ*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication to a human (name in the nominative).

For the precise function of the four vases COR 47–50, which form a homogeneous group, see §312. The gender and case of the proper names in their inscriptions can be established as follows: (1) COR 47 *Αεσφυλίνος* and 48 *Κένις* show that the case is the nominative. (2) Hence COR 49 *Φιδίᾱς* and 50 *Κυλ(λ)ῖᾱς* must be nominative too, i.e. masculine names in *-ῖᾱς* (like e.g. COR 17b *Πυρφῖᾱς*; see §230). (3) And since the names of COR 47, 49, 50 are masculine, COR 48 *Κένις* will also be masculine (for the masc. hypocoristics in *-ις* see §231).

In *Αεσφυλίνος Πετάλᾱ* the second word is the genitive of the father's name (Kretschmer and Arena, comparing the pinax COP 18; but see ad loc.) rather than another nominative (Amyx), which would make no sense, or a dative (fem., Pottier; or masc.), which would yield a meaning entirely different from that of the inscriptions on the other three vases. For more names, masculine and feminine, derived from *πέταλον* 'leaf', see Bechtel, pp. 594 and 596.<sup>263</sup> The lack of aspiration (normal *Αἰσχ-*), thought by Kretschmer to be due to a change as in Elean *πάσχοι* for *πάσχοι* (*DGE* 409 = *GD* 61; the opposite occurs in *DGE* 127 *Αἰσχλᾱβιδῶι* written in the Corinthian alphabet), could equally as well be due to the lack of a special sign for the aspirated voiceless velar stop before back vowels ([o] and [u]), in contrast to the unaspirated sound for which there is ϕ and κ. The name, or perhaps the man himself, is likely to be attested again with the same spelling on the pinax COP 26 [ . . ] *σφυλι* [ . . ].

## COR 48 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG V. I. 3177

'Quatrefoil' aryballos from Thebes (acquired 1890). *Bibliography*: Furtwängler (1891), 116, no. 4; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 346; Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 121. 6; Bechtel (1923), 226, 229; Payne

<sup>263</sup> Masson (1981/2: 543) points to another *Πετάλης* (Egypt).

(1931), 164 no. 24 (bibl.), cat. no. 1263; Arena (1967), 91, no. 38, ph. pl. 10. 2; Lorber (1979), 54, no. 78; Amyx (1988), 568, no. 48 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Arena cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: LC (Lorber).

ΚΕΝΞΙΜ

*Kēvis*

*Kēvis*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication to a human (name in the nominative).

See COR 47 and 49 f. Arena and Amyx accept Bechtel's (1923: 226) interpretation *K(λ)ēvis*. Yet forgotten consonants are a rarity and would point to the writer being illiterate, which is not the case here. Considering the general uncertainty in the use of ξ, ε and β (*Aēσ-* instead of *Aλσ-*, *Φῑδ-* instead of *Φῑδ-*), and other oddities in these four inscriptions, we may assume that the writer meant *Kῑvis* (or *Kῑνvis*), a hypocoristic name from the stem of *κῑνέω* (see Bechtel, p. 237, *Kινέας*, *Kῑνυβ*, *Kῑνων*, *Kῑνησίας*, all 5th or 4th cent.). A different solution would be to assume A.W. (see §111), viz. *K(a)ēvis* (see Bechtel, p. 229, *Kαινίās*, *Kαίνιος*, *Kαῖνος*), i.e. with the same diphthong as in COR 47 *Aēσ-*. I prefer *Kῑvis*/*Kῑνvis*. Lorber's view that the iota is of the four-stroke type with 'Schwänzchen' (as in COR 49, by a different writer), rather than a five-stroke one, is unconvincing: (1) the 'tail' is considerably longer here; (2) only at its very end is the 'writing-line' of the inscription reached. Moreover the other three inscriptions are by different writers. For iota (or sigma) of more than four strokes see LAK 3, 4, 8, IOD 1, and §107.

#### COR 49 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 337

'Quatrefoil' aryballos from ? (1888 or earlier). *Bibliography*: C. Smith (1888), 188, no. 9; Kretschmer (1894), 18, no. 6; Collignon–Couve (1902–4), no. 497; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 350; Payne (1931), 164 no. 25, cat. no. 1263; Arena (1967), 91, no. 39, ph. pl. 11. 1; Lorber (1979), 54, no. 80; Amyx (1988), 568, no. 49 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Arena cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: LC (Lorber).

ΦΞΔΞΔΜ

*Φιδίās*

*Φῑδίās*.

*Epigraphy*: The third letter is certainly a delta, not a lambda. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication to a human (name in the nominative).

See COR 47 f. and 50. The form of the alpha is exactly as in COR 50, so that Payne (and Lorber, p. 54 n. 326) rightly assumed

the same writer for both inscriptions.<sup>264</sup> (Therefore we must not consider a potter's or painter's signature.) This is the earliest instance of an <ι> rendering of a former real diphthong (see §219). The root in question is *φῑδ-* 'spare', but the many names of which it is an element (see Bechtel, pp. 443 f.) all contain the full grade (for the etymology see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. *φείδομαι*).

#### COR 50 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 338

'Quatrefoil' aryballos from ? (1888 or earlier). *Bibliography*: C. Smith (1888), 188, no. 8; Kretschmer (1894), 18, no. 5; Collignon–Couve (1902–4), no. 496; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 349; Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 121. 6; Payne (1931), 164 no. 26, cat. no. 1263; Arena (1967), 91, no. 40, ph. pl. 11. 2; Lorber (1979), 54, no. 79; Amyx (1988), 568, no. 50 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Arena cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: LC (Lorber).

ΦΥΛΞΔΜ

*Qυλίας*

*Qυλ(λ)ῑās*.

*Epigraphy*: The iota is written retrograde in error (unlike those in COR 49). The alpha is of exactly the same kind as that in COR 49. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication to a human (name in the nominative).

See COR 47–9. The same name is found by Arena in *CIG* 1120 from Argos (= *IG* iv. 618 ii. 2, already cited by Bechtel (p. 492) with other names from *κυλλός* 'bandy-legged'; see also §468 on the horse-name COR 87b/e *Qύλλαρος*).

#### \*<sup>o</sup>COR 50A PARIS, LOUVRE CA 1266 (L 37)

Aryballos from Boiotia (acquired 1899). *Bibliography*: mentioned by Pottier (1899a), 469; E. Pottier, *CVA* France, 9 (1929), 7, phs. pl. 6. 3–4; Payne (1931), 320, nos. 1244 ff. (not mentioning this particular piece); not in Amyx (1988). *Photographs*: *CVA* uncl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Three warriors. The inscr. is written in the large free space under the handle and is not related to the scene. *Date*: 'Style corinthien' (Pottier, comparing the aryballos with COR 47, LC); LC (Payne, who knew a number of similar examples, found on different sites).

ΑΙΠΑΛΛΟ

*Αγραιο*

*Ἀγρᾶνῶ*.

<sup>264</sup> Arena's description, 'successivo prolungamento dell'asta di sinistra dell'*alpha*', accepted by Lorber (p. 54 n. 326), who thinks that the horizontal bar was forgotten, is inaccurate. First the writer painted Λ, then he added a long sloppy stroke from the middle of the r. stroke down far below the bottom of the l. one, touching the latter in passing. He therefore meant to produce an alpha of the Δ-type, and the sloppy stroke is in fact the 'missing' bar.

*Epigraphy*: Nothing is lost before or after. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication to a human (property formula).

The alphabet, like the vase itself, must be Corinthian. This makes Pottier's reading ΑΓΑΝΟ impossible (Γ is not a Corinthian letter). As there is in fact no Γ but two vertical strokes and a loop, we should read ΑΠΑΝΟ, i.e. *Ἀγρᾶνο* (for the straight gamma see §103). This can only be a masculine genitive (a feminine nominative of the type *Πειθώ* would have to be *-ῶι*), i.e. an indication of ownership: *Ἀγρᾶνός* (for the contraction in the ending see §220). The function of this inscription may be contrasted with the function of those on COR 47–50. For the type of vase see the archaeological study by Neeft (1991a).

A name (or adjective) *Ἀγρᾶνος* (or *Ἀγρηνός*) is not otherwise attested, but it is easily understandable as a *-νο-* derivative from *ἄγρᾱ*; cf. e.g. *ἄκμηνός* (*Od.* 23. 191), *ποτᾶνός* (perhaps derived from *ποτάομαι*, but see also *ποτή* *Od.* 5. 337), *Ἀσιᾶνός* (Thuc.), and later *σαγήνη* from *σάγη*. There is in fact the noun *ἄγρηνόν* 'net' (see Chantraine, s.v. *ἄγρηνά*), which is clearly derived from *ἄγρᾱ*. Its *-η-* seems to be due to 'epic' dialect, at least in the only testimony which we can judge, Eratosth. fr. 33 *Coll. Alex.* It seems likely that it developed from the neuter of the adjective by ellipsis (sc. *δίκτυον*).

\*COR 51 ATHENS, P. AND A. CANELLOPOULOS  
MUS. 1319

Aryballos from ? (1972 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Brommer (1972), 460–2, phs. 458–61 figs. 14–17; Amandry (1973), 195–200, ph. 196 fig. 3, dr. of (a) p. 200 fig. 5; Lejeune (1973); Lorber (1979), 55 f., no. 82, phs. pl. 17; not among *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 365 f.; Boegehold (1983); Wachter (1989b), 31, 46 ff.; Amyx (1988), 568, no. 51 (not in cat.); Schefold (1993), 137, with ph. fig. 137. *Photographs*: Brommer quite cl.; Amandry uncl.; Lorber quite cl.; Schefold (a) quite cl., of (b) the beginning only is shown. *Scene*: Horseman with spear riding to l., his label (a) starting behind his head. He is attacked by a naked man on foot to l., from whose back starts (b). *Date*: LC (Lorber); but c.620 (Schefold).

(a) ΤΡΟΞΓΟΜ (b) ΑΠΙΛΕΕΙΘΘΞΚΓΜΝΟΓΡΡΜΤΥΦΨ:ΧΒ  
(a) *Τροειλος* (b) *Αβγδεζήθικλμνοπρστυψψ:χε*  
(a) *Τρόειλος*, (b) *αβγδεζήθικλμνοπρστυψψ:χε*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) There has been some dispute about the fourth letter. Yet from the original ph. there is not the slightest doubt that it is a β. Boegehold (referring to personal inspection) reads it as a square digamma Γ. However, he mentions one weakness of his reading himself: 'Digamma in the alphabet on the same aryballos is formed differently (Γ) but that sort of inconsistency is not without precedents'. The second weakness is the fact that he should not have compared his alleged Γ with the fourth letter

in COR 27f (there he read a reversed Γ, which is even more unlikely). Amyx produces a facsimile of the letter, which looks like a very oblique β (although his letter-form is in principle correct, in reality it is perfectly upright); in his transcription, however, he writes a dotted digamma. (b) The last two letters are not well preserved, but are sufficiently clear on the ph. *Interpretation*: Achilleus and Troilos (label). Abecedarium (also label?).

It looks as if the alpha of the abecedarium was at first meant to be the first letter of Achilleus' label, which was then turned into an exercise. For the structure of the alphabet see Wachter; see also §106. For the abecedarium see §315; for Troilos' name see §257; for the myth see §442.

\*COR 52 DUNEDIN, OTAGO MUS. E 60. 13

Aryballos from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Schauenburg (1960), 46 f., no. 122, ph. pl. 49; Green (1966), with dr. 8 fig. 3 and phs. pls. 2 f. (esp. 3. 2); Lorber (1979), 52, no. 68; J. R. Green, *CVA New Zealand*, 1 (1979), 28, phs. pl. 35. 3–8; Amyx (1988), 569, no. 52 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Schauenburg quite cl.; *CVA* uncl. *Scene*: A man who seems to be holding back a galloping donkey in front of which a naked woman is falling forward. She is holding her bottom as if she has been (or fears she will be) kicked by the donkey's forelegs. The inscr. starts behind her left foot. The whole picture makes a very odd impression ('farcical', *CVA*). *Date*: MC (Lorber); obviously considered LC by Amyx.

ΣΜΔ  
Ισα  
ἴσα(α)!

*Epigraphy*: The traditional reading *Σίμα* is hardly correct, since the san would have to be to the l. of the woman's foot, where I can detect no trace of any letter on the new ph. provided by the museum. The iota is therefore the first letter. After the second letter, the ghost of what may well have been an alpha is visible; on the ph. it appears brighter than the ordinary surface, just like the second stroke of the second letter, where the paint must also be gone. Next, the decoration pattern impinges, after which nothing more seems to have been written. The second letter is usually read Μ, but the new ph. shows clearly that the fourth stroke continued (below the dark mineral flake). The letter is therefore a σ (Μ). *Interpretation*: Exclamation (?).

No other interpretation than that of the exclamation *ἴσσα* has come to mind. According to LSJ, it marks 'malicious triumph over another's distress'. Of course we do not know precisely what is behind this scene, but we could imagine the man shouting *ἴσσα* while chasing the animal after the woman, or else the woman herself uttering the word as an exclamation of distress.

## °COR 53 BRUSSELS, MUS. ROYAUX A 1011

Skyphos from Eretria, by the Eurymachos P. (see Amyx) (1898 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Fröhner (1898), 10, no. 9, dr. p. 9; F. Mayence, *CVA* Belgium, 1 (1926), 4 (bibl.), ph. pl. 5. 1; Payne (1931), 164 no. 28, cat. no. 1340; Arena (1967), 93, no. 43, ph. pl. 12. 2; Lorber (1979), 86, no. 138, ph. pl. 41; *LIMC* iv, 'Eurymachos' ii. 1\*, ph. pl. 53; Amyx (1988), 569, no. 53 (cat. p. 248, no. A-1, bibl.), phs. pl. 109. 1a-b. *Photographs*: *CVA* sm., Arena and Lorber cl., *LIMC* cl., Amyx sm. Vidi 29 June 1992. *Scene*: Three naked warriors standing in a group, (a) to r., (b) to r. looking back, (c) to l.; they are flanked by two horsemen (unnamed). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.570-550 (*LIMC*).

(a) Δ ΟΜ (b) ΕΥΡΥΜΑΧΟΜ (c) ΕΥΡΟΜΑΧΟΜ  
(a) Δ . . [ . 3-4 . ]os (b) Ευρυμαχος (c) Προμαχος  
(a) Δᾱί[ . 3-4 . ]os, (b) Εὐρύμαχος, (c) Πρόμαχος.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The second letter is an alpha or a rho; after that a small trace of a third letter, perhaps an iota, seems visible; the gap that follows is wide enough for three or four letters. *Interpretation*: Preparation for war (waiting for marching orders?), probably non-heroic (labels).

Amyx shows that the three warriors, who are standing around at ease (hence my interpretation; see nn. 1067 ff. for a similar scene in sport), cannot be linked to either Trojans or Greeks. He therefore supposes the names to be purely random ones, favouring Arena's idea of a kind of 'gioco etimologico'. Yet, Arena's restoration of (a) as -μαχος is not certain (-πυλος, as on COR 46, or -λοχος are equally probable). These names would then be close to the throwaway type (see §237), and would indicate neither heroes nor contemporary humans. Of course it is also possible that one of the characters was a real human of the period (*Πρόμαχος* and *Εὐρύμαχος* are historical names, see Bechtel, pp. 296 f.) and the others are just supplied 'etymologically' for the vase. For the scene see §466.

## COR 54 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 967

Skyphos from Corinth by the Eurymachos P. (see Amyx) (1880). *Bibliography*: Treu (1881), 256; Furtwängler (1885), no. 967; Kretschmer (1888), 173, no. 36; Kretschmer (1894), 26, no. 40; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3124; Payne (1931), 164 no. 29, cat. no. 1340A; Arena (1967), 94, no. 44, ph. pl. 13; Lorber (1979), 86, no. 139, phs. pl. 41; Amyx (1988), 569, no. 54 (cat. p. 248, no. A-2, bibl.); *LIMC* vii, 'Polylaides' 1\*, ph. pl. 345. *Photographs*: Arena cl.; Lorber and *LIMC* quite cl. *Scene*: Two warriors fighting (one named, the other not). *Date*: LC (Lorber).

ΓΟΥΓΑΞΔΑ Μ  
*Πολυλαιδας*  
*Πολυλαΐδᾱς*.

*Epigraphy*: Furtwängler reports traces of ΜΓ beyond the head of the warrior to the r., and he took the Μ as the last letter of Polylaides' name. He did not observe that this final letter is written above the second alpha still to the l. of the head, next to the crest of the helmet. G. Zimmer (*per litt.*), after examining the vase under the microscope, assures me that there is not a trace of writing to the r. of this warrior's head. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic battle scene (label).

In view of the names on COR 53 by the same painter, Amyx thinks of a 'play' on the frequent name *Λαΐδᾱς*. The basic meaning of *Πολυλαΐδᾱς* is 'son of *Πολύλαος*', i.e. 'son of the one with many tribes/with a great army'. Although we cannot be sure that there was not a real Polylaides who received this vase, the parallel of COR 112 with a throwaway name for the only one named out of several warriors, suggests that Amyx is right. The name may therefore be counted among the *Πολυ-* names (see §237).

## COR 55 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-65-519

Fr. of a pyxis (?) from Acrocorinth (1965). *Bibliography*: Pemberton (1983), with ph. pl. 16; Amyx (1988), 569, no. 55 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 137. 2; not in *LIMC* vii, 'Perseus' 137 ff.? *Photographs*: Pemberton quite cl. *Scene*: Legs of a man with winged shoes, running to r. (named). *Date*: mid-6th cent. (Pemberton, p. 65; found together with 4th-cent. material, *ibid.* 64); 'not red-ground, but evidently LC Γ' (Amyx).

ΓΒΓΜΒΜ  
*Περσευς*  
*Περσεύς*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Perseus running, probably with Medusa's head and pursued by the Gorgons (label).

The rho with a loop from top to bottom of the vertical stroke (see §101) is rare on Corinthian vases; here it has a triangular shape. For the cluster [rs] see §214.

## COR 56 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. T-1384

Fr. of a krater or pyxis from Corinth (1929). *Bibliography*: Palmer (1964), 321, no. X-141, ph. pl. 98; Amyx (1988), 569, no. 56 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 142. 3. *Photographs*: Palmer sm. but quite cl. *Scene*: Woman's hair (Palmer, Amyx), alongside which the inscr. runs vertically downwards. *Date*: EC (Palmer); perhaps MC (Amyx).

ΑΡΞΤΒ  
[ . . ? ]. αριτε[ . . ? ]  
*Χάριτε*[s?].

*Epigraphy:* Of the chi (probably of the X type) only a small trace is preserved. *Interpretation:* Unidentified scene with Charites (label).

It is by no means certain that we should expect three Charites (as on COR 22) in 'three maidens' fashion, as suggested by Amyx. See also COR 28A.

°COR 57 PARIS, LOUVRE E 609 (CA 298)

Pyxis from ?, painted by Chares (1859 or earlier, see de Witte). *Bibliography:* Anon. (1863), 274; de Witte (1864), with dr. (of the whole picture) pl. 184, repeated in *WV* (1888), pl. 1. 3; Klein (1887), 29 f.; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 232; Kretschmer (1888), 163, no. 16; Kretschmer (1894), 20 f., no. 20; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3136; Pottier (1897), 51 f., ph. pl. 43; Nicole (1916), 376; Robert (1919), 176 f., with dr. fig. 137; Ducati (1922), 116 f., dr. 117; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 6; Hoppin (1924), 8 f.; Payne (1931), 164 no. 27, cat. no. 1296 (bibl.); Benson (1953), 60, no. 106. 1; Friis Johansen (1967), 82 f., cat. p. 247, no. A. 15; mentioned by Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 114; Arena (1967), 92 f., no. 42, ph. pl. 12. 1; Lorber (1979), 56–8, no. 83 (with de Witte's dr.), phs. pl. 18; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 903; Amyx (1988), 569 f., no. 57 (cat. p. 256, no. 1, bibl.), ph. pl. 110. 2; *LIMC* vi, 'Memnon' 10a; *LIMC* vii, 'Palamedes' 9\*, 'Protesilaos' 15, 'Nestor' 5 with dr., ph. pl. 96. *Photographs:* Pottier (1897) only (e)–(i), uncl., rest invis.; Arena only (h) and (i), quite cl.; Lorber only (d)–(m), mostly uncl.; Amyx only (d)–(i), uncl.; *LIMC* vii only (a), invis. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene:* Two men running behind five horsemen, all to r., and three horsemen to l. approaching. For the exact attribution of the labels see below. *Date:* LC (Lorber); 3rd q. 7th cent. (*LIMC* i); c.550 (*LIMC* vi); c.570 (*LIMC* vii, 'Palamedes'); c.575–50 (*LIMC* vii, 'Nestor').

(a) — (b) — (c) ΠΡΟΤΒ ΓΑΜ (d) ΓΟΔΑΡΙΟΜ  
(e) ΓΑΤΡΟΚΓΟΜ (f) ΠΔΓΞΟΜ (g) ΑΧΞΑΛΒΥΜ  
(h) ΞΜΑΝΘΟΜ (i) ΟΡΞΦΟΝ (j) ΒΚΤΟΡ  
(k) ΜΒΜΝ (l) — (m) ΧΑΡΒΜΜΒΙΡΑΥΒ

(a) (Παλαμεδες) (b) (Νεστορ) (c) Προτεσιλας  
(d) Ποδαργος (e) Πατροκλος (f) Βαλιος  
(g) Αχιλλευσ (h) Ξσανθος (i) Οριφον (j) Εκτορ  
(k) Μεμν[ον] (l) (Αεθον) (m) Χαρεσμεγραψε

(a) (Παλαμῆδῆς), (b) (Νέστoρ), (c) Πρῶτεσιλᾶς,  
(d) Πόδαργος, (e) Πάτροκλος, (f) Βάλιος, (g) Ἀχιλλεύς,  
(h) Ξσάνθος, (i) Ὀρίφων, (j) Ἑκτόρ, (k) Μέμν[ων], (l) (Ἀῆθων).  
(m) Χάρῆς μὲ ἔγραψε.

*Epigraphy:* Arena (n. 49) cites a letter dated 1955 from F. Villard, informing him that (a), (b) and (l) are not visible on the vase. This is true, and was in fact already the case in 1864. De Witte, however, had been able to read them in 1859. (a) The peculiar form A of the delta is confirmed by de Witte in his text. (c) Arena

had 'un lucido' at his disposal which showed E. But Lorber n. 339 (followed by Amyx) believes in the older drawings, which show B; he is right (see dr.). On the other hand, I could not properly confirm the iota, which is reversed in Arena's drawing, in contrast to the older dr. (j) The final rho was not seen by de Witte, but it is clearly there (see dr.). (k) De Witte reproduces a first M with a faint fourth stroke; the turn into, and a small part of, the fourth stroke are still preserved in paint, the rest is visible as a shadow. (l) contained a B-type epsilon. The other inscrs. are cl. *Interpretation:* (a)–(l) Unspecified riding scene with characters from the Trojan Cycle (labels). (m) Painter's signature.

The relative positions of the names and figures on this vase need some discussion. It seems to be by design that the names of the horses—except those of the two central ones, who face each other—are written under their bellies, and the men's names along the upper edge. Lorber correctly remarks (p. 56) that some of the names show 'false *boustrophedon*',<sup>265</sup> and that most of the inscriptions run towards the heads of the designated figures. But he missed the most important point, which easily explains all the oddities of the labelling: this writer was unable, or at least was unaccustomed, to write from right to left any more ('false *boustrophedon*' is a typical sign of this stage); another modern feature of the painter's lettering is his not using qoppa, which we would expect in (e) and (j); see §108. The uniform direction of script is the reason why all horsemen riding to the right have their names running towards their heads over the free area above their horse's back (there is not enough space in front of the heads of the horsemen because of the horses' necks), and this of course caused problems of calculation. Label (a) was too long and could only just be finished in the small space beyond the head; (b), on the other hand, was too short and there is now a considerable gap between the last letter and the head of the man; in writing (c) there was no other solution than to take a sharp turn downwards in 'false *boustrophedon*' ('cycloid', Amyx); (e) could—with a gentle turn—just be fitted in; only (g) is perfect. Less serious problems were caused by the horsemen (j) and (k), who face in the opposite direction, and by most of the horse-names, viz. (d), (f), (h), and (l), except that labels (k) and (h), again, were somewhat miscalculated and had to be continued in 'false *boustrophedon*', and the same had to be done for (m). We therefore need not hesitate (as Lorber, p. 57, does) to attribute (j) to the first horseman to the left and to interpret the central group as an encounter between Achilles and Hektor.

Thus, the figures and their names (now partly illegible) are, from left to right, as follows. The two running men are unnamed; the first horseman is (a) Palamedes, whose horse has no name; the second is (b) Nestor, whose horse does not have a name either; the third is (c) Protesilaos, sitting on (d) Podargos; the fourth is (e) Patroklos on (f) Balios; the fifth is (g) Achilles on (h) Xanthos, facing (j) Hektor on (i) Orion; the second horseman facing left

<sup>265</sup> See Jeffery, pp. 49 f., on this writing principle.



is (*k*) Memnon on (*l*) Aithon; the last man has no name, and where his horse's name should be, the artist Chares put his signature (*m*).

For the relation of this painting to the literary testimonies see §462.

(*a*) and (*b*), no longer visible, were according to de Witte's report as expected. (*c*) Autopsy has shown an  $\beta$ , i.e. what we expect for the normal metrical shape of the name, which has a short second syllable.<sup>266</sup> The name, according to Risch (p. 192), is probably a remodelling of  $\Pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$  (Bechtel, pp. 284, 386),<sup>267</sup> no doubt because the latter did not fit the dactylic rhythm (see §222). If this is true, the long  $[\bar{o}]$  must be deemed a non-Corinthian dialect feature. Obviously this name was only known from Ionic epic, and since there were no other current names with this first part, it was not translated into  $\ast\Pi\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota$ -. (*d*) The gamma is a simple vertical stroke as in (*m*), see §103. For (*e*) see §228. For (*f*) see ad COR 89e and n. 1286. (*g*) is as expected. (*h*) Arena mentions the other Corinthian occurrence of this *scriptio plena* < $\xi\sigma$ >: COR 70f  $Q\acute{o}\rho\alpha\xi\varsigma$  (see §115).

(*i*)  $\text{Ὀρίων}$  is puzzling, not only because we would expect  $\text{Ἀρ-}$  (see also §462), but equally so for its form if we take it as Orion the hunter's name. Those poets who do not write in plain Ionic (or Attic) dialect normally show  $\text{Ὀαρίων}$ : Pind. *Nem.* 2. 12  $\text{Ὀαρίωνα}$  (--- needed, i.e.  $\text{Ὀα-}$  monosyllabic), fr. 72  $\text{Ὀαρίωνα}$  (--- needed), *Isth.* 3/4. 67  $\text{Ὀαριωνείων}$  (--- needed); Corinn. frs. 654a. iii. 38 and 662. 2 *PMG*  $\text{Ὀαρίων}$  ( $\text{Ὀρῖων}$  also possible), fr. 655. 1. 14  $\text{Ὀρῖωνα}$  ( $\text{Ὀᾶρῖ-}$  not possible), Callim. 3. 265 etc.  $\text{Ὀαρῖ-}$  ( $\text{Ὀρῖ-}$  also possible). Homer (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*), on the other hand, shows constant  $\text{Ὀρῖ-}$ , although the name could always be scanned  $\text{Ὀᾶρῖ-}$ . Starting from the basic form  $\text{Ὀαρίων}$ , Forssman (1985) provided a plausible etymology for the name, connecting it with  $\delta\pi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ . The easiest assumption is that the  $\text{Ὀα-}$  form of Orion's name is the older, and the Attic and Homeric form is due to contraction and subsequent metrical lengthening of the  $[\bar{i}]$ . On the other hand, 'Arion' has the structure  $\text{Ἀρῖων-}$  (*Il.* 23. 346, and *Thebais*, fr. 7 *PEG* = 6A *EGF*, referred to by Arena), sometimes written  $\text{Ἀρεῖων-}$ , but here too the basic structure in everyday prose may have been different ( $\text{Ἀρῖων-?}$ ); at any rate, it seems that the stem of Orion has a long third vowel ( $\omega$ ), that of Arion a short one ( $o$ ). Apart from the question of why the wrong name is used, we should also ask why we have contraction in our Corinthian form. It could be epichoric<sup>268</sup> or a reflection of epic. The latter possibility may find some support in the presence of the otherwise lost intervocalic  $[w]$  (see §506) and the fact that our painter shows some clear knowledge of the Trojan stories (see §462). But should we not then expect even more the proper form with  $\text{Ἀρ-?}$ <sup>269</sup>

<sup>266</sup> Arena's conclusion, drawn from his reading E and the spelling of (*l*), that the artist did not always correctly distinguish the two  $\epsilon$ -sounds, has to be dropped.

<sup>267</sup> Risch no longer upholds an earlier hypothesis of his (mentioned by both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ).

<sup>268</sup> We do not know what the result of a contraction of  $[\bar{o}\alpha]$  should be in Corinth, but  $[\bar{o}]$  (as in Attic acc.  $\eta\rho\omega$ , see Lejeune, §297) would be a likely result.

<sup>269</sup> The first vowel of Arion's name is attested with yet another quality, as was pointed out by Arena, namely  $[e]$  on the coins from Telpusa (*SGDI* 1253) with  $\text{Ἐρίων}$ . But this has hardly any bearing on our problem.

(*j*) (see §250) and (*k*) are as expected. (*l*) The writing of the diphthong in the (lost) label  $\text{Ἀεθῶν}$  with an  $[e]$  instead of  $[i]$  occurs several times elsewhere, although most examples are written  $\text{Ἀε}$  ( $\alpha\epsilon$ ), not  $\text{ἈΒ}$  ( $\alpha\beta$ ); see §225; for the name see §229. (*m*) For the shape of the gamma see (*d*). Painters' or potters' signatures are rare on Corinthian vases (see §§304 f.; also §§302 f.). The poor quality of the painting on our vase reminds one of many of the pinakes.

#### COR 58 MAINZ (PRIVATE) (?)

Olpe from ?, near the Lotus-Cross P. (see Amyx) (1977 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Brommer (1984a), 13–16, ph. 14 fig. 1; Amyx (1988), 570, no. 58 (cat. pp. 328 and 352, no. B-1bis), drs. pl. 142. 4. *Photographs*: Brommer quite cl. *Scene*: Two young riders to l., (*a*) and (*b*). *Date*: LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

(*a*)  $\text{ΝΞΘΟΝ}$  (*b*)  $\text{ΑΝΤΞ vac.}$

(*a*)  $\text{ΝιϞον}$  (*b*)  $\text{Αντι}$

(*a*)  $\text{ΝιϞῶν}$ , (*b*)  $\text{Ἀντι( . . )}$ .

*Epigraphy*: (*b*) The last two letters of Amyx's transcription ( $\text{Ἀντιάς}$ ) probably never existed. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic riding scene (labels).

(*a*) Brommer (p. 13 n. 1) gives further instances of this common name. (*b*) Although there is a hypocoristic  $\text{Ἀντις}$  (three examples in Fraser–Matthews) of which our form could be the dative or the nominative with  $-\varsigma$  dropped (see §204), it seems more likely that the writer just forgot to continue after the first—or main—part of the name. Amyx considers the scene non-heroic.

#### COR 59 FORMERLY ROME, ALIBRANDI COLL., AND ROME, MARKET

Oinochoe from Caere (1835; see Gerhard, n. 8); lost. *Bibliography*: Gerhard (1858), 29, with the only existing drs. pl. 258. 1–2; Kretschmer (1888), 160, no. 9; Kretschmer (1894), 18, no. 14; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3134; Payne (1931), 165 no. 34, cat. no. 1390; Arena (1967), 95, no. 48; Lorber (1979), 63, no. 94; *LIMC* iii, 'Charon' iii. 1, 'Dion' 3; Amyx (1988), 570, no. 59 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Three groups of three warriors running to l., the names are behind the third (*a*), in front of the fourth's face (*b*), and behind the last (*c*). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c. 570–550 (*LIMC* iii, 'Charon').

(*a*)  $\text{ΔΞΟΝ}$  (*b*)  $\text{← ΧΔΡΟΝ}$  (*c*)  $\text{FΞΟΝ}$

(*a*)  $\text{Διον}$  (*b*)  $\text{Χαρων}$  (*c*)  $\text{Fιον}$

(*a*)  $\text{Διῶν}$ , (*b*)  $\text{Χάρων}$ , (*c*)  $\text{Fιῶν}$ .

*Epigraphy*: (*c*) In the dr. the first letter is something between a digamma and a kappa. Arena therefore hesitates, but Gerhard's

(wrong) suggestion 'EZON (Τλήσων?)' shows that digamma is more likely to be the correct reading. *Interpretation*: Nine warriors running, non-heroic (labels).

All three names are throwaway names (see §237).

COR 60 ROME, VATICAN, MUS. GREGORIANO  
ETRUSCO 16. 439

Globular oinochoe from Caere (1834: see *MusEtrGreg*, ii. 1). *Bibliography*: Abeken (1836), 306–10, with dr. *MonIned* 2, pl. 38; dr. *MusEtrGreg* (1842), ii, pl. 1. 3; *CIG* (iv), 7377; Kretschmer (1888), 161, no. 10; Kretschmer (1894), 18, no. 12; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3128; Albizzati (1922–42), 44 f., no. 125, ph. pl. 12; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 3; Payne (1931), 165 no. 35, cat. no. 1396; E. Simon in Helbig (1963), 643 f., no. 883; Schefold (1964), 84, and (1966), 84, ph. [pl.] 74; Friis Johansen (1967), 68, ph. 67 fig. 13, cat. p. 245, no. A. 6 (bibl.); Arena (1967), 96, no. 49 (autopsy); von Steuben (1968), 46, dr. 47 fig. 22; Lorber (1979), 74, no. 113, phs. pl. 32; *LIMC* i, 'Aias' i. 35\*, ph. pl. 235, 'Aineias' 31; mentioned at *LIMC* iv, 'Hektor' (ii. E. 1); Amyx (1988), 570, no. 60 (not in cat.); Schefold (1993), 313, with ph. fig. 344. *Photographs*: Albizzati, Schefold, Friis Johansen, Lorber, *LIMC* cl. *Scene*: A warrior (a) tries to stab another (b), who is almost on his knees and trying to get away but looking back at his opponent. From the r. comes help (c). *Date*: shortly before mid-6th cent. (Simon); c.570 (Schefold; *LIMC* i, 'Aias'); LC (Lorber; Amyx, p. 636, no. 6); c.570–560 (*LIMC* i, 'Aineias').

(a) AΞFAM (b) BBΘTOP (c) (←) AΞMBAM  
(a) AιFas (b) HεPτορ (c) Aιueas  
(a) AιFas, (b) HεPτορ, (c) Aιueās.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Aias about to vanquish Hektor (labels).

For the relation of the scene to the *Iliad* see §447.

It is important to observe that the picture is in a reserved panel. This is a technique that is due to Attic influence, as is noted by Simon (cited by Lorber, n. 469);<sup>270</sup> see also Amyx, pp. 484 f., who associates these globular oinochoai with the equally atticizing panel-amphorae.

For (a), which is the normal Corinthian form, see §209. (b) Hektor's name, on the other hand, is normally unaspirated at Corinth (see §250). Since we have Attic influence in the painting and Hέκτορ is the prevailing spelling of the name on Attic vases,<sup>271</sup> Attic influence gives by far the easiest solution for this

<sup>270</sup> It is curious to note that when the vase was first discovered, Abeken spoke of Corinthian influence (because of qoppa and digamma) in what must have looked to him like one of the 'normal' vases (i.e. Attic, as we now know).

<sup>271</sup> See e.g. *ABV* 85, bottom, no. 1 (= Immerwahr, no. 77), 95. 5 (= no. 173), 95. 6 (= no. 167), 145. 19 (= no. 139), *ARV* 26. 1 (= no. 369; *LIMC* iv, 'Hektor' 17), 206. 132 (= no. 492). Another example is cited in n. 840.

unusual form (and mutually supports the influence in the painting). We may even assume an Attic artist working at Corinth and writing in the Corinthian alphabet (see also §261 and COR 85 f.). For (c) see §245.

COR 61 PARIS, LOUVRE E 636

Column krater from Caere, by the Hippolytos P. (see Amyx) (ex Campana inv. 35; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* ii. 3; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 254, no. 15; Kretschmer (1894), 25, no. 33; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3149; Pottier (1897), 57, ph. pl. 49; Payne (1931), 166 no. 54, cat. no. 1456; Benson (1953), 100, no. 1; ph. *EAA* ii. 925 fig. 1186; Arena (1967), 105, no. 66, ph. pl. 20. 2; Lorber (1979), 58 f., no. 85, ph. pl. 20; Amyx (1988), 570 f., no. 61 (cat. p. 262, no. A-1, bibl.); *LIMC* v, 'Hippolytos' ii. 2\*, ph. pl. 328. *Photographs*: Pottier sm.; *EAA* uncl.; Arena, Lorber, and *LIMC* cl. *Scene*: Two warriors fighting, flanked by their pages, who are waiting with the horses. Between them there is the dead body of a youth (named), with his head to the l. *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.570–550 (*LIMC*).

ΒΞΠΓΟΥΤΟΜ  
Ηιππολυτος  
Ηιππολυτος.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Fight over the body of a dead warrior, probably non-heroic (label).

I know of no suitable event involving Hippolytos (or a Hippolytos) that could be connected with the stereotyped scene on this vase. One giant so named was killed by Hermes with the aid of Hades' helmet (Apollod. 1. 6. 2; see Vian (1952), 3), but is hardly appropriate here. Amyx thinks of a Trojan, comparing the same name on COR 24 and COR 68. I would rather assume a horsey name (see §238).

°COR 62 PARIS, LOUVRE E 645

Amphora from Caere, near the Hippolytos P. (see Amyx) (ex Campana inv. 9; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* ii. 47; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 255, no. 18; Kretschmer (1888), 165, no. 19; Kretschmer (1894), 25, no. 34; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3150; Pottier (1897), 59, ph. pl. 51; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; Payne (1931), 165 no. 40 (bibl.), cat. no. 1419; Benson (1953), 101, no. 3; Arena (1967), 98 f., no. 54, ph. pl. 16. 1; Lorber (1979), 59, no. 86, ph. pl. 18; Amyx (1988), 571, no. 62 (cat. p. 262, no. B-4); *LIMC* vii, 'Polydos' 1\*, ph. pl. 344. *Photographs*: Pottier sm.; Arena, Lorber, and *LIMC* quite cl. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: A youth (named) with spear on a white horse, an eagle flying behind him. *Date*: LC (Lorber); 570–550 (*LIMC*).

ΓΟΓΥΔΟΜ

Πολυδος

Πόλυδος.

*Epigraphy:* The third last letter (see dr.) has a rounded corner at the bottom-r.; its oblique l. stroke, however, shows that it is not meant to be Δ (ρ). Nor is it a theta (Kretschmer), for which we would expect a circle and some attempt at a central cross. *Interpretation:* Non-heroic riding scene (label).

For the formation of this hypocoristic name see §228, for its Πολυ-character §237, for the scene COR 63.

#### COR 63 VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUS. IV 3546

Amphora from Caere, near the Hippolytos P. (see Amyx) (1864 or earlier). *Bibliography:* Brunn (1865a), 142; Masner (1892), 12 f., no. 137; Kretschmer (1888), 160, no. 8; Kretschmer (1894), 27, no. 45 (see also p. 67); F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3139; mentioned by Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; Payne (1931), 165 no. 41, cat. no. 1422; Benson (1953), 101, no. 6; Arena (1967), 99, no. 56; Lorber (1979), 59, no. 87, ph. pl. 19; Amyx (1988), 571, no. 63 (cat. p. 262, no. B-7). *Photographs:* Lorber quite cl. *Scene:* A youth (named) with spear on a white horse, an eagle flying behind him. *Date:* LC (Lorber).

ΕΔΧΥΜ

Εαχυσ

Εἰαχυσ.

*Epigraphy:* —. *Interpretation:* Non-heroic riding scene (label).

For this throwaway name see §237, for the scene COR 62.

#### \*COR 64 OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUS. 1965. 99

Column krater from ?, near the Hippolytos P. (see Amyx) (1931 or earlier). *Bibliography:* Payne (1931), 167 no. 60, cat. no. 1467; Hamilton (1965), 9, no. 47, ph. pl. 5; Arena (1967), 110 f., no. 73, ph. pl. 23; ph. *AR* in *JHS* 88 (1968), 57 (with bibl.) fig. 15; Johnston (1973), 184 n. 11; Lorber (1979), 64, no. 97, phs. pl. 25; Amyx (1988), 571, no. 64 (cat. p. 263, no. B-12, bibl.); *LIMC* vi, 'Kisippos' 1\*, ph. pl. 32, 'Laidas' 7. *Photographs:* Hamilton and Arena only (a) and (b), quite cl.; *AR* only (a) and (b), uncl.; Lorber (a)–(c) cl., (d) uncl.; *LIMC* only (b), cl. Vidi 27 July 1990. *Scene:* Two *quadrigae* heading towards each other, the names (a) and (b) are the charioteers'. On the reverse three horsemen, the first two named (c) and (d).<sup>272</sup> *Date:* c.580 (Hamilton); LC (Lorber); c.570–550 (*LIMC*).

<sup>272</sup> Johnston describes (d) as 'above the head of the horse on the right'. But it is placed in exactly the same way as (c), which is certainly the first rider's label (it starts well off the horse's mouth). Therefore we should say that (d) is 'behind the back of the second rider'.

(a) ΓΟΓΥΔΟΡΣΔΟΜ (b) (←) ΚΕΜΕΓΓΟΜ (c) ΓΑΥΔΟΜ  
(d) Δ<Ο

(a) Πολυδοριδος (b) Κισιππος (c) Λαιδος (d) Διο

(a) Πολυδῶριδος, (b) Κίσιππος. (c) Λαΐδος, (d) Διῶ(ν).

*Epigraphy:* Many of the letters are very carelessly written. There is no doubt that the first letter of (b) is a kappa. The omicron in (c) is blotted, and blurred with the previous letter, but cannot be anything else; it is drawn very similarly to the one in (d). (d) First detected by Johnston; his reading Διο[. . .], however, is misleading, since nothing was ever written after the omicron. *Interpretation:* Non-heroic chariot and riding scenes (labels).

Although the writer of the inscriptions on this vase was not inexperienced with the brush, his writing is unreliable. The iotas differ greatly.<sup>273</sup> The third letter in (b), Μ, is clearly different from the three examples of final san, Μ, but can hardly be meant to be a mu, which should be Μ̃. Name (d) is incomplete, and the paint highly diluted. No trace of even an attempt to give the third rider a name is visible. Obviously after having written Διο the writer stopped for good, instead of just to dip his brush in the paint again (see §112). We have to bear these points in mind if we are to judge the names.

(a) Πολυδῶριδος and (c) Λαΐδος are described by Payne as 'mis-written for Polydoridas and Ladas', a view which was accepted by Amyx. Arena considers 'rideterminazione del suffisso -ιδας secondo la più comune terminazione di maschile -ος'. Neumann (1980: 297) suspects the omicrons of the endings to be failed alphas, which was reconsidered by Amyx. Everybody agrees that the forms are odd (see also Heubeck (1980), 284, and Masson (1981/2), 544). In view of (b) we cannot safely argue that (a) (on the same side) and (c) (on the other side) are in the genitive; also, the names with genitive -ιδος are usually feminine, which would be inappropriate here. Arena's morphological interpretation is not satisfying, and Neumann's suggestion that they are graphically ambiguous or misread, is epigraphically impossible, since the reading is clear. With (c) one could compare Πολύιδος and Εὔιδος (Bechtel, pp. 216, 576); our form would then be from \*Λαΐφο-ῖδ(ῖ)ος with loss of intervocalic [w] (twice) and contraction of [āo] in the normal way. But the meaning of such a name is somewhat odd ('knowing the people?'), and in any case, this explanation does not work for (a).

(b) Although the third letter is not the same as the three other examples of san, we can hardly read Κισιππος, not least because this form would be impossible to interpret. It is therefore read as Κίσιππος, which is, however, almost as difficult. J. D. Beazley's suggested connection (*apud* Payne) with κισιτόν· καλόν (Hsch.),

<sup>273</sup> The one in (a) is almost two-stroke with a faint bend in the upper stroke. The first in (b) is clearly ξ, i.e. rounded four-stroke, the second is probably meant to be the same but has a tiny top part. The one in (c) is clearly two-stroke; its wrong direction, however, shows that it should be the same as the one in (a). The one in (d) is the opposite with a very short third stroke at the bottom.

is doubtful. Arena rightly argues that if *κῑττόν* is Lakonian as Hesychius tells us, it cannot have an *-σσ-* equivalent. Arena's own theory that *Κῑσ-* is the same as *Κεσ-* in COR 701 *Κεσάνδρα* (see ad loc. and §444), but altered by assimilation (citing Schwyzler, p. 256), is possible, but in no way demonstrable, especially since the element *Κεσ-* is unexplained. Neumann (1980: 297) says that Arena's connection 'trägt nicht', and suggests that we read *Ῥῑσιππος* (asking whether we can actually read a digamma or have to conjecture it), comparing IG vii. 2720. 3 *Ῥῑσιππος*, father of a *Ῥισόδικος* (Boiotia, 3rd cent.; Bechtel, p. 222). But, first, the kappa is certain, and, secondly, we would expect *\*ῬισῬιππος* in Corinth at this time<sup>274</sup> (see §209). An entirely different solution would be to analyse the name as a *τερψίμβροτος*-type compound (see Risch, pp. 191–3, §41a) with the root *\*k'i-* of the archaic aorist *ἐκκῑον* (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. *κῑω*).<sup>275</sup> Although this root is normally intransitive, we may compare the Latin participle *citus* 'set in motion'. On such an analysis, *Κῑσιππος* could mean 'the one who spurs the horse(s)' and would be a horsey and speaking name (see §§238 f.).

(d) *Δῑδ* seems to be *Δῑδ(ν)* left incomplete.

Despite these possible ways of explaining the forms, one feels uneasy about several features of the writing on this vase. It is tempting to assume that the writer was 'almost illiterate' in the sense that he could not write any text, but was able to produce *parts* of names and more or less remembered what they stood for. For, almost exclusively, he uses segments that are particularly common in names on Corinthian vases, some are even of throw-away or horsey type (see §§237 f.), namely *Πολυ-*, *-δδρ-*, *-ιδ-*, *-ος*, *-ιππ-*, *Ἀλ-*, *Διο-* (the latter as in *Δῑόι*, *Δῑδν*, *Διομέδῆς*, etc.). But his knowledge—or rather his patience?—seems to have failed him when it came to deciding which ending was appropriate for which stem. Admittedly the more sophisticated element *Κῑσ-* does not fit easily with this theory, but we cannot exclude the possibility that he had some model within reach from which he could take it, or that he had a particular person in mind.

\*COR 64A ERLANGEN, INSTITUT FÜR KLASSISCHE  
ARCH. I 534A

Fr. (88 × 76 mm.) probably of a krater from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: —. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Two warriors beyond a white horse, striving to l. (one is named, of the other no name is preserved). *Date*: LC.

ῬΣΟΜ

*Ῥῑον*

*Ῥῑδν*.

<sup>274</sup> See e.g. *LSAG* 143. 8, line 59 *ῬῑσῬαρχος* (Sikyon, c. 500) (= *GD* 96).

<sup>275</sup> It is not a serious problem that we have [s] where in 'Doric' we might expect [t]. For names wander and even in a Doric context '*τερψίμβροτος*' names only very rarely contain the expected *-τι-* (see on our vases COR 18f *Ἀῶσ-ανδρῑδᾶς*, COR 87d *Ἀῶσί-πολῑς*, and ad LAK 3a); see e.g. Neumann (1979), 87 with bibl. in n. 3.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic battle scene (label).

K. Parlasca (*per litt.*) cites Ch. Börker, who examined the piece and referred him to Lorber, no. 91 (our COR 102), and other pieces with this common and non-heroic label (see §237 for its throwaway character).

\*COR 64B MARKET (ZURICH)

Fr. of a krater (?) from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Nefer (1989), 10, no. 5, with ph. *Photographs*: Nefer cl. *Scene*: One foreleg of each of two horses to r., the lower part of a clothed man to l., in front of him one leg of a warrior to r. who is obviously climbing into a chariot (lost). Inscr. (a) is to the l. of the horses' legs (designating the clothed man?), inscr. (b) to the r. of the clothed man and under the (lost) second leg of the chariot-mounting warrior. *Date*: 6th cent. (Nefer).

(a) (←) ῬΞΟΞΝΟΜ (b) ΝΔΡΟΜ

(a) *Ῥῑωνος* (b) [. . .]νδρος

(a) *Ῥῑφῑνός* (?), (b) [. . .-α]νδρος.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The third letter is clearly an omicron. (b) The first letter can only be a nu, though only a small part of the middle stroke is preserved. A short first part (c. 3 letters) would fit best. *Interpretation*: Departure scene, probably non-heroic (labels).

(a) *Ῥῑωνος* makes no sense; with a phi instead of the first omicron it does. For unfinished letters see §112. There is an *Ἰφῑνοος*, who was killed by Glaukos and fell from his chariot (*Il.* 7. 14). He was not himself a charioteer, as far as we can judge, and is therefore hardly our man. For the possible contraction of [oo] see §220. (b) The complete name of the warrior, [. . . α]νδρος with two to three letters missing, is impossible to restore.

COR 65 AMSTERDAM, A. PIERSON MUS. 2031

Fr. of a column krater from Rhodes (acquired 1922, ex Arndt coll.). *Bibliography*: C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *CVA* Netherlands, 2 (1931), 15, ph. pl. 8. 8; Payne (1931), 164 no. 21 (not in cat.); Arena (1967), 90, no. 36; Lorber (1979), 55, no. 81, ph. pl. 17; Amyx (1988), 571, no. 65 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: *CVA* cl.; Lorber cl. *Scene*: Head of a woman, to r. *Date*: 1st h. 6th cent. (Mus. inv. card); LC (Lorber).

ΒΡΑΤΑ

*Ἐρατα*[. . . ?]

*Ἐράτᾶ*.<sup>276</sup>

<sup>276</sup> This short name is more likely than a compound *Ἐρατα*[. . .]; see the next n.

*Epigraphy*: From an epigraphical point of view it is not certain whether the name is complete. *Interpretation*: Perhaps a love-gift to a hetaira (label).

Arena interpreted the vase as a love-gift, Lorber took the recipient for a hetaira (see §308 on hetairai). For other instances of the name, as it is usually restored,<sup>277</sup> see Pape-Benseler and Fraser-Matthews; for the masculine equivalent, *Ἐρατος*, *ibid.*, and Bechtel, p. 160.

\*<sup>o</sup>COR 66 FORMERLY BERLIN, ANTIQUARIUM F 1655

Column krater from Caere by the Amphiarao P. (see Amyx (1873); lost in World War II. *Bibliography*: Robert (1874), with drs. pl. N/O and *MonIned* 10, pl. 4/5; Furtwängler (1885), no. 1655; Kretschmer (1888), 172, no. 35; Kretschmer (1894), 26, no. 39; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3140; Robert (1919), 207 f., with dr. fig. 161; Ducati (1922), 162 f., drs. 161, 204; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 8; Pfuhl (1923), 209 ff., dr. fig. 179; Payne (1931), 167 no. 61, cat. no. 1471; F. Hauser in Furtwängler-Reichhold (1932), 1–12 (bibl. p. 1), drs. pls. 121 f.; Neugebauer (1932), 23 f., ph. pl. 14; Smith (1944), 258–61; Benson (1953), 59 no. 102. 1, 82–4; *EAA* i. 372 (bibl.), ph. 371 fig. 518; Schefold (1964), 74, and (1966), 80, dr. [pl.] 67a; Arena (1967), 108–10, no. 72, ph. pl. 22; Buschor (1969), 75 with dr., ph. 74 fig. 81; ph. Charbonneaux-Martin-Villard (1971), 71 fig. 76; ph. Bianchi Bandinelli-Paribeni (1976), no. 226; Schefold (1978), 177, with dr. fig. 233; Lorber (1979), 78 f., no. 122, phs. pl. 37; Brize (1980), 26 f.; *LIMC* i, ‘Admetos’ i. 10\*, dr. pl. 158, ‘Ainippe’ ii. 1\*, dr. pl. 309, ‘Alastor’ 1\*, dr. pl. 366, ‘Amphiarao’ 3\*, dr. pl. 555, and 7\*, ph. pl. 555; *LIMC* ii, ‘Argeios’ ii. 1\*, dr. pl. 429; *LIMC* iii, ‘Baton’ i. 3\*, dr. pl. 66, only mentioned at ‘Dioskouroi’ 223; *LIMC* iv, ‘Euphemos’ 1, ‘Halimedes’ 1\*, dr. pl. 236; Amyx (1988), 571 f., no. 66 (cat. p. 263, no. A-1, bibl.); *LIMC* v, ‘Hippotion’, i. 1; *LIMC* vi, ‘Leontis’ 1; *LIMC* vii, ‘Peleus’ 33, ‘Peliou athla’ 5, ‘Pheres’ i. 1. *Photographs*: 4 photographs exist: (A) shows the entire vase with the departure side, (a)–(k), (B) the other side, (m)–(r). (C) shows the race and the frieze below, (n)–(q) and part of (r), (D) the house and family of Amphiarao, (a)–(e) and part of (f). They are published as follows: (A) Neugebauer, *EAA*, Buschor, Charbonneaux-Martin-Villard, Bianchi Bandinelli-Paribeni, Lorber, *LIMC* i, all sm. or invis. (Charbonneaux-Martin-Villard is the best reproduction); (B) Lorber sm.; (C) unpublished, as far as I know; (D) Arena quite cl.

<sup>277</sup> A compound name is less likely. First, there is, as far as I can see, only one name with *Ἐρατ-α-*, viz. *Ἐρατασίλα* (Fraser-Matthews), a *hapax legomenon*. Secondly, contraction may have led to *Ἐρατᾶ-*. Yet, the only adequate second element of such a compound (it would have to begin with long *ā-*, since *Ἐρατο-* + *ā-* would have given *Ἐρατῶ-*; see Bechtel, p. 160) seems to be *-ānōr*, from which there is no direct fem. derivative. Should we therefore assume the fem. hypocoristic in *-ōi* (as in *Θεᾶνόι*, a derivative from the hypocoristic *Θεᾶνος*, built on *Θεᾶνωρ*) and claim a form *Ἐρατᾶνόι*? This seems too far-fetched. (For *Θεᾶνῶι* see §236; for the two masc. names see Bechtel, p. 53.)

*Scene*: In the following description I combine Pausanias’ passages (5. 17. 7–11) about the relevant scenes on the Chest of Kypselos at Olympia with (in English) some additions or notes of differences between the chest and our vase. (Paus. 7) *ἐξῆς δὲ Ἀμφιαράου τε ἡ οἰκία πεποιήται καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον φέρει νήπιον* (unnamed) *πρεσβύτις ἥτις δὴ (b)* (written horizontally in white paint, starting next to the baby’s hand, whose arm she holds forward, gripping it by the wrist) *πρὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐριφύλη (a)* (written downwards on the anta to her l.) *τὸν ὄρμον ἔχουσα ἕστηκε, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ θυγατέρες Εὐρυδίκη (d)* (written in front of her face) *καὶ Δημόνασσα (c)* (written downwards along her back), *καὶ Ἀλκμαίων παῖς γυμνός (e)* (written upwards on the anta to his r.) (all four children have their arms extended towards their father as if to plead for mercy for their mother, Robert; baby Amphilocho, not fully understanding what is going on, manages it with the gentle help of his nurse, Hauser). (8) *... Βάτων δέ (g), ὃς ἡνιοχέϊ τῶι Ἀμφιαράω, τὰς τε ἡνίας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει τῇ ἐτέραι λόγχην. Ἀμφιαράω δέ (f) ὁ μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιβέβηκεν ἥδη τοῦ ἄρματος, τὸ ξίφος δὲ ἔχει γυμνὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐριφύλην ἐστὶν ἐπεστραμμένος ἐξαγόμενός τε ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, <ὡς μολὶς> ἐκεῖνης ἂν ἀποσχέσθαι* (she has pulled her mantle over her head in terror and shame, and he spares her only for the sake of the children, Robert). Behind the horses (unnamed) a woman (*h*) is approaching, handing a bowl to the charioteer. In front of the horses there is a youth to l. (*i*), gesticulating (as if talking to the horses), and behind him an old man to l., in long robe and holding a staff in one hand, is sitting on the ground, making a gesture of despair and grief with his other hand (*j*). (9) *μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστὶν ἄγων ὁ ἐπὶ Πελῖαι καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι* (on our vase the characters (*l*) and (*m*) probably have this function) *τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. πεποιήται δὲ Ἡρακλῆς* (not represented on the vase) *ἐν θρόνῳ καθήμενος καὶ ὅπισθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ* (not represented) *ταύτης <τῆς> γυναικὸς ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἄπεισιν ἥτις ἐστὶ, Φρυγίοις δὲ αὐλεῖ καὶ οὐκ Ἑλληνικοῖς αὐλοῖς.* On our vase instead of them there is (*k*), who was the son of the dead king to be honoured by the games and was acting as the referee (see below), together with (*l*) and (*m*) (probably spectators in the competition depicted), all on thrones to r., and some tripods as prizes (see below). *ἡνιοχοῦντες δὲ συνωρίδα Πίσος* (not represented) *ἐστὶν ὁ Περιήρους καὶ Ἀστερίων* (not represented) *Κομήτου, πλεῦσαι καὶ οὗτος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργούς, καὶ Πολυδεύκης* (not represented, only (*o*), his brother) *τε καὶ Ἀδμητος (p), ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐφρημος (n), Ποσειδῶνός τε ὦν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον καὶ Ἰάσονι ἐς Κόλχους τοῦ πλοῦ μετεσχηκώς· οὗτος δὲ (n) καὶ τῇ συνωρίδι ὁ νικῶν ἐστὶν.* On our vase, instead of Pisos and Asterion, we have (*q*), (*r*), and (*s*) as further chariot-racers. (10) *... Ἰάσονι δὲ καὶ Πηλεῖ τὸ ἔργον τῆς πάλης ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκε.* On the vase, Peleus (*t*) is wrestling with (*u*) not with Iason. A few lines later, when the foot-race is described, our (*k*) and (*l*) are named (among others, who do not occur on our vase): *οἱ δ’ ἐς ἄμιλλαν δρόμον καθεστηκότες Μελανίων ἐστὶ καὶ Νεοθεὺς καὶ Φαλαρεὺς, τέταρτος δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Ἴφικλος*

πέμπτος· τούτωι δὲ νικῶντι ὀρέγει τὸν στέφανον ὁ Ἀκαστος . . .  
(11) κείνται δὲ καὶ τρίποδες, ἄθλα δὴ τοῖς νικῶσι (on the vase, they are in a different position), καὶ θυγατέρες εἰσὶν αἱ Πελίου . . . *Date*: c.560 (Scheffold, *LIMC* i partly, ii, vii); LC (Lorber); c.570 (*LIMC* i partly, iii–vi (except iv, ‘Euphemos’, where 570–550 is given)).

(a) (←) ΒΡΞΦΝΓΑ (b) ΑΞΝΣΓΓΑ (c) (←) ΔΑΜΟΞΑΝΑΜΑ  
(d) ΒΥΡΥΔΞΚΔ (e) ΑΓΚ (f) ΑΦΣΑΡΒΟΜ (g) ΠΑΤΟΝ  
(h) (←) ΓΒΟΝ Μ (i) (←) ΒΣΓΓΟΓΣΟΝ (j) (←) ΒΑΓΖΜΒΔΒΜ  
(k) (←) ΑΚΜΤΟΜ (l) ΑΡΣΕΟΜ (m) ΦΒΡΒΜ  
(n) (←) ΒΥΦΑΜΟΜ (o) (←) ΚΑΜΤΟΡ (p) ΑΔΜΑΤΟ  
(q) ΑΓΑΜΤΟΡ (r) ΑΜΦΣΔΡΒΟΜ (s) (←) ΒΣΓΑΜΟΜ  
(t) ΓΒΓΒΥΜ (u) (←) ΒΞΓΓΑΓΥΜΟΜ

(a) Εριφυλα (b) Ανιπιπα (c) ΔαμοΦανασα  
(d) Ευρυδικα (e) Αλκ.[. . .] (f) Αφιαρεος (g) Βατον  
(h) Αλον[.]s (i) Ηιπποτιον (j) Χαλιμεδες (k) Ακστος  
(l) Αργεος (m) Φερεις (n) Ευφamos (o) Καστορ  
(p) Αδματο[. . .] (q) Αλαστορ (r) Αμφιαρεος  
(s) Ηιπασος (t) Πελεως (u) Ηιππαλρμος

(a) Εριφύλα, (b) Ανίπιπα, (c) ΔάμοΦάνας(σ)α, (d) Εὐρυδικᾶ,  
(e) Ἀλκμ[α(ί)δων], (f) Ἀ(μ)φιάρεος, (g) Βάτων,  
(h) Ἀλ(ε)ον[τ]ίς, (i) Ηιπποτίδων, (j) Χαλιμέδεις.  
(k) Ἀκ(α)στος, (l) Ἀργεός, (m) Φέρεις, (n) Εὐφᾶμος,  
(o) Κάστωρ, (p) Ἀδματο[ς], (q) Ἀλάστωρ, (r) Ἀμφιάρεος,  
(s) Ηίπ(π)ασος, (t) Πῆλεϋς, (u) Ηίππαλρμος.

*Epigraphy*: Where not expressly stated, the reading is from the photographs and clear. (c) The blur at the beginning is not a letter. The digamma is blotchy, but clearly composed of a vertical and two horizontal strokes. (e) Not observed until now (Hauser, p. 4, and Lorber wondered rightly about its apparent absence). It is visible (sm.) on ph. (A) and (cl.) on ph. (D). The first letter is a clear alpha and the second one a lambda. After that I can make out faint traces of a kappa, particularly of its oblique strokes, and the start of an almost upright stroke. Further up the anta, the surface must have been badly damaged, and even the white paint seems in part to be lost. (h) I cannot see the tau on the ph. (it should be between the arm and the reins), and the iota (beyond the reins) is very faint (the reported letter-forms are ΤΞ). The heta looks like a E, but the ends of the bars have clear vertical ‘serifs’, where their paint and that of the second vertical stroke flowed together; the second vertical hasta is therefore certain. The same is true for the first half of the following omicron. (i) The fourth from last letter is not a Γ (lambda) but has a right angle; it was therefore correctly read as a tau. (k) Shows clearly on the ph. although the figure it designates is in the invis. part. (l) is invis. on the phs. (m) shows on ph. (B) but is out of focus. (p) The final -ς was on a badly damaged fr. and is no longer visible. (r) is visible only on ph. (B), but is out of focus; the last two letters do not show, the first and fifth are uncl. Inscr. (s), (t), and (u) are invis. on the phs., but seem to have been reliably

read. *Interpretation*: Departure of Amphiaraios for the Theban War (labels). Funeral games for Pelias (labels).

It is a great pity that this vase, probably the most famous of all Corinthian examples, is lost. Fortunately four high-quality photographic negatives are preserved at Berlin, on the prints of which I was able to detect an inscription that had not been noticed in the past, (e). There are two instances of A.W., viz. (h) and (k); see §111. Two different iotas, four-stroke and three-stroke, are used in (b); in (i) the first iota is perhaps of the four-stroke type too, and in (j) the three-stroke one is reversed. The rho in (o) is almost of the peculiar ρ type (see §101), as also in Hauser’s drawing; of the others, which do not show clearly, if at all, on the phs., only the one in (l) can be judged: in the drawings this is of the ρ type similar to that in (o).

For the relation of the paintings on this vase to the other documents in art and literature of the myths represented see §425.

Most names are as expected, and those such as (a) (Amphiaraios’ wife), (d) (one of his two daughters), and (g) (his charioteer) hardly need discussion.

(b) The nurse of little Amphilocho (who is unnamed), is not known from other sources, but it is unlikely that her name is an invention on the part of the painter (see §425). It is written in front of the baby’s hand, since it could not be placed closer to the nurse’s head (and for the baby’s name there was no room left).

(c), like the other labels written downwards and retrograde, viz. (a), (h)–(k), (s), and (u), designates the figure to its right, i.e. the third woman (for this direction-principle see §105).<sup>278</sup> She is another daughter of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle. For the intervocalic digamma, which hints at a poetic background, see §506. For -σ(σ)- see §213.

(e) It would be strange, for three reasons, if the painter had not given a name to Alkmaion. First, the boy is an important character in the continuation of the story, and secondly, there is plenty of space around him for a name. Thirdly, as there is a white anta right next to him and the painter and his fellow workers obviously liked to apply their inscriptions to such antae (as observed by Lorber, p. 79 n. 497; see also COR 67 and 69), we would expect to see a name on it—and there it is. It cannot be decided whether it ended in -μαῖδων, -μαῖδων, or contracted -μᾶν.

The main hero is shown and labelled twice: (f) and (r). For the difference in spelling see §201. Hauser (p. 3) calls our form Ἀ(μ)φιάρεος, which was also used by Pindar, the Ionic form. This is contrary to Kretschmer’s view<sup>279</sup> (based on our form) that Ἀμφιάρης not Ἀμφιάρης was the original form of the name. Kretschmer also remarks that the older Attic vases have Ἀμφιάρεως (see also Aesch. *Sept.* 569, gen. Ἀμφιάρεω, Soph.

<sup>278</sup> Masson (1981/2: 544) refers to the same name (with contraction in -ῶ- as in Pausanias’ description) at Thera (*IG* xii/3. 502 and 840, both from imperial times).

<sup>279</sup> Mainly pp. 32 and 122 f., but also pp. 41, 46, 162, and 214. His view was accepted by Schulze (1896), 699 and 702.

OC 1313, nom. *Ἀμφιάρεως*, etc., with monosyllabic *-εω-* and only the younger rf. ones show *Ἀμφιάραος*. This observation is still true, although we now have several new attestations.<sup>280</sup> Kretschmer also cites Zenodotus, who asserted that at *Od.* 15. 244 and 253 (in the *Iliad* the name does not occur) the name should read *Ἀμφιάρῃον* and *-άρῃος*, respectively. Precisely this form is attested in Hes. fr. 25. 34 M–W: *Ἀμφιάρῃον*, but *Ἀμφιάρᾶον* in fr. 197. 6 M–W (both are from papyri). Zenodotus must have had some good reason for his correction.<sup>281</sup> The explanation accepted by Kretschmer, that *-άρᾶος* is due to secondary popular etymology after *ἀράομαι*,<sup>282</sup> is therefore likely to be right. It may have occurred when the epic-Ionic forms with *άρη-* (e.g. *Il.* 9. 172 *ἀρησόμεθα*; *Od.* 1. 164 *ἀρησαίαιτο*, 22. 322 *ἀρήμεναι*, etc.) became known in Athens and made a popular etymological link possible, i.e. Ionic *ἀρήσομαι* : Attic *ἀράσσομαι* = Ionic *Ἀμφιάρῃος* : Attic *x* (where *x* = *Ἀμφιάρᾶος*).<sup>283</sup> No strong argument against the [ē] being inherited comes from the evidence of Oropos (on the Boiotian coast, opposite Euboian Eretria), for the examples of *Ἀμφιάρᾶια* (*IG* vii. 48 etc.; see *ibid.*, index, p. 761) ‘festival of A. held at Oropos’ and *Ἀμφιάρᾶος* himself (very frequent in *IG* vii) are all late. The oldest one is *Ἀμφιάρᾶος* in *GD* 14 of the early fourth century; but by this time Oropos was part of Attica, and Athenian cultural influence had long been very strong in the region.<sup>284</sup> Admittedly, an original form *Amphiarᾶos* would have the advantage of making the popular etymology with *ἀράομαι* unnecessary. But the evidence of the Attic vases, our Corinthian vase (where our form would be the only non-Doric feature), and Zenodotus clearly support *-εως*, and moreover popular etymology was a common feature in the epic sphere (see §510). It is also true that the *Thebais*, in which Amphiarᾶos seems to have appeared, was sung by Homer, i.e. the story of Amphiarᾶos once existed in an epic poem in East Ionic dialect. But it would be perverse to assume that our vase-painter, even if he used that version of the *Thebais*, translated into Corinthian all names (notably *Ἄδμητος*) except that of the famous hero and seer, Argonaut and Boar-hunter from the neighbouring town of Argos (only 40 km. to the south of Corinth); moreover there were

other poetic treatments of this story (see §425), and even an East Greek epic poem need not have been sung in Ionic dialect in a performance at Corinth (see §501). We should therefore adhere to Kretschmer’s view. The true etymology of the name Amphiarᾶos remains obscure; for a recent discussion see Heubeck (1971).

(g) *Βάτων* is a hypocoristic of *Εὐρύβατος* etc. (see Bechtel, pp. 92 f.); the name designates a charioteer in a different context on COR 79A.

(h) *Λεοντίς* (not with long [ō] as suggested in *LIMC* vi) is a fairly common (non-heroic) name (Amyx). By far the easiest explanation of the spelling *Ληον-* is A.W. as in (k),<sup>285</sup> i.e. *Λη(ε)ον[τ]ίς*. For the aspiration of the liquid see §211. The character is not known from other sources.

(i) *Ηιπποτίων* is known as the name of a Centaur, otherwise it is non-heroic (Amyx).<sup>286</sup> It is derived from *ἵπποτης*, and is likely to be a horsey name here (see §238). The character is not mentioned in other sources.

The same is true for the man (j) *Ἡαλιμέδης*, who is sitting on the ground. He bears a very rare name,<sup>287</sup> formed with the frequent second element *-μήδης* (Bechtel, pp. 313 f.) from *ἄλς* (\**sal-*; for the form *ἄλι-* see Risch, p. 219 f., §80a).

(k) *Ἀκ(α)στος* shows a clear case of A.W.; see (h) and §111.

(l) In other sources, the name is mostly *Ἀργος*, not *Ἀργεός* (see e.g. Ap. Rhod. 1. 19 etc., Diod. Sic. 4. 41. 3, Apollod. 1. 9. 1 and 16). Yet, our form occurs in the description of the Chest of Kypselos, obviously denoting the same character.<sup>288</sup> It is a derivative from the place-name *Ἀργος* (i.e. \**Arges-io-*).

(m) The name *Φέρης*, meaning ‘Carrier’, is used for a horse in COR 89a (see ad loc.); it is first attested at *Od.* 11. 259.

The names (n), (o), (p), and (q) are as expected in the Corinthian dialect. For (r) see (f) above. The names (s), (t), and (u) are again as expected; (u) *Ἡίππαλγμος* even helps to restore some faulty attestations in literature (see §425).<sup>289</sup>

<sup>280</sup> Bf.: *LIMC* i, ‘Amphiarᾶos’ 2\* (Immerwahr, no. 71; see §425 with n. 1067) *Ἀμφιάρῃος*; *LIMC*, *ibid.* 16\* *Ἀμ[.]* . . . (see §425 with n. 1063); *ABV* 330, bottom, no. 1 = *LIMC* 13\*, *Ἀμφιάρῃος*; *LIMC* 20 [ . . . ] *ῃος*; *LIMC* 23 *Ἀ(μ)φιάρῃος*. Rf.: *ARV* 605. 64 = *LIMC* 24\* *Ἀμφιάρᾶ[ος]*; *LIMC* 25 *Ἀμφιάρῃος* or *-ραος* (read by Caskey–Beazley (1931), 51); *LIMC* 27\* *Ἀμφιάρᾶ[ος]* (F 2395; *Amphiare* . . . in *LIMC*, on what grounds?); *ARV* 400, top (Marseilles) = *LIMC* 35 *Ἀ(μ)φιάρ[.]* . . . (*LIMC*).

<sup>281</sup> This cannot just have been the knowledge that after [r], [i], and [e] an Ionic [ē] could correspond to an Attic [ā], since in that case we may expect him to have claimed \**Αἰνείης*, \**Τήϊονες*, \**θεῖη*, etc. for the Homeric poems.

<sup>282</sup> A sound-change [ē] > [ā] cannot be held responsible, since this was confined to a small area in the north-west Peloponnese, mainly Elis (see §218), whereas Amphiarᾶos was from Argos, and his death took place in Boiotia.

<sup>283</sup> In the Ionic-epic sphere the popular etymology was of course possible even earlier (see §510).

<sup>284</sup> Moreover, as the popular etymology may have been much older and widespread through epic poetry, *Ἀμφιάρᾶος* at Oropos could also be explained as a Boiotian hypercorrection: Ionic *ἀρήσομαι* : Boiotian *ἀράσσομαι* = ‘Ionic-sounding’ *Ἀμφιάρῃος* : ‘Boiotian-sounding’ *x* (with *x* = *Ἀμφιάρᾶος*).

<sup>285</sup> It was explained by Hauser (p. 5 n. 9) as follows: ‘Das E in der jüngeren, wie wir sehen werden, noch einmal verwendeten Form erhielt aus Versehen eine zweite senkrechte Hasta [i.e. B], denn der Schreiber bemerkte, dass er den Buchstaben hier irrtümlich anstelle von B verwendete.’ This is incorrect for several reasons. (1) E is not a younger form of B, as the abecedaria show (see §106). (2) B was no alternative for an attempted B, because it was a consonant sign (indeed had he wanted a vowel sign, the writer should have left E as it was). (3) Had he been aware of a mistake, the writer could very easily have formed a perfect B out of his E. Also Heubeck’s doubts (1980: 286), *h* = *he* ‘ist schon aus etymologischer Sicht ganz unwahrscheinlich’, seem pointless, since the occurrence of such [h] often cannot be etymologically justified (see §211).

<sup>286</sup> He refers to *CIG* (iv) 7916b, which today may be cited as *ABV* 266. 5 (Munich 1694): *Ηιπ(π)οτίων*.

<sup>287</sup> It only occurs for a Cyclops in Nonn. 14. 60 etc. (Amyx), who surely has no connection with our man.

<sup>288</sup> Hauser (p. 7 n. 14) says: ‘Man beachte, dass Pausanias die Inschrift richtig auflöste.’ Pausanias must have been fairly familiar with the archaic Corinthian alphabet anyway, and there were inscs. on the chest that were more difficult to decipher. It is even possible that he knew this form also from literary sources unknown to us.

<sup>289</sup> As for the cluster [km] in our name, Neumann (1980: 298), who suspects syncope, cites Pamphylian *Κνδμαλία* with a similar cluster [dm]. But is this really a case of syncope? Be it as it may, it need not concern us, since there are similar clusters already in Homer, viz. acc. *Ἀλκμάδονα* *Il.* 12. 394, *Ἀλκμήνην*, etc.

COR 67 FORMERLY MUNICH, STAATLICHE  
ANTI-KENSAMMLUNG INV. 6568

Frs. of a column krater from ?, by the Amphiaraios P. (see Amyx (found ?); most of the frs. were lost in World War II. *Bibliography*: Wrede (1916), 372, ph. 374 fig. 11; Payne (1931), 167 no. 62, cat. no. 1472, ph. pl. 42. 1; Arena (1967), 111, no. 74; Lorber (1979), 79, no. 123, ph. pl. 35; Amyx (1988), 572, no. 67 (cat. p. 263, no. A-2, bibl.); *LIMC* vi, 'Laidas' 1; *LIMC* vii, 'Polybos' iii. 1. *Photographs*: Wrede (a) invis., (b) and (c) uncl., (d) invis., (e) uncl.; Payne (a) uncl., (b) cl., (c) uncl., (d) invis., (e) quite cl.; Lorber only (e), quite cl. *Scene*: A (lost) warrior to r. (a) (the label written on the white anta), another one (b) in a chariot to r. with charioteer (c), a third warrior (d) (labelled on the tail of one of the white horses), facing a woman (apparently unnamed). Finally, (e) is written in front of a dark (purple?) and a white horse's head (of which one is therefore unnamed). *Date*: LC (Lorber).

(a) FΔXVM (b) (←) ΛΑΣΔΑΜ (c) ΞΞΟΝ  
(d) (←) ΟΛΥ ΟΜ (e) ΞΑΝΘΟΜ

(a) *Faxvus* (b) *Λαίδας* (c) *Φίον* (d) *Πόλυβος* (e) *Ξανθος*  
(a) *Fāxvus*, (b) *Λαῖδās*, (c) *Φῖον*, (d) *Πόλυβος*, (e) *Ξάνθος*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) From Payne's transcription. (c) Payne restores -s, i.e. *Φίος*; but nu seems more likely, in view both of what is visible on the phs. and of the narrow space. (e) Part of the final -s (in black) is covered by the paint of the dark horse's head. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic departure scene (labels).

(a) is a throwaway name (see §237), and so is (b) (for names in -ιδās see also §239). (c) Considering the epigraphical situation and the fact that *Φῖον* is well attested but *Φίος* is not, we should accept the former. It is also a throwaway name. (d) The label *Πόλυβος* also occurs on CHA 6 (b). It is probably a hypocoristic, i.e. *Πόλυβος* (e.g. from *Πολύβιος*, Bechtel, p. 377; see §228 below). Apart from the interpretation as a hypocoristic, a compound name *Πολύβος* (i.e. -βους) would also be possible (see §220). Amyx tries to find a heroic context for the name (the Corinthian king and adoptive father of Oidipus; or the son of Antenor, *Il.* 11. 59). In view of the three accompanying throwaway names, the non-heroic context of most other *Πολυ*- names on Corinthian vases (see §237), and the equally dull names on CHA 6, a non-heroic setting and a hypocoristic name are to be preferred. (e) The label *Ξάνθος* does not necessarily belong to the black horse as Lorber seems to infer ('vor dem Kopf des hinteren schwarzen Pferdes'), but could just as well be the white one's. (Was the dark horse coloured purple? See COR 103.)

\*COR 68 NAPLES, MUS. NAZ. 80996

Column krater from Nola or Capua, near the Amphiaraios P. (see Amyx) (1825 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Heydemann (1872), 16 f.,

no. 685 (earlier bibl.); *CIG* (iv), no. 7378; Kretschmer (1888), 161 f., no. 13; Kretschmer (1894), 19, no. 15; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3129; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; Payne (1931), 167 no. 63, cat. no. 1473; Arena (1967), 113 f., no. 76, ph. pl. 25; Lorber (1979), 79 f., no. 125, phs. pl. 38; *LIMC* iii, 'Damon' 2\*, ph. pl. 243; *LIMC* iv, 'Eurylochos' iii. 1; Amyx (1988), 572 f., no. 68 (cat. p. 264, no. B-1); *LIMC* v, 'Hippolytos' ii. 3\*, ph. pl. 328, 'Kebriones' 4. *Photographs*: All show the vase in its newly restored state: Arena rather uncl.; Lorber quite cl.; *LIMC* iii mostly sm. and uncl.; *LIMC* v only (i) and (l), uncl. *Scene*: A warrior (a) rushing to l. (as all figures in this scene). Of a second warrior only a shield was painted but no head, and the painted sketch of his leg and foot has been transformed into a horse's leg and hoof in the final stage of engraving. Label (b) cannot therefore have been meant to designate this second warrior. Also it was not begun next to any part of his body. It must belong to one of the front horses of the following *quadriga*, probably to the only white one to the l. (fully visible). Beyond the horses of the *quadriga* there are two other foot-warriors. Labels (c)–(f) must be attributed to these figures as follows: (c) to one of the horses which are throwing their heads back,<sup>290</sup> (d) to one of the horses or the first warrior beyond, (e) to another one of the horses, (f) to the second warrior beyond; one name, either the first warrior's or one horse's, will have been lost with the missing part below. After that, the attribution is easier. In the chariot there are the charioteer (g) and a warrior (h), the latter labelled next to his r. arm. A second *quadriga* follows, again accompanied by two warriors beyond the horses. The attribution of the remaining labels: (i) belongs to one of the horses (two are white, two dark); (j), which is written under the horses and next to the front foot of the first warrior, cannot belong to the latter, who has label (k) next to his head, but designates a horse. There must have been enough space around the horses in the now missing parts to have contained another label, but hardly enough for two. Also the second warrior's and the charioteer's labels will have been on parts now missing, whereas the name of the warrior in the chariot is preserved (l). *Date*: LC (Lorber; *LIMC* iv); c. 570–550 (*LIMC* iii; v, 'Hippolytos'); c. 560 (*LIMC* v, 'Kebriones').

(a) (←) ΒΥΡΥΜΑΜ (b) (←) ΡΥΜΒΔΟΜ  
(c) (←) ΒΞΓΟΜ vac. (d) (←) ΔΑΜ (e) (←) ΞΞΟΝ  
(f) (←) ΔΑΜΟΝ (g) (←) ΚΒΠ ΟΥΑΜ (h) (←) ΚΒΤΟΡ  
(i) (←) ΛΒΥ Μ (j) (←) ΓΑΥΘΟΜ  
(k) (←) ΒΥΡΥΓΟ(→)ΧΟΜ (l) (←) ΒΞΓΓΟΓΥΤ

(a) *Ευρυμας* (b) [. . .]ρυμεδον (c) *Ηιπος* (d) *Δαμ*[. . .]  
(e) *Φίον*[. . . ?] (f) *Δαμον* (g) *Κεββ*[. . .]ονας  
(h) *Κετορ* (i) *Λευγος* (j) *Γαυρος* (k) *Ευρυλοχος*  
(l) *Ηιππολυτ*[. . .]

<sup>290</sup> The label could also belong to the first of the warriors beyond the horses, between whose head and the horse's head it is written, but in view of its meaning it rather designates the horse than a man in the presence of horses. We should not claim that in order to be the horse's label it should be written l. to r., since this writer only writes retrograde.



(a) *Εὐρύμας*, (b) [*Εὐ*]ρυμέδων, (c) *ἡίπ(π)ος*, (d) *Δαμ*[. . .], (e) *Ῥίον*, (f) *Δάμων*, (g) *Κεββ[ι]όνας*, (h) *Κετῶρ* corrected from *Ἐτ(τ)ῶρ*, (i) *Λεὐϙ(ο)ς*, (j) *Γ(λ)αὐϙος*, (k) *Εὐρύλοχος*, (l) *Ἡπιπόλυτ[ος]*.

*Epigraphy*: All readings before Arena (see his n. 52) are untrustworthy because the inscs. were repainted. Amyx saw the vase. I have checked the readings against a set of good photographs. (b) Upsilon and mu form a kind of ligature, but the truth is that the writer first forgot the upsilon and then split up the original mu with two thinner strokes (see dr.). (c) Arena reads *ἡίπ(π)ομ* (?) thinking that the inscr. is 'lasciata a metà', but since it is complete and mu and san are often very similar (see (f) and e.g. COR 71e, 79a, 85e, 114d, 116a), I prefer san, especially since the label *can* designate a horse. (e) Lorber (n. 500) suggests *Δίον*, but the first letter is more likely a digamma (Mansfield *apud* Amyx); see dr. (f) The third letter, with its fourth stroke almost as long as the first, could also be a san, but the Corinthian parallels to this name make a mu almost certain. (g) Amyx, after his autopsy, put [*Κεββι*] in brackets, but some remains of the initial letters show clearly on Lorber's ph. On my original ph. *Κε* are clear, then follow the remains of what can easily be restored to a beta, and the lower end of a vertical hasta, i.e. of the expected rho (see dr.). The iota is missing, then the arms and hands of the figure holding whip and reins forced the writer to jump downwards for the rest of the name, which is clear (Amyx probably failed to connect the two parts of the name). (h) See below and dr. (i) The vertical stroke before the lambda belongs to the drawing: it is Hektor's spear; the same effect can be observed below the shield of the warrior (l). Lorber (n. 502) suspects the omicron in (i) to be a qoppa. This yields a good solution, and since the writer closed the circles of his omicrons at the 10-o'clock position—see the drs. of (b), (e), and (h)—the little black blotch at the bottom of the letter is indeed likely to be a deliberate attempt at an additional stroke to form a qoppa, which is, however, much longer in (j). Amyx puts *Λεὐϙ[ος]*, yet no letter is completely lost. The remains of the last letter easily fit a san. The other labels are cl. *Interpretation*: Pseudo-heroic chariot scene (labels).

For the mixture of heroic and non-heroic, partly even throwaway names and the character of the labelling see §468.

(a) Kretschmer reminds us of one *Εὐρύμας*, killed by Polydeukes (Hsch.), and Arena—as already Bechtel (p. 167)—of the two Trojans called *Ἐρύμας* (Il. 16. 345 and 415). More likely our form is just a hypocoristic name,<sup>291</sup> and the occurrence of two more names with *Εὐρυ-*, viz. (b) and (k), makes a dull impression (see §237). (b) For the problem of attribution of the name see above ('*Scene*') and the parallel of COR 79A, which

looks close to the Damon P. As we shall see below, our writer made mistakes and corrected some of them. Here he first wrote *Ευρυμεδων*, then made the mu into upsilon + mu (that he corrected his mistake only after he finished the name seems likely because the additional strokes are thinner). The mistake reminds us of A.W. (see §111), although the letter-name was normally [ro] not [ru] (this is, as far as I can see, the only possible example from Corinth of A.W. with rho). (c) is probably a horse's label, i.e. the noun. (d) The restoration is unclear; see (f). For (e) Amyx refers to COR 70m *Ῥίονις*. But this is not a horse-name, therefore we should prefer the common throwaway name (see §237). The warrior's name (f) is used for a charioteer on COR 78 (by the Damon P.). This makes it likely that this name contains the root *δᾱμ(ᾱ)-* 'to tame' (not the noun *δᾱμος*, as Amyx thinks). Formations with passive meaning from this root are suitable for horses (our (d) may have been of that sort), and active ones for men. For *Δάμων* (with *δᾱμ-*) see Bechtel, p. 116.

(g) Kebriones is also attested on COR 46Ai, COR 70h, and CHA 15e. (h) As his charioteer is none other than Kebriones (Il. 8. 318 f., etc.), *Κετορ* must be a misspelling for *Ἐκτῶρ* (see §250). It is clear from the photograph that the writer first wrote *ΒΤΟΡ*, and then—perhaps because some of his fellow painters pointed out his error—added the missing sign for the sound [k], but put it in the wrong place (it is smaller than the other letters and squeezed in between the epsilon and Hektor's arm).<sup>292</sup> The form that the writer had produced in the first place shows assimilation in the cluster [kt], very likely to a geminate [tt] (see §§113, 212).

(i) Surely *Λεὐϙος* is meant (as supposed by Arena, and Lorber, n. 502), which is very appropriate for a horse (see COR 79A). Since the fourth letter was probably meant to be a qoppa not an omicron (see above), we have here a case of A.W. (see §111). (j) We have to assume a spelling mistake as in (b), (h), and (i), although here the similarity of the letter-forms *Λ* and *Α* will have been responsible (see §112). This adjective—like (i)—seems not inappropriate for a horse, although this particular use is very exceptional (but see §448 at the end). (k) and (l) are as expected.

#### COR 69 AMSTERDAM, A. PIERSON MUS. 3410. 2

Fr. of a column krater from Cumae, near the Amphiaros P. (see Amyx) (1923 or earlier). *Bibliography*: C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *CVA Netherlands*, 2 (1931), 15 (bibl.), ph. pl. 8. 10; Payne (1931), 131 f. with dr. fig. 45bis, 167 no. 64, cat. no. 1472a; Snijder (1937), 133, no. 1295, ph. pl. 57; Vian (1945), 7; Arena (1967), 114, no. 77; Lorber (1979), 79, no. 124, ph. pl. 35;

<sup>291</sup> e.g. from *Εὐρύμαχος* (Bechtel, p. 180; in myth e.g. a suitor of Penelope *Od.* 1. 399 etc., and a son of Antenor, named in COR 74j *Ε(ὐ)ρύμαχος*). If *Ἐρύμας* meant, our *Εὐρυ-* should be explained as due to a mistake (or popular etymology) rather than (with Amyx) to the converse of the phonological phenomenon in COR 74j, on a Corinthian vase closely related in time and style.

<sup>292</sup> Arena's assumption that the writer was confused by the preceding *Ke-briones*, is therefore unnecessary. The fact that kappa and not qoppa is used (see §108), is irrelevant in this connection despite the qoppa in (j), since in Hektor's name kappa is so frequently used that this must already have been a received spelling. And of course if the sign for [k] was (mis)placed in front of the [ε], the writer was right to use kappa.

ph. *AJA* 88 (1984), pl. 68; Amyx (1988), 573 f., no. 69 (cat. p. 264, no. B-2, bibl.); *LIMC* vii, 'Kyknos' i. 138\*, ph. pl. 711. *Photographs*: CVA cl.; Snijder quite cl.; Lorber, *AJA*, and *LIMC* cl. *Scene*: A warrior to l. (named on the anta of a building). *Date*: c.560 (Snijder; Mus. inv. card); LC (Lorber).

(←) ϣϣ  
Qvϣv[. . .]  
Qvϣv[os].

*Epigraphy*: Of the nu only the vertical stroke is preserved.  
*Interpretation*: Probably Herakles and Kyknos (label).

The spelling is as expected at Corinth (see §108). For a few remarks on this myth see §420.

\*<sup>o</sup>COR 70 PARIS, LOUVRE E 638

Column krater from Caere (ex Campana inv. 32; 1855 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Braun (1855), with dr. pl. 20; Newton-Birch (1856), 6 f., no. 20; *CatCamp* ii. 20; *CIG* (iv), no. 7379; E. Pottier in Dumont-Chaplain (1888), 251 f., no. 8; Kretschmer (1888), 168, no. 27; Kretschmer (1894), 21, no. 21; Pottier (1897), 57 f. (bibl.), ph. pl. 50; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3130; Kretschmer (1920), 49 f.; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 4; ph. Wrede (1916), 308 fig. 5; Payne (1931), 168 no. 65, cat. no. 1474, phs. pls. 36. 4, 40. 3, dr. fig. 37; Schefold (1964), 81, and (1966), 85 f., ph. [pl.] 71b; Arena (1966), 479 f., on (l); Arena (1967), 114-16, no. 78, phs. pls. 26 f.; Friis Johansen (1967), 80-2, with ph. fig. 19, cat. p. 247, no. A. 14 (bibl.); Alföldi (1967), 19 f., with dr.; Lorber (1979), 80 f., no. 126, phs. pl. 34; *LIMC* i, 'Ainoi' 1\*, ph. pl. 309; *LIMC* iii, 'Deiphobos' 13\*, ph. pl. 269; *LIMC* iv, 'Hekabe' 15, 'Hektor' 12\*, ph. pl. 284; Amyx (1988), 574 f., no. 70 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, 'Hippomachos' 1, 'Kebriones' 3\*, ph. pl. 616; *LIMC* vi, 'Kianis' 1; Schefold (1993), 301, with ph. fig. 325; *LIMC* vii, 'Polyxene' 1\*, 'Kassandra' i. 30, 'Priamos' 39, ph. pl. 345. *Photographs*: Pottier, including (m), sm.; Wrede and Schefold (c)-(j) cl., rest uncl. or invis.; Arena (1967) and Lorber cl., without (m); *LIMC* i (c)-(i) quite cl., rest uncl. or invis.; *LIMC* iii only part of (i), and (j), cl.; *LIMC* iv only (a)-(d), cl.; *LIMC* v almost as i, but slightly clearer; *LIMC* vii only (k) cl., (l) quite cl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: An old man (a) and a woman (b) to r. are facing a warrior (c). Behind his back two women to r., (d) and (e), are facing a *quadriga* to l., of which only one horse is named (f).<sup>293</sup> Beyond the horses there are two unnamed women to r. facing a warrior (g). In the chariot there is the charioteer (h) and

behind the chariot an unnamed warrior seems to be about to climb up. Behind his back there are two white horses to l., of which one is named (i), and the other carries a horseman, next to whom a warrior is standing, also facing l.; only one of these two men is named, viz. (j), written under the horse. They are being followed by two women (k) and (l). On the other side there are three youths on a black, a white, and another black horse, respectively. The middle horseman is named (m), the label starting behind his back and running down the horse's back and tail. *Date*: c.570-560 (Schefold (1964) and (1966); *LIMC*); LC (Lorber); c.580-570 (Schefold (1993)).

(a) (←) ΓΡΞΑΜΟΜ (b) FBKAΠA (c) (←) ΒΥΤΟΡ  
(d) (←) ΑΞΥΟΞ (e) ΚΞΑΥΞΜ (f) (←) ϣΟΡΑΞΜ  
(g) (←) ΗΞΓΓΟΜΑ+(→)ΟΜ (h) ΚΒΠΡΞΟΛΑΜ  
(i) (←) ΞΑΜΘΟΜ (j) (←) ΔΑΞΦΟΝΟΜ (k) (←) ΓΟΓΥΒΝΑ  
(l) ΚΒΜΑΛΔΡΑ (m) ΞΞΟΝΞΜ

(a) Πρίαμος (b) Φεκαβα (c) Εϣτορ (d) Αινοι  
(e) Κιανις (f) Οοραξς (g) Ηιππομαχος (h) Κεβριονας  
(i) Ξανθος (j) Δαιφονος (k) Πολυξενα (l) Κεσανδρα  
(m) Φιονις

(a) Πρίαμος, (b) Φεκάβα, (c) Εϣτορ, (d) Αινόι, (e) Κιανίς,  
(f) Οόραξς, (g) Ηιπόμαχος, (h) Κεβριόνας, (i) Ξάνθος,  
(j) Δαίφονος, (k) Πολυξένα, (l) Κεσ(σ)άνδρα. (m) Φίονις.

*Epigraphy*: Lorber (n. 513) establishes the sequence of the three techniques: (1) painting, (2) writing, (3) incision, which is of course the natural order. (b) was first read *Φακαβα*, but the epsilon is clear (it is simply a case of the subsequent incision having damaged the letter, which overlapped with the painted head). (j) The second letter can only be alpha or rho (the trace of a stroke emerging from the break is likely to be the end of the second hasta of an alpha, which is therefore more likely; see dr.). (l) The third letter from the end is not an alpha as might be thought from the phs. (see dr.). *Interpretation*: Departure of Hektor (mixed?) (labels). Non-heroic riding scene (label).

The labelling of this scene is not easy to analyse. For an attempt at an interpretation which makes sense, as well as for some literary implications, see §444.

For (a) see §256, for (b) see §504, for (c) see §250.

(d) is probably a hypocoristic from the root of *Αινείας* (Bechtel, pp. 27 f.); see §236. (e) Kretschmer (1894: 31 f.), pointing to *Κιονίς*, a horse on an Attic bf. hydria (*ABV* 332. 17), connected our label with *κίω* and compared it with (m) *Φιονις* (which he took for a horse-name); however, he could not give an explanation for the -α-. In turn, he rejected two earlier suggestions: (1) a connection with *Κυανίς* as put forward in *CIG* (and later taken up by Arena (1967)); (2) Braun's suggestion of a derivative from *Κίος*, the name of two towns in Bithynia and Mysia, respectively (Kretschmer, while accepting that it is the horse's label, argued that we do not have evidence for Bithynian horse-breeding). However, the

<sup>293</sup> Lorber (n. 512) is certainly right to attribute (e) to the second woman rather than to one of the horses (as Kretschmer (1894), following others, did). First, his view is supported by the starting-point principle (see §104) (this argument was disregarded by Amyx). Secondly, it would be odder if one of the two women were left without a name than three instead of two horses (of the pair of white horses at the r. end of the scene also only one is named).

adjective *Kiavís* from *Kíos*, cited by Braun from Ap. Rhod. 1. 1177 ἀφίκοντο Κιανίδος ἦθεα γαίης | ἀμφ' Ἀργανθώνειον ὄρος προχόας τε Κίοιο (in Mysia), clearly provides the best parallel.<sup>294</sup> When we come to look at the form itself, we may remember, first, the ethnic suffix *-ānós/-hnós*, which is particularly frequent in the relevant part of Asia Minor (*Ἀσιανός*, *Σαρδιανός*, *Βοσπορᾶνός/-hnós*, *Κυζικηνός*, *Περγαμηνός*, *Κολοσσηνός*, *Ἰστριᾶνός/-hnós*, etc.), and, secondly, the tendency, already observable in Homer (see Risch, p. 142), to form feminine ethnics in *-īd-* also from *o*-stem place-names (e.g. *Λεσβίς*) or *o*-stem masculine ethnics (e.g. *Ἀχαιίς* or, from the region in question, *Δαρδανίς*, later *Μηδίς*); see Meier (1975), 22 ff. (who does not mention *Kiānís*). For ethnic names see §241; for a possible function of the women (*d*) and (*e*) see §444.

(*f*) The name means 'raven'; it will therefore be the black horse's label. For the double-writing of [s] in <ks> see §115. (*g*) is probably a horsey name (see §238). (*h*) and (*i*) are as expected. (*j*) must be Hektor's brother *Δηίφοβος* (for parallels and variants of the name see §439). As a historical name, *Δαίφονος* is attested only once.<sup>295</sup> (*k*) In Corinthian we would expect \**Πολυξένῶ* (see §209), therefore the form of the name must be regarded as non-epichoric (see §503).

(*l*) Kretschmer (1894: 28) cites a second occurrence of this form on a Paestan amphora in Vienna,<sup>296</sup> namely *Κεσάνδρη* (-ρα *LIMC*, possibly rightly). Arena (1967) duly rejects Kretschmer's comparison (p. 31) of the vocalism (ε for α) with that of (*b*), which was wrongly read *Φακάβᾶ* instead of *Φεκάβᾶ* at the time. He also rightly rejects the comparison of this name and form with the Lakonian gloss *κιττόν* (see ad COR 64*b*), since in Lakonian we would expect -σσ- not -ττ- in such a case. He suggests that COR 64*b* *Κίσιππος* and our *Κεσάνδρα* may contain the same first element. This, however, is unprovable and creates the problem of the discrepancy between *Κισ-* and *Κεσ-*;<sup>297</sup> moreover, the inscriptions on COR 64 do not seem very reliable. Arena compares Mycenaean *ke-sa-da-ra* and *ke-sa-do-ro*, which had been interpreted as being related to our form.<sup>298</sup> I cannot see how we

could possibly reconcile all the forms on a regular basis. We have the following starting-points: (1) *Κασσάνδρη* clearly with [ss] in epic, (2) *Κατάνδρᾶ* and *Καττάνδρᾶ* on two Attic vases,<sup>299</sup> (3) the Mycenaean forms, (4) our *Κεσάνδρᾶ* and the South Italian form *Κεσάνδρᾶ*. The first problem is the difference between [ss] and Attic [tt]. Schwyzler (p. 317) thought of a hyperatticism, but in view of the early attestation of the Attic form this is not particularly plausible (in the case of Odysseus' name his assumption is even less likely, see §213). At any rate, the epic and the Attic forms are metrically equivalent,<sup>300</sup> and their long first syllable is made up of a short vowel and a geminate consonant. The second problem is the Mycenaean <s>. If we look for an IE etymology of the first element of our compound (which in view of the second element it seems justifiable to do), we cannot reconcile a geminate Ionic [ss] / Attic [tt] with a Mycenaean <s>.<sup>301</sup> From whatever consonant cluster our [ss]/[tt] had developed (e.g. \*-k<sup>(w)</sup>(<sup>h</sup>)j-, \*-t<sup>(h)</sup>j-, \*-tm-), we have no certain case in Mycenaean where this would be written with <s> rather than with normal <z>. Moreover Mycenaean *ke-sa-da-ra* and *ke-sa-do-ro* need not represent /Kes(s)-/ at all; they could be interpreted, for instance, as /Sk<sup>h</sup>ēs-andrā/, /-dros/ as in *Σχησίπολις* (Bechtel, p. 413).<sup>302</sup> The third problem is the quantity of the first syllable in our *Κεσ-* forms, which need not a priori be long. Indeed, we could take the spelling on the South Italian vase as an indication of a short syllable, since on a vase from classical times we may expect a long [ē] to be written with eta, and geminate [ss] with two signs. And if we had *Κεσ-* with short [ĕ] and single [s], we would have to separate our Doric form from the epic and Attic ones, even with respect to their metrical structure. Now, Heubeck (1980: 284) preferred the connection of the Mycenaean and Doric forms and accepted their separation from the epic and Attic ones. The use of *Κεσ-* for the Trojan prophetess he took for a mistake: 'die troische Seherin mag dann in der nicht-epischen Überlieferung gelegentlich auch mit dem ersten der beiden Namen (versehentlich) benannt worden sein.' This is not satisfactory, however. For we cannot claim that the name on our Corinthian and South Italian vases is independent of epic tradition (and therefore e.g. an epichoric Doric feature). First, there are signs of a literary background to some of the labels on our vase (see §444); and its scene too—like the one on the South Italian vase—clearly reflects the epic-heroic sphere. Secondly, these names, whether containing *Κεσ(σ)-*, *Κασ(σ)-*, or *Κατ(τ)-*, were not used outside, or independently of, this epic-heroic sphere. A connection between these three variants is therefore much more likely than a connection

<sup>294</sup> Lorber (n. 512) takes this interpretation for granted. Heubeck (1980: 284) denies it straightway. Another possibility that has come to mind, is a miswriting for *Kaivís* (a mythical character Hes. fr. 87 M-W; few historical persons Bechtel, p. 579, and Pape-Benseler); but I do not favour it, since interchange of letters is rare (see §110).

<sup>295</sup> A diviner from Apollonia in Illyria before the battle of Mykale in 479 (Hdt. 9. 92. 2, 9. 95).

<sup>296</sup> Trendall (1987), 261 f., no. 2. 1036, ph. pl. 165; *LIMC* i, 'Aias' ii. 77\*, ph. pl. 265.

<sup>297</sup> His attempt to link our name to Boiotian *Κοσσίδαμος*, which he connects with the root \**kos-/kes-/kas-* (Sanskrit *śās-* 'cut, slaughter'), is equally doubtful, since from this root the names should probably be \**Κοσσι-* (or \**Κεσσι-*, or maybe *Κασσι-* as in *Κασσιάνειρα*, *Il.* 8. 305). On the problems of etymology see now García-Ramón (1988–90), 54 f. I am not convinced by his etymological connection for the *Κασσι-* and *Κασσι-* names (see n. 307 below). Why is there *Κασσιάνειρα* alongside prosodically identical *Κασσιέπεια*? Even less satisfactory is García-Ramón's phonological link between *Κασσι(ι)-* and *Κασσι-* (n. 76).

<sup>298</sup> See Heubeck (1980: 284) (referring to his earlier bibl.), who reconsiders Schulze's connection (1896: 698) with the root *ked-* 'put in order' (see both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. *κεδνός*, but also s.vv. *Κασσάνδρα* and *κέκασμαι*).

<sup>299</sup> The first is *ABV* 136. 54 = Kretschmer, p. 178 (the rape of the princess by the Lokrian Aias). The second, bringing a welcome confirmation, is a rf. cup by Onesimos and Euphronios, J. Paul Getty Museum 83. AE. 362 (Iliupersis), see D. Williams (1991) (see also n. 1097 below).

<sup>300</sup> The Attic form of course has a long first syllable also if it is a hyperatticism, i.e. due to analogy.

<sup>301</sup> García-Ramón (1988–90: 55) takes the connection of *Κεσάνδρᾶ* with the Mycenaean forms for granted.

<sup>302</sup> Compare future *σχίσω*; the meaning may be 'keep' or—more archaic—'defeat' (German *siegen*). For the latter see Meier (1976).

of only one,  $K\epsilon\sigma(\sigma)-$ , with some Mycenaean forms, whose interpretation is uncertain.<sup>303</sup> If, however, we accept a literary origin of our form, we have to remember the important poetic principle that the metrical shape of names should be kept constant, particularly in epic poetry (see §510). Therefore we may reasonably assert that our Corinthian form is to be read with a long first syllable, and since the Ionic-Attic forms clearly and always have a short vowel and a geminate consonant, we may assume the same here; as for the South Italian form, there are other cases of single spelling of geminates on these later documents,<sup>304</sup> and the form may be copied from some earlier piece of art. But how are we to reconcile the Homeric ( $K\alpha\sigma\sigma-$ ) and Attic ( $K\alpha\tau\tau-$ ) forms with the  $\epsilon$ -forms? In the literary, and more precisely the epic sphere, from which these names were known, imagination and popular etymology often lead to a considerable distortion of names (see §510), particularly such as were unusual or unintelligible. This was likely the case with the rare and etymologically isolated verbal element  $K\alpha\sigma\sigma(\iota)-$  even in Homeric times,<sup>305</sup> and some variation of the name will have appeared acceptable (as long as the metrical structure remained unchanged). If we try to judge whether [e] or [a] should be considered primary, it is probably easier to assume the first, since a change  $K\epsilon\sigma\sigma- > K\alpha\sigma\sigma-$  is easier to justify than the opposite,<sup>306</sup> but we cannot be absolutely certain while the etymology of this first element remains unsolved.<sup>307</sup>

Label (*m*)  $F\iota\omicron\nu\iota\varsigma$  has nothing to do with the farewell scene (*a*)–(*l*) on the other side of the vase. Braun, Kretschmer, Pottier, etc. attributed it to the horse, but the position of the inscription (like e.g. COR 74*k*) makes it more likely the horseman's name. Kretschmer takes it as a derivative from  $F\iota\omicron\nu$ , which is one of our throwaway names (see §237), though not normally used of horses (see COR 68*e*). As the horse's name we would have to take it as feminine,  $F\iota\omicron\nu\iota\varsigma$ , but feminine horse-names on vases are rare and specially chosen (see §244). For these reasons I prefer to take it as the man's name. As masculine names in  $-ων\iota\varsigma$  are rare and exotic (see in particular  $\mathcal{A}\delta\omega\nu\iota\varsigma$ , Hes. fr. 139 M–W, Sappho, etc.),

<sup>303</sup> Such a connection between a specifically Doric feature and a Mycenaean one would not be easy to understand anyway.

<sup>304</sup> See e.g. Trendall (1987), 84, no. 2. 128,  $\Theta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma(\sigma)\alpha$ ; p. 85, no. 2. 129,  $\Sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda(\lambda)\alpha$ , both vases are by Assteas. On the whole, however, double spelling is more frequent.

<sup>305</sup> Other names are  $K\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota-\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta$ ,  $K\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota-(F)\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha$  (also:  $-ό\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ).

<sup>306</sup> We may assume assimilation as e.g. in  $F\eta\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (DGE 452. 5 = GD 38. 3 (dat.); also  $H\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ [. . .] on *ABV* 27. 36, ph. Schefold (1993), fig. 281; on the name see de Simone (1970*b*), 219), which became  $\mathcal{A}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  in later Attic (see Lejeune, §254; Threatte, p. 128; and see §212 below). Also there are no other Greek words with  $\kappa\epsilon\sigma\sigma-$ , but at least a few with  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\sigma-$ :  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  (with Attic  $\kappa\alpha\tau\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ), and  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (with Attic  $\kappa\alpha\tau\tau-$ ). Or should we assume a popular etymology with the comparative  $*kak-jos-$ , attested in Myc. as  $ka-zo-e$ , which should be  $*\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$  in Attic and  $*\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$  in Ionic, but was remade into  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ? A semantic link between 'bad, worse' and the figure of Cassandra, who—unintentionally—contributed to (or rather could not prevent) the sack of her city and by her beauty ruined the lesser Aias too, would not seem impossible.

<sup>307</sup> García-Ramón (1988–90: 55 with n. 74) suggests an etymology with the root of Sanskrit  $\acute{s}amsati$  'speaks solemnly', i.e. 'que habla solemnemente a los hombres'. This root too has a final *s*, and therefore we would expect  $K\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota-$  or  $K\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\iota-$ , not  $K\epsilon\sigma\sigma-$  or  $K\epsilon\sigma-$  (see n. 297 above). Even popular etymology seems unlikely here, since this root has left no (other) traces in Greek.

we may analyse it as a hypocoristic in  $-\iota\varsigma$  (see §231) of  $F\iota\omicron\nu\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$  (see Bechtel, p. 219), a derivative in  $-\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$  (see §239) from the throwaway name  $F\iota\omicron\nu$  (see §237).

#### \*COR 71 PARIS, LOUVRE E 637

Column krater from Caere (ex Campana inv. 52; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: not in *CatCamp*; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 256, no. 20; Kretschmer (1888), 165, no. 21; Kretschmer (1894), 24, no. 29; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3148; Pottier (1897), 57, ph. pl. 50; Payne (1931), 168 no. 66, cat. no. 1475; Arena (1967), 116, no. 79, ph. pl. 28. 1; Lorber (1979), 81 f., no. 127, phs. pl. 39; *LIMC* iv, 'Euryba(ta)s' 1\*, ph. pl. 49; Amyx (1988), 575, no. 71 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, 'Io' iv. 3. *Photographs*: Pottier uncl.; Arena only (*e*), cl.; Lorber uncl. except (*e*); *LIMC* uncl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Four people to r. are walking behind a chariot: a man with spear, a woman, another man with spear, and another woman, next to whom we read (*a*). In the chariot a man (*b*) and a veiled woman (*c*) are standing. Beyond the horses a woman (unnamed) and a man, both facing l., seem to be talking to the couple in the chariot. Between the man's head and the horses' manes there is (*d*). A boy to l. (*e*) is stroking one of the horses' nose (or is he feeding it?). Behind the boy are a man with spear, a woman, and another man with spear (all to l., unnamed). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.570–550 (*LIMC* iv).

(*a*) (←)  $\Phi\Xi\Gamma\omicron\Xi$  (*b*) (←)  $\beta\nu\rho\nu\mu\lambda\alpha$  *vac.* (*c*)  $\Gamma\Xi\omicron\Xi$

(*d*) (←)  $\Theta\varsigma\Gamma\omicron\Xi$  (*e*) (←)  $\Theta\omicron\Gamma\omicron\Xi\mu\mu$

(*a*)  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$  (*b*)  $E\upsilon\rho\nu\beta\alpha$  (*c*)  $F\iota\omicron\iota$  (*d*)  $H\iota\pi\omicron\iota$  (*e*)  $H\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\upsilon\varsigma$

(*a*)  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota$ , (*b*)  $E\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\beta\alpha(s)$ , (*c*)  $F\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota$ , (*d*)  $h\acute{\iota}\pi(\pi)\omicron\iota$ , (*e*)  $h\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\upsilon\varsigma$  (?).

*Epigraphy*: (*b*)  $E\upsilon\rho\nu\beta\acute{\alpha}[\tau\alpha\varsigma]$  (Amyx),  $E\upsilon\rho\nu\beta\acute{\alpha}[\tau\alpha]\varsigma$  (Lorber),  $E\upsilon\rho\nu\beta\acute{\alpha}[\varsigma]$  (?) (Arena). The dark dot down at the lower edge of the picture (taken for the remains of the final  $-\varsigma$  by Lorber?) is a flake of some mineral. Nothing whatsoever is visible after the alpha, and the surface of where the supposed seventh letter should be seems intact. (*e*) The last stroke of the last letter is only slightly shorter than the first; we do not therefore have to read a mu (i.e. the whole as a nonsense inscr.). *Interpretation*: Non-heroic wedding scene (labels).

Lorber thinks that lack of space is the reason for not naming all the figures. But there is space enough for more labels, and the summary character of the existing labels does not make such an assumption necessary.

(*a*) Pottier, followed by Arena, thought of a collective:  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota$  'friends'. This seems plausible in view of (*d*), although  $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\omega}$  as a proper name exists too (Bechtel, p. 452).<sup>308</sup> Moreover, if it were

<sup>308</sup> Amyx wrongly asserts, 'it should here apply to the bride'. The bride has label (*c*).

the woman's name it would be the only label here clearly to break the direction principle (see §105). The label may of course cover not only the four figures to the left, but also the two beyond the horses and the three to the right. (b) *Eὐρύβα(ς)* would be a good hypocoristic name.<sup>309</sup> As for the termination, an interpretation as a genitive *Eὐρύβᾱ* seems unlikely, first, because such hypocoristics usually inflected as *nt*-stems (i.e. *-βαντος* etc.; see §232), and secondly, because there are no certain instances of genitive labels on Corinthian vases (see ad CHA 11b with n. 560; COR 19a is a different case). Therefore we should prefer a nominative with the final [s] missing (see §204). This label is written in bigger letters than the others, by which the painter seems to indicate the main character; however, the size cannot do away with the fact that even this label is rather dull (see §237). (c) Eurybas' bride was given no more than a minimal throwaway name (see §237). (d) Pottier (followed by Arena) interpreted this label as a collective: *ἵπ(π)οι* 'horses' (there are four of them). Lorber doubts this<sup>310</sup> for want of other collective labels on vases; so do Masson (1981/2: 544) and Amyx. Yet, this argument does not hold, as our vases in fact show a number of collective labels (see §401). Secondly, *Ἡπιπῶι*, which would have to be a proper name, is extremely odd for a horse (as the man's label it makes even less sense), and thirdly, on the interpretation as a collective label (d) gets support from, and in turn supports, label (a).

(e) According to the direction principle (see §105) this label must designate the boy not the horse. It has been interpreted as a non-sense inscription; this is odd in view of the other labels, which are perfectly meaningful. Payne read *ΗΟΠΟΙΥΣ* thinking of *ho paîs* (quoting several Attic by-forms, none of which, however, is really comparable). Yet, as Amyx points out, a reading *ΗΟΠΟΙΥΣ* with such an interpretation is out of the question, since the third letter is not a pi. Now, the fact that the writer separated the first two letters from the rest by isolating them on one side of the boy's lower arm may indeed suggest the article *ho*. This would suggest a noun-label, similar to (a) and (d). In that case we are left with *λοιυς*. Arena writes "O = το *λόιυς*?", without attempting an explanation. The form recalls the irregular comparative *λωίων* 'more desirable, more agreeable, better', built on the verbal root *λη-* / *λω-* (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.vv. *λωίων* and *λωῶ*), which is sometimes extended with an [i], not only in *λωί-τερος* (as early as *Od.* 1. 376, 2. 141) but also in the verb, most prominently Cretan *λεῖονσαν*, *λεῖοντι*, *λεῖοι* etc. (see Bile (1988), 227 ff., with bibl.), which must have been analysed as *λεῖ-ο* not *λεῖ-ιῶ* (there was no aorist in which the bare root would have shown clearly). If we try to extrapolate a positive adjective from the comparative, we may reasonably restore a stem in *-ύς*.<sup>311</sup> The

presence of the [i] would be a minor problem, since it could have been secondarily inserted or indeed the whole positive form could be of secondary origin. A form like this would yield a satisfactory meaning: *ho lōiús* 'the good boy'. We may also compare French *la bonne*. For the use of the article particularly with slaves' names see Schulze (1896), 705.

Lorber and Amyx are probably right to say that the inscriptions on this vase are merely gap-fillers, and although (e) seems exceptional to us, its generic character would agree with the dull character of the rest.

#### COR 72 BASLE, H. A. CAHN COLL. HC 1006

Fr. of a hydria from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Lorber (1979), 82, no. 128, ph. pl. 40; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 904; Amyx (1988), 575, no. 72 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Lorber cl. *Scene*: Top-l. corner of a battle scene. The helmet of a warrior (named). *Date*: LC (Lorber; *LIMC*).

A+ΞΓΒVM

*Ἀχιλλεύς*

*Ἀχιλλεύς*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unidentified fight of Achilleus (label).

#### \*COR 73 METAPONTO, MUS. ARCH. NAZ. (ANTIQUARIUM STATALE) 30099

Two frs. of a krater (?) from the sanctuary of Apollon Lykaios at Metapontion (found ?). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1988), 575 f., no. 73 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Heads of horses of a *quadriga* to r. (the inscr. above them); lower parts of persons (no inscs. preserved). *Date*: LC I? (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

ΕΒΡΑΚ/Β

*Ἡερακλε* . [ . . . ?]

*Ἡερακλέης*.

*Epigraphy*: The last letter can hardly be an omicron, alpha, or iota; therefore *san*, which is possible, is to be preferred. If the starting-point principle (see §104) is observed, the inscr. belongs to a figure to the left (i.e. in the chariot); we may think of Herakles' wedding (see COR 28A). *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Herakles (label).

#### COR 74 ROME, VATICAN, MUS. GREGORIANO ETRUSCO 35525 (COLL. ASTARITA 565)

Column krater from ?, the Astarita Krater (1957 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Beazley (1957a), with phs. pls. 11–16; Picard (1959),

<sup>309</sup> It may be compared with *Ἐρίβας* (Bechtel, p. 92) and may originally have been a hypocoristic from e.g. *Εὐρύβατος* (see Bechtel, p. 180).

<sup>310</sup> In n. 522 he refers to COR 24h, which, however, cannot be the horses' label.

<sup>311</sup> See Chantraine (1961), 111 f.; e.g. *ῥδίων*, *γλυκίων* (*Od.* 9. 34) and *γλύσων* (Xenophan. 34), *βράσων* (*Il.* 10. 226), *πάσων* (*Od.* 6. 230 etc.), *βάσων* (Epic. 188 CGF *βάσων τὸ χωρίον*), *βραδίων* (Hes. *Op.* 528), *κρε(ί)σων*, *πλειών*, *θαάσων*, *εἰλάσων*, all from adjectives in *-ύς*.

with phs. figs. 2–5; col. ph. *EAA* ii, pl. opp. p. 848; Schefold (1964), 81, and (1966), 86, phs. [pl.] 72; Arena (1967), 112 f., no. 75, ph. pl. 24; ph. Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni (1976), no. 107; Lorber (1979), 82 f., no. 129; von Bothmer (1982), 184, no. 100, with ph. and col. ph.; phs. Brommer (1983), pls. 1 and 2a; *LIMC* iv, ‘Eurymachos’ i. 1\*, ph. pl. 53, ‘Glaukos’ vi. 1, and ‘Harmatidas’ 1\*, ph. pl. 238; *LIMC* iii, ‘Dia’ 1\*, ph. pl. 278 (top-r.); Amyx (1988), 576, no. 74 (cat. p. 264, no. 1, bibl.), phs. pls. 116 f.; *LIMC* vi, ‘Maloi’ 1, ‘Odysseus’ 43; Schefold (1993), 309 f., with phs. figs. 340a–c; *LIMC* vii, ‘Talthybios’ 3\*, ‘Theano’ i. 1, ph. pl. 584. *Photographs*: Beazley quite cl.; Picard (*e*) invis., (*k*) partly invis., rest not very cl.; *EAA* only (*a*)–(*g*), quite cl.; Schefold only (*a*)–(*j*), quite cl.; Arena sm., partly invis.; Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni (*a*)–(*j*) cl., (*k*) uncl., rest invis.; von Bothmer quite cl.; Brommer (*a*)–(*c*) quite cl., rest sm. or invis.; *LIMC* iii only (*d*)–(*f*), quite cl.; *LIMC* iv, ‘Eurymachos’, only (*g*) (partly), (*h*), and (*j*), cl.; *LIMC* iv, ‘Harmatidas’, only (*a*)–(*j*), quite cl.; Amyx sm.; *LIMC* vii only (*c*) and part of (*a*) and (*b*), cl. *Scene*: Three men to r., (*a*) and (*b*) with spears, (*c*) with *petasos* and *kerykeion*, all sitting on stone steps. From the r. four women, (*d*)–(*g*), are approaching, the first being the tallest. They are followed by a pair of horses with horsemen; label (*h*) is under the horses’ heads, (*i*) between their forelegs. Next another such pair is following, (*j*) written under the horses. Behind these, two black horses with horsemen, (*k*) written behind the shield and down the horse’s tail. Under the handle, yet another pair of (mostly) black horses with horsemen, (*l*) written under the horses. A single man (*m*) is walking behind them. The rest of the escort is unnamed. *Date*: LC, c. 560 (Beazley, Picard, von Bothmer); c. 570–560 (Schefold); LC (Lorber); shortly before 560 (*LIMC*).

(*a*) ΜΒΜΒΓΑΦΟΜ (*b*) ΟΓΞΜΒΜ (*c*) ΤΑΓΘΥΠΡΟΜ  
(*d*) ΘΒΑΝΟ? (*e*) (←) ΔΣΑ (*f*) (←) ΜΑΓΟΣ  
(*g*) ΤΡΟΦΟΜ (*h*) (←) ΒΑΡΜΑΤΞΔΑΜ (*i*) (←) ΓΙΝΥΟΜ  
(*j*) (←) ΒΡΥΜΑ+ΟΜ (*k*) ΞΣΓΣΟΜΒΜ (*l*) (←) ΤΑΜ  
(*m*) ΓΟΓΥΦ

(*a*) Μενελαῖος (*b*) Ολισεύς (*c*) Ταλθύβιος  
(*d*) Θεάνοι (*e*) Δία (*f*) Μαλοῖ (*g*) Τροφός  
(*h*) Ἑρματίδας (*i*) Γλυρός (*j*) Εὐρυμαχός (*k*) Φίλιονες  
(*l*) .[.] τας (*m*) Πολυφ .[. . .]

(*a*) Μενελαῖος, (*b*) Ὀλισ(σ)εύς, (*c*) Ταλθύβιος,  
(*d*) Θεάνοι, (*e*) Δία, (*f*) Μᾶλδοι, (*g*) τροφός, (*h*) Ἑρματίδᾱς,  
(*i*) Γλ(α)υρός, (*j*) Ε(ὐ)ρύμαχος, (*k*) Φίλιόνῃς, (*l*) .[.] τᾱς,  
(*m*) Πολυφ .[. . .].

*Epigraphy*: (*i*) The qoppa consists of a l. semicircle and a r. semicircle, which do not touch each other, and a dot overlapping the bottom end of one of them. (*l*) The first letter after the gap is not an iota, since there is a straight, full-length, and almost vertical stroke (therefore Beazley’s reading Π[ολ]ίτᾱς seems impossible). It will be an α, μ, or σ. The first letter starts with a vertical hasta (τ would fit well, or Ϝ, λ, μ, ν, ρ), then one, at the

maximum two narrow, letters are missing. (*m*) ‘Polyph[amos?] or rather Polyph[as?]’ (Beazley). *Interpretation*: Embassy to Troy about Helene (Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις) (labels).

For the episode and the relation between the vase and the literary evidence see §441.

The painting and the inscriptions show that the painter had a thorough knowledge of the story. Yet, a Trojan called Harmatidas (*h*) never occurs anywhere. This is the more surprising as he seems to be the head of the escort with the two brothers Glaukos and Eurymachos, as well as other Trojans. Here we have to re-examine the attributions of the names to the figures. Beazley (pp. 237 f., followed by M. Dumas, *LIMC* iv, ‘Glaukos’) suggested that names (*h*)–(*m*) could be meant to designate the nearer horseman of each of the first six pairs, the ‘knight’ as opposed to his ‘squire’ behind. This cannot be correct. For if the painter had intended this, he would have found more appropriate spaces to accommodate the respective names. But as soon as we disregard the first of these names (*h*), this principle works out very well: Glaukos (*i*) is then the knight of the first pair, Eurymachos (*j*) of the second, Wiliones (*k*) of the third, [ . . ]tas (*l*) of the fourth, and the last name (*m*) designates the man on foot. Therefore (*h*) is the name of one of the first two horses, presumably Glaukos’.

(*a*) Μενελαῖος is the poetic form of the name, not the contemporary Corinthian one (see §506). For (*b*) see §254. (*c*) is as expected. (*d*) For the formation of the name see §236.<sup>312</sup> (*e*) Unlike (*a*) this name is written without digamma (cf. Myc. *di-mi-ja*, *di-u-ja*); see Lejeune, §§177, 188. (*f*) The name Μᾶλδοι is not known from myth;<sup>313</sup> for the formation of the name see (*d*). (*g*) The nurse is designated by a generic noun; for her identity see §441. (*h*) Ἑρματίδᾱς, as explained above, must be Glaukos’ horse (see §244). The name means ‘the one of the chariot’ and is not attested in myth, as far as I know.<sup>314</sup> With its meaning and its suffix –ιδᾱς, it is a speaking name (see §239), probably not of the epic age (see §240). (*i*) is one of the sons of Antenor and Theano, well known as Γλαῦκος from literary sources (e.g. Apollod. *Epit.* 5. 21; Paus. 10. 27. 3). As there are no plain mistakes on this vase, we can accept the name as written with A.W. (see §111); the same is true for a different hero of this name (the son of Hippolochos) on CHA 4 (already compared by Arena).

(*j*) Ἐρυμαχός (Pausanias 10. 27. 3) writes Εὐρύμαχος and (*k*) Φίλιονες (very likely to represent the Φίλιονες of *Il.* 14. 489–505) are taken together by Arena as two similar cases of a lack of upsilon in a diphthong [eu]. He refers to analogous

<sup>312</sup> Arena cites an Attic occurrence of this name (Θεάνο, *ARV* 1248. 10 = Lezzi-Hafter (1988), 345, no. 248). Another one is *ARV* 1250 f., no. 34 = Lezzi-Hafter (1988), 347 f., no. 257. But these are the labels of servants.

<sup>313</sup> Amyx mentions a hetaira in an epigram by Leonidas of Taras (p. 121, no. 43 Gow–Page). Masson (1981/2: 544) thinks that Μᾶλδοι could be related to μῆλον ‘apple’.

<sup>314</sup> See one Ἑρματίδης Θεοπειεύς (Bechtel, p. 548; 6th cent.). For the etymology of ἄρμα, in particular its initial aspiration for which our form is welcome proof, see Lejeune, §133, and Plath (1994), esp. 123.

cases on Attic vases, for example *ARV* 62. 83 with *Ἐρυσθ* (for *Ἐρυσθ*).<sup>315</sup> Yet we must not compare them too readily. For our (j) could be a case of dissimilation (see §212; like Attic *Ἐρυσ*.<sup>316</sup> just mentioned), but this explanation does not work for (k). Here the alleged lack of [u] would have to be due to weakening of the second element of a *u*-diphthong if it were to be explained phonologically. But in view of (b), a phonological explanation is unlikely anyway, and we must look for a different solution. Threatte (p. 346 bottom) should have been more cautious, when he discussed possible cases of such a weakening of the [u] component of [eu] in Attic, putting them down to 'just careless omissions'. For six out of nine of his examples concern *-ēs* endings which replace *-εύς*, and the others are not relevant.<sup>317</sup> In view of its frequency this is more likely to be a morphological process (a possibility which Threatte seems to deny), also applicable to our case (see §233).<sup>318</sup> A likely second case on our vases is *ETR* 1b *Ἀχιλλ(λ)ēs* (see ad loc.). The one Corinthian form where a weakening of the second element of a *u*-diphthong would seem the only solution, is *COR* 79Ac *Ζε(ν)ξίππᾶ*, a vase with less careful labelling. For the initial [w] in (k), derived probably from *Ἰλιον*, see Wachter (1987), 140 n. 363 (see also §504).

(l) . [.] . *τᾶς* remains unclear, and (m) *Πολυφ* . [.] cannot be completed from the photographs either; see §441 for both.

#### COR 75 SYBARIS, ST. 16028BIS

Fr. of a column krater from Sybaris, St. 16028bis (1971). *Bibliography*: Guzzo *et al.* (1972), 70, no. 49, with ph.; Amyx (1988), 576, no. 75 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Guzzo quite cl. *Scene*: 'Traces of figural decoration' (Amyx). *Date*: LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

⊗ ∇ ∏

[.] . .] *θυβ* . [.] . .]  
[.] . .] *θυβῖ* [.] . .]

*Epigraphy*: The iota was read by Guzzo; it does not show on the ph. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

<sup>315</sup> *CVA* France, 17, (iii. 1b) 5, phs. pls. 5 f.; alongside 'correct' *Ἰολυτεύς*.

<sup>316</sup> The lack of the epsilon in this Attic form *Ἐρυσθ* is probably not due to A.W. (i.e. *-θ(ε)ύς*). It is also unlikely that this is just 'incomplete rendering of diphthongs', as claimed by Threatte (p. 346 top), who dismisses Kretschmer's view (pp. 193 f.) of a morphological phenomenon. Kretschmer's solution is far more likely in view of the frequency of such names in *-ύς* instead of *-εύς*. The reason will be the case-endings shared by the *u*- and *eu*-stems in Attic (gen. and dat. sg., nom. and gen. pl.). The form is also interesting because of the omission of preconsonantal [s] (Threatte, p. 570); see also *He(ρ)μ[ēs]* on the same vase with omission of preconsonantal [r] (not in Threatte, p. 481).

<sup>317</sup> One of the remaining cases is explicable through dissimilation (*Ἐ(ν)ρυσ*, just mentioned), and in two a nasal is lacking: *Ἐκράτης* equals *ἐγκρατής* used as a name, and *Ἐβόλος* is *ἐμβόλος* (see Wachter (1991b), 93).

<sup>318</sup> See also Risch (1987).

Amyx restores [*Ταλ*]*θύβῖ*[*ος*]. It could just as well be a human name (e.g. *Εὐθύβιος*; Bechtel, p. 178).

#### °COR 76 MARKET (ROME)

Frs.<sup>319</sup> of a column krater from near Tarquinia (Cerveteri?), near the Detroit P. (see Amyx) (c.1966 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Arena (1967), 76 f. no. 15, dr. 76 fig. 14; Staccioli (1973/4), with dr. 700 fig. 3 (mostly as in Arena), and phs. pls. 113–16; Lorber (1979), 51, no. 65 (only briefly mentioned); *LIMC* iv, 'Helene' 192; Amyx (1988), 576 f., no. 76 (cat. p. 319, no. B-4), dr. (from Staccioli) pl. 141. 1; *LIMC* vii, 'Perilipoi' 1. *Photographs*: Staccioli (a) uncl., (b) very uncl., (c) uncl., (d) quite cl., (e) cl., (f) cl., (g) quite cl. *Scene*: The vase is badly worn. Backs of two horses to l., at least one of which is ridden by a youth (no name preserved). Beyond there are two women to r. (the label of the first is certainly lost) and a third one fully visible just to the r. of the horses. Inscr. (a) is said to be between the hind legs and the tail(s) of the horses, which also means between the second and third woman. It could therefore be the second woman's label (or a horse's, but not the horseman's). The third woman seems to have had hers, (b), in the now badly damaged space to her r. A fourth woman to r., labelled (c) to her r., is facing a fully armed warrior, labelled (d) between his legs; he is fiercely walking up to her, clasping his spear, which is pointing at her. Behind him there are two other women to l. The first has her name (e) written down her back. The label of the second, (f), has the same position, but it is written beyond the overlapping first foreleg of one of two horses to l. Of one of these a name is preserved, (g), written between their forelegs. *Date*: MC (Arena); early LC, c.570–560 (Staccioli); MC (Lorber and Amyx, i.e. 595/590–570); c.570–550 (*LIMC*).

(a) *ΑΝ ΜΔ+Δ* (b) — (c) (←) *ΒΒΓΒ* (d) (←) *ΑΞΜΒΑΜ*  
(e) (←) *ΓΒΡΞΓΞΓ(→)ΟΞ* (f) (←) *ΕΒΒΚΑΠ* (g) (←) *vac.ΛΒV*

(a) *Av[.]μαχα* (b) [.] . .] [.] . .] (c) *Heλε . [.] . . ?*  
(d) *Aiveas* (e) *Περιλιποῖ* (f) *Fheκαβ[.] . .* (g) *Λευ[.] . .*

(a) *Av[δρo]μάχα*, (b) [.] . .] [.] . .], (c) *Heλένα*, (d) *Aivéas*,  
(e) *Περιλιπόῖ*, (f) *Fheκάβ[α]*, (g) *Λεὺ[ος]*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Amyx's restoration *Av[τίμ]αχ[ος]* is impossible, since *-τιμ-* does not fill the gap and the final alpha is certain. (b) I think I can see traces of letters to the r. of the figure. (c) Parts of the nu and alpha seem visible to me. (d) The *-ς* is very faint. (e) Having reached the bottom of the available space, the painter turned r., changing the direction. A reading *-ος* is unlikely because Corinthian writers did not normally put letters vertically

<sup>319</sup> 'Pur tra molte reticenze, mi fu assicurato che si trattava di un «campione» di un vaso ricostruibile nella sua interezza, essendo lo scopritore in possesso di tutti gli altri frammenti' (Staccioli).

on top of each other (i.e. (↓)), but turned the vase and proceeded horizontally ((←) or (→)) (an exception is COR 113*b*). (*f*) The beta has a slightly unusual shape (Arena), for the final down-stroke turns horizontal again (but only for a short tail, as it seems). (*g*) The first letter is clearly the initial letter and must be a lambda (the double scratch that seems to close it to a D continues to the l.; see *dr.*). *Interpretation*: Aineias threatening Helene at the Sack of Troy (labels).

Labels (*c*), (*e*), and (*f*) violate the direction principle (see §105).

For the interpretation of the scene, for which the new reading of (*a*) is important, see §459.

(*a*) This is the only attestation of Hektor's wife at Corinth; the name is as expected. (*b*) Unclear. (*c*) For the lack of initial [w] in Helene's name see §§251, 504. For (*d*) see §245.

(*e*) The figure is a woman, and the inscription is therefore likely to finish in an iota, i.e. *Περίλιπός*, not *Περίλιπος*. Arena (p. 76) connects the name with *Il.* 19. 230 ὅσσοι δ' ἄν πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῖο λίπονται and *Plat. Leg.* 702*a* περιλιπής; see §§228, 236. Staccioli, on the other hand, tries to connect it with *λιπαρός* and *περίλιπαρος* (LSJ). This would yield a meaning 'flourishing' (see Bechtel, p. 489) and does not make a heroic impression. From the point of view of its formation both comparisons are theoretically possible for a hypocoristic name like this. But hardly anyone would have spontaneously interpreted the name in the latter sense, whereas the former immediately springs to mind. Also, in the light of our interpretation of the scene (see §459), the first meaning, which evokes the notion 'surviving', seems much more appropriate. Did the painter invent it spontaneously, with the general idea of the scene in mind?

(*f*) For the etymology of Hekabe's name see §211. (*g*) The same horse-name Leukos is attested elsewhere (COR 79*Aa* and probably COR 68*i*); see §244.

#### \*<sup>o</sup>COR 77 PARIS, LOUVRE E 643

Hydria from Caere, by the Damon P. (see Amyx) (ex Campana inv. 60; 1857 or earlier).<sup>320</sup> *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* ii. 2; Conze (1864*a*), 188 f., *dr.* pl. O/P; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 249, no. 2; Kretschmer (1888), 170, no. 30; Maass (1892), 168; Kretschmer (1894), 22, no. 24; Pottier (1897), 59 (bibl.), ph. pl. 51; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3137; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 7; Payne (1931), 166 no. 47, cat. no. 1446, *drs.* 108 fig. 38 and pl. 37. 7; ph. Merlin [n.d.], pl. 26; *EAA* ii. 998 f., with ph. fig. 1253; col. ph. Devambez (1962), pl. 71; Diehl (1964*a*), 228, no. T 195, phs. pls. 32. 1, 33. 2; col. ph. Chamoux (1966), 25 fig. 15; Schefold (1964), 86, and (1966), 92, ph. [pl.] 79; Arena (1967), 102 f., no. 61, ph. pl. 18; ph. Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard (1971), 74 fig. 79; Lorber (1979), 73, no. 111, phs. pl. 32;

<sup>320</sup> The similar Campana coll. inv. no. of this hydria and the next (COR 78), the similarity of the vases, and the fact that they are by the same painter, may suggest that they were found in the same tomb.

*LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 897\*, ph. pl. 144; *LIMC* iv, 'Hamathoi' 1; Amyx (1988), 577, no. 77 (cat. pp. 264 f., no. A-1, bibl.); mentioned by Wachter (1990*a*), 42; Schefold (1993), 326 f., with ph. fig. 366; *LIMC* v, 'Io' ii. 1; *LIMC* vi, 'Kleopatra' iv. 1, 'Kymatotha' 1, 'Nereides' 415. *Photographs*: Pottier uncl., partly invis.; Merlin uncl.; *EAA* uncl.; Devambez only (*f*), cl.; Diehl sm., quite cl. except (*d*) and (*e*); Schefold rather uncl.; Chamoux (*f*) cl., rest uncl. or invis.; Arena only (*e*) and (*f*), cl.; Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard only (*b*) quite cl., (*c*)–(*e*) uncl.; Lorber and *LIMC* (*a*)–(*c*) and (*f*) quite cl., (*d*) and (*e*) uncl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Ten women mourning over a dead man on a *kline*, six to r., viz. (*a*)–(*c*), nameless, (*d*), and (*e*), and four to l., of which only the third is named, (*f*). The fourth to seventh are standing beyond the *kline*. The fifth, (*d*), holds a lyre above the *kline*. The first of those facing l. embraces the head of the dead hero. His weapons are depicted in front of the *kline*. *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.570 (Schefold; *LIMC* i; vi, 'Nereides'); c.570–550 (*LIMC* iv–vi, except 'Nereides').

(*a*) (←) ΔΣΟΞ (*b*) ΚΓΒΟΓ ΤΑ (*c*) ΞΞΟΞ (*d*) ΒΑΜΑΘΟΞ  
(*e*) ΘΥΜΑΤΟΘΑ (*f*) (←) ΞΞΟΞ

(*a*) Διοι (*b*) Κλεοπ.[.]τα (*c*) Φιοι (*d*) Χαμαθοι  
(*e*) Κυματοθα (*f*) Φιοι

(*a*) Διόι, (*b*) Κλεοπ.[.]τᾱ, (*c*) Φιόι, (*d*) Χαμαθόι,  
(*e*) Κυματοθᾱ, (*f*) Φιόι.

*Epigraphy*: (*a*) The first iota is of the three-stroke type. (*b*) The two letters either side of the gap have till now been read as alpha and rho, hence the traditional reading *Κλεοπά[τ]ρᾱ*. Yet the latter is a tau (I have indicated in the *dr.* what could have been taken for the loop of a rho), and the former could be Α, Ε, Ρ, Υ, and also Γ, Ν, Τ (other possibilities drop out for phonological reasons). (*e*) The sixth letter is a circle with nothing inside, i.e. an omicron, the seventh is a circle with additional paint inside in the shape of an incomplete cross, i.e. a theta; the omicron is not 'in der Mitte verschuert' (Blass), but the theta is, though only slightly. The name is correctly read in *LIMC*. *Interpretation*: Lamentation over the dead Achilles (labels).

The vase shows fine drawing, but sloppy inscriptions; a similar theta with the same somewhat careless cross as those in (*d*) and (*e*) occurs on COR 78 and 79.<sup>321</sup> For the scene see §457.

(*a*) Διόι is a throwaway name (see §237). (*b*) like earlier scholars, Amyx read Kleopatra, commenting: 'a common name, both heroic and historical' (in Apollodorus, for instance, there are five

<sup>321</sup> Lorber remarks 'Es bietet sich hier die im Korinthischen so überaus seltene Möglichkeit . . . , die Zuweisung von zwei Werken an einen Maler auch durch die Handschrift zu belegen. Noch deutlicher als bei der Hydria 110 [our COR 78] ist hier der Gegensatz von sensibler Malerei und nachlässiger Schrift festzustellen.' Strictly speaking, we could also argue from this difference in care that the painter and the writer were different persons, only perhaps the same for both vases.



different mythical characters of this name), and ‘Here intended as heroic, but it has no specific relevance to the situation’. In view of the meaning, ‘having a famous father’, this would certainly be a name which fits one of the fifty nymphs who are collectively named after their father Nereus. It would, however, be unique as a Nereid-name, and the reading and restoration are doubtful, although I have no other solution (for the loss of [w] in *Kλεο-* see §506). (c) and (f) *Fiōi* is a throwaway name (see §237).

As for (d), we know of a Nereid *Ἀμάθεια* (*Il.* 18. 48), but the breathing in our Corinthian form is a problem. The only plausible etymology for this Nereid’s name links it with *ἄμαθος* ‘sand’,<sup>322</sup> which Kretschmer (p. 49; bibl. n. 4) derives from \**σαμαθ-*, perhaps found also in Germanic *Sand*.<sup>323</sup> If this suggestion is correct, the initial [h] was lost in literary Greek. The name is clearly of the speaking type (see §239).

The same is true for (e), whose correct reading is *Quματοθα*.<sup>324</sup> It must be interpreted as a compound of the stem *Quματο-* and the second element *-θα*, contracted from *-θόα*, whence my accent *-θα*. For the parallels of this name, and a full discussion of its formation as well as of the literary implications, see §457.

°COR 78 PARIS, LOUVRE E 642

Hydria from Caere, by the Damon P. (see Amyx) (ex Campana inv. 58; 1857 or earlier; see above, n. 320). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* ii. 21; mentioned by de Witte (1865), 44 f., with dr.; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 251, no. 7; Kretschmer (1888), 166, no. 22; Kretschmer (1894), 23, no. 27; Pottier (1897), 58 f., ph. pl. 50; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3146; Payne (1931), 166 no. 48, cat. no. 1447, dr. 73 fig. 19B, phs. pls. 39. 2, 43. 1; Diehl (1964a), 228, no. T 196, phs. pls. 32. 2, 33. 1; Arena (1967), 103 f., no. 62; Lorber (1979), 72 f., no. 110, ph. pl. 31; *LIMC* iii, ‘Charon’ iii. 3, ‘Damon’ i, ‘Dioi’ ii. 2, and ‘Dion’ 5\*, ph. pl. 294; Amyx (1988), 577 f., no. 78 (cat. p. 265, no. A-2, bibl.); *LIMC* v, ‘Io’ iv. 2. *Photographs*: Pottier uncl.; Payne (a)–(d) quite cl., rest uncl.; Diehl, Lorber, and *LIMC* (c), (d), (f) quite cl., rest uncl. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: A woman to r. (a) behind a *quadriga* to r. A warrior (b) is stepping into the chariot, in which the charioteer (c) is waiting. Beyond the horses there is a man to l. (d). Behind his back two women, (e) and (f), are facing each other. (g) is written under the horses’ bellies (apparently designating the white one in front, which is the most visible), and (h) above the heads of the two in front (and at the same time in front

of the heads of the two behind). In front of the horses there are another woman and a warrior facing each other. *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.560–550 (*LIMC* iii, ‘Charon’); c.570–550 (*LIMC* iii, ‘Dion’).

(a) ΔΞΟΞ (b) ΔΞΟΝ (c) ΔΑΜΟΝ (d) (←) +ΑΡΟΝ  
(e) Δ ΟΞ (f) ΞΟΞ (g) ΞΑΝΘΟΜ (h) Ξ ΛΞΟΜ

(a) Διοι (b) Διον (c) Δαμον (d) Χαρων (e) Διοι  
(f) Φιοι (g) Ξανθος (h) Βάλιος

(a) Διόι, (b) Διόν, (c) Δάμων, (d) Χάρων, (e) Διόι, (f) Φιόι,  
(g) Ξάνθος, (h) Βάλιος.

*Epigraphy*: (b) was wrongly read . ΨΤΟΡ by Pottier. For (c), which had been read Δάμος by some scholars, Arena refers to a letter dated 1955 from F. Villard, who read a nu. This is correct (see dr.). (g) The theta is clearly, but very carelessly, crossed (see COR 77 and 79). (h) The first three letters are only partly preserved, but their restoration is certain. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic departure scene (labels).

For the throwaway names (a) and (e) *Διόι*, (b) *Διόν*, and (f) *Φιόι* see §237. (c) *Δάμων* ‘tamer’ is a suitable name for a charioteer, but at the same time it is of the throwaway type (see *ibid.*); on COR 68 it is used for a warrior. (d) *Χάρων* recurs on COR 102 (a man in a hunting scene), COR 59 (a warrior), and COR 112 (a warrior). It was obviously a throwaway name too (see *ibid.*). The pair (g) *Ξάνθος* and (h) *Βάλιος* (see §244) evoke the epic sphere, although particularly the former seems merely a stereotype (on COR 89 too the two horses are named together without any obvious mythological reason).

It is remarkable that not a single one of the characters bears a colourful name. Balios is the least stereotyped label (see n. 1286). We may compare COR 71 (a wedding scene) as well as COR 119 (a departure scene, where the departing warrior bears a longer but still very shallow name).

\*°COR 79 TARANTO, MUS. ARCH. NAZ. 52846

Fragmentary hydria from Taranto, by the Damon P. (see Amyx) (8 Jan. 1952). *Bibliography*: Lo Porto (1959/60), 228–30, with phs. figs. 201–3; Lorber (1979), 74, no. 112, ph. pl. 31; Amyx (1988), 578, no. 79 (cat. p. 265, no. A-3), phs. pl. 118. 1a–b; *LIMC* vi, ‘Laodamas’ ii. 2\*, ph. pl. 91. *Photographs*: Lo Porto cl.; Lorber and *LIMC* quite cl.; Amyx sm. *Scene*: A warrior (a) and a woman (unnamed) are walking to r. towards a *quadriga* to l., of which only one horse is named (b), apparently the white one in front, which is the most prominent. Beyond the horses there are faint remains of probably two women to r. (no names preserved). In the chariot the charioteer is waiting (no name preserved), while a warrior (c) is climbing into it. *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.550 (Lo Porto; *LIMC*).

<sup>322</sup> Maass’s interpretation as ‘running together (with others)’ (i.e. *άμα- + -θος*) is not only ‘begrifflich sehr wenig ansprechend’ (Kretschmer, p. 50), but also in contrast to the other name on our vase which contains ‘running’ as its second element, namely *-θα*.

<sup>323</sup> See Frisk, s.v.; Chantraine, s.v., is somewhat sceptical, but no better etymology is available.

<sup>324</sup> Earlier readings: *Κυματ(ο)θά* or *Κυματόθα* (Kretschmer); *Ῥυματόθα* (Arena and Lorber); *Ῥυματοθ<έ>α* (Amyx); *Ῥυματο<θ>άα* (J. Mansfield *apud* Amyx). (This will be the form referred to by Lejeune, §252, as *Ῥυμαθοος*, which is non-existent.)

- (a) (←) ◊Δ ΜΑ (b) ΞΑΝΘΟ Μ (c) ΓΝ Ε ◊ΔΝ  
 (a) [. . .]οδμας (b) Ξανθος (c) Λαφοδα[. . .]  
 (a) [Λαφοδ(α)μας (?), (b) Ξάνθος, (c) Λαφοδα[μας].

*Epigraphy:* (a) The first two letters are more likely to be omicron and delta than delta and alpha as read by Lo Porto etc. In the gap we would expect 3 to 5 letters. The last letter has a short fourth stroke, which is, however, parallel to the first (unlike the one in the mu). (b) The theta is meant to be crossed, but this was done in a very careless way (for the letter-form see COR 77 and 78). (c) Λαφοδα[μας ?] Lo Porto etc. If the end of the name was compressed or turned a corner, the three letters could easily have been fitted in. *Interpretation:* Non-heroic departure scene (labels).

Lorber is right to say that no particular myth can be attributed to the scene. With his readings (a) [. . .]δάμας and (c) Λαφοδα[. . .] it seemed possible that (a) and (c) represented the same name.<sup>325</sup> This possibility remains with my own reading of (a) (see §467). For it seems less likely that we should read [. . .]όδμας and compare the compound ἀδμής -τος (masc./fem.) ‘untamed’ (i.e. with a passive meaning),<sup>326</sup> particularly in view of name (c), which appears to have been of the normal -δάμας type. More likely the writer, after jumping over the thigh of the warrior to continue the inscription, forgot that he had not yet finished the (minimal) syllable [da] and started directly with the new one [ma] (this may or may not be a case of A.W., see §§111 f.). The similarity of the letter forms Δ and Α will have tended to promote such an error.

For (b) see §244. In (c), and therefore perhaps in (a) too, the digamma is written—just as in COR 89d Λαφοπτόλεμος—which gives the name of this warrior (or these warriors) a slight heroic touch (see §506).

◊COR 79A OKAYAMA, KURASHIKI NINAGAWA MUS.

Hydria from ? (c. 1979 or earlier).<sup>327</sup> *Bibliography:* Lorber (1979), 91 f., no. 151, pls. pl. 45; *LIMC* i, ‘Alexandros’ 69a; Simon (1982), 42–5, with bibl., ph., and col. ph.; *LIMC* iii, ‘Baton’ ii. 1\*, ph. pl. 66; Schefold (1993), 295 f., with ph. fig. 316bis. *Photographs:* Lorber quite cl., but (c) incomplete; Simon cl.; *LIMC* (b), (d), (e) cl., (c) uncl., (a) invis.; Schefold only (b)–(e), quite cl. *Scene:*

<sup>325</sup> Lorber (n. 468) was aware of this possibility, citing the krater COR 92, ‘auf dem sich der Name ebenfalls zweimal etwas variiert findet: Λαδάμαφος und Λαδάμας’.

<sup>326</sup> The first elements in the archaic names Δμῶσ-αγώρας (father of Homer according to *Certamen* 21 and *Hom. Vita* vii. 2 and 10, cited from ed. Allen vol. 5) and Argive Δμῶσπιδαι (see e.g. *DGE* 89 n.; with loss of secondary intervocalic [s], for which see e.g. Buck, §59. 2) have to stay away, since they are of the περιφύμβροτος type.

<sup>327</sup> D. A. Amyx told me (in early 1989) that he did not trust this vase and had not included it in his work (1988), because D. von Bothmer had declared it a forgery. Yet the suspicion of over-painting has been proven wrong by E. Simon, who also informs me (*per litt.*) that she and M. Jucker (Berne) had agreed on the genuineness of the piece. The inscs., I am convinced, support this latter view.

A man to r. in long robe (b) facing a *quadriga* to l., one horse of which bears a label (a), written behind the back of the man, but very close to the first, white, horse’s head. Beyond the horses there are two women to r. Only their upper parts are painted (for a parallel see the second warrior on COR 68). One of them<sup>328</sup> is named (c), the label being written under the horses. Also beyond the horses, but nearer to the chariot, there is an old man to r. in a long robe (d), looking back to l. In the chariot there is the charioteer (e). *Date:* LC (Lorber); c. 550 (*LIMC* i); LC, 560/550 (Simon; *LIMC* iii); c. 570–560 (Schefold).

- (a) (←) ΓΒΥΘΟΜ (b) ΓΑΡΣΜ (c) (←) ΙΒΞΕΓΓΑ  
 (d) (←) ΓΡΞΑΜΟΜ (e) (←) ΙΛΑΤΟΝ

- (a) Λευρος (b) Παρις (c) Ζεξιππα (d) Πριάμος  
 (e) Βατον

- (a) Λεὺρος, (b) Πάρις, (c) Ζε(ν)ξίππᾶ, (d) Πρίαμος,  
 (e) Βάτων.

*Epigraphy:* (c) The third letter with its horizontal strokes cannot be a Ε (which would also produce an impossible form); the same lack of symmetry can also be observed in the zeta. *Interpretation:* Departure of Paris (labels).

The style of the vase seems to suggest the Damon P. or his circle (though this needs expert art-historical confirmation). For the scene as such see §444.

(a) This horse-name is attested on two further occasions, COR 68i and COR 76g. In the first instance the name is miswritten, however, and in the second its end is broken off. (b) With the P-type rho we may compare the lower part of the epsilon in (c). (c) For the lack of [u] in *u*-diphthongs see COR 74j–k. As we can hardly claim dissimilation here,<sup>329</sup> it seems more likely that this form is just a mistake (see §112). (d) See §256. (e) The form is as expected, but the name itself is not (see §444).

In spite of the suspicion of a forgery (see n. 327), there are—particularly in the inscriptions—so many details which a forger can hardly have invented, that I am convinced that the vase is genuine. (1) There are two different shapes of iota, perhaps depending on the direction of script, something a forger would hardly dare. (2) There is the P-type rho (see §101), which is rare in Corinth, has not yet been described and thrown into sharp relief against the other forms, and whose presence is therefore a strong argument for the genuineness of both the vase and the inscriptions. (3) The restoration of name (a) from a miswritten and an incomplete parallel would be rather too smart on the part of an alleged forger. (4) Would a forger commit—or feign—a mistake such as the one in (c)? (5) Would a forger be so inattentive as to

<sup>328</sup> Simon, correctly. Lorber did not attribute the name; R. Hampe (*LIMC*) took it for another horse-name.

<sup>329</sup> We may not want to go as far back as the time when this name was still \*Zeuxi(k)k<sup>w</sup>ā and dissimilation could have occurred because of the [w] element of the labiovelar.

forget to paint the lower parts of the women? (See COR 68 whose genuineness is not in any doubt.) (6) And would a forger risk giving a Trojan charioteer a wrong name (e)?

another Corinthian vase, namely PCO 5a  $\tilde{\Lambda}\tilde{\Phi}\tilde{\sigma}\tilde{\varsigma}$ .  $\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\mu$  and  $\epsilon\alpha\phi\omicron\mu$  are indeed not very far apart graphically. But this is only a suggestion.

COR 80 BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY 48. 2230

\*<sup>o</sup>COR 81A-B PARIS, LOUVRE CP 10488

Fragmentary hydria from ?, near the Damon P. (see Amyx) (1961 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Hill (1961), 45–8, with phs. figs. 7 f.; von Steuben (1968), 64, 122 bottom K. 5; Lorber (1979), 90 f., no. 148, ph. pl. 43; *LIMC* i, ‘Achilleus’ 807; Brinkmann (1985), 117 n. 138, ph. 118 fig. 89; *LIMC* iii, ‘Automedon’ 49\*, ph. pl. 57, ‘Eos’ 303; Amyx (1988), 578, no. 80 (cat. p. 265, no. B-1), phs. pl. 118. 2a–b; *LIMC* vi, ‘Memnon’ 33; Schefold (1993), 323 f., with ph. fig. 363. *Photographs*: Hill quite cl.; Lorber, *LIMC*, and Schefold quite cl.; Amyx sm. but partly quite cl. *Scene*: A chariot to l. Beyond the horses a woman to r. (apparently unnamed; there is nothing under the horses, E. Reeder *per litt.*) with extended arms. The charioteer (a) to l. is looking back to where a warrior to r. (b) is being stabbed by his opponent (c). A chariot to r., in which a charioteer (d), not watching, is waiting. Beyond the horses a woman to l. (apparently unnamed; her arms are not preserved); under the horses inscr. (e). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.560 (Schefold); c.530 (*sic*, *LIMC* i, iii, vi).

(a) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\text{AVTOMB}\Delta\omicron\mu$  (b)  $\text{M}\beta\text{M}\nu\omicron\mu$  (c)  $\Delta\chi\epsilon\Gamma\beta\text{V}\mu$   
(d) M (e)  $\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\mu$

(a)  $\text{Av}\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$  (b)  $\text{M}\epsilon\mu\nu\omicron\mu$  (c)  $\text{A}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  (d) [. . .] s  
(e)  $\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$

(a)  $\text{A}\nu\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\delta\tilde{\omicron}\nu$ , (b)  $\text{M}\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\tilde{\omicron}\nu$ , (c)  $\text{A}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , (d) [. . .] s,  
(e)  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tilde{\omicron}\nu$ .

*Epigraphy*: (b) The last letter has a downstroke at the end and is therefore a mu. (c) The end is visible on Amyx’s ph. (d) The whole name may have been about 7 or 8 letters long. Amyx reads  $\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$  (?) or  $\iota\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  (?) from his ph. (e) The middle letter is a clear lambda (E. Reeder, *per litt.*; Amyx asserts that it is a pi). *Interpretation*: Achilleus and Memnon (labels).

(a)–(c) are as expected, (d) is illegible. For the scene see §454.

The reading of (e)  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tilde{\omicron}\nu$  is clear. But there seems to be nothing otherwise to suggest a satisfying interpretation. In view of (b)  $\text{M}\epsilon\mu\nu\omicron\mu$  and the misplaced label (a) (see §454) the writer may have just copied the inscriptions of this very popular scene from somewhere else, without properly understanding them—except perhaps the very frequent name (c). If so, we may assume that what is really behind (e) is the name of Memnon’s mother (see §249). We know that the form was  $\text{H}\alpha[\tilde{\omicron}]s$  at Delphi,<sup>330</sup> and the Corinthian form is probably attested (in a non-Corinthian alphabet) on

Frs. of a hydria and another vase from ? (ex Campana inv. ?; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: not in *CatCamp*; Arena (1967), 119, no. 85, phs. pl. 29; Lorber (1979), 83 f., no. 130, phs. pl. 40; *LIMC* iii, ‘Doroi’ 1\*, ph. pl. 530; Amyx (1988), 578 f., no. 81 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, ‘Io’ iv. 4. *Photographs*: Arena only (g) and (h), cl.; Lorber all, mostly uncl.; *LIMC* (h) cl., rest uncl. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: (A) In the picture to the l. (under the handle) there is a horseman to r. (no inscr. preserved). In the large picture to the r. a *quadriga* to r. is shown, in the chariot a man (unnamed)<sup>331</sup> and a woman, labelled (a) low down on the front of her dress as well as (b) in front of her face. Beyond the horses there are two women to r., labelled (c) and (d) in front of their faces, and one to l., labelled (e) behind her head. In front of the two black horses’ heads is inscr. (f). A woman to l., who holds a necklace in her hand, is facing the horses (she is unnamed, unless her name was very low down). Behind her there are the remains of two warriors with spears, labelled (g) and (h) in front of them. (B) Another fr. (Amyx duly thinks that it is from a different vase: it is much thicker) shows two horses to r., one with a rider, whose label (a) runs downwards behind his back; a woman is walking to r., labelled (b) behind her back. *Date*: 575–550 (Arena, p. 90, title); LC (Lorber); c.570–550 (*LIMC*).

(A) (a)  $\Delta\epsilon\omicron\epsilon$  (b)  $\text{F}\epsilon\omicron\epsilon$  (c)  $\Delta\omicron\omicron\epsilon$  (d)  $\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon$   
(e)  $\text{F}\varsigma\phi\varsigma\text{M}$  (f)  $\text{E}\alpha\text{M}\theta\omicron\mu$  (g) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\text{A}\Delta\text{A}\text{M}\text{A}\text{M}$   
(h) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\text{B}\epsilon\Gamma\omicron\mu\beta$  (B) (a) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\Delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\mu$  (b) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\text{F}\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon$

(A) (a)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\iota$  (b)  $\text{F}\iota\omicron\iota$  (c)  $\Delta\omicron\omicron\iota$  (d)  $\text{O}\lambda$ [?]  $\tau\omicron\iota$   
(e)  $\text{F}\iota\phi\iota\varsigma$  (f)  $\text{E}\alpha\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$  (g)  $\text{.}\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$  (h)  $\text{H}\iota\pi\omicron\mu\epsilon$ [. . .]  
(B) (a) [. . .]  $\delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\varsigma$  (b)  $\text{F}\alpha\chi\omicron\iota$

(A) (a)  $\Delta\iota\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ , (b)  $\text{F}\iota\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ , (c)  $\Delta\tilde{\omicron}\rho\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ , (d)  $\text{O}\lambda$ [?]  $\tau\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ , (e)  $\text{F}\iota\phi\iota\varsigma$ ,  
(f)  $\text{E}\alpha\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , (g)  $\text{A}\tilde{\alpha}\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , (h)  $\text{H}\iota\pi(\pi)\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}[\tilde{\omicron}\nu]$ .  
(B) (a) [. . .]  $\tilde{\alpha}\delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ , (b)  $\text{F}\tilde{\alpha}\chi\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ .

*Epigraphy*: Amyx’s readings (based on Arena and Lorber) are as follows: ?,  $\text{F}\iota\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ ,  $\Delta\tilde{\omicron}\rho\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ ,  $\text{O}\lambda\nu\tau\tau\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ ,  $\text{F}\iota\phi\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\text{E}\alpha\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , ?,  $\text{A}[\text{. . .}]\alpha\varsigma$  ? (in the text),  $\text{H}\iota\pi(\pi)\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\text{F}\alpha\chi\tilde{\omicron}\iota$ . (A) In (h) Amyx forgot the brackets [ ] for the last three letters and wrongly lengthened the  $\epsilon$ . For (a) J. Mansfield *apud* Amyx suggests [. . .]  $\tau\iota\omicron\nu$  (?), but there is no space at the beginning, the first letter is not a tau, and the last cannot be a nu. The only solution is that the woman has two slightly different throwaway names. (d) For the third letter scholars used to read an upside-down upsilon (i.e.  $\Lambda$ ), which would

<sup>330</sup> Attested on a frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (dated shortly before 525); the inscs. are in the local dialect and alphabet, see §216 with n. 783.

<sup>331</sup> Inscr. (a), ‘über dem Wagenkasten’ (Lorber), has so far been attributed to him. It is, however, in front of the woman, whereas the man is further back.

be very exceptional in Corinthian.<sup>332</sup> I doubt whether there is a letter at all between the dubious lambda and the tau, since the top of the whip intervenes, with what seem to be thongs etc. attached to it (see my two drs.). (g) I am almost certain that in front of the first alpha there are the remains of another letter; lambda would suit them. (B) (a) Not noticed by the earlier editors; it was best visible in full sunshine (the inscr. did not reflect the light in the same way as its surroundings). The first letter is possibly an Δ. *Interpretation:* (A) Non-heroic wedding scene (labels). (B) Perhaps a non-heroic departure scene (labels).

(A) For earlier attempts to connect this scene with myth see §476. For the four women's names in -όι, viz. (a)–(d), see §§236 f. The traditional reading of (d) as Ὀλυττοί (or rather Ὀλυτ(τ)τοί) is only possible if there is indeed an upsilon. But since the name of Odysseus (see §254), of which this would be the feminine form (Masson (1981/2), 544) consistently has not only [i] in Corinthian, but also [ss] not [tt] as in Attic (see §213), we should be very sceptical. Autopsy made this reading even more dubious, but the surface of the fragment is so encrusted that I could neither confirm my earlier suspicion Ὀλυττοί (like CHA 3e Ὀλυττό, CHA 1d Κλυττό), nor establish any other reading. (e) A feminine hypocoristic from names like Ἰφιδένη (Bechtel, p. 215). (f) A frequent horse-name on Corinthian vases (see §244). (g) Although Ἀδάμας is well attested as a heroic name (Il. 12. 140, etc.; a Trojan), and later also as a non-heroic one (Bechtel, p. 571), Ἀδάμας suits Corinthian prosopography better (see COR 79a/c, 92h–i). (h) is both heroic and non-heroic (Apollod. 3. 6. 3 and 8; Bechtel, p. 220); here it is probably just a horse name (see §238).

(B) (a) As the first letter preserved is most likely to be an alpha, we might restore [Α]ἰδοφος, though [Πολεμ]ἰδοφος (Bechtel, p. 374) or even [Πα]ἰδοφος also seem possible. This does not help us decide whether we should assume a heroic scene. For the asymmetrical form of the qoppa see COR 113a–b. (b) If the tempting etymological connection of *F*ᾱχόι with ἡχώ is correct (see also §§236 f. and 259 n. 932), this form shows that originally both the noun and the name had an initial [w] and a long [ā].<sup>333</sup>

\*<sup>o</sup>COR 82 ROME, VATICAN, MUS. GREGORIANO ETRUSCO  
35617 (COLL. ASTARITA 653)

Frs. of a hydria from ? (1966 or earlier). *Bibliography:* Arena (1967), 108, no. 71, ph. pl. 21; mentioned by Lorber (1979), 77, no. 121; von Bothmer (1981), 66, ph. fig. 69; Amyx (1988), 579, no. 82 (not in cat.); LIMC vii, 'Pyraichmas' 2, 'Sarpedon' 2\*, ph. pl. 520. *Photographs:* Arena only (c)–(f), not very cl.; von Bothmer

only (d) sm., (e) quite cl., (f) and (g) cl.; LIMC only (e)–(h), quite cl. *Scene:* Four legs of warriors striding to l., with only name (a) preserved, between the legs. Behind them an archer (b) to l., clad in a spotted leopard-skin, kneeling and shooting. Behind him a *quadriga* to l., on the point of driving off, beyond the horses a warrior is attacking to r., labelled (c) down his leg. He is facing a warrior to l., whose label (d) is written in a circle in front of his face. The charioteer is named (e) on his white garment. Behind him and beyond the chariot a huge warrior is rushing to r. (no name preserved) past a dead warrior (f), fully armed, who is lying on the ground, head to the l. The fierce attacker, whose upper part is not preserved, is jumping either at a warrior to l. who is already on his knees (g) or at another one whose feet by contrast are lifted off the ground (h). *Date:* LC (Lorber).

(a) ΓΟΓΥΔΑΜΑΜ (b) ΑΡΕ (c) ΑΞΕΦΑΜ  
(d) (←) ΛΒΥΠ(→)ΟΥΛΟΜ (e) (←) ΑΓΚΞΜΟΜ  
(f) ΜΑΡΓΑΔΟΜ (g) ΓΥΡΑΞΧΜ ΑΜ (h) (←) ΓΑΥ

(a) Πολυδάμας (b) [. . . ?] . αρις (c) Αιφας  
(d) [. . .] λευβουλος (e) Αλκιμος (f) Σαρπαδον  
(g) Πυραιχμας (h) Γλαυ . . .

(a) Πολυδάμας, (b) Πάρις, (c) Αἴφας,  
(d) [Κ]λεῦβουλος, (e) Ἀλκιμος, (f) Σαρπᾶδων,  
(g) Πυραιχμάς, (h) Γλαῦρος.

*Epigraphy:* (a)–(c) Not in Arena, Lorber, or Amyx. (b) Of the first letter a short down-stroke belonging to its upper part is visible, i.e. the letter is beta or pi (less likely lambda or mu). The final -ς is faintly visible on the breast of the white horse. The rest is clear. (d) As the warrior approaching from the l. is named (c) next to his leg, we cannot, as hitherto, assume two inscs. for (d) ([. . .]δρος (?) and [Δαί]πυλος [?], Amyx, following Arena); rather the whole must be one label written *boustrophedon*, in a circle, starting at the head of the warrior facing l. The reading is confirmed by the interpretation (see §448). The third letter preserved is an upsilon, whose strokes merge a little higher up than in the other one in this label; see the upsilon in (g). (h) The last three letters are on an adjacent, but very badly worn fr. and only traces of three letters are visible. *Interpretation:* Fight over Sarpedon's body (labels).

For the scene (which was first published incomplete and can now be restored much better) and for its important literary implications see §448.

(a) We cannot be certain whether the [o] of Πολυδάμας is supposed to be long by metrical lengthening as is always the case with this name in the *Iliad*, or short as we would expect it in everyday language. (b) is as expected, and the same is true of (c) (for its [w] see §209).

(d) In the form [Κ]λεῦβουλος (for its restoration see §448) two things are remarkable. First, the rendering by <ευ> of the uncontracted [eo] of earlier Κλεφο- (see §225); this is another early instance of a widespread tendency (see e.g. Κλεβούλου, -ωι,

<sup>332</sup> For this rare letter-form see e.g. a Thessalian inscr., LSAG 97, 99. 2 (pl. 11. 2), of the mid-6th cent.

<sup>333</sup> See both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. ἡχώ.

-ον, Anacr. fr. 359 *PMG* codd.; Buck, §42. 5), of which—apart from the cases in Homer, which are often considered a recent feature—the earliest example so far known is from the Corinthian colony of Potidaia (Θευγένες, *LSAG* 363, 369. 10; later 6th cent.). It is therefore a perfectly Corinthian feature. The second point to note here is -βουλος, with its rendering <ov> (see §§220, 505) of a secondary [ō] (probably < \*bols-; see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. βούλομαι).

(e) Although ἄλκιμος is also an adjective, we should take our label as a hypocoristic (see §228). (f) For a discussion of the long [ā] of Sarpedon's name in view of the literary attestations see §448. (g) See also COR 44c. (h) is as expected.

#### COR 83 FIESOLE, COLL. COSTANTINI

Hydria from ? (found ?).<sup>334</sup> *Bibliography*: E. Paribeni, *CVA* Italy, 57 (1980), 6, ph. pl. 4; Amyx (1988), 579, no. 83 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: *CVA* quite cl. *Scene*: Five pairs of horses with horse-men, all to l. The third and fourth man are named behind their backs. *Date*: LC.

(a) ΓΑΓΑΜ (b) ΓΑΓΑΜ  
(a) Λαλας (b) Λαλας  
(a) Λάλας, (b) Λάλας.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic riding scene (labels).

The texts of COR 83, 83bis, and 83ter are as follow: COR 83 shows two warriors, both Λάλας; COR 83bis a warrior Λάλας; COR 83ter four horses, of which three are named Λάλας (partly incomplete), and one has a (normally human) throwaway name Δίον (see §237). 'The repetition, occasionally encountered in other Corinthian vase-inscriptions, may be a warning not to take these "names" too seriously' (Amyx), a view which is certainly justified. Amyx suggests various possible lines of interpretation of Λάλας, comparing the name to λαλαγέω, λαλέω, etc., while wondering whether it could nevertheless be 'genuinely a name' and whether in that case we should read Λάλας or Λαλάς, or whether it is just 'an illiterate (or playful) variation on some such name as Λαῖδας, Λαδάμας, or Λαφοδάμας'. If we do choose to take it seriously (the Λα- beginning and the -ς end look like 'good Corinthian'), we might consider a full-blown compound name \*Λαφό-λάφος, contracted to Λάλας. Of course this is unusual, but as a throwaway name it may be acceptable. After all, such names as Δαμόπολις (Bechtel, p. 125), Ἀστυόδημος (p. 127), Ἀστόλαος (p. 282), and Δαμόλας (ibid.) were used for historical persons, although they show not much more imagination and mean just as little.

That name (a) on COR 83ter shows -ς while (b) does not (the third form is not clear) should not—in view of the uniform

labels—be taken as a full example of weakening or loss of [s] in final position (see §204). Ibid. (d) with its incomplete delta (see §112) reminds us of the similar mistake on COR 99 (by the same writer?).

#### °COR 83BIS MALIBU, J. PAUL GETTY MUS. 84. AE. 29

Neck-amphora from ?, attributed to the group of the White Horses (Mus. inv.) (found ?). *Bibliography*: Puhze (1983), no. 172, with col. ph.; Amyx (1988), 579, no. 83bis (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Puhze cl. *Scene*: A warrior on foot, two on horseback, and another one on foot (named, in front of his face),<sup>335</sup> all to l. The decoration seems very similar to that of COR 83. *Date*: c.560 (Mus. inv.).

(←) ΓΑΓΑ Μ  
Λαλας  
Λάλας.

*Epigraphy*: There was no space for the last letter, which is added above and upside-down.<sup>336</sup> *Interpretation*: Non-heroic riding and marching scene (label). (See COR 83.)

#### COR 83TER STOCKHOLM, MEDELHAVSMUSEET 1958. 12

Column krater from Italy (?), near the Hippolytos P. (see Amyx) (1958 or earlier; bought in Rome). *Bibliography*: M. Blomberg and M. von Heland, *CVA* Sweden, 2 (1983), 58 f., with dr., 96 with dr. of inscrs., phs. pls. 26. 8, 27. 1–3; Amyx (1988), 579 f., no. 83ter (cat. p. 353, no. B-12bis). *Photographs*: *CVA* uncl. *Scene*: The same scene twice, viz. a horseman galloping to r., a front view of a *quadriga* with one man in the chariot, and a horseman galloping to l. The inscrs. start next to the heads of the inner two *quadriga* horses: (a) and (b), (c) and (d). *Date*: LC I, c.575–550 (Blomberg–von Heland).

(a) (←) ΓΑΓΑΜ (b) ΓΑΓΑ (c) (←) ΓΑΓΑ (d) ΔΣΟΝ  
(a) Λαλας (b) Λαλα (c) Λαλα[. . . ?] (d) Διον  
(a) Λάλας, (b) Λάλας. (c) Λάλα[s?], (d) Δίον.

*Epigraphy*: P. Hellström, after autopsy, kindly informs me (*per litt.*) that there is certainly no final sigma in (b) and that in (c) the surface is damaged where the final sigma may have been. On the other hand, he confirms my suspicion of a delta at the beginning of (d): 'there are no visible remains of paint; it is rather a

<sup>335</sup> The remark by Amyx (ad COR 83ter), 'Since on all three vases the inscriptions are placed near the horses' heads, Λάλας (or Λαλάς) may be intended as a horse's name', certainly does not apply here. There is no horse's head about.

<sup>336</sup> C. Wight of the J. Paul Getty Museum kindly informs me (*per litt.*) that an analysis of the vase, which had been partly repainted, has proved the inscr. to be genuine.

<sup>334</sup> The collection is 'di recente costituzione' (Paribeni, p. 3).

difference in shine; I can see no remains of the horizontal line of the delta.' *Interpretation*: Non-heroic riding and chariot scene (labels). (See COR 83.)

COR 84 CERVETERI 45579 (FORMERLY VILLA GIULIA)

Hydria from Caere (Via Sepolcrale Principale, tomba 152) (1932?; see Ricci, pp. 580, 582). *Bibliography*: Ricci (1955), 600, no. 4, dr. pl. 9; mentioned by Johnston (1981), 223; Amyx (1988), 580, no. 84 (not in cat.).<sup>337</sup> *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Six pairs of horses and armed horsemen. The inscr. starts behind the head of a man (it does not designate the horse as suggested by Ricci and implied by Amyx). *Date*: —.

ΔΞΟΝ

Διον

Δῖον.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic riding scene (label).

For the common throwaway name Δῖον see §237. The inscription seems to have been filled in where the gap was too large to be left plain.

COR 85 FORMERLY BERLIN, ANTIQUARIUM F 1657

Hydria from Vulci, by the Dionysios P. (Amyx) (1828/29); lost in World War II. *Bibliography*: Bonaparte (1829), 11, no. 2141; *CIG* (iv), no. 7380; Furtwängler (1885), no. 1657 (bibl.); E. Pottier in Dumont-Chaplain (1888), 253, no. 13; Kretschmer (1888), 173, no. 37; Kretschmer (1894), 26, no. 41; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3156; Fölzer (1906), 57 f., no. 63, dr. pl. 5; Payne (1931), 166 no. 50, cat. no. 1449, drs. 75 fig. 21*B* and pl. 37. 3; Jeffery (1948), 202; Benson (1953), 50, no. 82. 11; Kleinbauer (1964), 357, phs. pl. 113; Arena (1967), 104, no. 63, phs. pl. 19; Lorber (1979), 89 f., no. 145, phs. pl. 44; *LIMC* iii, 'Damas' ii. 1\*, ph. pl. 242; Amyx (1988), 580, no. 85 (cat. p. 265, no. [A-]1), phs. pl. 119. 2a–b. *Photographs*: Kleinbauer quite cl.; Arena rather uncl.; Lorber quite cl.; *LIMC* only (d)–(e) cl. and part of (f); Amyx sm. but quite cl. *Scene*: A woman (a) and a man (b) in long robes facing each other, a warrior (c) to r. taking his armour from a man in a long robe (unnamed), a fully armed warrior (d) walking to r. towards a man in a long robe, who is facing him (e), frontal view of two horsemen (unnamed) on dark horses, one of which is named (f). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c. 560–550 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΟΡΟΞ (b) ΒΥΜΑΧΟΜ (c) ΑΓΑΝΟΡ (d) ΔΑΜ  
(e) (←) ΔΑΜΑΜ (f) ΞΑΝΘΟΜ

<sup>337</sup> Amyx writes of some frs. of a column krater which he saw together with this vase in 1958. He 'could make no sense of the (incomplete) inscriptions'.

(a) Δοροι (b) Ευμαχος (c) Αγανορ (d) [. . .]. ας  
(e) Δαμας (f) Ξανθος

(a) Δῶροϊ, (b) Εὔμαχος, (c) Ἀγάνορ, (d) [. . .]. ας,  
(e) Δάμας, (f) Ξάνθος.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The first name was read by Furtwängler, Arena (who mentions parallels), Lorber, and Amyx as Χοροῖ, but the X-shaped chi in (b) does not fit the remains of our letter on the original ph. (from an old negative). Δ-shaped delta, on the other hand, does, and indeed this was Bonaparte's reading: 'Bumachos. Doros. Asanor. Zanthos'. (d) Of the third letter from the end the bottom of a vertical stroke is visible. (e) Furtwängler read Δάπας; Arena's reading Δάμας is better: although the mu in (b) (l. to r.) is of the normal shape, the final -ς in our (e) shares the cursive character which justifies the reading of our third letter as a mu. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic arming scene (labels).

Very cursive handwriting. Lorber notes that the arrangement of the small and straight inscriptions looks very Attic, particularly the dotted theta.<sup>338</sup> But contrary to Lorber's opinion, Jeffery (pp. 114 f.) was right: there is another dotted theta in Corinth, namely on the pinax COP 50 (which, however, may be somewhat later), and another one (COR 127) was found in 1970. Nevertheless, this letter-form is very unusual indeed at this early date and foreign influence is likely (the Dionysios P. is said to depend on the Attic painter Lydos, who was active c. 560–540, or on his school; see Payne, p. 328, and Amyx, p. 265). Lorber, on the other hand, is right to point out that the last letter in (a) is not straight as was claimed by Jeffery (1948: 202); it is a wavy line, i.e. a normal Corinthian iota (see §103). For the scene see §466.

(a) For this throwaway name see §§236 f. (b) is a non-heroic name (Amyx), also fairly stereotyped (see §237). (c) Both heroic and non-heroic (Amyx). (d) Unclear. For (e) Arena gives an Attic parallel (see more generally *ARV*, p. 1573); it is non-heroic. (f) This is the commonest horse-name on Corinthian vases. Considering the other labels, we cannot assume that the painter was thinking of the heroic horses of this name. The animal is partly black, but has at least a purple—i.e. 'brown'—neck (see COR 103).

COR 86 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUS.  
OF ART 60. 11. 5

Lekythos (of 'Attic' shape) from ?, by the Dionysios P. (Amyx) (1960 or earlier). *Bibliography*: von Bothmer (1962), 5, ph. 2 fig. 1; Kleinbauer (1964), 357 f., phs. pl. 114; Lorber (1979), 90, no. 146, ph. pl. 45; *LIMC* iii, 'Dionysios' 1; Amyx (1988), 580, no. 86 (cat. p. 265, no. [A-]2), phs. pl. 119. 1a–c. *Photographs*: Kleinbauer quite cl.; von Bothmer and Lorber (a) uncl., (b) quite

<sup>338</sup> On the other hand, his opinion that Sophilos' use of crossed theta (contrary to Klitias and Nearchos) was due to Corinthian influence seems far-fetched; both letter-forms are perfectly Attic.

cl., (c) invis.; Amyx sm. but quite cl. *Scene*: A dog and front view of a *quadriga* with dark horses, of which the outer ones are named (a) and (c). Below the chariot and charioteer is inscr. (b). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c. 570–550 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΑΒΛΑΜΑΜ (b) ΔΣΟΝΥΜΣΟΜ (c) ΒΝΦΟΡΙΠΟΜ  
(a) Αελανας (b) Διονυσιος (c) Ευφορβος  
(a) Μελάνας, (b) Διονύσιος, (c) Εϋφορβος.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic chariot scene (labels).

Lorber again (see COR 85) mentions the Attic character of the arrangement of the inscriptions: (a) between two horses' heads, (b) under the chariot, therefore naming the (only) man in the chariot rather than a horse, (c) between horses' legs. This fits the fact that the picture is on a reserved panel (see COR 60), and that the painter is under the influence of Attic vase-painters, such as Lydos (see COR 85). For the type of vase see ad COR 17.

(a) Ever since Kleinbauer the first letter of Αελάνας has been taken as an unsuccessful mu, which yields a perfect name for a dark horse. This kind of writing error (incomplete letter) is easily understandable, see §112. The same name is given to a warrior on COR 114. (b) The intervocalic [w] in Διονύσιος is lost (see §506). (c) Εϋφορβος is a suitable, although rather grand name for a horse (for a similar case see COR 87d). The name is originally a verbal compound with active meaning (Ἄνδρο-, Λεω- 'nourishing men, people'; see Bechtel, p. 456), rarely with passive meaning (Θεό- 'nourished by the gods'; *ibid.*). With Εϋ- both meanings make sense: it would be active for a human (the master), but is here passive (for the horse), and the same is true if one understands the name as a possessive compound (εὖ + φορβή 'having good provender', viz. master or horse).

#### COR 87 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 521

Olpe (of 'Attic' type, Amyx) from Loutraki, NE of Corinth (1878). *Bibliography*: Rhousopoulos (1879), with col. dr. pl. 18; C. Smith (1888), 189, no. 11; Kretschmer (1888), 156, no. 2; Kretschmer (1894), 16, no. 2; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3123; Collignon–Couve (1902–4), no. 638; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 121. 3; Payne (1931), 165 no. 37, cat. no. 1408; Arena (1967), 97, no. 51, phs. pl. 14; Brommer (1973), 260, no. C; Lorber (1979), 70 f., no. 107, phs. pl. 29; *LIMC* i, 'Akamas' 4; Amyx (1988), 580 f., no. 87 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Arena and Lorber quite cl. *Scene*: *Quadriga* to r. with a charioteer (a). All horses are named, (b)–(e), but it is not clear which name designates which horse. To the r. there is a lizard (f). *Date*: LC (Lorber); 1st h. 6th cent. (*LIMC*).

(a) ΑΚΑΜΑΜ (b) (←) ΡΥΓΓΑΔΡΟΜ (c) ΦΟΞΤΟΜ  
(d) ΡΥΜΞΡΟΓΞΜ (e) ΡΥΓΓΑΔΡΟΜ (f) (←) ΑΜΚΑΓΑΠΟΜ  
(a) Ακαμας (b) Κυλλαρως (c) Φοιτον (d) Λυσιπολις  
(e) Κυλλαρως (f) Ασκαλαβος

(a) Ακάμας, (b) Κυλλαρως, (c) Φοιτόν, (d) Λυσιπόλις,  
(e) Κυλλαρως, (f) ασκάλαβος.

*Epigraphy*: (b) The writer seems to have decided to express the geminate only when he was already in the course of writing the fourth letter. *Interpretation*: Chariot scene, probably pseudo-heroic (labels).

The rho shows the triangular variant of the D-shape (see §101 with n. 693); Lorber speaks of 'kursive "Nachlässigkeit"'. For the connotations of the names see §468.

(a) is the adjective 'untiring' used as a name. If (b) and (e) Κυλλαρως has the same meaning as κυλλός ('club-footed and bandy-legged'), which is likely, it is not a flattering name for a horse. Its formation (in -ἄρος from κυλλός) is attested only once elsewhere (see §468). (c) Φοιτόν was explained as 'Traber' by Kretschmer (1888) (from φοιτάω). Arena mentions a giant Φοίτος (*ARV* 1318 f., no. 1), who does not make much sense here. (d) is a very exquisite label for a horse (see §§244, 509). It is also attested as a man's name (see Bechtel, p. 291). Why Amyx takes it as feminine (index, p. 611), I do not know. (f) The noun ασκάλαβος, according to LSJ, only recurs in Nicander (2nd cent.) and Antoninus Liberalis (classical words for lizards are ασκαλαβώτης, γαλεώτης, κωλώτης, and σαύρα; the first of these could be an extension of our form by analogy with the second and third). On other occasions Antoninus used Nicander as a source, and may therefore have taken ασκάλαβος from him too. Nicander, on the other hand, is known for his eccentric and obscure vocabulary. Where he got our word from, we do not know, possibly from some Doric dialect (though he was from Kolophon) or some archaic source. As for animals being labelled, Amyx gives the two parallels of COR 101, but there are several others (see ad COR 101a).

#### °COR 88 BRUSSELS, MUS. ROYAUX A 4

Olpe (of 'Attic' type, Amyx) from Corinth (1889). *Bibliography*: Fröhner (1892b), 25–8, dr. pl. 1; Kretschmer (1894), 19, no. 17; Robert (1919), 156–8, with dr. fig. 129; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; F. Mayence, *CVA* Belgium, 1 (1926), 4 f. (bibl.), phs. pl. 5. 2a–b; Payne (1931), 136, 165 no. 38, cat. no. 1410; Benson (1953), 103, no. 3a; Friis Johansen (1967), 46–9, with ph. fig. 6, cat. p. 246, no. A. 8; Arena (1967), 97 f., no. 52; Fehr (1971), 37 f., no. 26; Lorber (1979), 71 f., no. 109, phs. pl. 30; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 478\*, ph. pl. 107; Amyx (1988), 581, no. 88 (not in cat.); mentioned *LIMC* vi, 'Odysseus' (ii. H. 1). *Photographs*: *CVA* sm.; Friis Johansen uncl.; Lorber quite cl.; *LIMC* (a) uncl., (b)–(d) quite cl. Vidi 29 June 1992. *Scene*: In front of a woman to r. (unnamed) and a man to r., who seems to be talking (a), a woman to r. (b) is bending down to a man (c) who is lying on a *kline*, mourning (his name is written below the *kline* and a table with food). Behind him, facing l., there are an

old man with white hair and beard, who also seems to be talking (d), and two nameless women. *Date*: c.550 (*LIMC* i).

(a) (←) ΟΓΞΜΒΥΜ (b) (←) ΘΒΤΞΒΜ  
(c) ΑΧΣΛΛΒΥΜ (d) ΦΞΝCP Μ

(a) Ολισευς (b) Θετιες (c) Αχιλλευς (d) Φινγρ.ς  
(a) Όλισ(σ)εύς, (b) Θέτι{ε}ς, (c) Άχιλλεύς, (d) Φινγρ.ς.

*Epigraphy*: (c) The upsilon has a horizontal stroke as if it were an upside-down alpha. (d) Faint traces in front of the phi are probably accidental, or maybe an erasure. The penultimate letter, which should be a vowel-sign, is neither β-type epsilon, which is clear in (a)–(c), nor ∇, as the corresponding sign in (c), nor indeed any other existing letter (see the enlarged dr. of the two possible ways it was drawn). *Interpretation*: Thetis and the elders with the mourning Achilles (labels).

Lorber (p. 72) suggests that this vase is by the same hand as COR 78 and 77 (Damon P.). This is unlikely, since the Damon P.'s spelling is correct, whereas this writer is illiterate (see below). Amyx does not suggest—nor discuss—this attempt at an attribution. For an earlier attempt to reconcile the scene with myth see §451.

(a) See §254; no geminate is expressed here as it is in (c). (b) Arena's theory of Θέτιες being a 'forma di compromesso tra un Θετες, di tradizione non ben precisabile [a graffito on an Attic plate], e Θέτις classico' is unlikely, since this sort of compromise can hardly have been acceptable by simply offering a choice of two letters instead of one.<sup>339</sup> (c) The upsilon has a horizontal bar which makes it an upside-down alpha. (d) Unintelligible. Phoinix (see COR 23)<sup>340</sup> or Nestor would be the only appropriate names for the white-bearded figure. It is the former that has always been seen in it;<sup>341</sup> yet, the initial phi and the occurrence of a nu and an iota are actually the only matching features, and the resulting name, such as it is, does not make sense.

The only sensible conclusion for the oddities in (b), (c), and (d) is that the writer did not really know what he was writing; for someone who knows the alphabet would never write on the same vase one correct upsilon and one totally wrong one in the same type of ending. As the writer, on the one hand, managed to write the name Odysseus correctly and Achilles and Thetis more or less so, and, on the other hand, produced one unintelligible name and used two non-existent letters, we can further conclude that he copied these names from somewhere (another vase?), maybe knowing whom they designated but not actually being able to read them (see §112).

<sup>339</sup> The writer rather seems to have resorted to the frequent -ες (as in Herakles, Diomedes, Palamedes, Pheres, etc.).

<sup>340</sup> In COR 30 he is a youth.

<sup>341</sup> A full discussion, not to be repeated here, of the partly impossible attempts to justify our form is given by Lorber (n. 456).

# COR 89 PARIS, LOUVRE E 648

Olpe (of 'Attic' type, Amyx) from Caere (ex Campana inv. 34; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* ii. 50; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 254 f., no. 16; Kretschmer (1888), 165, no. 20; Kretschmer (1894), 24, no. 28; Pottier (1897), 59, ph. pl. 51; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3151; mentioned by Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; Payne (1931), 165 no. 39, cat. no. 1412; Hafner (1938), 3, no. Ia. 1 S. 16; Arena (1967), 98, no. 53, phs. pl. 15; Lorber (1979), 71, no. 108, phs. pl. 29; *LIMC* i, 'Aniochidas' i. 1\*, ph. pl. 643; Amyx (1988), 581, no. 89 (not in cat.); *LIMC* vi, 'Laoptolemos' 1. *Photographs*: Pottier sm., partly invis.; Arena and Lorber quite cl.; *LIMC* only (a)–(c), cl. *Scene*: Frontal quadriga with a dark horse (a), two white ones, unnamed and (c), and another dark one (e); in the chariot a charioteer (b) and a warrior (d). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.570–550 (*LIMC* i).

(a) (←) ΦΒΡΒΜ (b) (←) ΑΝΞΟ+ΞΔΑΜ  
(c) (←) ΞΑΝΘΟΜ (d) ΓΑΦΟΓΤΟΓΕΜΟΜ (e) ΠΑΓΞΟΜ

(a) Φερεις (b) Ανιοχιδας (c) Ξανθος  
(d) Λαφοπτολεμος (e) Βαλιος

(a) Φέρεις, (b) Άνιοχιδās, (c) Ξάνθος, (d) Λαφοπόλεμος,  
(e) Βάλιος.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Chariot scene, probably pseudo-heroic (labels).

We cannot simply say that the second horse has no name for lack of space (as suggested by Lorber). It would seem more appropriate to assume that the writer did not consider the matter important enough to devote much thought to finding a space for it, for instance under the chariot next to (c). Nevertheless, there is a certain grand touch to the names on this vase (see §468).

(a) A name known from the myths (see ad COR 66m). Kretschmer takes the name for a hypocoristic, thinking of Φερένικος (Hieron's horse in Pind. *Ol.* 1. 18, *Pyth.* 3. 74). Since all the names on this vase are either speaking names or slightly stereotyped, we may understand 'Carrier' (the name was no doubt connected with φέρω), which is a name very appropriate for a horse.<sup>342</sup>

(b) Arena points to the psilosis in Άνιοχιδās. Heubeck (1980: 286) points to the parallels of the Damonon inscription (*LSAG* 201.52 = *DGE* 12 = *GD* 71 άνιοχιδόν) and of Mycenaean, where

<sup>342</sup> The verbal character of this name is supported by an unusual epithet on an Attic vase (*LIMC* iii, 'Atlas' 2\*, Immerwahr, no. 96; ph. Scheffold (1993), fig. 259), showing two labels Άτλας ήόδε and [Ηέρ]ακλές μελαφερές. Herakles' epithet is an odd—maybe *ad hoc*—'compound' whose first element (expected μελο-) tells us that Herakles carried more than one apple of the Hesperides, and whose second element (expected -φόρος) is meant to evoke an onomastic rather than adjectival formation (there is no other certain compound with -φερής and a nominal first element). See Schwyzler, p. 452 (no. 8), for other examples of a nominalization of phrases 'object + verb' with a suffix, and Risch, pp. 219 f., §80a, for Homeric compounds with inflected forms as their first elements (see also n. 1150 below).



the word is not written with <a<sub>2</sub>>, which represents /ha-/, but normal <a>. The etymology is not wholly clear (one normally assumes \*ansio-; see Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. ἡνίο(ι); Plath (1994), 350 ff.). Another example on vases is LAK 4a Ἀνιοχίδας; the form without initial [h] is therefore probably epichoric; see §210. Amyx's writing <h>νιοχίδας is unintelligible to me (the name is lacking in his index, p. 609). Lorber asserts that this cannot be a proper name, since the figure described is a ἡνίοχος (though he is aware of the attestations of the name Ἡνιοχίδης, referring to Pape-Benseler). It is, however, more important that ἡνιοχ-ίδης cannot be taken for a *noun*. Therefore it is a name, namely one of the 'speaking' type, for which the suffix -ίδης, originally of patronymic meaning, is fairly frequent (see §§239 f.; e.g. COR 74h *Ἡρματίδης* 'the one of the chariot', a horse).

(c) *Ξάνθος* is the name of a white horse (*ξανθός* need not be 'white', however; see ad COR 103b). That horses of this colour were highly appreciated, is suggested by the name *Ξάνθειππος* (and -ίππη) (a possessive compound). See §244. (d) Shows an intervocalic [w], which is normally lost in Corinthian. Although this may try to evoke the literary sphere (see §506), the name attributed to a warrior, who is leaving to defend his people in the war, is close to the 'speaking' type. (e) This horse-name, 'Spotted', 'Dapple', is also used as such on COR 57 (f) and COR 78 (h). It is known as the name of one of Achilles' horses (*Il.* 16. 149, 19. 400). For its etymology see §506 with n. 1286.

#### COR 90 CERVETERI (?)

Olpe (of 'Attic' type, Amyx) from Caere ('T. III at r. of Via Dirocata', Amyx) (found ?). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1988), 581, no. 90 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. (Amyx saw the vase in 1958; it seems to be still unpublished.). *Scene*: Charioteer (unnamed) driving a chariot to r. with three horses (a)–(c). *Date*: LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

(a) *Ξανθος* (b) [. . . ?]οσπίος (c) *Qv*[. . .]  
(a) *Ξάνθος*, (b) [. . . ?]οσπίος (i.e. [*II*]όδαργος?), (c) *Qv*[λλαρος].

*Epigraphy*: I could not trace the vase and check the readings. For (b) see below. *Interpretation*: Chariot scene, probably pseudo-heroic (labels).

For (a) see §244. For his plausible restoration of (c) Amyx refers to COR 87b/e; it is probably a mythical rather than an everyday horse-name (see ad loc. and §468). (b) Amyx says: 'I could make no sense of this word', reading [. . . ?]οσπίος and suggesting [*Qp*]όψπιος (referring to COR 107) or *Όρσιος*. The latter solution, with interchange of letters, is hardly satisfactory, since the parallels adduced by Amyx (COR 68, COR 96B, and COR Gr 6) are uncertain or unlikely (see §110). The first suggestion seems to be too far from Amyx's own reading. But could the name be [*II*]όδαργος, with a delta and alpha close together (ΟΔΑΡΙΟΜ)

to form Amyx's first san? (If this were true, Amyx would have misread the third letter from the end, l, straight or slightly bent, as an iota instead of gamma.) Podargos would be a suitable addition to the slight mythical touch given to the scene by the names (a) and (c).

#### COR 91 DELPHI, ARCH. MUS. INV. —

Fr. of a column krater from Delphi (1892–1901). *Bibliography*: Perdrizet (1908), 144, no. 134, ph. fig. 594; Payne (1931), 166 no. 53, cat. no. 1453; Kunze (1950), 162 f.; von Steuben (1968), 68; Arena (1967), 105, no. 65; Lorber (1979), 58, no. 84, ph. pl. 18; Amyx (1988), 581, no. 91 (not in cat.); Schefold (1993), 332, ph. 333 fig. 376bis. *Photographs*: Perdrizet sm. but cl.; Lorber and Schefold quite cl. *Scene*: Athena (a) to l. throwing her spear. Behind her back, but not preserved, another figure (b). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.575 (Schefold).

(a) AΘA (b) (←) vac.? ΞΓΟΛΞΚΔ  
(a) Aθα[. . .] (b) [. ?]ιπονικα  
(a) Aθα[νā], (b) [H?]ιπ(π)ονίκā.

*Epigraphy*: (b) It is doubtful whether an initial H ever existed, because its top may be expected to show at the break; of course the space may have been just slightly bigger, but the two letters ΓΞ, whose tops are very close together, make it more likely that it was never there. *Interpretation*: Probably Herakles and the Amazons (labels).

For the interpretation of the scene see §413.

(a) For the form to be supplied (*Aθα[νā]* or *Aθα[ναίā]*?) see §247. (b) For the possible lack of an initial heta see §210. Unless this was a traditional Amazon-name (see §413 with n. 1025), we may also consider an *ad hoc* horsey name (see §238).

#### °COR 92 FLORENCE, MUS. ARCH. ETRUSCO 4198

Column krater from Caere (?), by the Sphortos P. (see Amyx) (ex Campana inv. ?; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: not in *CatCamp*; Heydemann (1879), 87; Kretschmer (1888), 162 f., no. 15; Kretschmer (1894), 20, no. 19; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3143; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; Payne (1931), 167 no. 59, cat. no. 1464; Beazley (1950), 310; *EAA* ii. 851, ph. 850 fig. 1115; Arena (1967), 107 f., no. 70 (autopsy); Bakır (1974), 18, no. K 64, ph. pl. 11; Lorber (1979), 76 f., no. 120, phs. pls. 35 f.; mentioned *LIMC* iii, 'Doroi' 1; Amyx (1988), 581 f., no. 92 (cat. pp. 265 f., no. A-1), phs. pl. 120. 1a–c; *LIMC* vi, 'Laodamas' ii. 1\*, ph. pl. 91. *Photographs*: *EAA* and Bakır invis.; Lorber mostly rather uncl., (g) is lacking; Amyx invis.; *LIMC* only (h)–(i) cl., (j) uncl. *Scene*: Banquet scene with *klinai* and tables with food. Four pairs of a hetaira and a man on the *klinai*:

(a) and (b), unnamed and (c), (d) and (e), (f) and (g). On the other side six horses to l., on every second of which there is a named warrior, (h)–(j); they are followed by two nameless foot-warriors. *Date*: LC (Lorber).

(a) (←) ΔΟ ΟΞ (b) ΕΟΜ (c) ΜΑCΟΡΑΜ  
(d) (←) ΜΒΓΞΜΟΞ (e) ΕΡΜΑΞΟΜ (f) (←) ΒΡΑΤΟΞ  
(g) ΜΦΟΡΤΟΜ (h) ΓΑΔΑΜΑΦΟΜ (i) ΓΑΔΑΜΑΜ  
(j) ΒΞΓΟΤΞΟΝ

(a) Δοροῖ (b) [.]. νFον (c) . . μαγορας (d) Σελινοῖ  
(e) Ηρμαιος (f) Ερατοῖ (g) Σφόρτος  
(h) Λαδαμαφος (i) Λαδαμας (j) Ηιποτιον

(a) Δῶροῖ, (b) [Ξ]ένFον (?), (c) Δᾱμαγόρας, (d) Σελινόῖ,  
(e) H(ε)ρμαιῖος, (f) Ἑρατοῖ, (g) Σφόρτος. (h) Λαδάμαφος,  
(i) Λαδάμας, (j) Ηιπ(π)οτίον.

*Epigraphy*: Arena refers to autopsy for his drawings and readings, on which Lorber and Amyx depend. The original ph. revealed some more details (see my dr.). (b) On the ph. the first letter preserved shows part of a slightly rising bar. Arena thinks it is the top of an E, Lorber of a T; there are more possibilities, although its rising position is odd for the top of any letter. As the ghost of the next letter seems to be a *N* rather than an *Y* (as read by Arena), we may cautiously take our stroke for the middle of an β. At the beginning there is space for no more than one more letter. See below. (c) Arena reads “[Ξ]μμαγόρας (?)” (i.e. [H(ε)]ρμαγόρας), which was accepted by Lorber (see also his n. 480). On the phs., however, I can see something more like the top of an alpha (where Arena thought of a rho), and before that probably another similar top very close to the man’s hair. Hence my restoration Δαμ-. The mu is somewhat blurred, but seems clear. Before the omicron there is a gap where a ghost of a gamma seems visible. After the omicron the rho follows very closely, then there is the l. part of an Δ, and finally, beyond a break, a clear san. (g) does not show on any ph. known to me. (h) The third from last letter was unanimously read as a digamma. The lower end of the vertical is preserved above the break, and there is no third oblique bar starting from it. (j) The second iota is perhaps ϣ. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic banquet and riding scenes (labels).

For the interpretation of the scenes see §478 (banquet with men and hetairai) and §469 (riding).

For (a) see §§236 f. (b) Arena’s restoration ΕῦFον is unlikely first because this name does not exist,<sup>343</sup> and secondly because there is space for another letter at the beginning. J. Mansfield’s suggestion (*apud* Amyx) of [Σ]Fον (for Στύον) is no good, since the letter before the digamma is not a tau and such a form would presuppose an unparalleled vocalic use of digamma. On the other hand, the first letter preserved may also be a β-type epsilon,

and it seems not impossible to read a nu instead of upsilon, which would open the possibility [Ξ]ένFον, an appropriate name for a banqueter. (c) ‘A good everyday name’ (Amyx, reading H(ε)ρμαγόρας). This is still true if read Δᾱμαγόρας (Bechtel, p. 15). (d) Kretschmer records two further instances of Σελινό (IG ii/iii<sup>2</sup>. 12593 and IG xii/5. 520). ‘Selinon-crowned’ seems a suitable name for a hetaira at a banquet; for its formation see (a) and (f).

(e) Arena thinks that the spelling h(ε)- of H(ε)ρμαιῖος is due to Attic influence, and that ‘l’introduzione di questa innovazione risolveva apparentemente l’ambiguità implicita nel valore di β’. The second part of his idea is incorrect, since such an ambiguity never existed (see §210). What we have here is simply a case of A.W. (see §111). In another way, however, this form is remarkable. Hermes’ name in two other instances on Corinthian vases is written without H-: COR Gr 26(1) Ἑρμᾶν, COR 28A Ἑρμᾶς. Therefore not the two psilotic forms, but our form with aspiration might have to be called exceptional at Corinth; see §253.

(f) Again a very suitable name for a hetaira (as it is also for the Muse of dance and song); see COR 110c. For its formation see (a) and (d). (g) Arena suggests two possible explanations of Σφόρτος: (1) a connection with σφορτάν· λιμόν (Hsch.), i.e. ‘Hunger’; (2) a wrong spelling for Σ<δ>φορτος (proposed by Beazley) as on LAK 3. The latter is duly doubted by Arena (p. 132), Lorber, and Amyx. Indeed, it could neither be justified as a case of syncope (the vowel is long), nor as one of A.W. (see §111: the letter-name was very likely σα-, certainly not σο-). The first explanation (not mentioned by Lorber and Amyx), on the other hand, obscure as its cognate in Hesychius may be, seems most suggestive to me as a name for a—no doubt ‘hungry’—man at a banquet.

(h) The reading Λαδάμαφος is clear. But the form causes linguistic problems. We cannot consider Λαδαμαξος as suggested by Neumann (1980: 297 f.),<sup>344</sup> who thinks that the lower bar of the E could have vanished in the crack nearby. First, this is not the case: the letter is complete. Secondly, Δαμαῖος (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 69, epithet of Poseidon), as cited by Neumann, is perfect as a derivative from the stem δαμα-, but not as a second element of a compound name extended by a suffix (here -ιο-); this would be unparalleled. To take the name as a compound with the second element -μαφος,<sup>345</sup> leaves us with the difficulty of what is Λαδα-. As explained by Kretschmer (p. 48), an extension of a compound name (Λαδάμας), here in -μο-, is odd; A. Morpurgo Davies suggests to me that we might take the [w] as etymologically unjustified (see §506) and compare the name with the thematizations with -ο- in compounds like ἀγγήραος (also πολυγγήραος, εὐ- and βου-κέραος, etc). A further possibility is suggested by J. Mansfield (*apud* Amyx): Λαδάμα{φο}ς could have

<sup>344</sup> Heydemann, who first proposed this solution, did not write “ΛΑΔΑΜΑΕΟΣ”, but “ΛΑΔΑΜΑΦΟΜ (Λαδαμαῖος?)”, i.e. he did not consider that the digamma could be an E, but thought of an ξ.

<sup>345</sup> Probably with etymologically unjustified digamma, as e.g. in Οἰνόμαος (see Wachter (1987), 119).

<sup>343</sup> Amyx points out that Arena’s reference to CIG 2405 for \*Εῦων is based on a mistake by Pape-Benseler.

arisen by confusion with  $\Lambda\alpha<\mathcal{F}o>\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , i.e. by transposition of its syllable  $-\mathcal{F}o-$ . This would be a very bad mistake (for other mistakes concerning minimal syllables see §112), but the fact that for the next warrior, (i), we find the name  $\Lambda\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , seems to be more than mere coincidence. Did the writer notice his mistake, and had a more successful go with the next figure? (This may be the case even without Mansfield's suggestion; at any rate, the writer did not use the 'grand' form  $\Lambda\alpha\mathcal{F}o-$  at his second attempt.) We cannot be certain.

(i) Arena cites a parallel (sc. in non-Attic dialect) on a later Attic amphora, *ARV* 168 (Brit. Mus. E 256). (j) is an everyday horsey name (see also §425 on COR 66i).

°COR 93 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-72-149

Frs. of a column krater from Corinth, by the Sphortos P. (see Amyx (1972). *Bibliography*: Ch. K. Williams II (1973), 10–12, no. 12, ph. pl. 3; Lorber (1979), 84 f., no. 133, phs. pl. 42; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 811, 'Antilochos' i. 27; *LIMC* iii, 'Automedon' 51; Amyx (1988), 582, no. 93 (cat. p. 329, no. A-3); *LIMC* vi, 'Memnon' 31\*, ph. pl. 234. *Photographs*: Williams and Lorber quite cl.; *LIMC* only (b)–(d), uncl.<sup>346</sup> *Scene*: A chariot and charioteer to l. (no name preserved), a warrior (b) to r. fighting another to l. (c) over the dead body of a third lying on the ground, head to the l. (d). On an isolated fr.<sup>347</sup> there are a white and a plaited black horse tail, a red himation of a woman to r. (no name preserved) standing beyond the horses (her identity has escaped the earlier editors), and reins; in the gap between the woman and where there must have been a chariot and charioteer, there is inscr. (a), written downwards and retrograde, therefore belonging to a lost figure to the r., i.e. the above-mentioned charioteer. *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.560 (*LIMC*).

(a) (←) ΑΥΤΟ (b) ΑΧΥΓΓΒΥΜ (c) (←) ΒΜΜΟΝ (d) ΑΜΤΞ  
(a) Αυτο[. . .] (b) Αχιλλεύς (c) [.]ξιμνον (d) Αντι[. . .]  
(a) Αύτο[μῆδον], (b) Αχιλλεύς, (c) [Μ]ῆμνον, (d) Αντι[λοχος].

*Epigraphy*: (a) and (b) were read by Williams, (c) and (d) by Lorber. *Interpretation*: Achilles and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).

For the scene in general see §454. The two characters on the isolated fragment, a woman to r. (no name preserved)<sup>348</sup> and the figure labelled (a)  $\text{Αύτο}[\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\nu]$ , must be Achilles' mother and charioteer. According to the direction principle (see §105),

<sup>346</sup> Other incomplete phs. in *BCH* 97, p. 292; *AR* in *JHS* 93, p. 12; *AD* 28B, pl. 124.

<sup>347</sup> Shown correctly on Williams's pl., but upside-down on Lorber's.

<sup>348</sup> A similar layout of a chariot and a woman beyond the horses can be seen e.g. on Vatican 126 (Amyx, p. 198, no. A-8; ph. Bakir (1974), pl. 3); see ad PCO 5 above.

the figure named (a) must have been to the right of the label; i.e. the floating fragment can be located to the l. of the others, which show part of Achilles' charioteer (see my dr.). The labels pose no problems. Those of Memnon's mother and charioteer are, alas, lost. What is preserved is as expected.

\*COR 94 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-50-164

Fr. of a column krater from Corinth (1950). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1988), 582, no. 94 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 142. 5. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Wheels of a chariot to l. with charioteer, of whom an elbow is left (named behind his back). Of a second *quadriga* the horses, reins, and a section of the wheel are preserved.<sup>349</sup> *Date*: —.

ΓΑΣ Ο

[. . . ?] παυ . ο [ . . . ?]

[I]π(π)αίμῶν (?)

*Epigraphy*: In front of the first preserved letter, one narrow letter could be lost (not taken into consideration by Amyx). The letter after the iota could be a mu or san, the one after the omicron a mu or nu or san, but probably not the same as the former (Amyx only considers san in both instances). *Interpretation*: Chariot scene, probably non-heroic (label).

The following considerations led me to the restoration  $[I]\pi(\pi)\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu(?)$ : (1) As the man is a charioteer, a name with  $I\pi\pi$ - would be appropriate. (2) The fourth and sixth preserved letters could be  $\mu$ -s,  $\mu$ -v, or  $\sigma$ -v. (3) In Bechtel there are no names in  $-\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 25) nor in  $-\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\nu$  (p. 29), but there is a  $I\pi\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$  (p. 25). If this is correct, in view of the lack of space at the beginning we can hardly restore  $H\iota$ -, but have to read  $I\pi(\pi)$ -, without aspiration (see §210). No identification with any known character puts itself forward.

COR 95 BASLE, H. A. CAHN COLL. HC 1173

Fr. of a krater from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Glynn (1981), 122 f., ph. pl. 21. 1; Amyx (1988), 582 f., no. 95 (not in cat.), ph. pl. 138. 1; *LIMC* vi, 'Nereus' 23\*, ph. pl. 520; Schefold (1993), 244, ph. 245 fig. 262. *Photographs*: Amyx, *LIMC*, Schefold cl. *Scene*: Head of a man (no name preserved), wrestling with an old man with fish body (a). They are watched by four women to l., one partly covered by them (no name preserved), two others clearly visible (no names preserved), and another one, (b), a small section of whose skirt is all that is left (the label is written downwards in front of her). *Date*: LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx); 2nd q. 6th cent. (*LIMC*).

<sup>349</sup> The scene may have been of the type of COR 68.

- (a) ΜΒΡΒΜ (b) (←) ΔΟΡ  
 (a) Νερεϋς (b) [. . . ?]δορ[. . . ?]  
 (a) Νερεϋς, (b) Δορ[ς].

*Epigraphy:* (b) Not (→) as suggested by J. Mansfield (*apud* Amyx, who, however, rejects the suggestion), as is evident from where the fluid paint ran in the letters, which is always at their bottom. This being established, the rho must be read retrograde. Amyx says that the last letter 'seems not to be an iota'. But in view of the great variation in size of the letters in (a), the wavy line following the edge of the break could well be an iota, better than any other vowel-sign at any rate (omicron, assumed by Amyx, is unlikely because of the angle at the bottom). *Interpretation:* Herakles wrestling with Nereus (labels).

For the myth see §415. The names are as expected.

\*COR 96A-B (A) FORMERLY LEIPZIG, ANTIKENMUS.  
 DER UNIV. T 307, (B) GENEVA (PRIVATE)

(A) Fr. of a krater from Gela (1896 or earlier); lost in World War II (E. Paul, *per litt.*, with correct inv. no.). (B) Fr. of a krater from ? (1977 or earlier). *Bibliography:* (A) Hauser (1896), 178, no. 3; Payne (1931), 164 no. 19, cat. no. 1192; Arena (1967), 88, no. 33; Lorber (1979), 46 f., no. 53, ph. pl. 10; only mentioned by Amyx (1988), 600, no. 5 (not in cat.). (B) Amyx (1988), 583, no. 96 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 142. 6; Chamay (1990), with ph. and dr. p. 47; Wachter (1990a) and (1990b); mentioned *LIMC* vi, 'Nereides' 11. *Photographs:* (A) Lorber quite cl. (B) Chamay quite cl. Vidi 16 Nov. 1990. *Scene:* (A) Parts of two dressed women to l., the name of the first is lost, that of the second is half preserved (it started in front of her face). The position of the two arms preserved shows that the women were dancing (Lorber) or walking quickly. To the r., a small remnant of what may have been a wing (Lorber) is visible. (B) Dressed woman (named) hastening to l. (but probably looking back), parts of a man, striding in the same direction (no name preserved). *Date:* (A) MC (Lorber). (B) LC I, red-ground (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

- (A) ΑΜΒΡΑ (B) (←) ΓΝΟΤΟΜΒΔΟΞΜΑ  
 (A) [. . .]. ανερα (B) Πνοτομεδοισα  
 (A) [Καλ(λ)?]ιάνερ(ρ?)α. (B) Πντομέδοισα.

*Epigraphy:* (A) According to Lorber (n. 292), in front of the first alpha there are traces of a Ε, Ϝ or Ξ. He therefore rejects Arena's restoration Φανερά (unattested). *Interpretation:* (A) Unidentified scene, perhaps with Nereids (Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters?) (label). (B) Unidentified scene with Nereids, perhaps Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters (label).

(A) Payne and Lorber assume a dancing scene, but the name, whose most plausible restoration -άνειρα sounds heroic (as

admitted by Lorber, n. 293), rather suggests a mythical episode. Therefore Hauser's suggestion of a fleeing Nereid seems better to me (see §433). This would suggest some literary background and could solve the problem of the 'incorrect', i.e. non-epichoric, spelling with <ε> (β) instead of <ē> (Ε) for the earlier (real) diphthong [ei] in [-aneira] (<\*-aner-ja). In any case, it is not necessary to doubt an interpretation -άνειρα (Δηϊ- Hauser, Payne), as Arena and Lorber did. For we have several certain examples of an analogous spelling in the name of Poseidon. But whereas those cases may be due to foreigners working at Corinth (see §§219, 255), in our case, in view of a possible literary connection and the fact that an [r] follows the sound in question, we may prefer the 'Lesbian' poetic explanation as indicated above; see §433.

(B) For the interpretation of the name (a speaking name, see §239) and its equally 'Lesbian' form, as well as the possible setting of the fragment, see §433. Moreover, see §508.

It should perhaps be checked whether the two fragments could belong to one vase.

COR 97 BARI, MUS. ARCH. 6207

Column krater from Monte Sannace (Gioia del Colle), by the Poteidan P. (see Amyx) (soon after 1860: Gervasio, pp. 8 f.). *Bibliography:* Gervasio (1921), 46–51, drs. figs. 39 f., ph. pl. 7. 4; Payne (1931), 166 no. 55, cat. no. 1459; Arena (1967), 106, no. 67; Lorber (1979), 85 f., no. 135; Amyx (1988), 583, no. 97 (cat. p. 266, no. A-1, bibl.), ph. pl. 121. 1; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 151, with dr. *Photographs:* Gervasio sm.; Amyx invis. *Scene:* Three youths on winged horses, holding tridents; the third one is named. On the reverse there are padded dancers (no inscs.). *Date:* LC (Lorber), 2nd q. 6th cent. (*LIMC*).

ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ  
 Ποτεδαν  
 Ποτעדάν.

*Epigraphy:* —. *Interpretation:* Unspecified riding scene with Poseidon (label).

For the name, more often attested on the Corinthian pinakes (COP), see §255; for its contraction see §506. For the triple representation of the figure see §405; for other aspects of Poseidon see §302 with nn. 954 f.

\*COR 98 PARIS, LOUVRE E 639

Column krater from Caere, near the Poteidan P. (see Amyx) (ex Campana inv. 41; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography:* *CatCamp* ii. 6; mentioned by de Witte (1865), 46; Graef (1886), with dr. pl. 10. 1; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 255 f., no. 19; Kretschmer (1888), 167, no. 26; Kretschmer (1894), 22, no. 25

(bibl.); F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3144; Pottier (1897), 58; Payne (1931), 166 no. 56, cat. no. 1461; *EAA* vii. 776, with ph. fig. 892; Schefold (1964), 80, and (1966), 85, phs. [pl.] 70b–c; Arena (1967), 106, no. 69; Lorber (1979), 89, no. 144, ph. pl. 43; Amyx (1988), 583, no. 98 (cat. p. 266, no. B-1, bibl.); *LIMC* vi, 'Nereides' 271\*, ph. pl. 491; Schefold (1993), 296, phs. 296 f. figs. 318a–b; *LIMC* vii, 'Peleus' 47. *Photographs*: Schefold and *LIMC* uncl.; *EAA* invis.; Lorber rather sm. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: A man to r. (named) jumping up from behind an altar and a tree, attacking seven women, who try to escape to r. (not named). *Date*: c.560 (Schefold (1964) and (1966), *LIMC* vii); LC (Lorber); c.575–550 (*LIMC* vi); c.570 (Schefold (1993)).

ΓΒΓΒΜ

Πελεως

Πελεως.

*Epigraphy*: Part of the lambda is visible (see dr.). *Interpretation*: Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters (label).

Lorber observes that the name Πελεως is not leading away from the head of the figure but floating high up over it, which is more the position of labels on Attic vases. The scene had first been misunderstood (see Kretschmer with earlier bibl.), and it was—as far as I can see—de Witte who found the correct interpretation ('une autre kélébé qui montre Pélée et les Néréides'). For the myth see §433.

#### COR 99 MARKET (BASLE)

Column krater from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry (1980), 19, no. 41, phs. pls. 11 f.; Amyx (1988), 583, no. 99 (not in cat.); *LIMC* vi, 'Laidas' 2\*, ph. pl. 86. *Photographs*: Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry (a) uncl., (b)–(d) quite cl., (e) uncl., (f) quite cl.; *LIMC* only (a)–(d), cl. *Scene*: A charioteer (a) in a chariot to r. Beyond the horses a warrior, labelled (b) below the horses, is stabbing another one, who is falling (to r.) beyond the horses of his own quadriga (to l.). His label (c) is written to the r. of his horses' hind legs; his charioteer (d) is waiting in the chariot. On the reverse there are three horsemen to l., unnamed, (e), and (f). *Date*: c.560 (Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry); LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

(a) ΛΣΟΝ (b) (←) ΑΣFAM (c) ΔΟΝ (d) (←) ΓΑΕΔΑΜ  
(e) — (f) ΓΣΟΝ

(a) Διον (b) ΑιFας (c) Δον (d) Ααιδας (e) ? (f) Διον  
(a) Διων, (b) ΑιFας, (c) Δ(ι)ων, (d) Ααιδας. (e) ?, (f) Διων.

*Epigraphy*: In view of the rectangular digamma in (b), the first letters of (a) and (f), which resemble lambdas, are probably not intended for digammas as Amyx suggests, but are likely

to be unfinished deltas. (c) cannot be [Σαρπα]δόν as suggested by Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry and accepted by Amyx, since the falling warriors' l. arm and shield were next to his head where the alleged missing letters should be, and this leaves no room even for one or two letters. (e) is partly destroyed and illegible on the phs. *Interpretation*: Pseudo-heroic battle scene (labels). Non-heroic riding scene (labels).

Not only the 'lambdas' in (a) and (f), which are probably unfinished deltas (see §112) and are in contrast to the complete ones in (c) and (d), but also the omitted iota in (c) (see *ibid.*) suggest that the writer was not very sure of what he was doing. The dull throwaway names (see §§237, 239) fit this view. For name (b), one of the most frequent mythical names on Corinthian vases, see §209; it gives the scene a pseudo-heroic touch.

#### COR 100 FLORENCE, MUS. ARCH. ETR. 3755

Oinochoe from ?, Andromeda Group (see Amyx) (found ?). *Bibliography*: Payne (1931), 86, 165 no. 33, cat. no. 1389, dr. 87 fig. 27D; Benson (1953), 107, no. 9; Arena (1967), 94 f., no. 47 (autopsy); ph. Himmelmann–Wildschütz (1967), pl. 9a; phs. Bocci (1970), pl. 26. 4–5; Lorber (1979), 61, no. 90; *LIMC* iv, 'Euphamos' ii. 1, 'Gorgo, Gorgones' 241\*, phs. pl. 179; Amyx (1988), 583 f., no. 100 (cat. pp. 267 f., no. A-1). *Photographs*: Himmelmann–Wildschütz invis.; Bocci only (a), quite cl.; *LIMC* invis. *Scene*: A horseman to r. (a), a Gorgon running to r. (b), and a horseman to l. (c). *Date*: LC (Lorber); 2nd q. 6th cent., c.570–550 (*LIMC* iv).

(a) ΒΥΦΔΜΟΜ (b) ΜΘΒΝΟΕ (c) ΓΟΓΜ  
(a) Ευφamos (b) Σθενοι (c) Πολυς  
(a) Εϋφᾶμος, (b) Σθεν(ν?)όι, (c) Πόλυς.

*Epigraphy*: (c) was first read by Arena. *Interpretation*: Pseudo-heroic riding scene with a Gorgon (labels).

For the character of the names and of the scene as a whole see §469.

(a) Εϋφᾶμος is a full-blown, (c) Πόλυς an abbreviated semi-throwaway compound name (see §237 for both). (b) It is not certain whether we have to read Σθενόι, Σθεννόι, or Σθενόι (see §469); for the type of name see §236.

#### COR 101 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 1652

Amphora from Caere, Andromeda Group (see Amyx) (1877). *Bibliography*: Löschcke (1878), 301–4, with drs. *MonIned* 10, pl. 52. 1–3; Furtwängler (1885), no. 1652; Kretschmer (1888), 171, no. 34; Kretschmer (1894), 25, no. 38; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3141; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; dr.

Pfuhl (1923), fig. 190; Zahn (1925), 82–4, with ph. fig. 1; Payne (1931), 165 no. 42, cat. no. 1431; Neugebauer (1932), 22, ph. pl. 13; Benson (1953), 107, no. 1; ph. *EAA* i. 363 fig. 503; Schauenburg (1960), 53 with n. 351, and 56; Schefold (1964), 33, and (1966), 36, ph. [pl.] 44*b*; Arena (1967), 99 f., no. 57, ph. pl. 17. 1; Lorber (1979), 59 f., no. 88, phs. pl. 19; *LIMC* i, 'Andromeda' i. 1\*, ph. pl. 622; *LIMC* iv, 'Euarchos' 1\*, ph. pl. 20; Amyx (1988), 584, no. 101 (cat. p. 268, no. A-4, bibl.), phs. pl. 123. 2*a–b*; Schefold (1993), 232 f., with ph. fig. 245; *LIMC* vii, 'Perseus' 187. *Photographs*: Zahn, Neugebauer, *EAA*, and Schefold only (*a*)–(*c*), quite cl.; Arena only (*d*) and (*e*), quite cl.; Lorber all, quite cl.; *LIMC* i (*a*) uncl., (*b*) and (*c*) quite cl., rest invis.; *LIMC* iv only (*d*) and (*e*), quite cl.; Amyx all, sm. but quite cl. *Scene*: On one side there is the head of a sea-monster to r. (*a*), at which Perseus (*b*), with winged shoes, bag, and hat, is about to throw large stones; behind him a woman (*c*) brings more stones. On the other side a man (*d*) is riding on a male ass (*e*), next to them a dog is running along. *Date*: c.550 (Schefold (1964) and (1966)); LC (Lorber); 2nd q. 6th cent. (*LIMC* i, vii); c.570–550 (*LIMC* iv); c.560 (Schefold (1993)).

(*a*) ΚΒΤΟΜ (*b*) (←) ΓΒΡΜΒΜ (*c*) (←) ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ

(*d*) (←) ΒΥΓΑΡΤΟΜ (*e*) ΟΝΟΜ

(*a*) Κετος (*b*) Περσευς (*c*) Ανδρομεδα (*d*) Ευφαρχος  
(*e*) Ονος

(*a*) κέτος, (*b*) Περσεύς, (*c*) Ανδρομέδα. (*d*) Εὔφαρχος,  
(*e*) ὄνος.

*Epigraphy*: The tau in (*a*), the mu in (*c*), and the epsilon in (*d*) are damaged, but not to be doubted. *Interpretation*: Perseus freeing Andromeda (labels). Non-heroic riding scene (labels).

(*a*) For the naming of animals on Corinthian vases, Amyx refers to our (*e*) (below) and COR 87*f*, to which add COR 71*d* *ἡπί(π)οι* and COR 102*e* *κ[ά]π[ρ]ος* (closely related in style to our vase). In Homer, *κητος* means various things: *Il.* 13. 27 'sea beasts', 20. 147 'sea monster'; *Od.* 5. 421 'big strange sea creature', 12. 97 'big sea creature', 4. 443, 446, 452 'seals'. (*b*) For the cluster [rs] see §214. (*c*) The name is first attested in Hes. fr. 135. 6 M–W *Ανδρομέδας*. Why there is a long [ā] in the epic (as well as in the Attic) form of the name is not clear, but need not concern us here. (*d*) P. Müller (*LIMC* iv) thinks of a daemon, for which I see no reason. The name *Εὔαρχος* on an Attic rf. stamnos, cited by Arena (see *CVA* Belgium, 2 (iii. 1*c*), pl. 13*c*), designates a symposiast carrying an amphora and has nothing to do with our figure. The name is non-heroic and well attested (Bechtel, p. 81, Pape–Benseler, s.v.). For the glide [w] see §207. The feminine form of this name, also with a glide, occurs on BOI 10 (*c/g*), also in an everyday scene. Should we count the name among the semi-throwaway names (see §237)? (*e*) 'Actually, the animal looks more like a mule (*ἡμίονος*), but we must respect the writer's label' (Amyx). See (*a*) above.

\*<sup>o</sup>COR 102 ROME, VATICAN, MUS. GREGORIANO  
ETRUSCO 16. 438

Hydria from Caere, Andromeda Group (see Amyx) (1836 or earlier). *Bibliography*: mentioned by Abeken (1836), 310 n. 1; dr. *MusEtrGreg* (1842), ii, pl. 17. 2; *CIG* (iv), no. 7374; Kretschmer (1888), 161, no. 11; Kretschmer (1894), 18, no. 13; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3127; Albizzati (1922–42), 43 f., no. 124, ph. pl. 12; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 2; Payne (1931), 166 no. 46, cat. no. 1443 with dr. fig. 172; ph. *EAA* i. 364 fig. 504; E. Simon in Helbig (1963), 643, no. 882; Benson (1953), 107, no. 4; Arena (1967), 101 f., no. 60, ph. pl. 20. 1 (autopsy); von Steuben (1968), 43, with dr. fig. 20; Lorber (1979), 61, no. 91, phs. pl. 21; *LIMC* iii, 'Charon' ii. 1; Amyx (1988), 584, no. 102 (cat. p. 268, no. A-6, bibl.). *Photographs*: Albizzati quite cl.; *EAA* only (*a*)–(*f*), uncl.; Arena only (*i*) and (*j*), quite cl.; Lorber all, quite cl. *Scene*: Three men to r., (*a*)–(*c*), running to the central scene where two hunters, (*d*) to r. and (*f*) to l., are stabbing a boar to r. (*e*). From the r. another two men, (*g*) and (*h*), running, and a horseman (*j*) on his horse (*i*)<sup>350</sup> are approaching. *Date*: 2nd q. 6th cent. (Simon); LC (Lorber); c.570–550 (*LIMC*).

(*a*) (←) ΡΟΓΥΦΑΜΟΜ (*b*) ΟΝ (*c*) ΕΞΟΝ (*d*) ΕΞΟΝ

(*e*) Κ Γ ΟΜ (*f*) (←) ΔΞΟΝ (*g*) (←) ΧΑΡΟΝ

(*h*) (←) ΡΟΓΥΜΤΡΑΤΟΜ (*i*) (←) ΨΟΡΑΞ (*j*) (←) ΦΡΥΞ

(*a*) Πολυφάμος (*b*) *Ῥ[ι]όν* (*c*) *Ῥιον* (*d*) *Ῥιον*

(*e*) *Κ[ι]π[ι]ος* (*f*) *Διον* (*g*) *Χαρον* (*h*) *Πολυστρατος*

(*i*) *Οροραξ* (*j*) *Φρυξ*

(*a*) *Πολύφαμος*, (*b*) *Ῥ[ι]όν*, (*c*) *Ῥίον*, (*d*) *Ῥίον*,

(*e*) *κ[ι]π[ι]ος*, (*f*) *Δίον*, (*g*) *Χάρων*, (*h*) *Πολύστρατος*,

(*i*) *Οόραξ*, (*j*) *Φρύξ*.

*Epigraphy*: (*e*) Arena is puzzled about the first letter.<sup>351</sup> Lorber writes *Χ[οίρ]ος*, thinking of *χοίρος* 'pig', but the remnant of the first letter is impossible to read as a chi. Since almost all names, viz. (*a*)–(*d*), (*f*), (*g*), and (*i*), are written in a 'hanging garland' way, we can take the first letter as a kappa not yet in the upward position, which leads to a reading *κάπρος* (also suggested by Amyx, who did not check it though). This was confirmed by the excellent original ph. which shows traces of the vertical stroke above the meeting-point of the two oblique bars (see dr.). The ph. also shows the top of a square, i.e. the pi, a bit more than half-way between kappa and omicron, and on either side of it there is one letter missing: a broader alpha, and a narrower rho. (*h*) The lambda is clearly visible on Lorber's ph. ([λ], Lorber and Amyx). (*j*) was first read by Arena. *Interpretation*: Boar-hunt, perhaps pseudo-heroic (labels).

<sup>350</sup> Not one of the dogs (as Amyx suggests), which are far away, next to the boar.

<sup>351</sup> He takes it as 'estremamente singolare. Parebbe una particolare riduzione dello ssade ionico.'

The writing is very cursive. If we consider the starting-point principle (see §104), which is normally observed on this vase except that (*j*) is written under the horse's belly for lack of space next to the horseman's head, it seems that the writer first wrote (*a*) as the name of the second man and only afterwards reassigned it to the first, adding (*b*) to the r. of the second.

Although several names in this boar-hunt scene, namely (*b*)–(*d*), (*f*), (*g*), and probably also (*h*), seem to suggest a colourless, throwaway-type labelling (see §237), name (*a*), perhaps together with (*i*) and (*j*), might open a line to some historical or literary background (see §473).

(*a*) *Πολύφῆμος* is almost exclusively known as the name of two heroic figures, a Cyclops and a Lapith (see §473). The historical example cited by Amyx (Bechtel, p. 379) is from the second century and is likely to be due to the revival of heroic names in Hellenistic times (see Bechtel's list, pp. 571 ff.). But the name also reminds us of the *Πολυ*- names, like (*h*), which seems clearly non-heroic; and the element *-φῆμος* occurs with a somewhat colourless touch also in COR 100a and COR 114d (see §237).

(*e*) For other labels of animals see ad COR 101a. (*i*) *Qόραξ*, which recurs on COR 70 (*f*), means 'raven' and is very appropriate for a dark horse (see §244).<sup>352</sup> (*j*) *Φρύξ* also occurs on COR 18 (an admirer of Aineta); it is an ethnic used as a name (see §241).

\*<sup>o</sup>COR 103 BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY  
48. 2032

Hydria from Vulci, Andromeda Group (see Amyx) (before 1859). *Bibliography*: Brunn (1859), 129; Fröhner (1891), 12, no. 60, with drs. above and p. 13; Payne (1931), 166 no. 49, cat. no. 1448; Jeffery (1948), 202; Hill (1952), with ph.; Hill (1965), with ph.; Lorber (1979), 63 f., no. 96, ph. pl. 25; *LIMC* iii, 'Bion' 1\*, ph. pl. 94; Amyx (1988), 584 f., no. 103 (cat. p. 268, no. A-7). *Photographs*: Hill (both) and Lorber uncl.; *LIMC* quite cl. *Scene*: Three horsemen galloping to l. Although there is plenty of space, only the second, (*a*), on a white horse, the third, (*c*), and his horse (*b*)<sup>353</sup> are named. *Date*: LC (Lorber); c. 570–550 (*LIMC*).

(*a*) (←) ΒΙΟΝ (*b*) ΔΥΘΟΣ (*c*) ΦΑΥΑΣ

(*a*) *Bion* (*b*) *Ξανθος* (*c*) *Φαχας*

(*a*) *Bíōn*, (*b*) *Ξάνθος*, (*c*) *Φάχας*.

*Epigraphy*: All difficult letters but one show clearly on the original ph. (the same as in *LIMC*). (*b*) The form of the first letter is exactly as shown by Fröhner (see the drs., one copied from Fröhner and one made by E. D. Reeder, who both examined the original). The letter is very sloppy anyway and consists of mainly two strokes, plus a very thin third one (the letter is

<sup>352</sup> The similar name in *IG* xii/3. 545 (see *SEG* 26. 946) is not to be read *Qόραξ*, even if the omicron belongs to the word *ἀγαθός*; for in that case we should read *Qόραξ(ο)ς* with A.W. (see §111), since final [ks] would normally be written *-κς*. For another attestation of the name *Qόραξος* (in the gen.) see Fraser–Matthews (bibl.).

<sup>353</sup> Its colour is purple, somewhat negligently added on black (see below).

completely preserved); see below. The fourth clearly contains a cross, and the last is a *ς* (see dr.). (*c*) Lorber wrongly claims that the final sigma is not clear; although it is almost a straight line, it starts as expected with a slight turn at the top and shows another turn further down, above the blur where the paint collected (there is nothing to its r. that could belong to it); on the whole, it is the same as the last letter of (*b*). *Interpretation*: Non-heroic riding scene (labels, probably in Chalcidian script).

Nobody (not even Fröhner, see his p. v) seems to have noticed that this vase is identical with that described 30 years earlier by Brunn: 'Poco o quasi nulla ho da dire intorno a' vasi vulcenti. A Civitavecchia presso il sig. D. Bucci vidi un' idria di stile antico, cioè con figure brunastre ed ornamenti rossi e bianchi sopra fondo giallastro. Ai tre cavalieri imberbi, vestiti di tunica, che vi sono dipinti, sono aggiunte le iscrizioni BION (da d.); ΞΑΝΘΟΣ e ΦΑΥΑΣ.'

The inscriptions on this vase make it necessary to decide between two possibilities. Either we resort to non-Corinthian letter-forms and obtain labels which make sense, or we read Corinthian letter-forms and accept that the names do not make sense. As we cannot argue for nonsense inscriptions in such a case, we have to accept the first possibility and must try to find a justification for the foreign letter forms (see §260).

(*a*) Fröhner had read *Βίων*, Payne preferred *Είον* (for *Ιον*), but Jeffery rightly doubts this reading: 'one may also suspect that the first name is intended for *Βίων*, not *Εἰων*', noting (n. 1) that 'the normal Corinthian form of Ion should in any case be *Φίων*.' Lorber expressly returns to *Βίον*. Amyx leaves the choice open. In view of the whole of the inscriptions, Fröhner (and Jeffery, Lorber, P. Müller in *LIMC*) must be right.

(*b*) The first letter of this label *Ξάνθος* was considered to be a *Ξ*. Therefore Jeffery, who could not check the vase itself, which was lost at the time, speaks of a 'confusion of alphabets with the *Ξ* used for *ξ* and the *Υ* for *χι*.' If *Ξ* were the correct reading, we would indeed have a confusion of alphabets, since there is no writing system with *Ξ* = [ks] ('blue') and *Υ* = [k<sup>h</sup>] ('red'). But the sign in reality consists of no more than two thick strokes and possibly a thin one joining the two; in particular, a lower horizontal bar was never drawn. It seems more likely, therefore, that this letter is meant to be a 'red' xi of the + form whose two strokes did not meet and were joined with a third, rather than a four-stroke 'blue' xi of the *Ξ* form of which one horizontal stroke is entirely missing and the main vertical hasta—if it is drawn at all—is as faint and short as it is. If this is correct, there is no longer a confusion of alphabets, but the writing system is consistent again, although not Corinthian (see §260).

Müller is puzzled by the fact that Xanthos here designates a black horse. But first, its colour is purple, added onto black;<sup>354</sup>

<sup>354</sup> I would like to thank E. D. Reeder, who checked this for me. Fröhner already mentioned that the tunics of the riders are 'en pourpre', and these look exactly the same as our horse on the black-and-white ph. Some of this colour, even more negligently, is also added to the first horse.

were the horse meant to be black, it would have been left black. Secondly, *ξανθός* does not mean 'white, light' in connection with horses, but 'bay' (see LSJ, s.v.), a medium brown. This colour could not be more accurately expressed in Corinthian bf. vase-painting than by adding purple, since added white and probably also the bare clay, which is very light beige, are too light<sup>355</sup> and black is too dark (see also COR 67 and 85).

(c) The third letter of *Fḗχḗς* is a 'red' chi, as mentioned. (*Faias* makes no sense.) The name is similar to, though not the same as, *Fḗχus* (COR 63, 67a, 119a, CHA 13d). We do not know whether we have to read *Fḗχḗς* (gen. -ḗ) or *Fḗχas* (gen. -antos).

COR 104 LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1772. 3-20. 6

Krater (of 'Chalcidian' shape, Amyx) from near Capua, Andromeda Group (see Amyx) (1766 or earlier). *Bibliography*: d'Hancarville (1766), 152-65, with drs. pls. 1-4; mentioned by Abeken (1836), 309 f.; *CIG* (iv), no. 7373 (bibl.); Kretschmer (1888), 171, no. 32; *BM Cat.* B (1893), no. 37 (bibl.); Kretschmer (1894), 25, no. 36 (bibl.); F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3126; Walters-Birch (1905), i. 321, ph. pl. 21. 2; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 1; Payne (1931), 168 no. 68, cat. no. 1478, ph. pl. 41. 1; Jeffery (1948), 203; Benson (1953), 107, no. 5; Arena (1967), 120, no. 86, phs. pls. 30, 31. 1; Bakır (1974), 20, no. K 76, ph. pl. 5; Lorber (1979), 61 f., no. 92, phs. pl. 22; *LIMC* i, 'Antiphatas' 1\*, ph. pl. 687; Amyx (1988), 585, no. 104 (cat. p. 268, no. A-8, bibl.). *Photographs*: Walters-Birch only (a)-(d), sm., but (c) cl.; Payne and Bakır only (b)-(d), quite cl.; Arena and Lorber quite cl.; *LIMC* only part of (a), and (b), cl. Vidi 13 June 1988. *Scene*: On one side three men to r., (a)-(c), are attacking a boar from behind and two, (d) and unnamed, from the front. On the other side three horsemen are riding to l., unnamed, (e), and (f).<sup>356</sup> *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.550-540 (*LIMC*).

(a) (←) ΓΟΥΔΑΜ (b) ΑΝΤΙΦΑΤΑΜ (c) ΓΟΥΦΑΜ  
(d) (←) ΒΥΔΟΡΟΜ (e) (←) ΓΑΝΤΙΠΠΟΜ  
(f) (←) ΓΟΥΔΟΡΟΜ

(a) Πολυδας (b) Αντιφατας (c) Πολυφας (d) Ευδορος  
(e) Παντιππος (f) Πολυδορος

(a) Πολύδᾱς, (b) Ἀντιφάτᾱς, (c) Πολύφας, (d) Εὐδῶρος.  
(e) Πάντιππος, (f) Πολύδορος.

*Epigraphy*: (e) The iota, though almost straight, is clearly of the three-stroke type (Jeffery; Lorber, n. 375). *Interpretation*: Non-heroic boar-hunt and riding scenes (labels).

<sup>355</sup> Reservation, as Nicholas Milner informs me, was not used for details of the scene and could not therefore be used for a horse, even if the colour of the bare clay had suited *ξανθός*.

<sup>356</sup> Not: (e), (f), and unnamed. As (e) and (f) are written from l. to r., they are more likely to designate the men from whose horses' heads they start (starting-point principle; see §104) than those to whose back they lead. Yet, the precise attribution is not very important.

For the shape of this krater see §260 with n. 942.

(a) *Πολύδᾱς* is a hypocoristic from a *Πολυ-δα-* compound name, for example -δάμας (see §232), used as a semi-throwaway *Πολυ-* name, like (c) and (f) (see §237). The same name, probably newly created, occurs in the second century AD (see Amyx). (b) *Ἀντιφάτᾱς* is a 'common name, both heroic and historical' (Amyx).<sup>357</sup> There is no reason to look for a heroic connection here. We cannot be absolutely sure about the quantity of the first [a]: *Ἀντιφάτης* has a short vowel in epic, but there is also -φήτης in *Εὐφήτης* (*Il.* 15. 532; as a historical name in Boiotia, Bechtel, p. 446) or *Περιφήτης* (see CHA 8d) with a long one. (c) *Πολύφας* is a hypocoristic, probably of the type in -αντ- (see §232), from a *Πολυ-φα-* compound name, for example -φᾱμος (see §228), used as a semi-throwaway *Πολυ-* name like (a) and (f). (d) *Εὐδῶρος* is 'both heroic and historical' (Amyx), here a colourless name like (f) (see §237). (e) *Πάντιππος* is a horsey name (see §238). The second element starts without aspiration (see §210), as pointed out by Kretschmer (1888); see also COR 14e *Νίκιπ(π)ος*. (f) *Πολύδορος* is 'both heroic and historical' (Amyx). It is the third name with *Πολυ-* on this vase and the second with -δῶρος, as pointed out by Amyx.

°COR 105 DRESDEN, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN  
ALBERTINUM ZV 1604

Krater (of 'Chalcidian' shape, Amyx) from Italy, Andromeda Group (see Amyx) (1896 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Herrmann (1898), 131 f., no. 11; Fränkel (1912a), 16-19, 82 f., ph. pl. 1; Payne (1931), 168 no. 67, 330 with dr. fig. 174, cat. no. 1477, dr. pl. 37. 5; Buschor (1969), 76, ph. 73 fig. 80; Arena (1967), 122 f., no. 90, phs. pls. 32-4,<sup>358</sup> ph. *ArchKal* 4-17 Oct. 1971; Lorber (1979), 62 f., no. 93, phs. pl. 23; *LIMC* iii, 'Dion' 2; Amyx (1988), 585 f., no. 105 (cat. p. 269, no. A-10, bibl.); *LIMC* vi, 'Laidas' 5\*, ph. pl. 87; not in *LIMC* vii, 'Sime' i. *Photographs*: Fränkel and Buschor only (b)-(h), sm.; Arena quite cl.; *ArchKal* only (a) uncl. and (b)-(h) mostly quite cl.; Lorber sm. and mostly uncl.; *LIMC* only (i)-(k), uncl. *Scene*: Pairs of padded men and nude women dancing, namely two men (a) and (b), a woman (c) and a man (d), a man (e) and a woman (f), two men (g) and (h), and again two men whose names, if there were any, would have been in the now broken-off area next to the handle. On the other side three horsemen, (i)-(k). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.570-550 (*LIMC* iii).

(a) (←) Μ Ο (b) (←) ΜΥΡΟΜ (c) (←) ΜΕΜΡ  
(d) ΔΣΟΝ (e) (←) ΕΡΡΣΜ (f) ΓΣΜ (g) ΔΣΟΝ  
(h) ΜΥΡΣΜ (i) ΓΑΕΔΡΜ (j) ΕΡ Μ (k) (←) ΔΣΟΝ

<sup>357</sup> See *Il.* 12. 191; *Od.* 10. 106; 15. 242; Virg. *Aen.* 9. 606 (all different characters); for the historical name see Bechtel, p. 572, and Fraser-Matthews.

<sup>358</sup> Arena's nos. in l-to-r. order (as applied by Lorber, Amyx, and myself): dancers 5-6-7-1-4-8-2-3; riders 9-10-11.



(a)  $\Sigma \cdot \varphi\sigma\varsigma$  (b)  $Mυpos$  (c)  $\Sigma\iota\mu\alpha$  (d)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu$  (e)  $F\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$   
 (f)  $[\cdot\cdot]\lambda\lambda\iota\varsigma$  (g)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu$  (h)  $Mυ\rho\iota\varsigma$  (i)  $\Lambda\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$  (j)  $F\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$   
 (k)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu$

(a)  $\Sigma \cdot \varphi\sigma\varsigma$ , (b)  $Mύpos$ , (c)  $\Sigma\iota\mu\alpha$ , (d)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu$ , (e)  $Fά\rho\iota\varsigma$ ,  
 (f)  $K[\alpha]\lambda\lambda\iota\varsigma$  (?), (g)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu$ , (h)  $Mύ\rho\iota\varsigma$ . (i)  $\Lambda\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ , (j)  $Fά\rho\iota\varsigma$ ,  
 (k)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu$ .

*Epigraphy:* (a) The old reading ( $\rightarrow$ )  $\Pi\rho\iota\varsigma$  (Herrmann, inspired by CHA 14j) cannot be correct. (1) The stroke next to the  $<\omicron>$  cannot belong to a pi, since it is too close to the omicron to be the main vertical stroke, and too long to be the second down-stroke; (2) the iota would be inclined in the wrong direction; (3) this name would be the only one to contradict the starting-point principle (see §104). Therefore we have to read it from r. to l. The first letter could be a mu or a san. (d) is shown reversed in Lorber's drawing. (f) Amyx reads  $Mύ\rho\iota\varsigma$  ?, but the third letter is not a rho, and the first not a mu. Although the top bars of the third and fourth letters have not exactly the same position, they are likely to be both lambdas. The first letter is most likely a kappa (see my dr. from Arena's detailed ph.); the broad grey band, which seems to continue the oblique stroke to the l. on Arena's ph. and could suggest a chi, is not in line with the stroke, and therefore not part of the letter. (j) A reading  $F\alpha\chi\upsilon\varsigma$  is problematic, since the crossing-point of the alleged chi (not of the Y-type as suggested by Payne) is too high up, and the penultimate letter cannot be an upsilon. Another  $F\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  fits better, repeated from the other side like  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu$ . *Interpretation:* Non-heroic dancing and riding scenes (labels).

For the dancing scene (a)–(h) see §479; the riding scene (i)–(k) is mentioned in §469.

(a) There are many possible restorations, for example  $M\iota\varphi\sigma\varsigma$ ,  $\Sigma\psi\varphi\sigma\varsigma$ , or  $M\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ . (b) For other men's and women's names connected with  $\muύ\rho\omicron\nu$  'unguent' see Bechtel, p. 602, and see also (h) and CHA 1j. (c) Although  $\Sigma\iota\mu\eta$  and  $\Sigma\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$  are well attested as women's and men's names,<sup>359</sup> Amyx admits that 'the meaning is bacchic or satyric', referring to an Attic cup in Naples, already compared by Herrmann (and Arena),<sup>360</sup> with on one side the heads of  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\Sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$ , on the other side the heads of  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  and three Maenads,  $K\alpha\lambda(\lambda)\iota\varsigma$  and  $\Sigma\iota\mu\epsilon$  and another (as well as some nonsense inscriptions); see also COR 110a, COR 118b, CHA 1k, CHA 14a, and §239. For the etymology of the throwaway name (d), (g), and (k) see §237. (e) Fränkel adduced  $Fά\rho\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$  (SGDI 4616 i. 17, from Taras; see Bechtel, p. 580) and  $F\alpha\rho\eta\eta\nu$  'sheep' (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.  $\alpha\rho\eta\eta\nu$ ),<sup>361</sup> see (j) and

(h). (f) The comparison with the Attic vase just mentioned led me to the restoration  $K[\alpha]\lambda\lambda\iota\varsigma$ . Kappa is a suitable possibility for the remains of the first letter (next to the thigh of the woman dancer), and the gap left by the second letter, of which nothing remains, would be plausibly filled by an alpha. If the restoration is correct, this creates a remarkable parallel between this Corinthian vase and the slightly later Attic one, both of which use outline-technique, common in Corinthian, but less usual in Attic. For the name see also §239. (h)  $Mύ\rho\iota\varsigma$  (which, like (e), must be a male hypocoristic; see §231) seems to be a variation of (b). (i)  $\Lambda\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$  is a common throwaway name on Corinthian vases (see §237 and 239). (j) If our reading of this horseman's name is correct, it is a repetition of (e) on the other side, which would suit the two unimaginative labels (i) and (k).

#### COR 106 KAVALLA, ARCH. MUS. INV. ?

Frs. of a column krater from Neapolis (partly 1938 (?), Lazaridis, Daux; partly 1959, Johnston). *Bibliography:* Lazaridis (1961/2), 238, ph. pl. 281. 2; Daux (1962), 837, ph. 835 fig. 6; Johnston (1973), 181–5, with dr.; Boegehold (1974), 34 f. n. 5; Lorber (1979), 84, no. 131; Pemberton (1983), 66 f. (autopsy); not among LIMC iv, 'Gorgones'; Amyx (1988), 586 f., no. 106 (not in cat.). *Photographs:* Lazaridis and Daux quite cl. *Scene:* Part of a fine garment with meander pattern of a lost figure (a),<sup>362</sup> and two Gorgons running to r., (b) and (c). On a fr. found in 1959 (unpublished; see Johnston, p. 181, and Pemberton, p. 66 with n. 10) there is one foot of Perseus (no name preserved). *Date:* c. 570 (Lazaridis); LC (Lorber); LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

(a)  $\Gamma\omicron\Delta$  (b)  $\Gamma\omicron\rho\Gamma\omicron$  (c)  $\leftarrow \omicron\Xi$   
 (a)  $\Pi\omicron\rho$   $[\cdot\cdot\cdot]$  (b)  $\Gamma\omicron\rho\rho\gamma\omicron[\iota]$  (c)  $[\cdot\cdot\cdot]\cdot\omicron\iota$   
 (a)  $\Pi\omicron\rho\rho[\omicron\varsigma]$ , (b)  $\Gamma\omicron\rho\rho\gamma\omicron[\iota]$ , (c)  $[\Gamma\omicron\rho]\gamma\acute{\omicron}\iota$  or  $[\Sigma\theta\epsilon(\nu?)]\gamma\acute{\omicron}\iota$ .

*Epigraphy:* (a) The first letter seems a clear pi (the shadow continuing the right-hand stroke will be nothing). The second is quite clear. The third is either complete and a delta, or—more likely—broken off at the bottom and a rho (Johnston's dr. is misleading). The fourth could be rho, theta (even one with a cross), omicron, or qoppa (Johnston is too restrictive); see below. (c) The first letter could equally well be the remains of a nu (Johnston, Boegehold; see COR 100) as of a gamma (Lorber, Pemberton, Amyx). *Interpretation:* Perseus pursued by the Gorgons (labels).

(a) Johnston compares this name, which he reads  $\Pi\omicron\rho\omicron[\cdot\cdot\cdot]$ , with a label on a contemporary Attic hydria in Vienna,<sup>363</sup> where indeed there is a figure watching a Gorgon pursuing Perseus and bearing the name  $\Pi\omicron\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (Johnston's reading). I have no

<sup>359</sup> See Pape-Benseler, s.v., and Bechtel, pp. 490 f. (with many derivatives). Another example for the fem. name is  $\Sigma\iota\mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon$  on ABV 266. 3 (next to one of seven water-bearers; why the painter could write this name, whereas he gave nonsense labels to all the other women, is a matter for speculation).

<sup>360</sup> ABV 203, top, no. 1; CVA Italy, 20, pls. 21 f.

<sup>361</sup> Arena (followed by Amyx) refers to Pape-Benseler, s.v.  $\mathcal{A}\rho\iota\varsigma$ . This, however, is most likely a hypocoristic of  $\mathcal{A}\rho\iota\varsigma$  names and in that case never had a [w] (see Bechtel, p. 65; Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.  $\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ ).

<sup>362</sup> Name (a) cannot refer to the Gorgon, whose label is (b).

<sup>363</sup> ABV 106, middle = Para. 43 (Vienna 3614), with bibl.

confidence in this parallel for many reasons.<sup>364</sup> Now, the fine mean-der pattern from which our label starts, if it is a garment (which is plausible), would have to belong to a very senior figure. Amyx suggests Athena, but of course her name cannot be reconciled with the letters on the vase. There is, however, another figure who would fit the scene equally well, namely the ἄλιος γέρων 'Old Man of the Sea'. He is the Gorgons' father, and his name is mostly Φόρκυς (e.g. *Od.* 1. 72 etc., *Hes. Th.* 237 etc.), but also Φόρκος (Pindar, Sophocles, etc.). The rendering with an unaspirated initial stop, it is true, would be hard to justify, were it not attested in a piece of literature whose dialect is fairly close to our Corinthian, namely Alcman fr. 1. 19 *PMG*; see §408. As Alcman uses the *o*-stem, we should restore our name accordingly. Since the name belongs to the literary sphere, the difference [p]:[pʰ] may be due to popular etymology rather than to a phonological process (see *ibid.*).

Boegehold reads (b) as Γοργό[νες], but this is unlikely, since the second Gorgon has her own label (c). I therefore prefer Γοργό[ι] for (b). For the formation of the names in -όι see §236.

#### COR 107 LEIPZIG, ANTIKENMUS. DER UNIV. T 4849

Frs. of a krater (of 'Chalcidian' shape, Amyx) from Caere (found ?). *Bibliography*: Rumpf (1923/4), 75–8, no. 12, with phs. figs. 14 f.; Payne (1931), 169 no. 70, cat. no. 1483, ph. pl. 41. 2; W. Müller, *CVA* Germany, 14 (1959), 51 f., phs. pls. 47 f.; Arena (1967), 121, no. 88; Lorber (1979), 90, no. 147, phs. pl. 44; *LIMC* iii, 'Daipylus' 1\*, ph. pl. 242; Amyx (1988), 587, no. 107 (not in cat.); *LIMC* v, 'Iphitos' 1. 9\*, ph. pl. 484; *LIMC* vi, 'Laidas' 4. *Photographs*: Rumpf and Payne only (c)–(f), quite cl., but (c) incomplete in Payne; *CVA* and Lorber quite cl.; *LIMC* iii (c)–(f), partly cl.; *LIMC* v (a)–(b), not very cl. *Scene*: A warrior (a) to r., fighting another one who is on one knee, labelled (b) between his legs. Beyond a *quadriga* to r., there is a warrior to r., of whom one leg survives; his name (c) is written on the front horse's—no doubt (e) *Qρούπιος*—croup. He is fighting his opponent (d). The other horses have no names. At the r. end a warrior (f) is falling to the ground. *Date*: LC (Lorber); c. 570–550 (*LIMC* iii).

<sup>364</sup> Although Perseus himself bears a label (underneath), which was read Περ(ρ)εύς, but is in fact Πειεύς (the third example in Kretschmer, p. 177), the other figures have all nonsense inscrs.: a Sphinx Φετφς, next the figure Πορομος, then the Gorgon Θετος, Athena Ππτες holding a wreath, Perseus with a second label Ρεμεσα, and another sphinx with three labels Σεοοσνς, Τιτες, and Π . με . ον. This writer was clearly illiterate. As for the name in question, we have to consider that there is not one certain rho on this vase (indeed where there should be one, in Perseus' name, there is an iota) and that the third letter looks more like the letter tau, which the writer had in his repertory (the other letters figuring in our name (pi, omicron, mu, sigma) also recur in the other labels). I find it hard to believe that this name Πορομος or Ποτομος, which in addition is meaningless (as rightly remarked by Amyx) and designates a woman holding—like Athena—a wreath for the victorious hero, should have any reality in a pictorial or literary context (in the widest sense) which would justify its occurrence at Corinth and Athens.

(a) ΒVPVTΣΟΝ (b) ΞΣΦ ΤΟΜ (c) ΔΑΜ  
(d) (←) ΔΑΞΓΝΓΟΜ (e) (←) ΨΡΟΓΓΞΟΜ (f) ΔΑΞΓΝΓΟΜ

(a) *Ευρυτιον* (b) *Φιφ(ι)τος* (c) [. . .] δας (d) *Δαιπυλος*  
(e) *Qρουπιος* (f) *Δαιπυλος*.

(a) *Εὐρυτιῶν*, (b) *Φίφ(ι)τος*, (c) [*Δᾱ?*][*ιδᾱς*], (d) *Δᾱίπυλος*,  
(e) *Qρούπιος*, (f) *Δᾱίπυλος*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The last letter is a clear nu. (b) Squeezed into the wheel of the chariot. The first three letters are to the l. of a spoke, the last three to its r. Since the tau is still in line with the first three letters and only the last two had to be added further down for lack of space, it is unlikely that the little trace of colour under the phi is the missing iota (as suggested by Lorber, n. 571), whereupon the writer would have jumped up to the original level again. This trace is of the same kind as the pseudo-alpha at the beginning, which mystified Payne. There the digamma is written over what is the remains of paint, but different from that of the letters. This was clear to Müller, who examined the original (calling the colour in question 'rotbraun') and did not consider that there is an additional letter in the beginning nor that our little trace may be the iota. Also the darker colour of the letters is generally well preserved, which is not the case with this faint trace. (c) The delta and before that the remains of yet another letter were visible in Rumpf's time (and indeed show on his and Payne's ph.), but no longer exist after the vase has been restored (Müller, etc.). *Interpretation*: Pseudo-heroic battle scene (labels).

For the character of the scene and the identification of the fighters with heroic characters see §471. Labels (a) and (b) pose no problems; the latter was first correctly read by Müller (we can explain it by A.W.,<sup>365</sup> see §111). (c) In view of the remains existing at the time, and the character of the other names on this vase, Rumpf's restoration [*Δᾱ?*][*ιδᾱς*] is plausible. Name (d) and (f) is attested on COR 464; here it gives the impression of an almost throwaway-type name. (e) This name, on the other hand, is unusual, at least within the terms of our knowledge of horse-names. It was this form which gave the clue to the reading by Rumpf of *Qροπιος* in CHA 3. For the etymology Rumpf (1927: 52) suggests: 'Man könnte zur Erklärung die durch verschiedene an κρουπ- angehängte Suffixe gebildeten Wörter κρούπαλον, κρούπεζον, κρούπετον heranziehen, die klappernde Holzschuhe bedeuten. Das Pferd *Qρούπιος* würde dann seinen Namen dem Schall der Hufe verdanken, was nicht unpassend wäre.' This is plausible. But in terms of formation we have to analyse the name differently (also the Greek forms which Rumpf cites are not all accurate). We have to start from the compound κρούπεζαι, meaning 'wooden shoes for music and oil-pressing' and formed

<sup>365</sup> This is one of the instructive examples where an obstacle (e.g. the edge of the object on which the inscr. is written, or here the spoke of the wheel in the drawing which had to be avoided) interrupts the flow of writing and causes this mistake (see Wachter (1991a), 74 with n. 116).

from κρούω 'beat' and πεδ- (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. κρούπεζαι). This noun has undergone some strange deformation (κρούπανα, no doubt by analogy with τύμπανον), which led to a pseudo-stem κρουπ-. If Rumpf's etymology is correct, the diphthong in our name is an inherited one. In that case the spelling in Chalcidian is simplified, whereas here we have the old spelling (although the ου must have been pronounced as a monophthong at the time; see §220).

\*COR 108 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-68-215

Fr. of a column krater from Corinth (1968). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1988), 587, no. 108 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 142. 7. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Head of a horseman to l. (named), and the head of a following horse. *Date*: LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

ΒΣΟΝ

Ειον

Εἰων.

*Epigraphy*: The iota is more precisely a semi-circle with a vertical tail (see COR 109). *Interpretation*: Non-heroic riding scene (label).

This is a common throwaway name (see §237).

\*COR 109 ISTHIA, MUS. INV. IP 1116 + 1300

Frs. of a column krater from Isthmia (found ?). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1988), 587, no. 109 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: A man to r. (a), stabbing a boar to l. (b), who is labelled under its belly, beyond which a man to l. (no name preserved) is making an (inviting?) gesture to (a).<sup>366</sup> On a non-contiguous fr. (no inscs.) more men to r. are visible. *Date*: —.

(a) ΔΣΟΝ (b) ΔΣΝ

(a) Διον (b) Διν

(a) Δἰων, (b) Δἰ(δ)ν (?).

*Epigraphy*: 'Very slovenly writing, verging on nonsense' (Amyx). The nus are the wrong way round, and the iotas are semi-circles with the trace of a vertical tail (see COR 108; both vases were found in Greece). *Interpretation*: Non-heroic boar-hunt (labels).

(a) A normal throwaway name (see §237). Label (b) designates a boar and is as far as throwaway names can go (see *ibid.*). The reversed nu and the misspelling reveal the writer's lack of competence; the misspelling, on the other hand, could be a special case of A.W. (see §111).

<sup>366</sup> Label (b) cannot be the name of the man to the r. Unless there was a dead or wounded man (of whom nothing is preserved) lying under the boar, it must be the boar's label.

\*COR 110 PARIS, LOUVRE CP 12434  
(FORMERLY S-1845)

Frs. of a small column krater from Caere (ex Campana inv. ?; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* iv–vii. 84; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 257, no. 22; Kretschmer (1888), 167, no. 25; Kretschmer (1894), 24, no. 30; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3152; mentioned by Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 10; mentioned by Arena (1967), 58 with n. 3;<sup>367</sup> Amyx (1988), 587 f., no. 110 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990 (*partim*). *Scene*: Since Graef's (see n. 369) and Blass's time the vase has been dismantled and rebuilt without some pieces that did not belong. Amyx reports four genuine parts, three of them with inscs.<sup>368</sup> Two of these have in the mean time been added to the uninscribed part. I could see first two dancers facing each other: one is fragmentarily preserved, and his name is lost; the other one has a padded bottom and is labelled (a) in front of his face.<sup>369</sup> Then another such pair can be distinguished (padded bottoms; no names preserved); behind the last dancer's back is inscr. (b).<sup>370</sup> This inscr. cannot be this dancer's label, however, but must designate a figure to his r. (direction principle, see §105), of whom—evidently not noticed until now—the white legs (to l.) are preserved, i.e. a naked woman dancer. On a fr. which I have not seen, Amyx reports a 'bearded man facing youth (?) and inscription' (c).<sup>371</sup> Amyx's fr. 4 (part of a handle-plate with gorgoneion) bears no inscr. (non vidi). *Date*: —.

(a) (←) Μ ΟΓ (b) (←) ΓΑΝΤΑΡΒΤΑ

(c) (←) ΒΔΑΤΟΣ (Kretschmer)

(a) Σ . . ος (b) Πανταρετα (c) Ερατοι

(a) Σῆμος (?), (b) Πανταρέτᾱ, (c) Ἐρατόι.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The first letter could be a mu or a san, the second is unclear, the third shows a falling oblique bar as of a mu or lambda, the fourth is clear, and of the fifth and last something like a lambda is preserved. (b) The initial pi is clearly visible. At

<sup>367</sup> The no. S 1815 as given by Arena is wrong.

<sup>368</sup> One of these was not found when I visited the Louvre on 6 and 7 Aug. 1990.

<sup>369</sup> This is Amyx's part 3 with inscr. 3. Pottier describes it as two naked men, speaking and listening, between them (←) ΜΒΞΟΠ. Blass reports this label of a man, probably modern: 'die beiden äussersten Buchstaben T und ein nach links gekehrtes N; es sieht nach meiner Zeichnung so aus, als ob auch hier Ἀνταρέτα gestanden hätte. Dagegen Gr. Ml. . ΟΠ■ (linksl.)'. The latter is our inscr. (a). (Gr. is B. Graef, see *apud* Kretschmer.)

<sup>370</sup> This is Amyx's part 1 with inscr. 1 (Amyx writes, 'Part of a padded dancer (rump) and inscription'; did he miss the first dancer?). Pottier saw two youths in a basin (which was modern), treading grapes (also Kretschmer and Blass), next to one of them the inscr., read [Α]νταρέτα[s] by Kretschmer, Ἀνταρέτα by Blass, and [IT]ανταρέτα by Amyx (incomplete at the beginning but complete at the end).

<sup>371</sup> Amyx's part 2 with inscr. 2. Unanimously read by all authors who saw it, so surely not a 'youth'. This is Pottier's description: two women facing each other, shaking hands, a woman standing; between the woman and some men was the inscr. (attributed to the woman by Kretschmer and Blass). The men just mentioned, together with an inscr. ΟΝΙΠΘΟΡΑ (?) (Pottier and Kretschmer), were no doubt forged; the same will be true for the inscr. ΘΛΛΑΘΟ . . . as read by B. Graef (*apud* Kretschmer). It makes no sense.

the end, the name is complete. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic dancing scene (labels).

For the sphere of the names see §479. The above reading of (a) seems epigraphically possible and suitable, but is uncertain. (b) Πανταρέτη is recorded in Bechtel (pp. 68 and 358), *pace* Amyx. Name (c) occurs again on COR 92 (f). The latter two—if not all three—seem to be speaking names; see §239.

# COR 111 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 2258

Frs. of a column krater from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Hopper (1962), 233, and Jeffery (1962), 395, no. 13, drs. pls. 163 f.; Arena (1967), 99, no. 55; Lorber (1979), 86 f., no. 140; Amyx (1988), 588, no. 111 (not in cat.); *LIMC* vi, 'Laidas' 6. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Part of a horse to r. with inscr. (a) below its belly. On another fr. a horseman, labelled (b) behind his back. 'Traces of three indecipherable names are visible beside the heads of three other figures' (Jeffery); these are on frs. not illustrated. *Date*: LC (Hopper, Lorber); LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

(a) (←) ΓΑΣΔΑΜ. (b) ΓΑΓΑΓΟ  
(a) Λαιδας (b) Λαλαπρ[. . .]  
(a) Λαῖδας, (b) Λαλαπρ[. . .] (?).

*Epigraphy*: (b) Jeffery reads 'Λα<ι>λαπρ[ς]' (or Λα<ι>λαψ followed by another letter)', Arena Λάλαρο[ς] (?), Lorber Λαλαπρ[. . .]. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic riding scene (labels).

(a) Arena (followed by Lorber, n. 553) rightly contradicts Hopper and Jeffery, who both took this label for the name of a horse, comparing COR 67, 107, and 115. In fact in all instances (perhaps also on COR 64), it designates the horseman. For the name see §§237, 239. (b) Jeffery refers to *Laelaps*, one of Aktaion's dogs in Ov. *Met.* 3. 211 and Hyg. *Fab.* 181.<sup>372</sup> The comparison is hardly justified: (1) Greek λαῖλαψ 'hurricane' always has a diphthong, whose [i] cannot just be lost. (2) Here the label does not designate an animal but the man. (3) We would expect Ψ and nothing after it. Amyx compares COR 83–83ter with their Λαλα- forms, and COR 92h/i. Without photographs we cannot get any further.

# COR 112 LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1884. 8–4. 8

Lekythos (of 'Attic' shape) from ?, by the Tydeus P. (see Amyx) (1884 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *BM Cat.* B (1893), no. 40 (bibl.); Payne (1931), 165 no. 31, cat. no. 1373, phs. pl. 38. 2, 4, 7; Arena (1967), 94, no. 45; Lorber (1979), 69, no. 104, ph. pl. 28; *LIMC* iii, 'Charon' iii. 2\*, ph. pl. 185; Amyx (1988), 588, no. 112 (cat. p. 270, no. A-5, bibl.). *Photographs*: Payne, Lorber, and *LIMC* cl. *Scene*: Warrior (named) stabbing another in his thigh (unnamed).

<sup>372</sup> Amyx's form 'Lalaps' is a particularly awkward (printer's?) error.

More warriors fighting are all unnamed.<sup>373</sup> *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.560 (*LIMC*).

ΧΑΡΟΝ  
Χαρων  
Χάρων.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic battle scene (label).

Lekythoi are very rare at Corinth (see ad COR 17), and reflect Attic influence. The name Χάρων is often used for warriors on Corinthian vases, and has to be characterized as a throwaway name (see §237). This suits the fact that it is the only label on the vase.

# COR 113 PARIS, LOUVRE E 640

Neck-amphora from Caere, by the Tydeus P. (see Amyx)<sup>374</sup> (ex Campana inv. 53 (*sic*); 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* ii. 49; F. T. Welcker (1858), with dr. *MonIned* 6, pl. 14; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 249, no. 1; Kretschmer (1888), 169, no. 29; Kretschmer (1894), 22, no. 23; Pottier (1897), 58 (bibl.), ph. pl. 50; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3135; Roscher (1884–1937), iii/2. 1967, s.v. Periklymenos (3); Robert (1915), i. 121–9, with ph. fig. 32; Pfuhl (1915); Ducati (1922), 163 f., dr. 164; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 5; ph. Pfuhl (1923), fig. 178; Payne (1931), 110, 141, 166 no. 44, cat. no. 1437, phs. pl. 40. 1–2; Benson (1953), 108, no. 1; Arias–Hirmer–Shefton (1962), 283 (bibl.), phs. pl. 33 and col. pl. xii; Schefold (1964), 77, and (1966), 81, col. ph. pl. v; col. ph. Chamoux (1966), 26 f. fig. 16; Arena (1967), 101, no. 59, phs. pls. 16. 2, 17. 2; col. ph. Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard (1971), 73 fig. 78; Waiblinger (1972); Lorber (1979), 66 f., no. 100, phs. pl. 26; Simon–Hirmer (1981), 53 f. (bibl.), phs. pl. 29 and col. pl. xiv; Amyx (1988), 588 f., no. 113 (cat. p. 270, no. A-6, and p. 330); *LIMC* v, 'Ismene' i. 3\*, ph. pl. 526; *LIMC* vi, 'Klytos' ii. 1\*, ph. pl. 38; Schefold (1993), 285 ff., with ph. fig. 307; *LIMC* vii, 'Periklymenos' 1. *Photographs*: Pottier and Pfuhl (1923) uncl.; Robert (a) and (b) uncl., (c) and (d) cl.; Payne (a) invis., (b) and (c) cl., (d) uncl.; Arias–Hirmer–Shefton cl.; Schefold (a)–(b) uncl., (c)–(d) cl.; Chamoux cl.; Arena quite cl.; Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard cl.; Lorber cl.; Simon–Hirmer cl.; *LIMC* v (a) invis., (b) uncl., (c) and (d) cl.; *LIMC* vi (a) uncl., (b) cl., (c) quite cl., (d) invis. *Scene*: While a horseman to r. (a) is waiting, a naked man to l. (b), painted in white, his head turned back, runs out from where a man (c) to r. is stabbing a woman (d) on a bed. *Date*: c.560 (Schefold; *LIMC*); LC (Lorber); 560–550 (Arias–Hirmer–Shefton).

<sup>373</sup> Lorber's remark, 'Die dichte Komposition der Szenen hat es dem Maler nur an einer Stelle ermöglicht, eine Beischrift hinzuzufügen', is exaggerated. Had he wanted, the painter could have named all figures without major problems.

<sup>374</sup> It is somewhat strange that this painter, who—according to the attributions—produced a number of inscribed vases, should also have left a vase covered entirely with nonsense inscs. (Amyx, p. 269, no. A-1 = Lorber, pp. 69 f., no. 105 = London, British Mus., B 39; from Corinth).

(a) (←) ϞΓVΤΟΜ (b) (←) ΓΒΡΞϞΓVΜΒΝΟΜ  
(c) (←) TVΔΒVΜ (d) (←) ΒVΜΜΒΝΔ

(a) *Qλυτος* (b) *Περιϙλυμενος* (c) *Τυδευς* (d) *Ηυσμενα*

(a) *Qλύτος*, (b) *Περιϙλύμενος*, (c) *Τυδεύς*, (d) *Ηυσμένᾱ*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Tydeus killing Ismene (labels).

The last letter in (b) is unusually written above the preceding letter, beyond the leg of the figure, without the vase being turned. The qoppa in (a) and (b) is asymmetrical as in COR 81Ba.

For the myth depicted see §429.

(a) is the verbal adjective *κλυτός* used as a name. For (b) Arena cites a *Περικλυμένῃ* in a bacchic thiasos (*ARV* 1247. 1; Lezzi-Hafter (1988), 342 f., no. 234); surely she has nothing to do with our figure. (c) is as expected. (d) On an Attic fragment (Graef–Langlotz (1925), no. 603b–c; see §429) the name of our Theban heroine is written *Ηισμένῃ*, which form—together with its derivatives in Boiotia<sup>375</sup>—led Kretschmer (p. 228) to the assumption that the name originally had an initial [h] (see also §504). As for the vowel, we have two possibilities: (1) the name had an [u], which was changed to [i] in Attic etc.; (2) the name had an [i], which was changed to [u] in Corinthian. Since it is exclusively attested with [i] elsewhere, the easier—and generally accepted—assumption is (2). Kretschmer (p. 31) thought of phonetic confusion of [i] and [u]. If this were true, the upsilon in Corinthian would have been pronounced not [u] but [y] (see §217). Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized that in (a) and (b) qoppa was written in front of *υ*, as Kretschmer also noticed. Heubeck (1980: 286) suggested that the writer may have been thinking of *ύσμίνη* when he was writing the name. Other connections, too, come to mind, which may open ways to an explanation of our variant by popular etymology (see §510), such as *Βοιωτία* *ύς* in Pind. *Ol.* 6. 90 with *Σ* vet., or—reflecting the business our lady has just been involved in—as *Η(ε)υσμένᾱ* (from *εὔδω*)<sup>376</sup> with A.W. (see §111).

#### COR 114 COPENHAGEN, NAT. MUS. 13531

Neck-amphora from ?, by the Tydeus P. (see Amyx) (from the market, acquired 1955). *Bibliography*: Breitenstein (1957), 11 f., phs. pls. 12 f.; Breitenstein–Roussell (1957), 290, col. ph. 291; Kjersgaard (1968), 39, case no. 13, col. ph. opp. p. 44; mentioned by Johnston (1981), 223; mentioned by Amyx (1984), 236; Amyx (1987), 166 f., ph. pl. 42a; Amyx (1988), 589, no. 114 (cat. p. 270, no. A-7), phs. pl. 123. 1a–b, col. ph. frontispiece. *Photographs*: Breitenstein, Breitenstein–Roussell, Kjersgaard, Amyx (1987) and (1988) (reversed) mostly quite cl., but (f) uncl. *Scene*: Two

<sup>375</sup> e.g. *DGE* 468A. 9 and 502A. 5 *Ηισ(σ)μένίας*, 464 *Ηισμένίου* sc. *Ἀπώλλονι*, and two further examples *DGE* 464 n.

<sup>376</sup> As in *Od.* 8. 337, 342, Theogn. 1063, and with *καθ-* *Od.* 8. 313, Plat. *Symp.* 219b.

similar groups of three warriors, one each to r., (a) and (d), stabbing another lying on the ground, (b) and (e), who is being defended by a third to l., (c) and (f). *Date*: —.

(a) ΔΟΡΟΝ (b) ΜΞϞΟΘΣΟΝ (c) ΜΞΜΟΝ (d) ΒΝΦΑΜΟΜ  
(e) ΔΟΡΞΜΑ(←)ΧΟΜ (f) ΜΒΓΑΝΑΜ

(a) *Δορον* (b) *Μιϙοθιον* (c) *Μιμον* (d) *Ευφamos*  
(e) *Δοριμαχος* (f) *Μελανας*

(a) *Δῶρον*, (b) *Μιϙοθίον*, (c) *Μίμ(ν?)όν*, (d) *Εὔφᾱμος*,  
(e) *Δορίμαχος*, (f) *Μελάνᾱς*.

*Epigraphy*: (d) The mu looks similar to a san. (e) The last three letters are retrograde. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic battle scene (labels).

Amyx (1987) discusses the names, concluding that no specific mythological scene is represented: ‘If not heroic, are these the names of actual persons, who lived in Corinth at the time of the vase-painting?’ (see §471). I have gained yet another impression.

For (a) Amyx (1987) and (1988) cites *SGDI* 1864. 4 (see Bechtel, p. 147; also p. 148 [Δ]ωρώνδας). (b) Not precisely a diminutive and hypocoristic, as held by Amyx (1987), but a derivative from the stem (σ)μῑκ- ‘small, short’, very frequent in proper names of the non-compound type. Nor is it true that ‘Σμικοθίων is a common Attic name’ (Amyx (1988)); what exists is *Σμικυθίων* and other formations with (σ)μικ-ν-, alongside (σ)μικ-ρο- and derivatives. We have here an alternation between Caland’s suffixes (see Chantraine, s.v. *μικρός*, with bibl.). Our *Μιϙοθίον*, on the other hand, is very unusual, since there are practically no names derived from (Σ)μικ(κ)ο-,<sup>377</sup> and the -θίων derivation is normally reserved for the *u*-stem *σμικν*-. It seems as if the writer produced a wrong form of a name only vaguely familiar to him; see (e).

(c) The second example of this name, also written *Μιμον*, belongs to a giant on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (see n. 783; and see Brinkmann (1994), 175 f.).<sup>378</sup> Amyx (1987) and (1988) connects *Μιμον* either with *μῑμος* or with ‘μῑμῶ (modern Greek *μαῖμοῦ* = monkey)’. A more suitable interpretation would be *Μίμ(ν)όν*<sup>379</sup> with assimilation (see §212) in the [mn] group, as, for example, in *ARV* 319. 5 Ἀ[γ]αμέμῑδ[ν],<sup>380</sup> *ABV* 276, bottom, no. 1 *Μ(ν)έσιλ(λ)α καλέ* (both examples in Kretschmer, p. 168), and probably *IGDS* 36 *Μ(ν)ᾱμόνως* (gen.; Selinus, 5th cent.). The name itself may be a hypocoristic from *Μιμνο*- compound names (Bechtel, pp. 318 f.), or it is a speaking name (see §239), meaning ‘withstanding the enemy’s attack’

<sup>377</sup> See Pape–Benseler, and Bechtel, pp. 485 f. The only example I could find is the ‘comparative’ *Μικότερος* -η, Fraser–Matthews.

<sup>378</sup> A third example, *Μίμων*, cited by Amyx, is less relevant (J. Tzetzēs; see Pape–Benseler).

<sup>379</sup> Attested e.g. *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 950. 22 = *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 1190. 22 *Μίμῑον*; moreover on Eubolia (see Fraser–Matthews).

<sup>380</sup> *LIMC* i, ‘Agamemnon’ 79\*, ph. pl. 200.

(present participle of *μίμνω*; see LSJ, s.v.). The latter interpretation could be paralleled by the Amazon *Μίμνωσα* on *ARV* 1248. 9 (Lezzi-Hafter (1988), 343 f., no. 239 = Immerwahr, no. 795). It also fits the giant of the Siphnian Treasury.

(d) Both heroic (COR 66) and non-heroic (COR 100). In view of the other names, the second interpretation must be right here. For (e) Amyx (1988) refers to the boy on COR 33, thinking of both *Δορίμαχος* and *Δωρίμαχος*. Our example, whose basic meaning must be 'fighting with a spear', is likely to have a long first vowel and to be of non-Corinthian origin for phonological reasons (see ad COR 33c). This would fit name (b) of a warrior in the same position, namely dead on the ground. The winners of the fights are (d) *Εὐφῶμος* and (a) *Δῶρον*, respectively, and we may well argue that the latter name—which is close to the throwaway name *Δῶροῦ* and the throwaway element *-δῶρ-* (see §237), both connected with *δῶρον*—as well as our *Δορίμαχος* may have been momentarily understood by our vase-painter as containing the name of the Dorians (for such popular etymology see §510). The name (f) designates a horse on COR 86. Amyx (1987) and (1988) refers to *IG* xii/9. 56. 268 and 269 *Μελάνες* (Styra). Here it may remind of the deadly aspect of the fight.

To sum up, the names on this vase will be neither mythical nor historical. It seems more likely that they have sprung from the imagination of the painter, who wanted to give the scene a pro-Dorian aspect: the winners are (a) 'Dorian' and (d) 'Good Fame', the two stabbed opponents (b) 'Little Stranger' and (e) 'Fighting the Dorians', and the two still uninjured and pugnacious opponents (c) 'Withstanding the Attack' and (f) 'Black Death'.

#### COR 114A MARKET (ZURICH)

Hydria from ?, by the Tydeus P. (*LIMC*) (found ?). *Bibliography*: Nefer (1989), 11, no. 7, with ph.; *LIMC* vi, 'Memnon' 32. *Photographs*: Nefer sm. but quite cl. *Scene*: Between two chariots two warriors (a) and (b) are fighting over the dead body of a third (head to the r., unnamed). *Date*: c. 560 (*LIMC*).

- (a) (←)ΑΧΕΙ (b) ΜΒΜΝΟΝ  
(a) Αχιλ[. . .] (b) Μέμνον  
(a) Ἀχιλ[λέως], (b) Μέμνων.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Achilles and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).

#### COR 115 PARIS, LOUVRE E 621

Krater (of 'Chalcidian' shape, Amyx) from Caere, by the Tydeus P. (see Amyx) (ex Campana inv. 46; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* iv–vii. 1107; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 255, no. 17; Kretschmer (1888), 166, no. 23;

Kretschmer (1894), 25, no. 35; Pottier (1897), 52 f., ph. pl. 44; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3147; Payne (1931), 169 no. 69, cat. no. 1481; Benson (1953), 108, no. 4; Arena (1967), 120, no. 87, ph. pl. 31. 2; Bakir (1974), 19, no. K 73, ph. pl. 7. 2; Lorber (1979), 69, no. 103, ph. pl. 28; Amyx (1988), 589, no. 115 (cat. p. 270, no. A-12, bibl.); *LIMC* vi, 'Laidas' 3\*, ph. pl. 86. *Photographs*: Pottier sm.; Bakir, Arena, Lorber, and *LIMC* quite cl. *Scene*: A horseman to r. (unnamed), two warriors (a) and (b) fighting, and another horseman to l. (unnamed). *Date*: LC, close to COR 117 (Lorber).

- (a) ΓΑΣΔΑΜ (b) ΜΥΡΣΟΜ  
(a) Λαιδας (b) Μυρσιος  
(a) Λαΐδᾶς, (b) Μύριος

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic battle scene (labels).

(a) See §§237, 239. (b) Belongs with *μύρον* (other derivatives in Bechtel, p. 602; see also CHA 1j) rather than with *μύριοι* 'innumerable'.<sup>381</sup>

It should be emphasized that on COR 105, a vase of the Andromeda Group, which is particularly closely related to the Tydeus P. (see Amyx, pp. 267 and 269), we find both *Λαΐδᾶς* and *Μύρος* (though not *-ιος*).

#### \*<sup>o</sup>COR 115A MARKET (ZURICH)

Fr. (c. 16 x 30 cm.) of a krater from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: —. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 23 April 1993 (Galerie Nefer, Zurich). *Scene*: Front of a horse to r., a warrior to r. (named) fighting a warrior to l. (no name visible), behind whom another horse (to l.) is waiting. *Date*: LC, as far as I can judge.

- (←) ΜΒΓΔΜ ΟΜ  
*Μελαμ . ος*  
*Μέλαμπος*.

*Epigraphy*: Although the surface of the fr. is heavily damaged, the two mus and the lambda are clear, the epsilon is almost clear, and the alpha, omicron and pi seemed plausibly restorable. The letter after the omicron cannot be an upsilon because of the rising bar with which it starts and because it is the last letter; no more traces exist beyond. *Interpretation*: Battle scene, probably non-heroic or pseudo-heroic (label).

Since Melampus the seer (known from *Od.* 15. 225 ff. and 11. 291 ff.) is not said to have been involved in battles, and other heroic figures of this name seem not to exist, we should also consider a non-heroic scene. The [o] is probably better taken as short. For

<sup>381</sup> The parallel for this name given by Kretschmer is now considered an adjective: *IG* iv<sup>2</sup>/1. 574 *μυρίος* . . . [*πρόνος*], as remarked by J. Mansfield *apud* Amyx.

in Doric the nominative form of *πούς* had a short [o] (*πός* and *πόρ* are attested, see Chantraine (1961), 66), and the *o*-stem paradigm of the compound *πούλυ-πο-* is used, for instance, by Epicharmus (fr. 61 *CGF* *πόλυποι*, nom.; fr. 124 *πωλύπους*, acc.). As a proper name, such an *o*-stem is also easy to justify as a hypocoristic (see §228).<sup>382</sup>

COR 116 MALIBU, J. PAUL GETTY MUS. 76. AE. 92

Frs. of a krater (of 'Chalcidian' shape, Amyx) from ?, by the Tydeus P. (see Amyx) (1977 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1987), 169, ph. pl. 42b; Amyx (1988), 589, no. 116 (cat. p. 330, no. A-14, bibl.), ph. pl. 138. 2.<sup>383</sup> *Photographs*: Amyx (both) cl. *Scene*: Between two sphinxes there are four warriors fighting with spears: (a) to l. fighting backwards, (b) to r. fighting with his opponent to l. (no name preserved), and a fourth warrior, also to l. (c). *Date*: —.

- (a) (←) ΒΞΓΓΑΜΟΜ (b) Χ (c) ΑΑΑ  
(a) *Ηίππασος* (b) *X[. . .]* (c) *Αγα .[. . .]*  
(a) *Ηίππασος*, (b) *X[οίρασος?]*, (c) *Αγα .[. . .]*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The first san looks almost like a mu. (c) Of the damaged letter before the break a short and almost vertical stroke remains. Amyx 'tentatively' restores *Ἀγάγ[ορ]*. This only suits if we assume that the second alpha was drawn down exceptionally far below the ground level of the inscr. If so, the stroke is the bottom of the first vertical hasta of a letter, and many possibilities are open (mainly κ, λ, μ, ν, π, ρ, σ, τ). *Interpretation*: Non-heroic battle scene (labels).

(a) Amyx mentions the same name on COR 66 (s) (see §425). But there it designates a figure known from myth, whereas here we have to take it as a horsey name (see §238). (b) It is tempting to restore *X[οίρασος]* from COR Gr 2 (the owner of a cup), also derived from an animal, like (a). (c) could be the beginning of different kinds of names; *Ἀγάνωρ* (taken for granted by Amyx, p. 645) is no more likely than any other name with *Ἀγα .[. . .]*, to be analysed not only as *Ἀγ-α . . .*, but also as *Ἀγα . . .* (e.g. *Ἀγα-κλῆς*, or *Ἀγασ(ι)-*, *Ἀγαπ(ο)-*).

COR 117 FLORENCE, MUS. ARCH. ETR. 3766

Amphora from ?, perhaps by the Tydeus P. (see Amyx) (1877 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Löschcke (1878), 307 f.;<sup>384</sup> Kretschmer

<sup>382</sup> *Μέλampus* seems to have been a possible form of the hero's name too. For there is the secondary compound name *Μελαμπόδωρος* (of the type *Ἀρτεμίδωρος*, *Διόδωρος*, etc.; see n. 826), attested at Aigosthena (Bechtel, p. 303), a Doric city (40 km. NE of Corinth) where Melampus had an important sanctuary. In view of the *o*-stems mentioned, a formation with *Μελαμπο-* seems more likely than one with *Μελαμποδο-* and subsequent haplology.

<sup>383</sup> Amyx's wrong number 76. 80. 92 will be due to a dictating error (in American English).

<sup>384</sup> He cites *CIG* 7380c, a number which seems not to exist.

(1888), 162, no. 14; Kretschmer (1894), 20, no. 18; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3142; Payne (1931), 165 no. 43, cat. no. 1436; Arena (1967), 100, no. 58 (autopsy); Lorber (1979), 68 f., no. 102, phs. pl. 27; *LIMC* i, 'Aias' i. 32; *LIMC* iii, 'Dolos' i. 1\*, ph. pl. 529; Amyx (1988), 590, no. 117 (cat. p. 271, no. AP-2). *Photographs*: Lorber and *LIMC* rather uncl. *Scene*: Two pairs of warriors fighting, (a) and (b), (c) and (d). *Date*: LC, after COR 113, but by the same painter (Lorber, p. 69); c.570–550 (*LIMC*).

- (a) ΔΣΦΑΜ (b) (←) ΔΟΓΟΝ (c) ΓΥΓΞΟΜ (d) (←) ΤΑΡΑΜ  
(a) *Διφας* (b) *Δολον* (c) *Πυλιος* (d) *Ταρας*  
(a) *Διφας*, (b) *Δόλδν*, (c) *Πύλιος*, (d) *Τάρας*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The iota is of the three-stroke type. (b) The final letter is a nu, not a san. What Arena interpreted as a fourth stroke is a blob, not attached to the letter. (c) The iota is likely to be of the four-stroke type. *Interpretation*: Pseudo-heroic battle scene (labels).

For (a) see §209. (b) As the final letter is not a san, Arena's suggestions to compare *δοῦλος* or to assume a 'pronuncia negligente per *Δόλοψ*' can be disregarded. L. Banti (*apud* Arena) was right to read *Δόλδν*. Amyx remarks that the Dolon known from the *Iliad* was not killed by Aias (10. 314 ff.). Such inconsistencies are, however, not infrequent (see §444 on COR 79A). (c) *Πύλιος* is an ethnic (of Pylos in Messenia) used as a personal name (see §241). (d) *Τάρας* is the name of a city (colony of Sparta, later Tarentum) directly used as a personal name (many examples in Bechtel, pp. 550 ff., *Τάρας* *ibid.* 553). That a man with Messenian background should fight against one with Spartan background, sounds plausible, though it may be coincidence.

COR 118 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. PH-P-228

Frs. of a column krater from Phleious, related to the Tydeus P. (found ?). *Bibliography*: Biers (1971), 410–12, no. 36, with dr. fig. 2, ph. pl. 88; Lorber (1979), 91, no. 150; Amyx (1988), 590, no. 118 (cat. p. 330, no. C-3); *LIMC* vii, 'Simis, Simon, Simos' 1\*, ph. pl. 560. *Photographs*: Biers quite cl.; *LIMC* (a) uncl., (b) and (c) quite cl. *Scene*: A naked woman (no name preserved), a Satyr (a), another naked woman (no name preserved) and another Satyr (b), all to r. running after a figure of whom very little is preserved (c). *Date*: LC (Lorber), c.560–550 (*LIMC*).

- (a) ΟΓ (b) ΜΣΜΟΜ (c) (←) ΔΣΟΝΥΜ ΟΜ  
(a) . ολ[. . .] (b) *Σίμος* (c) *Διονυσος*  
(a) . ολ[. . .], (b) *Σίμος* (?), (c) *Διόνυσος*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The illegible letter is so close to the Satyr's head that it must be the first letter of his name. The one after the omicron seems to be a lambda rather than a nu. (b) The reading seems possible, to judge from the ph., and is plausible too, although the

first letter could be a mu. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Dionysos, Satyrs and Maenads (labels).

[COR 120; SEE COP 41]

COR 121 PARIS, LOUVRE F 66

(a) Biers's suggestion  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\nu$ , with its three letters in front of the certain omicron, seems impossible for epigraphical reasons.  $\Delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\kappa\iota\varsigma$  would be slightly better, but would have to be confirmed by autopsy. (b) If the reading is correct, this is a common Satyr-name. (c) No intervocalic digamma is written (see §506).

°COR 119 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG 1959. I

Column krater from ?, by the Tydeus P. (?) (see Amyx) (1956 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Bruckner (1956), 22, no. 77, phs. pls. 15 f.; Gehrig–Greifenhagen–Künisch (1968), 63 f., ph. pl. 43; Lorber (1979), 64–6, no. 99, ph. pl. 24; *LIMC* i, 'Antimachidas' 1\*, ph. pl. 667; *LIMC* iii, 'Dioi' ii. 1, 'Dion' 4\*, ph. pl. 294; Amyx (1988), 590 f., no. 119 (cat. pp. 271 f., no. D-1, bibl.); *LIMC* v, 'Io' iv. 1; Schefold (1993), 283, ph. 284 fig. 303. *Photographs*: Bruckner (a) uncl., (b) and (c) cl., (d) uncl., (e) and (f) quite cl.; Gehrig–Greifenhagen–Künisch sm.; Lorber and Schefold quite cl.; *LIMC* i (a) invis., (b) cl., (c) uncl., (d) quite cl., (e) and (f) cl.; *LIMC* iii only (e), cl. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: An old man, (a), and two women, (b) and nameless, all to r., take leave of a warrior to r., (c) or nameless, who, touched on the chin by a boy to l., nameless or (c),<sup>385</sup> is striding towards a *quadriga* to l. Beyond the horses there is a woman to l. (d), who is pointing to the others but looking back at the charioteer (e). The latter is waiting in the chariot, while a warrior (f), the name written on his shield, is climbing up. *Date*: LC (Lorber); 1st h. 6th cent. (*LIMC* i); c.570–550 (*LIMC* iii, 'Dion'); c.560 (Schefold).

(a)  $\Phi\Delta+\Upsilon\text{M}$  (b)  $\Delta\varsigma\omicron\Xi$  (c)  $\leftarrow$   $\Phi\Xi\omicron\text{N}$  (d)  $\leftarrow$   $\Phi\Xi\omicron\Xi$   
(e)  $\leftarrow$   $\Delta\varsigma\omicron\text{N}$  (f)  $\text{ANT}\varsigma\text{MA}+(\leftarrow)\Xi\Delta\text{AM}$

(a)  $F\alpha\chi\upsilon\varsigma$  (b)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\iota$  (c)  $F\iota\omicron\nu$  (d)  $F\iota\omicron\iota$  (e)  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu$   
(f)  $\text{Αντιμαχίδας}$

(a)  $F\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ , (b)  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota$ , (c)  $F\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , (d)  $F\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota$ , (e)  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  
(f)  $\text{Αντιμαχίδας}$ .

*Epigraphy*: Several of the iotas are so carelessly written that it is impossible to say whether they are of the four- or three-stroke type. (c) The initial digamma is damaged, but clear. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic departure scene (labels).

For the analysis of the scene see §467. All names except (f) are blunt throwaway names (see §237). As for (f), both  $\text{Αντιμαχίδης}$  (Pape–Benseler) and underlying  $\text{Αντίμαχος}$  (Bechtel, p. 59) are attested; nevertheless the name with its  $\text{Αντι-}$  and  $\text{-μαχ-}$  components rings somewhat dully in our ears (see COR 78 and §237).

<sup>385</sup> It is not clear whose name (c) is, because it is written between the warrior's legs, but also close to the boy's r. leg.

Siana cup from Etruria (ex Campana inv. 339; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography*: *CatCamp* ii. 46; Pottier (1901), 97, ph. pl. 68; Pottier (1906), 743; Kretschmer (1923); Beazley (1932), 178 n. 21; E. Pottier, *CVA* France, 12 (1933), 60 f., ph. pl. 77. 12; Debrunner (1954), 62; Arena (1967), 123 f., no. 92, ph. pl. 35; Arena (1968), 367 f.; Lazzarini (1973/4), 343, no. 3, ph. pl. 65. 1; Amyx (1988), 591, no. 121 (bibl.; not in cat.). *Photographs*: Pottier (1901) sm.; *CVA* sm.; Arena only (d), quite cl.; Lazzarini part of (d), sm.<sup>386</sup> *Scene*: As much will be repainted, I do not attempt a description (see *CVA*). *Date*: 2nd q. 6th cent. (Lazzarini); c.3rd q. 6th cent.?

(a)  $\leftarrow$   $\text{ΑΓΒΞΜΑΡΟ Μ}$  (b)  $\leftarrow$   $\text{ΜΞΔΓΚΑ Μ}$   
(c)  $\leftarrow$   $\text{Ο Ν ΜΧΚΒΤΑ}$  (d)  $\text{ΚΑΓΟΕΜΞΤΟΓΟΤΒΡΞΟΜΚΑΝ}$   
(e)  $\text{ΚΑ VKAVKAVKAV}$  (following Arena)

(a)  $\text{Ἀλεξ(ί)μαρος (?)}$ , (b)  $[\dots \epsilon]\mu\iota \text{ Ἀλκα[.]\varsigma (?)}$ ,  
(c)  $[\dots \omicron]\nu[\dots \sigma]\chi\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha (?)$ , (d)  $\text{καλὸ ἔμυ τὸ ποτέριον καυ,}$   
(e)  $\text{κα[υκα]υκαυκαυκαυ.}$

*Epigraphy*: (a) The second letter is rectangular, i.e. not exactly the same as the third in (d). The seventh letter has a straight full-length hasta to the l. and can therefore hardly be a qoppa. At the end there seem to be traces between the partly preserved omicron and the final san. (b) Read  $\Gamma\Xi\Lambda+\Delta\text{AM}$  by Pottier (*CVA*); not read by Amyx. (c) Read  $\text{Ο} \cdot \cdot \cdot \varsigma \Lambda+\text{ΒΤΑ} (?)$  by Pottier (*CVA*); not read by Amyx. (d) The usual reading is  $\text{καλοενιτοποτεριονκαυ}$ . There is no nu after the first omicron. The sixth letter is clearly a mu (as which Beazley seems to have read it), not a nu, on two original phs. that I was shown in the Louvre; there is a ghost of an almost vertical fourth stroke. (e) Amyx claims that these strings are 'all with Attic lambda.' Yet, the letters in questions are of the V, not v or l shape, and V is a very exceptional form of Attic lambda. *Interpretation*: Similar to a *kalos*-inscription, moreover perhaps object praising itself (alongside other inscriptions, which are not clear).

I could not check the readings, which are partly doubtful, on the original.

(a) was thought to be erroneous for  $\text{Ἀλεξίμαχος}$  by Kretschmer. Debrunner was the first to consider a qoppa (the reading of the letter is uncertain); Lazzarini and Amyx follow him, interpreting this name as  $\text{Ἀλεξ(ί)μαρος}$ . For the choice of qoppa and the absence of aspiration Amyx rightly refers to COR 47  $\text{Αἰσφουλῖνος}$ . The iota is not written; it may therefore be a case of A.W. (see §111). Another interpretation would be  $\text{Ἀλέξσα(ν)ρος}$ , for which,

<sup>386</sup> The cup had been removed for restoration when I visited the Louvre on 6 and 7 Aug. 1990 and could not be found; I was shown a few photographs (from before the restoration) instead. Later inquiries have not been answered yet.



however, we would have to accept three peculiarities, namely the plene spelling <ξσ> (see §115), the omission of a nasal before a consonant (see §201), and the lack of the epenthetic [d] (see ad COR 40b).

For (b) and (c) Amyx rightly refuses to give transcriptions, because they would only be misleading.

(d) Starting from a reading *καλοενιτοποτεριονκαυ*, Kretschmer took *ἐνι* as the copula 'is', brought *καλο* into agreement with *ποτέριον*, thus writing *καλό(ν)*, and translated 'schön ist das Trinkgefäß'. Beazley, however, interpreted *καλόν* *εἰμι*, τὸ ποτήριον *καλ(όν)*. The solution for the end is unconvincing, however, since the third letter from the beginning is an incontestable Corinthian lambda. Therefore—and in view of the fact that there is no certain non-Corinthian letter in this inscription—we must read our final letter as an upsilon.<sup>387</sup> In addition, an abbreviation *καλ(όν)* is odd, and the KAV goes on as a whole series in (e), where *καλόν* does not make much sense. Since the copula is *εἰμι*, just as we would expect it, the discussion around *ἐνι*, although interesting, was pointless with regard to our piece (see Debrunner for a full treatment, and also Arena). The first word was interpreted as a genitive *καλῶ* by Arena, which gave *καλῶ* *εἰμι* τὸ ποτήριον 'I am the cup of a beautiful man'. Arena's suggestion was not taken into account by Amyx, who considered *καλό<ν>* *εἰ<μ>* τὸ ποτήριον as 'basically satisfying'. This may be true, but the lack of the nu in the first word supports Arena's version.<sup>388</sup> It would then be similar to a *kalos*-inscription (see §309), and if the end was nevertheless meant to be *ποτέριον καλόν* the vessel would praise both its owner and itself (see §306). If the first word is correctly read, which seems likely, the lack of digamma after the liquid should be noted (see §209); it is unexpected and suggests a later date or foreign influence.

(e) Whether *καυκαυκαυ* etc. means anything is doubtful. Ch. Avezou (*apud* Pottier, *CVA*) tried to connect *καυκάλιον* (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. *καῦκος*) because this means a cup, and derived its etymology from an (otherwise unknown) onomatopoeic *καυ-καυ-καυ* etc., corresponding to English *glug-glug-glug*. These are sensible *ad hoc* explanations, but nothing supports them. No better are attempts to see *καλ(όν)* *καλ(ῶ)* *vel sim.* in these chains (Beazley, Debrunner), since the third letter is not a lambda.

#### COR 122 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-65-38

Fr. of a head-pyxis from Corinth (1965). *Bibliography*: Stroud (1968), 320 f., ph. pl. 91d; ph. Pemberton (1978), 28; Lorber (1979), 84, no. 132, ph. pl. 41; *LIMC* iv, 'Hera' 492\*, ph. pl. 435; Amyx (1988), 591 f., no. 122 (not in cat.), phs. pl. 139. 1a–b.

<sup>387</sup> Surely we are not entitled to speak of 'a mixture of Corinthian and Attic script' (Amyx).

<sup>388</sup> For the type of formula and the use of *τό* see Morpurgo Davies (1968). It can be compared with the first two examples of her type no. 2, p. 79 (= *CEG* 447 and 460).

*Photographs*: Stroud, Pemberton, Lorber, *LIMC*, and Amyx cl. *Scene*: Group of three women, one facing r., one shown in frontal view, one facing l. (no names preserved); part of another woman to l., named vertically in front of her face, which is lost. They are shown as *protomai* only, of which the fourth seems to have been extended into a plastic handle (Stroud, Amyx). *Date*: LC (Lorber); c.570 (*LIMC*); 'probably late sixth century BC' (Amyx, for stylistic reasons).

(←) ΒΒΡΑ

*Ηερα*

*Ηέρᾱ*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Hera (label).

For a few remarks on the scene see §406. The name is as expected.

#### \*COR 123 MALIBU, J. PAUL GETTY MUS. 79. AE. 76. 3

Fr. of a krater from ? (1979 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1988), 592, no. 123 (not in cat.), ph. pl. 139. 2; *LIMC* vi, 'Nessos' 35\*, ph. pl. 540. *Photographs*: Amyx and *LIMC* cl. *Scene*: A figure to r. (no name, only parts of a sword and l. arm are preserved) tries to prevent a Centaur (named) from carrying off a woman (no name, only parts of her dress and arms are preserved). *Date*: c.570–550 (Mus. inv.); LC (Amyx; the piece should have been given a lower no.); late 6th cent.? (*LIMC*).

(←) ΜΒΒΜ

*Nhεσ[. . .]*

*Nhέσ[(σ)ος]*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Herakles and Nessos (label).

J. Mansfield *apud* Amyx thinks that the aspiration of the [n] could be etymologically justified, referring to Schwyzler, pp. 310 f. But Schwyzler does not list Nessos' name, whose etymology is unknown, and he also shows that in the case of [m] (*μη-* is well attested; for Attic see e.g. Threutte, pp. 25 f.) this type of spelling is used in cases where there was never an initial \*[h] (<\*[s]). As far as I can see, this is the first attestation of a spelling *νη-*. Surprisingly, Mansfield can cite a second attestation of this name with the same spelling, ΜΒΕΜΟΜ, i.e. *Nhέσ(σ)ος*, on an archaic shield-band, dated to c.580 BC, and acquired by the Getty Museum a few years (inv. 84. AC. 11) after our vase fragment.<sup>389</sup> He points to the similar spellings in COR 66h

<sup>389</sup> See *LSAG* 444B (with bibl.), dr. pl. 74. 6. There is *Nhέσ(σ)ος* with *Δαῖν[ε]ρα*, as well as the signature of the Argive artist *Ἀριστόδαμος ἐπόλφεσε ἡράγγειος*. On another panel (not in *LSAG*) *ἈΦΑΝΑΙΑ* is shown together with what probably represents Menelaos threatening and leading away Helene. All is in the Argive alphabet.

$\Lambda\eta(\epsilon)\nu\tau[\tau][\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , COR 19f  $F\eta\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , COR 76f  $F\eta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\beta[\bar{\alpha}]$ . See §211. The form also furnishes a welcome new example of [ss] in Corinthian, where Attic has [tt] (see §213).

COR 124A–B CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-64-226

(A) Frs. of a krater, (B) fr. of a cup, both from the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Corinth (1964). *Bibliography*: (A) phs. *BCH* 90 (1966), 761 figs. 17 f.; Stroud (1968), 321 f., ph. pl. 93a; Metzger (1970), 123; *SEG* 25 (1971), no. 344; Boegehold (1974), with ph. pl. 5. 2 (opp. p. 32); Pemberton (1978), 31 f., col. ph. 33 (middle); Amyx (1988), 592, no. 124 (bibl.; not in cat.). (B) Pemberton (1978), 30 f., col. ph. 33 (top); not in Amyx (1988). *Photographs*: (A) *BCH*, Stroud, Boegehold quite cl., Pemberton less cl.; (B) Pemberton sm. but quite cl. *Scene*: (A) (a) A large wing, behind which starts the inscr.; (b) 'a winged figure . . . whose hair style suggests that the figure is male' (Pemberton), 'behind head of a figure wearing a winged head-band' (Amyx), but see below; (c) 'on an altar (?) which supports a blazing fire' (Amyx). (B) Head of a woman to l. (named), wearing a crown. *Date*: (A) and (B) c.475–450 (Pemberton).

(A) (a) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (b)  $H\beta$  (c)  $\omicron\lambda$  (B)  $\Phi\beta\rho\varsigma$ .

(A) (a)  $[\dots]\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  (b)  $H\epsilon[\dots]$  (c)  $[\dots]\nu[\dots]$

(B)  $\Phi\epsilon\rho\sigma[\dots]$  or  $\Phi\epsilon\rho\iota[\dots]$

(A) (a)  $[\Sigma\theta]\epsilon\nu(v?)\acute{\omicron}\iota$ , (b)  $H\epsilon[\dots]$ , (c)  $[\dots]\nu[\dots]$ .

(B)  $\Phi\epsilon\rho\sigma[\epsilon\phi-\dots]$  or  $\Phi\epsilon\rho(\rho)[\phi-\dots]$ .

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Labels. (A) Unidentified scenes, (a) with Gorgons (probably Perseus), (b) perhaps with Hermes, (c) with an altar (perhaps Achilles and Troilos). (B) Unidentified scene with Persephone.

(A) The modern heta in (b) is remarkable and suggests a low date, which is confirmed by the style and technique. Pemberton makes it clear that fragment (c) is from a different frieze than (a) and (b), but she is not explicit whether the latter two are from the same or not. As the vase was very big (about 40 cm. high according to Pemberton) and must have contained many different scenes, maybe even several in each frieze, it seems pointless to try to find common scenes for all these non-contiguous fragments, despite the fact that there is a wing not only on fragment (a) but perhaps also on (b) (see above).

There has been some discussion about the type of alphabet used on this vase, i.e. whether H, B,  $\varsigma$  are still used in the traditional Corinthian way of a century earlier, i.e. representing [h], [e], [i], or whether they are the letters of the East Ionic alphabet, i.e. representing  $[\bar{e}]$ , [b], [s]. Stroud interpreted the letters in the 'modern' way: (a)  $[\mathcal{E}\rho\epsilon]\beta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , (b)  $H\beta[\eta]$ . Metzger criticized Stroud and corrected (b) into Corinthian  $h\epsilon[\dots]$ , but kept to Ionic sigma in (a)  $[\dots]\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . *SEG* made one further step forward, writing

$h\epsilon[\beta\epsilon]$  and --- $\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ . Finally Boegehold suggested the reading of (a) as Stheno. Pemberton says that we cannot decide. Amyx calls Boegehold's solution 'bold but attractive'. I think we may be more positive. It is true that we have to envisage that by the fifth century straight iota slowly made its way into the Corinthian system (see Jeffery, p. 115). In the case of sigma, however, we can be less certain, since any Corinthian must have been quite reluctant to apply  $\varsigma$  for [s] as long as this sign *could* be used for [i]. Similarly, one must have hesitated to use B for [b] as long as it could be used for [e]. And indeed, the contemporary vase, (B), clearly shows a B used as [e]. Moreover, an East Ionic use of H for  $[\bar{e}]$  seems very hard to believe at Corinth in the first half of the fifth century, in view of the fact that even in Athens this use was by no means frequent before, say, 460 (see Threatte, p. 39; Wachter (1991a), 74–9). Both the indigenous Athenians and Corinthians must have been particularly reluctant to adopt it, because in their dialect the corresponding letter in the alphabet was used to note a different phoneme, /h/, which the Ionians from overseas did not know. To conclude, the readings (a)  $[\dots]\beta\nu\omicron\varsigma$  and (b)  $H\beta[\dots]$  are very unlikely, and (a)  $[\dots]\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  is not very likely either and lacks a plausible interpretation; in other words, (b)  $H\epsilon[\dots]$  is almost certainly correct, and (a)  $[\Sigma\theta]\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ , which is ideal iconographically too, is most likely to be correct.

Boegehold goes into a lengthy discussion about (a) in order to justify the reversed nu in what he transcribes as  $\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . This would indeed be worrying in view of the normal nu in (c). Yet, the easiest solution is to turn the fragment round and to assume that inscription (a) is retrograde, as Pemberton, whose photograph is correctly arranged, seems to have recognized too. As can be easily seen in all archaic representations of Gorgons, sphinxes etc., feathers are always bent upwards, never downwards, and are rising, not falling. Like this, the label runs vertically downwards, which is of course the normal position of a vertical label; and it can be retrograde. It is true that—for the fragment preserved—it contradicts the direction principle (see §105) if it is retrograde. But it may well have designated not the figure to the l., of which the wing is preserved, but a lost one to its r. A second Gorgon would make perfect sense in the scene (see §§408 f.).

For the formation of name (a) see §236. If Amyx' interpretation of a winged head-band next to (b)  $H\epsilon[\dots]$  is correct and the figure is male, Hermes seems the most likely candidate (otherwise, Hebe, Hekate, Helena, Hera, Herakles are possible too). (c) In view of the object represented,  $\beta\omega\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  comes to mind, but the nu in  $[\dots]\nu[\dots]$  seems unequivocal. Should we remember  $\beta\omicron\nu\nu\acute{o}\iota$ :  $\beta\omega\mu\acute{o}\iota$  (Hsch.)? Whatever this third label was, if an altar was named it must have had a special significance in the scene. We may therefore think of Achilles killing Troilos at the altar of Apollon as on *ABV* 95. 5 (Immerwahr, no. 173; see n. 1098), where the altar is indeed labelled ( $\beta\bar{\omega}\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ).

(B) The interpretation as Persephone's name is plausible in view of the finding-place. The name always has a phi not a pi in early times (see Threatte, pp. 449–51). It has been said above that the [e], written B, clearly shows the original Corinthian alphabet. The

last letter preserved, however, is difficult. It is ξ, and if it represents a [s], this is no longer the Corinthian, but the universal Greek (not specifically East Ionic) letter which at last became fashionable also in former *san*-using alphabets. A form Φερσ[. . .] could be restored to Φερσ[εφόνᾱ], for instance, and its cluster [rs] would conform to the Corinthian dialect of the earlier vases (see §214). This reading is not necessarily correct, however. For we may assert that the ξ should represent the same sound as in (*Aa*) above, i.e. [i]. Of course, we are dealing with two different vases, but if we can get an acceptable form with an [i] this would be preferable in view of their common style. The first point to mention is that in Attic the goddess did not have an [s], being well attested as Φερρέφαττα or Φερρόφαττα (see Threatte, pp. 450 f., and Wachter (1991a), 65). It is true that [rr] for [rs] is a feature of the Attic dialect (among many others) and is—as far as we can judge—alien to the Corinthian, but the Attic form of the goddess's name must have been very well known from the famous sanctuary at Eleusis; also we do not know for certain whether in this name the [rs] is really the origin of [rr], or secondary and due to popular etymology (see §510). The second point is an inscription, only slightly earlier than our fragment, from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, viz. *LSAG* 286. 5 Φερ(ρ)ιφόνᾱι (a dedication on a helmet, c.500–480?; drawing in *IG* xiv. 631). In this form [s] is also lacking as is normal in the Lokrian dialect (see Thumb–Kieckers, p. 291), but more importantly, it shows an [i] instead of the oscillating [o] or [e] of Attic. As we have no other Corinthian attestation of Persephone's name and cannot exclude the Corinthians using an imported form of this variable name, a reading Φερ(ρ)ι[φ- . . .] of our label seems not impossible.

## COR 125 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-65-464

Fr. of a ? from the kerameikos at Corinth (1965). *Bibliography*: Stroud (1968), 303, ph. pl. 87e; Amyx (1988), 592, no. 125 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 141. 2. *Photographs*: Stroud cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: late 6th cent.? (Amyx).

ΔΑΜΑΤ

[. . .]σδαματ[. . .]

[Tâ]ς Δᾱματ[ρος . . .].

*Epigraphy*: Of the first letter, a nearly vertical downstroke and possibly part of a preceding upstroke are preserved. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication (property formula).

The name of the goddess is as expected. For the property formula see §301.

## \*COR 126 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. KP-158

Fr. of a pyxis from Corinth (c.1929–31). *Bibliography*: Stillwell (1948), 29, 51 f.; Stillwell–Benson (1984), 219 f., no. 1182, and

Boegehold (1984), 360, no. 15, ph. pl. 49, dr. pl. 122; Amyx (1988), 593, no. 126 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 141. 3. *Photographs*: Stillwell–Benson sm., only letters 1–6. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 'Convention-alizing style, later sixth century BC?' (Amyx).

ΤΑΜΒΡΟΜΑΜ

Τασεροσσασ[. . .]

Tâς ἐρόσσās[. . .].

*Epigraphy*: Boegehold thinks the seventh and ninth letters may both be μ or σ. But the last stroke in the ninth goes clearly further down than its central angle, and the same is true for the third as well as the fifth (where the end of the stroke is partly worn off); these letters are therefore all sans. The very last letter could be α, δ, ε, Ϝ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ, ε. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication to a human (property formula).

Stillwell's reading τâς Ἐρόσσας ἐ[μί] was accepted by Boegehold as well as Amyx, who mentions that the name is not otherwise recorded. As a name the form seems very odd anyway. But why should we interpret the word as a name rather than, quite simply, as the feminine present participle of ἐράω 'love'? See §310.

## \*COR 127 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-70-352

Fr. of the rim of a hydria (?) from Corinth (1970). *Bibliography*: Amyx (1988), 593, no. 127 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 2nd h. 6th cent.?

ΜΕΤΕΑΝΒΟΒΤ :ΤΑ

Τα[. . . c.16 . . .]μῆτι: ἀνεθετ . . .

Τα[. . . c.12 . . .]Ἀρτά?μῆτι ἀνεθέτᾱν.

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. is written in a circle on the rim of the vessel. Amyx reads [—] ἀνεθέκε: ΤΑΔ[—]. Since the spaces are much wider between the letters after the punctuation mark near the right end of the fr. than between the last 5 letters before, the three letters after the mark (of the third only some oblique remains are visible) must be the beginning of the inscr.; then about 55 per cent of the circumference is lost (i.e. about 16 letters), and another 12 letters are fully or partly preserved. The letters ἀνεθε are unequivocal. For the rest (from the epsilon) I add a dr. The letter following ἀνεθε cannot be a kappa because it has no oblique bars but a top cross bar. It must be a tau. The last two letters of the word are not clear; of the first only a few dots and the shadow of an oblique stroke remain, and of the latter, which for linguistic reasons must be a vowel-sign or ν, ρ, σ, an initial almost-vertical stroke, some crossing traces and the shadow of another almost-vertical stroke close to the punctuation mark are visible. The only restoration that seems possible to me is -ετᾱν. The letters before ἀνεθε are badly worn. Considering the two fairly clear ξ-type iotas and in between a straight vertical and the shadow

of a cross-bar above it, which can only make up a tau, the restoration -μῑτι seems likely. The second iota, painted very bold, seems to be written over the traces of something else. Before the alpha of ἀνεθε I think I can see another word-divider, which would fit well. *Interpretation*: Dedication.

The modern theta (see ad COR 85) suggests a later date. For the dual form ἀνεθέτᾱν see ad AIG 3E. If this reading is correct, we need two donors, most likely two names, for instance Ταλ[αὸς καὶ . . . Ἀρτά]μῑτι ἀνεθέτᾱν, or a feminine noun in the dual, Τᾱ . [ . . . ], but we cannot know.

# COR 128 ATHENS, NAT. MUS., PERACHORA 3434

Fr. of a large vase from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Dunbabin (1962), 327 and Jeffery (1962), 395, no. 17, ph. pl. 128, dr. pl. 163; Arena (1967), 118, no. 82; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), 251, no. 541; Amyx (1988), 593, no. 128 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Dunbabin partly cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΤΑΜΓΞΜΒΝΞΑΜΕΜΞ

[. . .]στασλιμενιασεμῑ

[. . . ? τᾱς Ηέρᾱ]ς τᾱς Λιμενίᾱς ἐμῑ.

*Epigraphy*: The first letter is likely to be a san. *Interpretation*: Dedication (property formula).

For the property formula see §301. Linguistically, all is as expected. Arena mentions another dedication to Hera of the Harbour, written in Sikyonian script on a bronze bull: Ναύμαχος με ἀνέθεκε τᾱί Ηέρᾱι τᾱί Λιμενίᾱι (*LSAG* 141, 143. 7); another one will have been the fragment Jeffery (1962), 395, no. 19, drawing pl. 164.

# COR 129 NAPLES, MUS. NAZ. INV. —

Fr. of a column krater from Cumae (1892–5: see Gàbrici, pp. 43, 449). *Bibliography*: Gàbrici (1913), 473; Payne (1931), 167 no. 58; Amyx (1988), 593, no. 129 (not in cat.), dr. pl. 142. 8. *Photographs*: Naples N. M. neg. 1062 (Amyx); non vidi. *Scene*: ? *Date*: —.

[. . .]σιλας

[. . .]σιλᾱς.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene (label).

Probably a name in -σι-λᾱς (< -λᾱφος) like Protesilaos (see COR 57c).

# COR 130 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. INV. —

Frs. of a small krater (?) from Argos (1892–5). *Bibliography*: Hoppin (1905), 172 f., no. 23a, ph. pl. 61. 24b; not in Heermance (1905); Amyx (1988), 593, no. 130 (not in cat.). *Photographs*: Hoppin cl. *Scene*: Head of a horse to r., and a warrior to r. (named). *Date*: LC I (i.e. 570–550) (Amyx).

ΑΣ

Αῖ[. . .]

Αῖ[Fas] or Αῖ[νέας].

*Epigraphy*: Hoppin's restorations. *Interpretation*: Unidentified war scene, probably heroic (label).

# \*COR 131 PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 332

Small cup from Corinth (1883 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Kretschmer (1888), 166 f., no. 24; F. Blass, *SGDI* (1899), no. 3153; Kretschmer (1894), 24 f., no. 31; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 122. 9; Payne (1931), 169; N. Plaoutine, *CVA* France, 14 (1938), 84 f. (bibl.), phs. pl. 93. 1–5; Arena (1967), 123, no. 91; Mommsen (1975), 52 n. 288 (bibl.<sup>390</sup>). *Photographs*: *CVA* (a) uncl., (b) and (c) quite cl. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Two boxers to r., labelled (b) in between. The one who has the upper hand is in pursuit (a). The other, with bleeding nose, is running away (c), looking back and making a gesture of defence. *Date*: late 6th cent. (Payne).

(a) FΞΟΚΕ (b) ΓΥΚΤΑ (c) ΦΒΥCE

(a) *Fioke* (b) *Πυκτα* (c) *Φευγε*

(a) *Fiókē*. (b) *πύκτᾱ*. (c) *φεύγῃ*.

*Epigraphy*: Payne (referring to J. D. Beazley) considered the inscrs. and boxers to be false, but Plaoutine confirms that they are fired and painted in the same paint as the decoration.<sup>391</sup> (a) Kretschmer and Payne give a straight iota, which is corrected by Plaoutine and Arena. In the kappas of (a) and (b) the vertical stroke is separated from the oblique ones. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic sporting scene (labels, partly verb-forms).

Plaoutine groups our vase with normal Attic material. But we have here a very special case. The vase was found in Corinth (together with a lekythos, Louvre MNC 333, according to Plaoutine).<sup>392</sup> Its inscriptions are wholly Corinthian. The clay,

<sup>390</sup> Where it should read, '1946, 173' and 'MNC'.

<sup>391</sup> Arena (n. 56) thinks that the inscrs. are too good to be forged, which is a dangerous argument.

<sup>392</sup> MNC 333 shows animal decoration and two inscrs., of which one, ΓΑΜΤΑ, seems to make sense, the other, (←) ΙΡΔΒΜΤΑΓ, does not. The last letter shows that the alphabet is Corinthian not Attic. The style, on the other hand, is Attic (it is *ABV* 249. 16, *Para*. 112). Nevertheless, Plaoutine had remarked, 'il y a dans le dessin quelque affinité avec le style corinthien'. Date (according to the museum inv.) c. 540.

however, is clearly not Corinthian, nor is it normal Attic.<sup>393</sup> The shape is untypical of indigenous Attic ware, but corresponds to Corinthian fashion.

Parallels are found in Brownlee's (1987) article on Attic bf. ware found at Corinth (I owe this reference to Kalinka Huber). Especially Brownlee's no. 14,<sup>394</sup> a cup-skyphos (cup-kotyle) (*ABV* 66. 59), is very similar to our piece and even shows a boxing match, but is obviously of Attic make, attributed by J. D. Beazley to the Heidelberg P. Obviously, around 560 BC the Athenian *kerameikos* tried to imitate Corinthian shapes<sup>395</sup> and could export some of their products to Corinth.

Not all cup-skyphoi made in Athens, however, were found in Corinth. Therefore it is our piece with its inscriptions both in Corinthian dialect and script, which constitutes the best proof that in Athens there existed a deliberate production for export to Corinth in order to conquer the market of the rival town. It is not important for this argument whether the painter or potter of our vase was a Corinthian who had emigrated to Athens (which

would be no surprise in the period of decline of Corinthian vase-production) or whether he was an Athenian imitating Corinthian as best he could.

(a) and (c) are third person singular present with monophthongized diphthong (see §219). The verb in (a) is a *hapax legomenon*, related to *ἵεμαι* like *διώκω* to *δίεμαι* (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.vv.). The noun *ἰωκῆ* 'pursuit' (Hom.) which is derived from it (see Chantraine and Frisk, s.v.) suggests a wider use at an early stage. Considering the fact that only (F)*ἵεμαι* has a good IE etymology (see Chantraine and Frisk, s.v.: Sanskrit *véti*, *vyánti* 'pursue', etc.), it seems as if the pair (F)*ἵεμαι* and *ἑλώκω*/*ἰωκῆ* should be older and the other one built on it. As the latter forms are alien to the Attic dialect and the digamma is etymologically correct, a Corinthian writer seems more likely than an Athenian.

(b) *πύκτᾱ* was interpreted by Kretschmer as the nominative dual form known from Homer and Attic (a comparatively young analogical form, see Chantraine (1961), 52 and 56). Schwyzler, following Wackernagel (1916: 58), suggests a nominative singular without -ς. Yet, first, it would be odd that one boxer had two labels and the other only one. Secondly, the position of label (b) between the two contestants—unlike (a) and (c) which are clearly attributed to either figure—makes it more likely that it applies to both. The form need not be Attic but could be the contracted (see §223) version of an earlier [-āō] as preserved in Boiotian (for which see Blümel (1982), 232). For other collective labels see §401. For the scene see also §474.

<sup>393</sup> Plaoutine writes 'argile jaunâtre; surface un peu plus foncée, légèrement brunâtre', and M. Denoyelle (*per litt.*) kindly informs me as follows: 'la petite coupe-cotyle MNC 332 a en effet une argile qui correspond à la description du CVA: de couleur beige-jaune, avec un vernis non pas noir mais tirant sur le brun. Il ne s'agit en aucun cas d'une argile corinthienne, mais il faut noter qu'elle diffère légèrement de l'argile attique de la même époque. Sans en tirer de conclusions, on pourrait dire qu'elle se rapproche de l'argile béotienne.'

<sup>394</sup> On pp. 81–3 (ph. pl. 13), Corinth, Arch. Mus. CP-881.

<sup>395</sup> For the genuinely Corinthian kotyle see e.g. Benson (1983).

## APPENDIX

### Some Corinthian Graffiti

In this section a selection of Corinthian graffiti are listed, which are referred to in the commentary and analysis. The numbers are again those of Amyx (1988), 593 ff., who gives a more complete list.

#### COR GR 2 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-65-471

Fr. cup from Corinth (1965). *Bibliography*: Stroud (1968), 328, ph. pl. 98g; *SEG* 25 (1971), no. 343; Lazzarini (1973/4), 357, no. 24, phs. pl. 72. 1–2; Amyx (1988), 594, no. Gr 2 (bibl.). *Photographs*: Stroud sm. but quite cl.; Lazzarini quite cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: ‘perhaps no later than the middle of the seventh century’ (Amyx).

Χοιράσου  $\hbar\alpha$  ροτύλλα  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}$  . . . (the rest is unclear).

*Epigraphy*: Complete at the beginning. I think I can see a normal β-type epsilon on the phs., which is, however, not the normal spelling ( $\acute{\epsilon}$ - is also the reading of Stroud, *SEG*, and Lazzarini; Amyx writes  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}$ , using the wrong *e*-letter). *Interpretation*: Owner’s inscription or dedication to a human (perhaps metrical).

For the spelling of the genitive and the verb as well as the metrical structure see §§219 f., 502, and 505.

#### COR GR 6 PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 669 (INCISED)

Aryballos from Corinth (1884 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Rayet–Collignon (1888), 63, with dr. (not of the inscrs.) fig. 33; E. Pottier, *CVA* France, 9 (1929), 7 f., phs. pl. 6. 9–12; Payne (1931), 162 no. 6, cat. no. 499; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 10; Friis Johansen (1967), 66, ph. 65 fig. 12, cat. p. 245, no. A. 2b; Arena (1967), 73, no. 9, phs. pl. 2; Lorber (1979), 21, no. 19, phs. pl. 4; *LIMC* i, ‘Aias’ i. 34\*, ph. pl. 234; mentioned *LIMC* iv, ‘Hektor’ (ii. E. 1); Amyx (1988), 596, no. Gr 6 (cat. p. 99, no. 5, bibl.); Schefold (1993), 141, ph. 140 fig. 142. *Photographs*: *CVA*, Friis Johansen, *LIMC*, Schefold sm.; Lorber quite cl. *Scene*: An even fight between two warriors (a) and (b). *Date*: EC (i.e. 620/615–595/590) (*LIMC*; Amyx); c.610 (Schefold).

(a) ΔΞΦΔΜ (b) ΒΤΡΟΡ

(a) ΑιΨας (b) Ετρορο

(a) ΑιΨας, (b) Ἑτ(τ)ρῶρ.

*Epigraphy*: (b) Unanimously read Ἑτϙορ, which must be wrong. The parallel on COR 113 (in a carelessly painted inscr.) of a qoppa with the vertical stroke arising from the side of the circle, which was put forward by Arena, is irrelevant,<sup>396</sup> since there the ‘eye’ of the letter is still a circle; the same is true for COR 81Ba. On the other hand, in our inscr. (characterized as ‘mit . . . Sorgfalt ausgeführt’ by Lorber) clearly only a semicircle was added to a full-length vertical stroke, whereas the omicron is a perfect circle; the third letter is therefore a rho. *Interpretation*: Fight between Aias and Hektor (labels).

(a) is as expected (see §209). (b) shows assimilation of the [kt] group and an additional [r]; see §212.

#### COR GR 9 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG V. I. 3182 (INCISED)

Fr. of an alabastron from Thebes (purchased Oct. 1890: U. Kästner, *per litt.*). *Bibliography*: Furtwängler (1891), 116, no. 5, with dr.; Payne (1931), 162 no. 9, cat. no. 790; Arena (1967), 75, no. 13, ph. pl. 4; Lorber (1979), 50, no. 62 (bibl.); *LIMC* i, ‘Aias’ i. 119\*, ph. pl. 247; Amyx (1988), 597, no. Gr 9; Schefold (1993), 327 f., with ph. fig. 367. *Photographs*: Arena, *LIMC*, Schefold cl. *Scene*: Aias (named) over his sword. *Date*: MC (Lorber, p. 50 n. 309); c.600–575 (*LIMC*); c.600 (Schefold).

ΑΞΦΔΜ

ΑιΨας

ΑιΨας.

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. is written on the body of Aias and leads towards the head; this shows that the direction from l. to r. was more familiar to the writer. *Interpretation*: Suicide of Aias (label).

The name is as expected (see §209).

<sup>396</sup> Lorber (p. 66 n. 415) is also sceptical about this parallel.

COR GR 13 CAMBRIDGE MASS., HARVARD UNIV.,  
A. M. SACKLER MUS. 1960. 302

Aryballos from ? (found ?). *Bibliography*: Kroll (1968), 21–3, ph. pl. 10. 1; Bauchhenß-Thürdiedl (1971), 14 f., 86, no. 47; Lorber (1979), 92, no. 152; Amyx (1988), 597, no. Gr 13; *LIMC* vii, ‘Telephos’ 98. *Photographs*: Kroll cl. *Scene*: A bearded man (named) grasps another bearded man by his forelock and pulls him down. *Date*: LC (Lorber).

ΤΒΓΑΦΟΜ

Τελαφος

Τελαφος.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Telephos (label).

For the myth and the form of the name, which shows popular etymology, see §§440 and 510.

COR GR 15 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUS. OF ART  
74. 51. 364 (INCISED)

Pyxis from Corinth (the lid, added by D. von Bothmer, is 74. 51. 433) (1874 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Payne (1931), cat. no. 1309 (not mentioning the inscs.; indicating a wrong provenance, see Arena, n. 53); Milne (1942a), with ph.; Milne (1942b), 217–22, phs. figs. 1 f.; Amyx (1943), 215, ph. pl. 32e and g; Richter (1949), 81, ph. fig. 137; Arena (1967), 117, no. 80, phs. (from Milne (1942b)) pl. 28. 2; Lorber (1979), 92 f., no. 153; Amyx (1988), 598, no. Gr 15. *Photographs*: Milne (both) and Arena cl.; Amyx (1943) only (b) and (c), quite cl.; Richter only (b), quite cl. *Scene*: Three plastic heads between lip and body of the vase, each inscribed underneath. *Date*: c. 550 (Milne (1942b)).

(a) ΦΞΟΓΑ (b) ΗΞΜΒΡΟΞ (c) ΧΑΡΞΤΑ

(a) Φιοπα (b) Ημεροί (c) Χαριτα

(a) Φιόπα, (b) Ημεροί, (c) Χαρίτα.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Hetairai (labels).

Lorber points to the tailed rho in (b), unique for Corinth, alongside a normal one in (c). Yet the loop and tail are joined as one wavy line without a point in between (R), therefore the rho should probably be considered as the P-type with a stronger turn at the bottom of the loop (see §101).

Milne (1942b: 222) took the women for either (immortal) nymphs or (mortal) hetairai. The latter interpretation is now widely accepted, also by Amyx (1943) and (1988); see §308. See §239 for their speaking names.

(a) Arena mentions an Attic hydria, *ABV* 334. 1, on which four girls are fetching water (three are named: *Ιοπε*, *Ποδοπις*, *Κλεο*),<sup>397</sup> and Plut. *Thes.* 29, where *Ίόπη* is the daughter of Iphikles. For more occurrences of this name see Pape-Benseler. On the Attic hydria the second name makes it clear how we have to understand the first: ‘the one with the violet eyes’, just as ‘the one with the rosy face’. The two names in question are always *Ίόπη* and *Ποδόπις*<sup>398</sup> (there is no *\*Ίώπη* or *\*Πόδοπις*); and *Ποδόπη*, whose meaning must be the same as in *Ποδόπις*, is also frequent (see Pape-Benseler). The same meaning must be assumed for the name of our Corinthian lady in view of her companions *Ηιμεροί* and *Χαρίτα* (see also *CHA* 11). It is interesting to note in this connection that the name of *Ίόπη*, daughter of *Ίφικλῆς*, should be understood differently. For the name of the father with (*F*)*ίφι*- suggests that in the daughter’s name one also recognized the element ‘force’ in the first element. Obviously one could understand the names with this element differently (i.e. this is a case of homonymy), which partly settles the debate on their etymology (see §237 at the end). For the second element *-οπη*, too, there are further explanations, apart from ‘eye, face’ (see ad *LAK* 8a). First, the *-π-* could be the remains of the second element of a compound *\*Fιδ-π-* (e.g. *-πάτρα*), i.e. the name could be a hypocoristic name of the type described in §228. This does not seem very attractive for our vase, however, in view of the other two speaking names. Secondly, the element *-οπ-* can represent the meaning ‘voice’ as in the name of the Muse Kalliope or the Siren *Ηιμερόπη* (see ad *COR* 28Ac). But since ‘the one with the forceful voice’ (or ‘with the voice of a violet’) is inappropriate, we should stick to ‘the one with the violet eyes’.

(b) Names with *ἡμερος* are listed by Bechtel, p. 219; for the formation see §236. (c) Arena mentions several occurrences of this name; add *IG* vii. 1494.

## COR GR 23 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-31-548

Fr. of a column krater from Corinth (1931). *Bibliography*: Arena (1967), 92, no. 41, dr. fig. 37; Amyx (1988), 599, no. Gr 23 (bibl.), dr. pl. 143. 5. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 2nd q. 6th cent. (Arena).

Ἀπεί[λ]λόνος ἱμι.

*Epigraphy*: Amyx argues that on the dr. the two non-contiguous frs. are set too close together for a reading *Ἀπεί[λ]λόνος*. This is true, but the form may of course have been *Ἀπείλ(λ)όνος*. *Interpretation*: Dedication (property formula).

For the property formula see §301. For the name of the god see *COR* 20. For the form of the verb see §219.

<sup>397</sup> On the second vase mentioned by Arena, *ARV* 34. 15, it is not certain that the four letters *Ιοπε* stand for this name, nor that they are the flute-player’s label. The other inscs. on this vase are nonsense.

<sup>398</sup> *Ποδόπις* was also a hetaira in the 6th cent. (?) (Bechtel, pp. 394, 473); see also *ABV*, p. 678.

## COR GR 25 ATHENS, NAT. MUS. INV. —

Fr. of a skyphos from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Jeffery (1962), 396, no. 51, dr. pl. 165; Arena (1967), 118, no. 83; Amyx (1988), 599, no. Gr 25 (bibl.). *Date*: mid-6th cent. or earlier (Jeffery).

[Tā]s Qóρῥā[s . . .].

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication (property formula).

For the digamma see §209. For the formula see §301.

## COR GR 26(1) ATHENS, NAT. MUS. INV. —

Fr. Attic skyphos, from Perachora (1930–3). *Bibliography*: Jeffery (1962), 398, ph. pl. 151, dr. pl. 167; Arena (1967), 125, no. 95; Amyx (1988), 599 f., no. Gr 26(1). *Photographs*: Jeffery only *Ερμαν*, cl.

[. . .]λαβέ, δι' Ἑρμᾶν, [. . .].

*Epigraphy*: The alphabet is Corinthian. *Interpretation*: Dedication (metrical?).

The fr. was interpreted by Jeffery as an exhortation to a drinker: λαβέ δι' Ἑρμᾶν 'take here this Hermes-potion', with literary

support (Ἑρμῆν ἔλκεν). Yet, Amyx is right to find the isolated 'deictic' δι' puzzling (the two examples cited by Jeffery are both the demonstrative formation with the article: τῇνδ' δι'). Arena had offered a different transcription: [. . .]λαβέ δι' Ἑρμᾶν[. . .], about which Amyx is even more puzzled. Arena indeed does not make it clear how he understands his transcription. He only refers to Bechtel (1923: 247) for the name of Hermes at Corinth, where under a title Ἑρμᾶς the citation Ἑρμᾶι is given (*IG* ix/1. 722. 4, Roman age), and mentions the lack of aspiration (see §§210, 253), which he interprets as a 'convenzione antica' (what does he mean by that?). I assume therefore that Arena understood: 'take, god-like one, this Hermes-potion'.

There is, however, a better solution, namely to take Ἑρμᾶν as a form of the *n*-stem Ἑρμᾶν < Ἑρμᾶων (the latter Hes. fr. 137 M–W), widely attested in the Peloponnese: in Lakonia *DGE* 8 *Ἑρμᾶνος* (near Sparta), in Messenia *DGE* 74. 33 and 69 Ἑρμᾶνι (Andania, 92 BC), in Arkadia *DGE* 653 *Ἑρμᾶ[νο]ς* (Tegea, 5th cent.), *LSAG* 216. 34 = *DGE* 653 n. Ἑρμᾶνος (Pheneos; 5th/4th cent., photograph *AK* 31, pl. 26). Like this, our inscription may be a dedication to Hermes, addressed directly in the vocative: 'Take (. . .), god-like Hermaon, . . .!' For stylistic reasons I am inclined to assume a metrical text. Three good parallels, although with a different (more subtle?) verb, are *CEG* 367 = *GD* 68 = *DGE* 7 (Lakonian, Olympia, c.490?, also reported by Paus. 5. 24. 3) δέξο Φάναξ Κρονίδᾶ{ι} Δεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, καλὸν ἄγαλμα etc.; *CEG* 418 = *DGE* 207 (Melos, late 6th cent.?) παῖ Διός, Ἑκπῆάντῳ δέκσαι τόδ' ἀμενπῆες ἄγαλμα etc.; *CEG* 345 (Delphi, late 6th cent.?) . . . τὸν δὲ δῆξαι, Φοῖβη Ἀπολ(λ)ον. The requirement of a dactylic structure is also matched, for instance [–]λαβέ, δι' Ἑρμᾶν, [– – – – –]. Possibly a compound verb was used.



## 6. The Corinthian Pinakes

*Introduction:* In 1879 in a clandestine excavation by farmers near Penteskouphia on the slope of Acrocorinth, several hundred fragments of painted clay tablets were found in what seems to have been a waste deposit. They were illegally sold in Athens and the vast majority went to Berlin where they still are (the rest, viz. sixteen, are in Paris). For a discussion of the find see e.g. Rayet (1880), Wilisch (1892), 4 ff. and 31 ff. (no inscriptions). In this century the site was explored again. The new finds are in Corinth, not yet properly published. One piece has been found not in the sanctuary but in the old city (COP 34). Mrs. Wendy Thomas (Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania) is preparing a new complete edition which will cover the art-historical aspects and will also contain new high-quality photographs, which have yet to be taken, as G. Zimmer (Berlin) informs me. Moreover—and very understandably—Mrs. Thomas prefers to reach her conclusions independently. Therefore, the following edition of the inscriptions is provisional in the sense that I have had no more style-based evidence to a chronological order of the texts (and their linguistic data) than those established by Payne (1931) and taken over (which also means confirmed) by Jeffery (1961).

Many of the tablets have suspension holes, mainly in the top corners. They are painted on one or both sides. Predominant subjects are standing Poseidon with trident, Poseidon and Amphitrite facing each other or driving a chariot, and, on the reverse, scenes with kilns and workmen. Many other scenes familiar on Corinthian pottery also occur. A considerable portion of the tablets bear inscriptions (in fact very few exist which are entirely preserved and completely uninscribed), typically dedications (donor's name, ἀνέθεκε, often with Poseidon's name in the dat.) or labels to figures painted (mostly Poseidon).

The standard edition of the inscriptions is in *IG* iv. The following earlier editions will therefore not normally be cited, since they are all out-dated: the first edition of *DGE* (1883); Roberts (1887), 122–5, no. 90; *SGDI* (1899), nos. 3119a–k. Nor do I cite Röhl's new edition (*IIGA*), where just the drawings of *IG* iv are repeated. My own edition is largely based on autopsy, but of course considers *IG* iv and the earlier editions too. I hope that it will encourage further research. The material, which is most fascinating, would surely deserve it.

The function of these pinakes is debated and is discussed in §302 below. Dating is very difficult. Some pieces have been attributed to the usual periods of Corinthian vase-painting, for others nobody has yet hazarded a date. If they are from a deposit which, as far as we can judge, has been exhausted by the excavators, it seems not advisable to assume too long a period.

Particularly the date suggested for COP 1A (end of 6th cent.), which is so much lower than all others that have been offered, for instance for COP 1B and C, may seem problematic.

One Corinthian pinax was found on the Athenian Akropolis. But since its inscription is non-Corinthian, I have given it the label PCO 6 (see ad loc.). I have not included a few very small pinax fragments from the Corinthian Kerameikos<sup>399</sup> and one from Perachora.<sup>400</sup>

### a. Metrical Dedications

°COP 1A–D (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 834  
(INCISED), (B) IBID. F 946, (C) IBID. F 453,  
(D) IBID. F 950

Fr. pinakes from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 108a; Furtwängler (1885), no. 834; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 29. 23; the reverse in Pernice (1897), 36, with dr. fig. 26; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 212; Geffcken (1916), 8, no. 23; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 13; Payne (1931), 113 n. 3; Friedländer–Hoffleit (1948), 39, no. 36a; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 132. 26, dr. pl. 20; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 794a; Hansen, *CEG* (1983), no. 360. (B) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 62; Furtwängler (1885), no. 946; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 213; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 13; Friedländer–Hoffleit (1948), 39, no. 36b; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 794b; Hansen, *CEG* (1983), no. 358. (C) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 63; Furtwängler (1885), no. 453; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 30. 23; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 214; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 794c; Hansen, *CEG* (1983), no. 359. (D) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 64; Furtwängler (1885), no. 950; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 215; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 794d. *Photographs:* —. (B) Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. (A), (C), and (D) vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene:* (A) Part of the bottom of a tablet; *quadriga* in frontal view. On the reverse (no inscr. preserved) a gigantomachy (Pernice). (B) No figs. preserved.

<sup>399</sup> See Boegehold (1984), 359, no. 5 [ . . . ἄγαλμα βία . . . ]: even if the last letters are correctly read, it is by no means certain that we may compare it with COP 18b in view of the occurrence of at least one more letter after the last alpha (e.g. *Βίανδρος*, *Βίανωρ*, Bechtel, p. 93; *Βίαιος*, ibid. 501); the inscr. may have been metrical (see DOC 3). Even more scrappy are the pieces p. 359, no. 7, with a solitary Σ, and p. 360, no. 11, with nonsense on both sides. See COP 34 and *Introd.* to ch. 5 (COR).

<sup>400</sup> Athens, Nat. Mus. Perachora 2267, with a nonsense inscr.; see Hopper (1962), 235, no. 2267, ph. pl. 79 (uncl.), dr. pl. 80, and Jeffery (1962), 394, no. 4, dr. pl. 163 (mentioned by Lorber, p. 30, no. 30).

The reverse is plain. It is not a priori clear, from which corner the fr. is (rather not bottom-r.). (C) Top-r. corner; the small head of a man to l. with an enormous trident. (D) Without original edge according to Fränkel, which is almost true, but the paint of the frame along the upper margin appears at the top corner of the fr. No figs. are preserved or ever existed. The reverse is plain. *Date:* (A) 510–500 (Payne, Jeffery, Hansen); late 6th cent. (Friedländer–Hoffleit). (B) 600–550 (Friedländer–Hoffleit, Hansen). (C) c.575–550 or later (Boardman *apud* Hansen). (D) —.

(A) ACCBΞΓAMTVΔΒΔΟ ΡΞΒΜΑΜΑΜΟΞΕΦΑΝ

(B) (a) ΟΡΜΑΝ (b) (←) ΔΟΞΧΑΡΞΒΜΑ

(C) ΜΤΥΔΒΔΟΜΧΑΡΞΒΜΑΝ

(D) ΘΒΚΒ (←) ΔΑΝΞΕ (→) ΥΔΒΔ

(A) [. . .]παγγειλαστυδεδο[. . .]ριεσαναμοιFαν

(B) (a) [. . .] ορμαν[. . .] (b) [. . .]δοιχαριεσα[. . .]

(C) [. . .] στυδεδοσχαριεσαν[. . .]

(D) [. . .]θεκε . . . [?] δανιF[. . .] υδεδ[. . .] [ . . . ]

(A) [— — — — —]

δδρον ? ἐ]παγγείλας· τὸ δὲ δδ[ς χα]ρίεσ(σ)αν ἀμοιFάν.

(B) [ . . . -ā] γδρ μ' ἀν[έ]θεκε . . .

— — — — τὸ δὲ]δοι χαρίεσ(σ)αν [ἀμοιFάν].

(C) [— — — — —]

— — — — ] . . . τὸ δὲ δδς χαρίεσ(σ)αν [ἀμοιFάν].

(D) [ . . . μ' ἀνέ]θεκε [Ποτ[ε?]ιδάνι F[ἀνακτι

— — — —] τὸ δὲ δδς [χα]ρίεσ(σ)αν ἀμοιFάν].

*Epigraphy:* (A) Incised upside-down along the lower margin. If the *quadriga* was placed symmetrically on the tablet, just over 2 cm. are missing to the r., i.e. c.6–8 letters. The initial letter, read as a san by Röhl and Fränkel, is probably not a san, not so much because its remaining stroke does not reach the ground line (the mu in this inscr. looks exactly like the san), but because it is perfectly vertical. The oblique line coming in from the break, which suggested a san, is non-existent; the area is damaged. The only plausible letter is pi. What is preserved of the inscr. is the longer part of a hexameter, which was probably preceded by another line (Friedländer–Hoffleit). It would otherwise be odd that a single line, added after the painting, was written upside-down. To judge from the painted scene, the height of the tablet must have been approximately its present width, which fits the assumption of two lines, the first of which would have started in the top-r. corner. A total of three lines is less likely, since with a start in the top-l. corner the third line would have started somewhere in the mid-r. margin and less of it would be preserved. (B) Faint letters, but on the whole clear. The inscr. has been taken as the end of a hexameter line ever since Röhl: [. . . δὲ]δοι χαρίεσ(σ)αν [ἀ]φορμάν. The dr. in Röhl shows some of the vertical line of the first nu, of which, in fact, very little is preserved. The big semicircle between the nu and the omicron, which he took for a phi, does not exist (this was already pointed out by Furtwängler). And the original layout of the text shows immediately that a link

between χαρίεσ(σ)αν and -ορμάν is impossible to achieve for epigraphical reasons. Our interpretation of the inner text, whose first letter could well be a nu, finds some support in the fact that after the rho the letters are bigger, which seems to indicate word-end, a slight pause, and a new start. (C) The inscr. comes in from top-l., turns downwards passing the suspension hole and disappears again. Fränkel shows traces of one or two letters in front of -ς τὸ etc. Hansen reads [. . .]ῃς, the first letter according to him was α, γ, or σ. If Fränkel's traces represent two letters, the first could indeed be α, γ, F, ι, λ, π, (ρ), ρ, σ, τ, υ, φ, χ, ψ, and the second, which must be a vowel, ξ and ε. The dr. in *AntDenkm* suggests an iota. Autopsy showed that for this second trace iota is more likely than epsilon; on the other hand, I could not see the preceding trace. Or should we—comparing (A)—assume that both traces belonged to a single letter, an alpha, being in an oblique position because the inscr. was just turning from vertical to horizontal? We can hardly decide. (D) Röhl's and Fränkel's drs. are very accurate. See the discussion below. *Interpretation:* Metrical dedications—(D) certainly to Poseidon—of the type: ' . . . having promised a gift. Now, you, give welcome recompense!'

(A) The participle ἀγγείλας, fully preserved in (A) and perhaps partly in (C), has always been referred to the deity as the subject. The following particle δέ, however, suggests that what preceded referred to the donor. This is confirmed by my reading of a compound [ἐ]παγγείλας and the assumption, on epigraphical grounds, of a preceding line. We have to understand: ' . . . having promised a gift. Now, you, give welcome recompense!' (for 'gift', δδρον would fit at the beginning of the line; but see COP 2), and the easiest reconstruction is of course a first line of the type, X μ' ἀνέθεκε ΠοτεδάFωνι Fάνακτι 'X offered me to King Poseidon . . .' as in COP 2–4. This was a standard offering formula attested from archaic times (see below, CEG 326, and §303).

Arena (1967: 133) briefly mentions his suspicion that this participle is a non-Corinthian form.<sup>401</sup> This view is only partly justified, since in Corinth the *form* would not have been different. We would expect [angēlās] < \*angelsants, and there is no reason to doubt that this verb with its aorist existed also in the Corinthian dialect. On the other hand, Arena is right to point to the *spelling* βξ.<sup>402</sup> In the present case, however, this is a spurious-diphthong spelling for secondary [ē] and we should not therefore rush to compare it (as Arena does) with the cases of Ποτειδάν or Ποτειδάν (see §255). For in the god's name, which contained a real diphthong, a Corinthian could find diphthong spelling in nearby Sikyon, Kleonai, Megara, and indeed all over the Greek

<sup>401</sup> 'Già ACCBΞΓAM nel suo singolare artificio (ved. Ποτβξδαν per Ποτεδαν su iscrizioni antiche) mi induce nel sospetto che si tratti di travestimento di forma non corinzia.'

<sup>402</sup> Does he mean this spelling when he says that this inscr. generally 'pare tradire l'influsso di una tradizione diversa da quella che sinora ha tenuto il campo'? For the 'tradition' as such, i.e. the formula τὸ δὲ δδς (or δίδοι) χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιFάν, is the same as in the earlier inscs. (B)–(D).

world, whereas in the case of the spurious diphthong *ει* (as well as *ου*) the spelling with one letter prevailed both in Mainland Greece and in Asia Minor still in the fifth century.<sup>403</sup> Our spelling <ει> (see §505), as well as that of the velar nasal with gamma, i.e. East Greek <γγ> instead of expected Mainland Greek <νγ> (see §114), must be considered a reflection of written poetic texts (see §503).

The spelling *ἀμοιFάν*, however, cannot claim to have been East Greek. Its [w] instead of [b] is puzzling. Unfortunately, in the archaic parallel text *CEG* 326 *Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθεκε Φεκᾶβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι | τὰς δεκάτας τὴν δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίFετταν ἀμοι .[άν]* (Boiotia, c.700–675)<sup>404</sup> the letter in question is just not legible, and in *CEG* 426 [. . . ᾠ]νασσα δίδω χαρίεσ[σαν . . .] (Smyrna, c.500?), as well as in our (B)–(D), it is broken off altogether. It is true that [w] after a diphthong is always written in our 6th-cent. Corinthian inscriptions and was very probably pronounced in that position (see §209; in [χα]ρίεσ(σ)αν, i.e. between plain vowels, it is dropped, see §506). Therefore Kretschmer (p. 48 with n. 1) accepted J. Schmidt's objections to the view that *ἀμοιFάν* was the same as *ἀμοιβήν* in *Od.* 3. 58 *δίδου χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιβήν*, and analysed our noun as \**ἀμοF-jā*, comparing it with the rare future and aorist stem *ἀμεν-σ-*. This stem occurs as *ἀμεFύσασθαι* (i.e. *ἀμεύσασθαι*) and *ἀμεύσονται* in the meaning of 'exchange' in two Cretan inscriptions, and with a second meaning 'excel' in literature (Pind. and Euph.).<sup>405</sup>

Yet in view of the identity of the Cretan meaning of *ἀμεν-σ-* and that of *ἀμείβω*, *ἀμοιβή*, as well as *ἀμοιFάν*, and in view of the identity of our Corinthian formula with that in the *Odyssey*, we surely cannot separate the two stems. We can bring them closer together also from a formal perspective. For the *i*-diphthong, as we seem to have it in *ἀμοιFάν*, is a constant feature also of the stem with [b], and there is also a suitable IE root containing it, \**h<sub>2</sub>mei-* 'change', from which *ἀμειβ-* and *ἀμοιβ-* (*o*-grade) could be extended variants. This is Chantraine's view (see s.v. *ἀμείβω*), who claims an extension \*-*g<sup>w</sup>*-. If we accept the possibility of such extensions, our Doric forms could contain a similarly extended root, of which *ἀμοιFάν* would be the feminine noun in *-ā* of the type *φορᾶ*, and the verbal stem *ἀμεν-σ-* a phonological simplification (from \**ameim-s-*). In view of this possibility, Schmidt's and Kretschmer's analysis \**ἀμοF-jā* seems less likely.

But, of course, it is odd to assume two different extensional suffixes, \*-*g<sup>w</sup>*- and \*-*w*-. We may consider two possibilities: (i) *ἀμειβ-* is primary, *ἀμειF-* secondary, or (ii) vice versa. Both versions are difficult. As for version (ii), we may feel uneasy, since *ἀμειβ-* (with *ἀμειψ-*) is frequent already in the Homeric epics.

Version (i), on the other hand, does not seem easier either. For as Chantraine (s.v. *ἀμείβω*) remarks, a suffix \*-*g<sup>w</sup>*- is hard to find elsewhere (and \*-*b-* would be even more so); on the other hand, an extension \*-*w*- is more widespread, for instance in *ποιFέω* / *-ποιFός*, *δαίω* < \**da-w-jō*, as well as in *σεύομαι* / *έσσυτο* as opposed to *έκικε* (*κίω*) (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.vv.). In view of that, even a phonological explanation which may justify our *ἀμοιFάν* as a secondary form can hardly be satisfactory. It was Fränkel who claimed a similar pronunciation of the sounds of <β> and <F> at a very early period,<sup>406</sup> adducing Argive *Βορθαγόρᾱς* (see also Bechtel, p. 18). This was a wrong reading, however.<sup>407</sup> The good examples of <β> for expected [w] are all later (from the mid-fifth century onwards),<sup>408</sup> and they are of little value for the present question, since they testify to a rapid take-over of the Ionic alphabet rather than to a particularly [w]-like pronunciation of <β>, which simply was the closest available letter to render [w] when <F> was no longer in use. We may also try to argue that digamma is used for beta in our inscription *COP* 1A because at the time in question (late 6th cent.) [w] was no longer spoken and digamma was free for different uses.<sup>409</sup> But this would be a singular case, and why should an obsolete letter be applied instead of one which was in current use and clearly pronounced? Moreover, as we have seen, \*-*w*- is the 'better' suffix, and—more importantly—the explanation of a phonological similarity between digamma and beta does not work for the Cretan and lyric *ἀμεν-σ-*, which cannot be explained from \**ameig<sup>w</sup>-s-*.

We may therefore prefer version (ii). Two things may be considered in this connection. First, the formula *δίδοι* (or . . . *δὲ δὸς*) *χαρίFεσσαν ἀμοιFάν* (*vel sim.*) must have been used in different parts of Greece and for different gods at least from the early seventh century, and we cannot possibly assert that all epigraphical attestations, from Boiotia (Apollon), Smyrna (a goddess, probably Artemis), and Corinth (Poseidon) depend on the single Homeric line *Od.* 3. 58 (Poseidon), especially since the Boiotian attestation is hardly, if at all, younger than the *Odyssey*, and since its feature *δίδοι* is clearly non-Homeric (see below). Rather the Homeric prayer formula must be taken from everyday life<sup>410</sup> (it is an important piece of evidence for an oral tradition of *hexametrical prayers* said at the occasion of dedications to gods (see also §303). Now, the attestations of *ἀμειF-* suggest that this form of the root was widespread in the Greek dialects other than Ionic and Attic. We have the verb *ἀμεύσασθαι* in the Doric marginal dialect of Crete and in Pindar's Boiotian dialect or poetic language tradition. The noun *ἀμοιFά* is attested in Doric Corinth and (with uncertain spelling) in Boiotia (the noun in the inscription from Smyrna is unfortunately broken off, as mentioned; if it existed,

<sup>403</sup> See e.g. *LSAG* 344. 52 = *DGE* 701 *ὁφέλῃν, ἐ(π)[α]γγελάτων, τραπεζῆς, and βολομένωι, νόμῳς* etc. (Erythrai, c.465?). In metrical East Ionic inscrs. we find, e.g., *CEG* 167. 4 *τὸ* 'whose' (Chios, c.400?), uncertain *CEG* 426 *δίδω* (see below); see also *CEG* 172 and 427. The verb *εἶμι* in *LSAG* 343. 29 (Miletos, 550–540?) is a special case in view of the fact that in Attic it was always written with diphthong (see §219).

<sup>404</sup> Before *δεκάτας* an indistinct letter (not necessarily a delta) seems to have been erased.

<sup>405</sup> See *LSJ*, s.v., with *Addenda*. It is also used in a proper name on Crete, see Bile (1988), 184 with n. 141.

<sup>406</sup> See also Schwyzler, pp. 224 n. 6, and 273.

<sup>407</sup> See *LSAG* 168. 7 with ph. pl. 26; the inscr. is now dated to about 575–550.

<sup>408</sup> See e.g. Buck, §51, and most recently Masson (1990).

<sup>409</sup> For [w] in its several positions see §§206 ff.

<sup>410</sup> Strunk (1961: 119 n. 1) clearly shows that the *do ut des* principle in dealing with the gods is an PIE feature, also well observable e.g. in the *Rig-veda*; see also below, on (B).

we should remember that Smyrna was an old Aiolic settlement and very close to the East Aiolic area even in later times; see ad PCO 5). We may therefore consider that the Ionic dialect, perhaps first in eastern Greece and in the sphere of prayer and epic poetry, took over \**ἀμείλω* and *ἀμοιῶ* from some dialect (East Aiolic?) which still pronounced the digamma, and made up a metrically equivalent pseudo-digamma version with [b].<sup>411</sup> Of course one had quickly to adjust the rest of the paradigm too, notably by creating a labial aorist stem *ἀμειψ-*<sup>412</sup> instead of the simplified version *ἀμευσ-* (< \**ameims-*) developed by the other dialects. The new *b*-forms will have been spread already in (pre-)Homeric times, not only through poetry but also, for instance, in the sphere of trade.

This possibility (ii) seems particularly attractive if we contrast *ἀμοιῶ* and *-αγγείλας* of our inscription. For in view of the fact that the verb *ἀμείβομαι* is by no means rare in Homer the occurrence of *ἀμοιῶ-* not *ἀμοιβ-* together with the East Greek <γγ> and literary <ει> (see above) makes it likely that *ἀμοιῶ* was genuine Corinthian, i.e. that *ἀμοιῶ* and \**ἀμείφομαι* were original Doric (and Aiolic) forms.<sup>413</sup>

And the different meanings of the verb *ἀμείψασθαι*? Considering the formulaic use of *ἀμοιβή* as ‘recompense’ in dealing with the gods and the fact that the clever dealer—which the archaic Greeks certainly were—always aims at getting a bit more back than he has invested, the shift from ‘exchange’ (Crete) to ‘surpass’ (literature) is easily understandable.

If we turn to fragment (B), the drawing shows that in order to save Röhl’s reading we would have to accept both a wide gap for the alpha and an unjustifiable change in the direction of script. The solution must be different: there was no such formula as *χαρίεσαν ἀφορμάν* (which would have an odd meaning too). The inner part is more likely to be a different part of the inscription, best interpreted as the end of the donor’s name (e.g. *Ἀγάνδρ* as on COR 85) and the beginning of *μὲν ἀνέθεκε*. This allows us to stick to the normal formula *χαρίεσ(σ)αν [ἀμοιῶ]* for the outer part. As for the order of the two parts, it is more logical to write first the donation and then the wish for recompense,<sup>414</sup> which order is confirmed by inscription (D) and in particular by CEG 326,

<sup>411</sup> In a dialect which did no longer have the phoneme /w/, /b/ was the closest alternative.

<sup>412</sup> The use of *ἀμειψ-* forms in Homer, it is true, is formulaic inasmuch as they are almost always (9 times) placed after the caesura *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον*, even with preverb (*Il.* 6. 230); exceptions are *Il.* 23. 542, *Od.* 6. 310, *h. Cer.* 276. Particularly clear formulae are *ἀμείβεται ἔρκος δδόντων* (*Il.* 9. 409, *Od.* 10. 328) and *ἀμείψασθαι ἐπέεσσιν* (*Il.* 23. 489 and *Od.* 4. 286). But formulae could always be transferred if metrically equivalent forms were available; i.e. in the present case traditional *ἀμευσ-* may have been replaced by the newly created *ἀμειψ-*. Therefore this is no strong argument for *ἀμειψ-* being an old formation in Ionic.

<sup>413</sup> The two direct attestations of this stem that are earlier than our Corinthian one, namely *LSAG* 358. 48 *Ἀμοιβίχῳ* (Abou Simbel, Greeks from the Doric Hexapolis, c. 589 BC) and *LSAG* 87. 9 = *DGE* 800 [*ἀμείπσονται*] (Eretria, 550–525?) would cause no problems to our explanation (ii). For they are both much later than our postulated creation and diffusion of the ‘new’ stem *ἀμειψ-*/*ἀμειψ-*, and both the dialects in south-west Asia Minor and that of Eretria (ibid. *ποιέι, ποιέ[ν]*) had long lost the digamma sound in this position.

<sup>414</sup> The above-mentioned passage from the *Odyssey* is not sufficiently stereotyped and formulaic to be compared.

cited above. But since on the fragment the outer part is on top of the inner part, which would suggest the reverse sequence, we should perhaps turn the fragment through 90° clockwise (so that it represents the top-r. corner) and suppose the inscription to have started, for instance, at the back of a horse or a horseman to l. (see COP 12).

On the form *δίδοι*, clearly preserved in (B) and paralleled in the Boiotian inscriptions CEG 326 (see above) and CEG 334 *δίδοι δ’ ἀρ(ε)τάν [τε καὶ ὄλβον]* (c. 550–525?), where it is at the same place in the hexameter, see Strunk (1961). He argues that *δίδοι* in these three inscriptions as well as in Pindar (*Ol.* 1. 85, 6. 104, 7. 89, 13. 115, less typical *Nem.* 5. 50) is used to claim the due recompense from the god and has not an optative, but a fairly strong imperative meaning (Strunk cites other occurrences of *δίδου* and *δός* in similar contexts). So the old explanation (by J. Wackernagel) of a *δίδου* which would have been transformed by analogy with optative forms is implausible. Strunk (pp. 121 f.) suggests that *δίδοι* is analogous to the second person singular *δίδοις*, which is attested for Aiolic (probably Lesbian lyric) by Herodian (ii, p. 111. 17), and therefore shows a Lesbian feature.<sup>415</sup> Since in Pindar there are several such Lesbian-looking forms (3rd person pl. *φέρουσι*, acc. pl. *δίσκοις*, etc.) the occurrence in choral lyric is no surprise (p. 123). In the case of the Boiotian and Corinthian examples, however, ‘muß man berücksichtigen, daß sie, wie sich gezeigt hat, eine alte poetische Formel enthalten. Die Sprache dieser Formel kann darum in der gleichen Tradition stehen, aus der heraus die Äolismen bei Pindar zu erklären sind.’

If Strunk’s explanation is correct, we can ask some more questions. The form *δίδοι* in the Boiotian dedication CEG 326 of c. 700–675 is nearly contemporary with the Homeric epics, yet is a feature not shared by them, although the formula in which it occurs (also attested later at Smyrna and Corinth) is found once in Homer too. This kind of use is later typical of choral lyric and from its content belongs to the sphere of invocation of the gods for recompense of human efforts. Now, in Homer, as well as in East Ionia (Smyrna, CEG 426, cited above) and similarly in Attica (CEG 258 and 313 *ἀντιδίδο*, c. 490–480? and c. 480–460, respectively),<sup>416</sup> the form in question is *δίδο* (written *δίδου* in our literary texts). What tradition was responsible for the distribution of our feature *δίδοι*, for whose creation only the Lesbian dialect provided the necessary background and parallels? We shall try to find an answer in the final section of this book (§508).

Fragment (C) does not contribute any new features (at the beginning it may show the end of the participle *-αγγείλας*, discussed above).

<sup>415</sup> ‘Die *i*-Diphthong enthaltenden Verbalformen des Lesbischen wie *φαῖσ(θα)* erklären sich als Verallgemeinerungen des Diphthongs der 3. pl., der dort vor *-νσ-* lautgesetzlich entstanden war. Eine 3. pl. \**διδονσι* mußte also zu \**διδουσι* werden und konnte ebensogut eine 2. sg. *δίδοις* nach sich ziehen wie *φαῖσι* ein *φαῖσ(θα)* bewirkt hat.’

<sup>416</sup> In CEG 321a from Euboia only *ἀν[.]* is preserved.

The fourth fragment, (D), allows the restoration of the whole tablet with some probability. (1) The top corner does not show any remains of letters but part of the frame-paint of the upper margin. Therefore  $-\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon$  etc. is likely to belong to the first line of what seems to have been a regular and continuous *boustrophedon* inscription. (2) Under  $\tau\upsilon\delta\epsilon\delta[\delta\varsigma\ldots]$  there are traces of a fourth line which can be more precisely described than has been done before. The first letter (coming in from the r.) ended in an oblique stroke pointing upwards (i.e.  $\xi$ ,  $\mathbb{M}$ ,  $\Upsilon$ ,  $X$ ), the second had a symmetrical top angle (A,  $\Delta$ , less likely  $\Gamma$ ). (3) The short passage  $\tau\upsilon\delta\epsilon\delta[\delta\varsigma\ldots]$ , which must have been one of few stereotyped versions in this kind of dedication, suggests that the inscription is metrical. Because of the continuity and regularity of the text on our fragment, the first part with  $-\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon$  therefore could be metrical also, probably from a preceding line (see above). (4) In the first line, immediately after  $\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon$ , we may expect the name of the god,<sup>417</sup> and indeed the tiny traces fit  $\Pi\omicron\tau$  very well, as Furtwängler has already noticed. He assumed that in the second line before the iota, which is certain, there was the sign of an [e] vowel in the bend, now lost. Whether this [e] has to be restored or not, is uncertain both from the epigraphical and phonological point of view (for the form with a simple iota counted long see e.g. COP 2A). But it is clear that this brings the end of the lines to the r. very close to the edge of our fragment. (5) On the l. side, however, the end would have to be far away, since in the first line the name of the donor, the pronoun, and the first letters of the verb, and in the 2nd/3rd lines  $-\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\iota$  plus the first half of a hexameter would have to fit in. (6) The traces of the two letters in the fourth line perfectly suit the first two letters of the expected word  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma(\sigma)\alpha\nu$ . I have added a drawing with the restoration according to the text of COP 1A, which would suit well and would fill up almost exactly four lines (the donor's name, which is of course no more than a guess, is taken from COP 3).

Nevertheless, there is one problem: the god's name is not in its hexametrical form (for which see COP 2–4). Either we assume that the first 'line' (up to  $\text{F}\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\iota$ ) is not metrical at all, which could be because the donor's name was disyllabic, for instance. Or we assume that it is meant to be metrical. In that case the writer may have been just not careful enough to replace the normal form of the god's name with the obsolete poetic one. But we may also remember the frequent cases in Homer, called *diektasis*, where contracted forms were secondarily read (and written) with their original number of syllables by splitting up the vowel which resulted from the contraction (see Chantraine (1942), 75 ff.). Like this, our name could be imagined  $\Pi\omicron\tau\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\alpha}\nu\iota$  and the metre would be restored (another possible case is COP 13; see also §416 with n. 1039).<sup>418</sup> We cannot decide, but the fragment remains an

important piece of evidence, first, for the metrical formula  $\tau\upsilon\delta\epsilon\delta\delta\varsigma$  etc., and, secondly, for the possibility of adding it directly to a standard dedication, metrical or not (another such case may hide in the fragmentary piece COP 50).

\*<sup>o</sup>COP 2A–C (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 524 + 694, (B) PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 209, (C) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 495 + 513

Fr. pinakes from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 61 + 68 (see p. 170); Furtwängler (1885), no. 524 + 694; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 29. 10; Pernice (1897), 22 f.; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 222; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 4; Friedländer–Hoffleit (1948), 18 f., no. 11b; Arena (1966), 475 ff.; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 817a. (B) Collignon (1886), 27, with dr. fig. 5; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 223; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 817b. (C) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 114; Furtwängler (1885), no. 495 + 513; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 1; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 224; ph. Kern (1913), no. 9; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 5 (only (a) and (b)); Payne (1931), 104; Neugebauer (1932), 25, ph.pl. 15; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 15; ph. Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni (1976), no. 232; Lorber (1979), 53, no. 72, ph. pl. 16; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 817c; *LIMC* i, 'Amphitrite' 26\*, ph. pl. 580; Schefold (1993), 217, with ph. fig. 226; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 114\*, dr. pl. 360. *Photographs*: (A) —; vidi 27 Sept. 1991. (B) —; vidi 6 Aug. 1990. (C) Kern quite cl.; Neugebauer sm.; Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni, Lorber, *LIMC*, and Schefold quite cl.; vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: (A) Joined by Pernice. Bottom-r. corner; a *quadriga*. On the reverse a kiln scene. (B) Top-r. corner; four horses' heads (i.e. a *quadriga*), an owl on the reins. The reverse is plain. (C) A man (a) and a woman (b) in a chariot. *Date*: (C) 600–575 (Payne, Jeffery); 1st third 6th cent. (*LIMC*); c.580 (Schefold).

(A)  $\text{AN}\theta\text{B}\kappa\text{B}\Gamma\text{OT}\xi\Delta\text{AFOM}\xi\text{FANAT}\xi\text{AYTO}\Gamma\text{OK}\xi\text{A}$

(B)  $\text{OM}\xi\text{FAN}\xi\text{MT}\xi\text{AYTO}$

(C) (a)  $(\leftarrow)\Gamma\text{OTB}\xi\Delta\text{AN}$ , (b)  $\text{AN}\phi\xi\text{TP}\xi\text{TA}$ ,

(c)  $(\leftarrow)\text{NAKT}\xi\text{AY}$

(A)  $[\ldots]\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\text{ποτι}\delta\alpha\text{F}\omicron\nu\iota\text{F}\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\text{ποκ}\iota\alpha[\ldots]$

(B)  $[\ldots]\omicron\nu\iota\text{F}\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\tau\omicron}[\ldots]$

(C) (a)  $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\nu$ , (b)  $\text{A}\nu\phi\iota\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha[\ldots?]$ , (c)  $[\ldots\text{F}]\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\alpha\nu\tau[\ldots]$

(A)  $[-\xi- \mu']\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\text{ΠοτῖδᾶFῶνι Fάνατ(τ)ι αὐτό ποκ'ῖα}[\ldots]$ .

(B)  $[-\xi- \mu']\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\text{ΠοτῖδᾶF}[\omicron\nu\iota\text{Fάνακτι αὐτό}[\ldots]$ .

(C) (a)  $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , (b)  $\text{A}\nu\phi\iota\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\tilde{\alpha}$ . (c)  $[\ldots\text{F}]\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\alpha\nu\tau[\acute{\omicron}\ldots]$ .

*Epigraphy*: (A) comes in from above along the r. margin, turns round at the bottom and disappears again upwards. Before the final break, part of the surface covering about the area of one letter is chipped off (damaging the alpha slightly), so that it is by

<sup>417</sup> As e.g. in COP 2A, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, with the article COP 7, 9, 18.

<sup>418</sup> Other metrical restorations of the line are less likely, e.g.  $\ldots\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon(\nu)\Pi\omicron\tau\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\text{Fάνακτι}$  (for  $\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon$  without preverb and augment see *CEG* 218, 285, 305 etc. from Athens), or  $\ldots\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon(\nu)\Pi\omicron\tau\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\text{Fάνακτι}$ .

no means clear that the inscr., as has been always assumed, is complete at the end. Furtwängler's reading *ΠοτιδαπολιΦανατι*, which was taken over by all later editors, is wrong; the letters -*Φον*- are quite clear on the original. (*B*) comes in along the upper margin from the l., immediately starts turning round and disappears again to l. along the horses' backs, now upside-down. The first and last letters are omicrons, the third is a clear iota. (*C*) (*a*) is leading downwards. (*b*) is probably complete. (*c*) Of this inscr., which must have been much longer, only a small looping section is preserved, coming in from the r. and disappearing to the r. again. The two fragmentary letters are certain. *Interpretation*: Metrical dedications to Poseidon. On (*C*) also labels (Poseidon and Amphitrite).

For two reasons these three inscriptions may be grouped together. First, they seem to share the sequence *Φανακτιαντο* (*vel sim.*). Secondly, this sequence in all three cases is placed in a loop within a long inscription: in (*A*) -*Φον*-, in (*B*) -*ιστι*-, in (*C*) -*ακτι*-, i.e. always the end of Poseidon's name or his *Φάναξ* epithet, which regularly follows the name, form the central part of the loop. Since both (*A*) and (*B*) contain the long form of the god's name and therefore suggest metrical texts (see §506), in which the epithet *Φάνακτι* normally forms the end of a line, it is likely that all three inscriptions are metrical and consist of two lines, the first of which ends with *Φάνακτι*, and the second begins with *αὐτό*.

The great efforts to justify the reading *ΠοτιδαπολιΦανατι* in (*A*) (Furtwängler etc., best 'interpreted' by Arena), have been, alas, in vain, since on the original there is the normal and common formula.<sup>419</sup> Apart from our Corinthian dedications to Poseidon Anax, we have analogous ones to Zeus Kronion Anax (CEG 362 = GD 97; CEG 384), and *Ποσειδάωνι* (*Φ*) *ἄνακτι* is well attested as a line-end formula in Homer.<sup>420</sup> Other interesting matters remain, however. First, there is the spelling <τ> for [kt] in *Φανατι*, which is paralleled in Corinth and elsewhere (see §212). Our case confirms that there is real assimilation, i.e. long [tt] (for its rendering with a single letter see §113), not just loss of [k], i.e. short [t], since the resulting sound must still produce a long syllable in the metre. Secondly, there is the spelling with iota in the god's name. As it occurs on other pinakes it is hardly a mistake. Two interpretations seem possible. Either it reflects a different formation *\*Potī-dāōn* instead of *\*Potei-dāōn*; or it reflects the normal stem but with a pronunciation [ī] of the original diphthong. The metre strongly suggests that the latter is the case (see §§219, 255).

One major problem is presented by the final letters. Röhl suggests reading those in (*A*) as "*αὐτόπο[ε]ια* i.e. *αὐτόποια* ab

*ipso confecta*",<sup>421</sup> comparing the alleged *ΟΒΞ* with *ΑΒ* (attested, if correctly read, in COR 57/ *Αἰθῶν*). However, this does not bear closer examination. Not only does he have to assume a mistake (κ for β), but we would also rather expect *ΟΒ* or *ΟΕ* (never attested in Corinth) than *ΟΒΞ*, since *ΒΞ* is a very exceptional combination of letters (see (*C*) below, and §219) and would hardly have suggested itself as a possibility of writing the second element of the diphthong (or the intervocalic front vowel) in question. One also wonders what noun might be implied. The normal word for our objects is *πίναξ* (masc.), whereas the only feminine word I can find, *σανίς*, always designates wooden boards, and a neuter plural form (of *πινάκιον*) does not make much sense. Arena in turn tries to stick to *αυτοποκία*. Retaining the meaning suggested by Röhl, he tries to connect -*ποκία* with *πέσσω*. But this creates new problems. First, as Arena himself notices, this would have to be from 'più antico *\*αὐτοποπία* con dissimilazione progressiva (. . .) rispetto a *ἀρτοκόπος* da *ἀρτοπόπος*. Se la forma *\*αὐτοπόπια* che presuppone *αὐτοπόπος* sia creazione momentanea dell'artista sul modello di *ἀρτοπόπος* o risponda ad un uso diffuso tra i vasai, mi è difficile stabilirlo. I *πίνακες* sarebbero indicati come "di propria fabbricazione" mediante l'aggettivo sostantivato *αὐτοπόκια*."<sup>422</sup> Secondly, the compound itself is odd. Either it is an adjective, in which case the gender and formation is odd; or it is a noun (type *αὐτουργία*), in which case the syntactical connection with *ἀνέθεκε* creates a difficulty. Thirdly, *πέσσω* in a concrete sense is only used of cooking (or digesting) food. The verb for firing pottery and tiles is *οπτάω*.<sup>423</sup> I cannot see how we may follow this track. But as mentioned, it is not certain, indeed not even likely, that the inscription is complete.

Perhaps we should try *αὐτό ποκ' ἴα* [. . .] *vel sim.* For *αὐτό* see BOI 4C, for *πόκ(α)* at Corinth see CEG 131 [*εὐθυδρ*] *ον ποκ' ἐναίομες ἄστν* *Qorínthō* (480 BC). For *ἴα* [. . .] there are several possible roots, for example those of *ἰάινω*, *ἰάομαι*, *ἰάπτω*, *ἰάχω*, whose meanings, however, are hardly suitable if we expect something like 'having promised this formerly', as with [*ε*] *παγγείλας* of COP 1. The fact that of the verbs in question only *ἰάομαι* has a long [i] is less worrying, since metrical lengthening could cure this problem. The best-suited connection seems to be *ἰάλλω* 'send, throw'. Not only is *ἀγγέλλω* 'carry a message', whose compound with *ἐπ*- means 'promise', in the same sphere, but also in Latin the verb *promittō* is a compound of 'send, throw'. Although the meaning 'promise' is not attested for *ἰάλλω*, we may assume that this second line could have been *αὐτό ποκ' ἴα* [*λας*· τὸ δὲ δὸς χαρίεσ(σ)αν ἄμουΦάν]. An alternative, possible in (*B*) and (*C*), may have been *αὐτό γ' ἐπαγγείλας* etc., which would yield an easy link with COP 1. At any rate, the first half of the second line must have allowed some variation.

<sup>419</sup> Instead of the lambda, Pernice correctly read the nu, but he too stuck to the pi instead of digamma. From now on, both the suspected epithet *\*πολιΦάναξ* and the short dat. sg. *Ποτῖδᾶ(ι)* can be disregarded. Also, the writer was not, as Amyx (p. 604 with n. 18) claims, an 'illiterate or poorly literate person'.

<sup>420</sup> *Il.* 15. 57 and 158; *Od.* 3. 43 and 54, 9. 412 and 526, 11. 130, 13. 185, 23. 277; other case-forms only in the *Il.*: the acc. 15. 8, the gen. 20. 67. The end of the line is generally the favourite position of *ἄνακτι*, *ἄνακτος* etc.

<sup>421</sup> Friedländer-Hoffleit print the form *αὐτοπόεια* centred under the hexameter, which gives a wrong impression of the inscr.

<sup>422</sup> I do not understand the accentuation of this 'aggettivo sostantivato'.

<sup>423</sup> 'Burnt tiles' are *πλύνθαι ὀπταί*: Hdt. 1. 180. 2 and 186. 2; Ar. *Av.* 552; Xen. *An.* 2. 4. 12. See also Hdt. 1. 179. 1 *ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλύνθους ἱκανὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμύνοισι*; 4. 164. 3 *ἐν τῇ καμύνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτήναι*. Later, Philo *Conf.* 101 *πυροῦντες δὲ τὰς πλύνθους*.

How the odd spelling *Ῥάνιστι* in (B) instead of normal *Ῥάνακτι* could be explained, I do not know. Although the letters are well painted, we may have to assume that the writer was illiterate.

As for (C), the old diphthong in (a) is exceptionally written with two signs (see §255), which must be due to foreign influence, either of pronunciation or of spelling. The rendering of the labial nasal in (b) with <ν> is frequent (see §114).

°COP 3 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 476 + 454

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 7, only the long part of (b); Furtwängler (1885), no. 476 + 454; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1893–4) 24. 21; Pernice (1897), 16 f.; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 211; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 2; Payne (1931), 97 f.; Friedländer–Hoffleit (1948), 18, no. 114, only (b); Buck, *GD* (1955), no. 92a; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 124, 126, 131. 8, dr. pl. 19; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 58; Lorber (1979), 14, no. 12 (with dr.), ph. pl. 2; *LIMC* i, ‘Amphitrite’ 10, dr. pl. 577; Hansen, *CEG* (1983), no. 357; Amyx (1988), 608, no. 36 in the list. *Photographs*: Lorber mostly invis. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Joined by Pernice. Poseidon to r., labelled (a) on his robe, holding his trident. He is facing another bearded figure with dark skin, who is holding a sceptre (no name preserved). Pernice identified the figure as Zeus, correcting Furtwängler.<sup>424</sup> *Date*: Pre-Corinthian (Payne); c.650–625 (Jeffery,<sup>425</sup> Hansen); PC (Lorber); no later than mid-6th cent. (Friedländer–Hoffleit); 2nd h. 7th cent. (Lazzarini); c.630 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΓΟΤΕΔ (b) ΜΞΜΞΟΝΜΑΜΒΘΚΒΓΟΤΕΔΑΦΟΜ ΤΞ  
(a) Ποτεδα[. . .] (b) ΣιμιονμανεθκεποτεδαΦον[. . .] . . . τι  
(a) Ποτεδα[ν]. (b) Σιμίον μ’ ἀνέθ(ε)κε Ποτεδα[ν] Ῥάνακτι.

*Epigraphy*: Both inscs. are on fr. F 476. (b) It is very rare that a dedication is written in the middle of a tablet. The turn of the inscr. (or rather its jump over the trident) must have been immediately after the break. Lorber’s dr. shows part of the iota of ΠοτεδαΦον[. . .], of which neither the earlier eds. nor I saw anything. However, since the light in the relevant part of the exhibition room was bad, I could not see quite clearly. My dr. is therefore left incomplete at the beginning, which is clearly legible, and just shows what I thought I saw of the difficult letters near the break. There is no reason to doubt the traditional restoration. *Interpretation*: (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Metrical dedication to Poseidon.

(b) The proper name is to be read with three long syllables, although the middle [i] is normally short (see §222). ἀνέθ(ε)κε is

a case of A.W. (see §111). There was no second line as in COP 1 and 2.

°COP 4 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 388

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 12; Furtwängler (1885), no. 388; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1899–1901) 40. 7; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 217. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Top-r. corner of an upright tablet; Poseidon with trident. *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΕΔΑΦΟΜΞΦΑΝΑΚΤΞ  
[. . .]εδαΦονῬάνακτι  
[— μ’ ἀνέθ(ε)κε Ποτ]εδα[ν] Ῥάνακτι.

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. runs upwards. It probably started at the bottom of the tablet. *Interpretation*: Metrical dedication to Poseidon.

The long form of the name, obsolete in everyday speech, hints at a metrical inscription (see §506). There was no second line.

b. Other Metrical Inscriptions

\*°COP 5 PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 208

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Collignon (1886), 26, with dr. fig. 3; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 297. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Top-l. corner; woman (a) facing Poseidon (his breast and r. hand holding a wreathed trident are preserved). The reverse is plain. *Date*: —.

(a) ΑΦΞΡΞΤΑΕΜΞΓΟΤ (b) ΘΒΟ  
(a) Αφιριταεμποτ[. . .] (b) Θεο[. . .]  
(a) Α(μ)φι(τ)ρίτᾱ ἐμὶ Ποτ[ε]δα[ν]ος ἄροιτις]. (b) Θεο[. . .].

*Epigraphy*: (a) starts at the top, next to Amphitrite’s head, and runs downwards along her hair and back. It is therefore plausibly her label. The first alpha has almost the ϩ shape. After the omicron there is a clear tau and the vertical stroke of another letter (the rest is broken off). (b) starts between the figures of the two gods just under the hand holding the trident. The reading as given is certain, despite Collignon’s doubts. *Interpretation*: (a) Metrical label (Amphitrite). (b) Probably a dedication.

(a) If we accept hiatus after the goddess’s name, which is suggested by the writing, and complete more closely to COP 6 than did Fränkel (who wrote: Ποτ[ε]δα[ν]ος ἄροιτις (?)), we get a perfect hexameter. For the name see §246. The first syllable should normally be counted long (but see §222). Unless we

<sup>424</sup> Lorber still writes ‘Amphitrite’, as is pointed out by Amyx (who in turn fails to cite Pernice).

<sup>425</sup> Or 640–625 (on p. 124).



accept a sound-change of some sort,<sup>426</sup> the lack of the tau is only a lapse (see §112) and the (uncertain) parallel in COP 44 mere chance; nothing seems to suggest that the two tablets are by the same writer. Since (a) is likely to be a verse, and (b) is in a prominent position in the middle of the tablet like COP 3b, may we assume a metrical dedication? (Or should we compare COP 18, Timonidas' signature?)

°COP 6 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 487

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 6; Furtwängler (1885), no. 487; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 29. 22; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 301; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 7. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Bottom-l. corner; dressed person with light-coloured feet (i.e. a woman) standing behind a figure with dark feet (a man), both to r. *Date*: —.

ΟΤΕΔΑΦΟΝΟΜΑΡΟΣΤΞΜ

[. . .]οτεδαφονοσαροιτις

[Ἀμφιτρίτα ἐμὶ Π]οτῆδαφῶνος ἄροιτις.

*Epigraphy*: Runs down the back of the first figure and could therefore be her label. *Interpretation*: Metrical label (Amphitrite).

Since this is—as Furtwängler noticed<sup>427</sup>—a perfect second half of a hexameter, it is tempting to add the beginning as preserved in COP 5 (with hiatus). ἄκοιτις -iv is frequent in Homer and always placed at the end of the line (it never occurs with Poseidon, who is not Amphitrite's consort in Homer). The fact that it is a mainly epic and altogether poetic word adds to the probability that the inscription is metrical, as Kretschmer (p. 45) pointed out. The word is here in a psilotic form, which suggests East Greek epic provenance, since the first element of the compound is ἄ- < \*sm- (see §503).

c. Other Dedications Explicitly to Poseidon

°COP 7 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 949 + 468

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 17 + 44; Furtwängler (1885), no. 949 + 468; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 30. 31; Pernice (1897), 17 f., with ph. fig. 7; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 229; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 64; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 16 in the list. *Photographs*: Pernice not very cl. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Joined by Pernice. Bottom

<sup>426</sup> We may think of a change [tr] > [rr] (for which, however, I could not find any parallels), or of a dissimilation of the first [t] by the second (but, again, no really comparable cases are recorded e.g. in Schwyzer, p. 260).

<sup>427</sup> Röhl had a wrong reading, from which he could not see the metrical structure.

half of an upright tablet; man with a stick walking to l. One major section with the middle and the end of the inscr. is missing. *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΘΡΑΜΥΜ ΚΒΤΟΓΟΤΕΔΑ

[. . . ?]θρασυμα[. . . c.7 . . .]κετοποτεδα[. . .]

[. . . ?]Θρασύμα[χος ? ἀνέθε]κε τῷ Ποτῆδα[νι . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. may have started under the arm (not preserved) which held the stick. It runs downwards, turning round at the bottom. At the beginning, there is a break just before the theta. The big gap is not wide enough for Fränkel's restoration, [χος μ' ἀνέθε]; see the dr. *Interpretation*: Dedication to Poseidon.

In the gap there is space for a maximum of eight letters. Therefore, we either assume a shorter name, such as Θρασύμας, or at least the pronoun μ' has to drop, which, in view of the unusual article to the god's name, would seem possible. Whether at the end *ἑνάκτι* followed in the gap, we cannot say.

It is remarkable that here and in COP 9 the iota in the article is not written. Gallavotti (1980) (in order to prove that *αὐτῷ* in COR 17b can be a dative) takes these two forms as evidence that such an iota was no longer pronounced in Corinth at the time.<sup>428</sup> They are, however, not decisive for his purpose. First, in the proclitic article (see §226) such processes are bound to occur earlier than in fully stressed nouns and adjectives (see Lejeune, §289, on the same principle in connection with contraction); and there is no certain fully stressed dative form in which iota is missing (see COP 8b). Secondly, in neither instance of the article *το* is it certain that in fact the dative case was meant, though this seems more likely than, for instance, a genitive ('dedicated me as Poseidon's gift?').

°COP 8 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 908 + 422

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 102 + 110; Furtwängler (1885), no. 908 + 422; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 9 (only Ποτῆδα); Pernice (1897), 14 f., with dr. fig. 3; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 237 (both); Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 66; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 28 in the list, and again 608, no. 46. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Bottom of a tablet preserved in full width except that the r. corner is damaged. Lower part of a human figure surrounded by animals; in front of it is (a). Furtwängler thought of Artemis, but in view of the frequency of Poseidon on these tablets and the existence of a possible label we should prefer Poseidon. The two frs. were joined by Pernice.<sup>429</sup> On the reverse just the inscrs. (b) and (c). *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

<sup>428</sup> His remaining two examples are more easily taken as gen.: COP 18 *Βία* (uncertain; see ad loc.) and COR 47 *Πετῶλα*.

<sup>429</sup> Pernice thought the whole might be the non-contiguous bottom of the pinax with COP 91, which is probably wrong.



(a) BP ΓΟΜΜ (b) (←) ΓΟΤΒΔΑ (c) ΓΟΒΜΒΜ etc. (d) ?

(a) [.]ερ[.]λοσμ[. . .] (b) Ποτεδα (c) ποεμεμ etc.

(d) [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]

(a) [II]έρ[ι]λ(λ)ος μ[ ] . . . (b) Ποτεδα[ν(?)]. (c) ποεμεμ (etc.).  
(d) [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]

*Epigraphy:* (a) Since [II]έρ[ι]λ(λ)ος is written along the margin of the tablet starting in the corner, it must be the beginning of the inscr. The iota is now invisible. (b) Fränkel states that after Ποτεδα there was never written anything. This seems true, at least the alpha is right down next to the margin and nothing is visible to the l. (where the foot of the figure is) or to the r. Yet, a small nu squeezed in somewhere nearby may just have worn off. This name can hardly form the end of (a), since it would have to be (→). It is probably a label, which is the more likely, since there is a considerable gap between the break and the pi. (c) and (d) are on the reverses of the frs. with the second and first parts of (b) and (a), respectively. Of (d) hardly anything survives and we have to rely on the older readings, [ . . . ]βον μ[ ] . . . or the like. More is preserved of the scribbling (c), but most of it seems to be meaningless letters (Röhl, Fränkel). Furtwängler thought he could read ποεσε, which was contested by Pernice. I saw something like ποεμεμ, which makes no sense. The odd second sign in the third 'line', which looks like a horizontal P, was both painted and incised. *Interpretation:* (a) Dedication. (b) Perhaps a label (Poseidon). (c) Probably nonsense inscriptions. (d) Not clear.

(a) The restoration of the name of the donor (see Bechtel, p. 370) seems plausible. (b) There is a 'normal' epsilon in the name of the god, which is not the usual spelling (see §255). In view of that and the scribbling (c), the possible lack of the final nu should not be taken too seriously (i.e. as an example of a special short form of the god's name, gen. \*Ποτειδα, or dat. \*Ποτειδα; see §255). If it was never written, this may just be due to the writer's reluctance or inability to find a suitable space for it.

°COP 9 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. C-63-152 + BERLIN,  
ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 955

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879, 1963). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 87a (με etc.); Furtwängler (1885), no. 955 (ditto); M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 238 (ditto); Geagan (1970), 34, with dr. fig. 3 (all); Amyx (1988), 607, no. 29 in the list. *Photographs:* —. Vidi (the Berlin part) 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Joined by Geagan. Four horses' heads. The reverse is plain. *Date:* 'A contemporary of Milonidas' (Geagan); see COP 41.

ΓΟΓΞΤΑΜΜΒΑΜΒΘΚΒΤΟΓ

Πολιτασμεανθεκετοπ[. . .]

Πολίτᾱς με ἀνέθ(ε)κε τῷ Π[οτεδᾱνι . . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* The name (on the fr. at Corinth) starts next to the top-r. suspension hole, leading downwards. The last letter is clearly a pi. *Interpretation:* Dedication to Poseidon.

There is A.W. in the verb (see §111). As in COP 7, the article<sup>430</sup> lacks the iota (see §226). Although he could have produced a hexameter like Simion of COP 3, Politas chose the 'prosaic' version with the article (see also the inscription of his contemporary, Milonidas, COP 41). The spelling of the unelided pronoun does not mean that the epsilon was pronounced (see §224).

°COP 10 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 666 + 628

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 19 + 106; Furtwängler (1885), no. 666 + 628; Pernice (1897), 25; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 328; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 202; Amyx (1988), 608, no. 34 in the list. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Joined by Pernice; almost entire (except the far r., probably uninscribed), but the surface is in a bad state. A man holding twigs in his hand, walking towards a kiln.<sup>431</sup> The reverse is plain. *Date:* 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΥΓΑΜ ΟΥ ΓΟ ΕΔ Α ΚΤΞ

. υλα . ου . [.]υ[. . . c.6-8 . . .]πο . εδα[. . .]α . . κτι.

Qύλ(λ)ᾱς Ού . [.]υ [μ' ἀνέθ(ε)κε ]Ποτεδᾱ[νι F]ἀγακτι.

*Epigraphy:* Probably one long inscr. Before Ποτε-, the earlier eds. saw an epsilon or even kappa-epsilon, i.e. the end of ἀνέθ(ε)κε; I could not see those letters. The gap after Ποτεδα- is somewhat narrow to restore nu-iota-digamma, but it does not seem impossible; the earlier eds. obviously saw some of the nu and the digamma, but not of the iota. Fränkel's reading and interpretation of the first in connection with the second part seems unconvincing: [Q?]υλάμου ε[ ]μ' ἀνέθ(ε)κε Ποτεδᾱνι(ι) Φάνακτι. The letter in front of -υλα- is likely to have been the first; the eds. plausibly assume a qoppa. The fifth, it is true, looks more like a mu than a san, but since after that a father's name is more likely than the second part of a strange long name, we should probably take it as an asymmetrical san. The upsilon below the foot in my dr. is very uncertain but could be the last sign of a gen. The whole first part is dubious. *Interpretation:* Dedication to Poseidon.

There is perhaps a genitive singular in -[ο]υ, but this is very uncertain.

<sup>430</sup> It is no more likely that the three letters τοπ are just a miswriting of ποτ.

<sup>431</sup> Geagan (1970: 41 with n. 34) wrongly states that on pinakes with kilns there is never ἀνέθ(ε)κε or Φάναξ. Also on the pinakes COP 18, 29, 38 (all showing the verb) there is a kiln (on the uninscribed side).

## °COP 11 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 412 + 417

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 31 + 47; Furtwängler (1885), no. 412 + 417; Pernice (1897), 14; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 210; Geffcken (1916), 8, no. 22; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 1; Buck, *GD* (1955), no. 92b; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 59; Amyx (1988), 608, no. 35 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: The (non-contiguous) frs. were put together by Pernice; (a) is on F 412, top-r. corner, (b) on F 417. *Date*: 2nd h. 7th cent. (Lazzarini).

(a) ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ (b) (←) ΨΥΓΟΞΔΑΜΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒΓΟ  
(a) Ποτεδαν (b) Κυλοιδασμανεθεκεπο[. . .]  
(a) Ποτεδάν. (b) Κυλοιδᾶς μ' ἀνέθεκε Πο[τεδάνι Φάνακτι ?].

*Epigraphy*: Both inscrs. are leading downwards. *Interpretation*: (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Dedication to Poseidon (metrical?).

(b) Possibly a hexameter (Fränkel), in which case the group <οι> would have to be pronounced [oi] (diphthong) or [oi] (double short) and the first syllable lengthened (see §222). Bechtel (p. 480) adduces a perfect parallel of this name (*SIG* 250D. 22 Κυλωιδας, a Spartan in the fourth century) and derives the name from κύλα 'parts below the eye', but he is not sure about its formation. Considering such unflattering names as Φλέβων (COP 12 and 48), Φύσων (COP 62a) etc., I am tempted to think that it was originally taken from κυλοιδιᾶω 'to have a black eye' (Ar. *Lys.* 472 etc.; its second element is οἰδέω / οἰδάω 'swell') and only secondarily reinterpreted as a 'patronymic' in -ίδης (see §239), therefore I do not write Κυλωιδᾶς, despite the later example from Sparta.

## °COP 12 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 558 + 530

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 9 + 74; Furtwängler (1885), no. 558 + 530; Pernice (1897), 23, with ph. fig. 13; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 236; Lorber (1979), 53, no. 76, ph. pl. 17; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 62; Amyx (1988), 608, no. 43 in the list. *Photographs*: Pernice uncl.; Lorber partly cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Joined by Pernice. Part of the back, hind leg and tail of a horse (the reverse is plain). *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΠΟΝΜΑΜΒΘΒΚΒΓΟΤΕΔΑ ΞΦΑΝΑΚ  
[Φλέ]βονμανεθεκεποτεδανι Φάνακ[. . .]  
[Φλέ]βων μ' ἀνέθεκε Ποτεδάνι Φάνακ[τι].

*Epigraphy*: Comes in along the back of the horse, follows the tail down to the bottom and turns r. (and upwards?) again. The ε in the god's name is clear (only Lorber writes [ι]). According to Lorber (p. 53), this inscr. could be by the same hand as COP 48A and B, which has been already—and very positively—stated by Furtwängler. Indeed, the three characteristic letters

of COP 48A and B match.<sup>432</sup> And if on the horse there was a horseman,<sup>433</sup> behind whose back the inscr. began, there would hardly be more space than for the necessary three letters [Φλε]. *Interpretation*: Dedication to Poseidon.

Phlebon (see also COP 48) had little hope of producing an easy hexameter with his name, as could Simion (COP 3), Kyloidas (COP 11, if he did) and Politas (COP 9, who did not). So he did not bother about the archaizing form -δᾶFωνι (see also COP 13).

## °COP 13 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 500

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 8; Furtwängler (1885), no. 500; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 219; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 3; Buck, *GD* (1955), no. 92c; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 61; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Most of upper margin with top-r. corner; reins, a spear, and a mane, i.e. Poseidon and Amphitrite (b) in a chariot. *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

(a) ΟΝΜΑΜΒΘΒΚΒΓΟΤΕΔΑΝΞΦΑΝ (b) ΡΞΤΑ  
(a) [. . .]ονμανεθεκεποτεδανι Φαν[. . .] (b) [. . .]ριτα  
(a) [. . .]ων μ' ἀνέθεκε Ποτεδάνι Φάν[ακτι]. (b) [Ἀ(μ)φίτ]ριτά.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Along the upper margin, turning downwards at the corner. (b) comes in from the l. *Interpretation*: (a) Dedication to Poseidon. (b) Label (Amphitrite).

If his name was trisyllabic, the donor lost his chance of producing a hexameter by choosing Ποτεδάνι rather than ΠοτεδᾶFωνι (see COP 9 and 12), unless we assume *diektasis* (see COP 1D).

## °COP 14 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 844

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 113 (only the first part); Furtwängler (1885), no. 844; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 216. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: R. margin; knee and parts of a leg of a naked man. On the reverse (upper margin), parts of a wing. *Date*: —.

ΘΒΚΒΓΟΤΒ ΚΤΞ  
[. . .]θεκεποτε[. . .]κτι  
[. . .]ἀνέ]θεκε Ποτε[(ι)δᾶ(Fō)νι Φάνα]κτι.

*Epigraphy*: The first part runs downwards parallel to the margin, the second comes up again. *Interpretation*: Dedication to Poseidon.

It cannot be established with certainty which form of the god's name was used (see §255).

<sup>432</sup> The alphas do not conflict, since they are not uniform even within our inscr.

<sup>433</sup> As, e.g., on the pinakes COP 35; COP 15 (similar arrangement of painting and inscr.?). *AntDenkm* i, no. 8. 5; *AntDenkm* ii, no. 23. 12b.

## °COP 15 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 552

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 75; Furtwängler (1885), no. 552; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1893–4) 24. 1; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 220; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 63. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: L. half of a tablet; above the double ground line in the centre a solitary horseman to l. *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΞΦΑΜΑΚΤΞ

[. . .] ιΦανακτι

[. . .] μ' ἀνέθεκε Ποτεδᾶ(Φῶ)νι Φάνακτι.

*Epigraphy*: Comes in (upside-down) from the r. between the horses' hooves and the ground line. If we try to reconstruct a metrical line of the type of COP 3 (a cross in my dr. indicates the approximate centre of the tablet), the inscr. would have started around the middle of the upper margin, perhaps behind the back of the horseman (see COP 12). *Interpretation*: Dedication to Poseidon.

## COP 16 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 390

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879); lost in World War II? *Bibliography*: Furtwängler (1885), no. 390; Pernice (1897), 13; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 221; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 63. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Pernice joined an unnumbered fr. Top-l. corner with most of Poseidon (his face, r. hand, and trident), and parts of the r. margin on the fr. added by Pernice, which bears the inscr. *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΦΑΜ

[. . .] ιΦανα[. . .]

[. . .] Ποτεδᾶ(Φῶ)νι Φάνα[κτι . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: Of the first letter only an angle of two strokes (downwards and r.) remained, which would be an iota leaning forward.<sup>434</sup> *Interpretation*: Dedication to Poseidon.

## °COP 17 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG I 117

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Pernice (1897), 45, no. 117; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 321. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: No figs. preserved. *Date*: —.

ΦΚ

[. . .] ακ[. . .]

[. . .] Φάν[ακτ[ι].

*Epigraphy*: Fränkel is positive about the retrograde reading Χα[. . .] rather than [. . .] ακ, as suggested by Pernice, who had obviously thought of [Φάν] ακ[τι]. Yet I am certain that Pernice was right; in fact, the faint remains of a vertical hasta, plausibly of a tau, are visible. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication to Poseidon.

## COP 18 (= COR 28) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 846 (PARTLY INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia, by Timonidas (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 1; Furtwängler (1885), no. 846; Collignon (1886), 29 ff., with dr.; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 8. 13 (8. 15 the reverse), repeated in *WV* (1888), pl. 1. 11, 12; Klein (1887), 28 f., no. 1; Pernice (1897), 37; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 245; Nicole (1916), 376; Hoppin (1924), 14; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 10; Payne (1931), 104; Benson (1953), 105, no. 2; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 118, 126, 131. 15, dr. pl. 19; ph. *EAA* vii. 862 fig. 968; Guarducci (1967), 173 f., no. 2; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 65; Lorber (1979), 38, no. 41, ph. pl. 10; Amyx (1988), 564, no. 28, 597, no. Gr. 11, 606, no. 8, and 608, no. 40 in the list (cat. p. 201, no. 2, bibl.), ph. pl. 84. 2a. *Photographs*: *EAA*, Lorber, and Amyx (a) uncl., (b) mostly cl. *Scene*: A hunter with dog (both to r.). On the reverse (no inscr. preserved) a kiln and a man in a long dress holding a stick (Poseidon with trident?), probably the patron of the craft (see COP 83). Pernice joined the eleventh fr. *Date*: 600–575 (Payne, Jeffery, Guarducci, Lazzarini); c.550–540 (*EAA*); MC, c.570 (Amyx, p. 201).

(a) ΑΝΒΘΒΚΒΤΟΞΓΟΤΕΔΑΜΞ (incised)

(b) ΤΞΜΟΝΞΔΑΜ ΒCΡΑΥΕΠΞΑ

(a) [. . .] ἀνεθεκετοιοποτεδανι (b) Τιμονιδας | εγραψεβια

(a) [. . .] ἀνέθεκε τῷ Ποτεδᾶνι. (b) Τῖμωνιδᾶς | ἔγραψ' ἑ(μ)βια (hitherto: -ψε Βίᾱ).

*Epigraphy*: Lorber writes Τιμονίδα<ς>, which is unnecessary: the dr. and commentary by Fränkel leaves no doubt that the -ς was visible at the time (it can only have been partly broken off then). *Interpretation*: (a) Dedication to Poseidon (probably not by the painter). (b) Painter's signature.

The painter's signature (b) is in the very centre of the tablet, whereas the dedication (a) keeps itself modestly at the margin. The (incised) dedication is probably not written by Timonidas, and therefore the tablet is likely not to have been offered by the painter. The painted inscription (b) is in two lines, both written from l. to r., which gives it a modern air (Jeffery, p. 118; Lorber, p. 104).<sup>435</sup> Lorber points out that also on Timonidas' vase, COR

<sup>434</sup> To read [. . .] με ἀνέ[θεκε . . .] seems hardly possible.

<sup>435</sup> Jeffery's view (see also p. 48) that it was the vase-painters and the papyrus-writers who popularized today's continuous left-to-right writing (about 600 BC) is plausible.

27, all inscriptions are written from l. to r. For the tablet, which is exceptional in many respects, see also §302 with n. 952.

(b) -βια is normally understood as a patronymic genitive, which is often added in tmesis (see §227), i.e. Βία. Others took it for a dative, but in view of the fact that this pinax was found together with all the others dedicated to Poseidon, 'for Bia(s)'—whoever this would have been—is implausible. Yet, the name Βίας, attested for several individuals, mythical and historical, is, as far as I can see, exclusively inflected Βίαντος etc., never \*Βίου (Doric \*Βία).<sup>436</sup> Therefore this interpretation must not be taken for granted.<sup>437</sup> I would suggest a completely different solution, namely: Τῖμωνιδᾶς | ἔγραψ' ἑ(μ)βια 'T. painted (these) animated figures'. (For the common lack of the nasal-sign see §201.) The adjective ἑμβιος, it is true, is attested only from the fifth century onwards (Antipho Sophista fr. 15), but with its original meaning of 'bearing life in itself (which may suddenly break out)', it seems to have been a technical word of farming and gardening (Antipho Soph. loc. cit., several occurrences in Theophr. CP; see LSJ, s.v.), which makes its absence from the epic and other 'high' literature understandable. Indeed, its type of formation, which is a very archaic one, paralleled, for instance, in Latin and Sanskrit, suggests that it is older than its occurrences would suggest; Homeric examples of this type of possessive compound are ἀμφιάλος 'having the sea around oneself', or—more in the sphere of our adjective—ὑπόρρηνος 'having a lamb underneath', ἑνορχος 'with the testicles in' (see Risch, pp. 187 f.). I would not suggest such a self-assured and sophisticated text, were Timonidas not acknowledged to be one of the greatest, if not the greatest, painter represented on our pinakes and indeed the only painter also known from a vase (COR 27), the only one besides Milonidas (COP 41, a slightly lesser artist) who left us a painter's signature on a pinax, and the only painter besides Chares (COR 57, a much lesser artist) who has left us a signature on a Corinthian vase (see §302 with n. 952).

The name Τῖμωνιδᾶς is derived from Τίμων and occurs also as Τιμώνδας (see Bechtel, pp. 430 f.). Amyx observes that the pronoun με is not written, whereas it is on Timonidas' vase. Although this is not a strong argument, it may support the new interpretation suggested above. The pronoun is only rarely omitted in the normal formula: on our pinakes we only have COP 41 by Milonidas, which is a special case with its ἔγραψε κ' ἀνέθεκε, COP 50 (ἀνέθεκε), which may be the remains of a metrical text, and COP 53 (ἀνέθεκε), which—at least as far as we can see from

the fragments—seems to have contained no more than a name plus the verb and would be a rare exception.<sup>438</sup>

In the graffito (a) (also in prose), the article with its fully preserved diphthong (see §226) is the only feature worth noting. We do not know who the donor was (probably not Timonidas, though).

#### °COP 19 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 525

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 92 (only ἀνέθεκε); Furtwängler (1885), no. 525; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 247. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Top-l. corner with two horses' heads (to l.). *Date*: —.

(←) ΑΝΘΘΒΚΒ ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ  
[. . .]ανέθεκε Ποτεδαν[. . .]  
[. . . μ' ]ἀνέθεκε Ποτεδαν[ι . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: The final nu is quite clear. The verb leads next to the suspension hole in the corner, where after a turn of 90° the name of the god starts downwards. The latter therefore is a dat. complement not a label. *Interpretation*: Dedication to Poseidon.

#### °COP 20 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 479 + 477

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 18 + 2a (p. 170); Furtwängler (1885), no. 479 + 477; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1893–4) 24. 10; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 246; Payne (1931), 101; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 126, 131. 11; Lorber (1979), 28, no. 27, dr. p. 29, ph. pl. 6; *LIMC* i, 'Amphitrite' 12\*, ph. pl. 577; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 110\*, dr. pl. 360. *Photographs*: Lorber partly cl.; *LIMC* quite cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Joined in *AntDenkm*. Upright tablet showing bearded Poseidon (a) to r. with trident, facing a woman (b). *Date*: EC (Payne, Lorber); 625–600 (Jeffery); c.620 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΟΤΕΔΑΝ (b) ΑΜΦΞΤΡ (c) ΒΓΟΤΕΔ  
(a) [.]οτεδαν (b) Αμφιτρ[. . .] (c) [. . .] εποτεδ [.]  
(a) [Π]οτεδαν, (b) Αμφιτρ[ιτᾶ]. (c) [.] ἀνέθεκε  
Ποτεδαν[(Fō)νι Φάνακτι?].

*Epigraphy*: (c) runs downwards behind Amphitrite's back next to the r. margin. The remains of the kappa, which seems to have been cl. at the time of *AntDenkm*, are slightly strange now, but the restoration is not impossible. *Interpretation*: (a)–(b) Labels (Poseidon and Amphitrite). (c) Dedication to Poseidon.

<sup>436</sup> Oblique case-forms e.g. *Il.* 4. 296, 20. 460, Hes. fr. 37. 5, 9, 13 M–W, Hdt. 1. 27. 2, 1. 170. 3. 9. 34. 2, Apollod. 1. 9. 10 and 13. 3. 15. 5, Diog. Laert. 1. 82 ff., etc. Of no great help is the suggestion made by Arena (1967: 90), who obviously noticed this problem, 'Βία (da Βίαιο) del pinax di Timonidas . . . da collegarsi, rispetto al classico Βίας, Βίαντος, con ion. Βίης', as long as he does not give any reference for his alleged Ionic Βίης; at any rate, the famous character Βίας in Hdt. 1. 27 and 170 is an Ionian from Priene, and in the 5th-cent. Erythraian inscr. *LSAG* 344. 48 = *GD* 4C. 24 = *DGE* 688C. 24 (c.475–450?) Βία[s] is written alongside 5 πρήχμα, 13 τρηκ[ο]σίων, etc. The name therefore did not have an Ionic <η> with an a-stem inflection.

<sup>437</sup> For a dubious parallel see *Introd.* to this ch. (COP), n. 399.

<sup>438</sup> As far as the vases are concerned, COR 31d (incised) contains the pronoun. In other regions both possibilities occur, with (ARG 1, DOC 6, IOI 1, part of NAU 1) or without (BOI 20, AIG 3E, ACC 1B, part of NAU 1).

## °COP 21 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 952

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 16a; Furtwängler (1885), no. 952; Pernice (1897), 41; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1899–1901) 40. 14; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 261. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Parts of the r. margin; breast and forelegs of horses (Pernice). Pernice's suggestion that the fr. belongs to F 513 (part of our COP 2C) is implausible. *Date*: —.

ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝΞΤ

[. . .]εποτεδανιτ[. . .]

[. . . τδ?]ε Ποτεδανιτ[. . .].

*Epigraphy*: Runs down the r. margin. According to Pernice's reconstruction in *AntDenkm* there would have been space for another c.3 letters, before the bottom (i.e. the ground line of the horses' hooves) was reached. The inscr. then may have turned round and might be expected to reappear in the lowest point of the fr. There is nothing, however, and it is also slightly strange that nothing is visible between the last tau and the break. Röhl gives the first letter as a complete iota, which is hardly correct. According to the drs. in Fränkel and *AntDenkm*, as well as my autopsy, it could also be a kappa, which is, however, difficult to interpret. *Interpretation*: Dedication to Poseidon.

## °COP 22 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 529

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 22; Furtwängler (1885), no. 529; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 262. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Part of upper margin; a *quadriga*. *Date*: —.

ΤΕΔΑΝΞ

[. . .]τεδανι[. . . ?]

[. . . Πο]τεδανι[. . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: Horizontal along the margin. It is not clear whether the text continued. *Interpretation*: Dedication to Poseidon.

°COP 23 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 845  
(PARTLY INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 109; Furtwängler (1885), no. 845; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 271; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: On the side of (a) (l. margin), upper part of a bearded man to r. On the side of (b) (lower margin), a kiln. *Date*: —.

(a) ΔΑΜΟ (incised) (b) ΟΤΒΞ (c) ?

(a) Δαμο[. . .] (b) [. . .]οτει[. . .] (c) [. . .]ο (?)

(a) Δᾱμο[. . .]. (b) [. . . Π]οτει[δᾱ(Φδ)νι Φάνακτι?].  
(c) [. . .]ο (?).

*Epigraphy*: (a) starts in front of the man's face and could be his label (see COP 62 ff.). (b) The pi is invisible, which means that the inscr. came in from the r. in a loop and is not just a label, but a longer text, probably a dedication.<sup>439</sup> (c) The little semi-circle to the l., if it is a letter at all, can only have belonged to (b) if there was another loop, leading back down to it. I prefer to take it as the remains of a separate inscr. *Interpretation*: (a) and perhaps (c): Probably label(s) (of workmen?). (b) Dedication to Poseidon.

## COP 24 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG I 118

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Pernice (1897), 45, no. 118; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 269. *Photographs*: —. Not found in the museum. *Scene*: No figs. preserved. *Date*: —.

ΑΝΟ ΕΜ

[. . .]ανο[.]εμ[. . .]

[. . . ? Ποτεδ]ανό[ς] εμ[ι . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Probably dedication to Poseidon (property formula).

Less likely is [Αγ]ᾱνο[ρ] εμ[ἐ ἀνέθεκε] (*vel sim.*), since this would presuppose the same unexpected spelling of the pronoun as in COP 29. Also less likely is a (prose) variant of COP 5 and 6, mainly for reasons of word-order. For the property formula of dedications see §301.

## d. Other Certain or Likely Dedications

## °COP 25 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 882

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 97; Furtwängler (1885), no. 882; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 29. 1 (29. 4 the reverse); M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 303; Amyx (1988), 605, no. 2 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Horse and horseman. Only the top-r. corner shows a suspension hole. On the other side there is a woman and a figure catching fish with a trident. If the tablet was hung up by the surviving hole and one in the adjacent lost corner, this side would be upside-down. *Date*: —.

<sup>439</sup> Geagan (1970: 41 with n. 34) says (without further discussion) that the name of the god is in the nom., probably just following Fränkel; this is hardly correct.

ΑΞΜΞΜΒΓΓ

Αισιμελλ . σμ . ν[. . .].

Αἰσιμέλλῃς μὲν ἀν[έθεκε . . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* Runs along the upper margin above the figs. To the l. it is complete. To the r. the letters are very faint. Fränkel read Αἰσιμέλλ(η)ς[. . .]. Autopsy revealed some more letters. After the gap no traces of letters are visible; maybe there was a continuation in the damaged area below. *Interpretation:* Dedication.

The person catching fish with a trident reminds us of Odysseus on BOI 18.

The first element Αἰσι- may be identical with that in Hesiod's name (Bechtel, p. 29; for the poet's name see Meier-Brügger (1990) with a different etymological approach and a thorough discussion of earlier suggestions). For the unexpected geminate see §215.

°COP 26 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG I 116

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Pernice (1897), 45, no. 116; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 325; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* No figs. preserved. *Date:* —.

ΜΡΥΓΞ

[. . .]σγυλι[. . .]

[Αἰ]σγυλῖ[νος μὲν ἀνέθεκε . . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* Fränkel reads -α σγυλ[οῖδας, referring to COP 11. But the first letter is certainly the r. half of a san. The last letter is very faint, but the traces could fit an iota. The hole below the san indicates that we may be close to a corner of the tablet (top-l?). This supports the restoration of only few letters before the san and the interpretation as the beginning of a dedicatory inscr. *Interpretation:* Probably a dedication.

One Αἰσγυλῖνος owned the aryballos COR 47.

°COP 27 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 464

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 20; Furtwängler (1885), no. 464; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 2; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 278. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Upright tablet preserved in full width and length; Poseidon with trident. The inscr. starts in the top-r. corner and runs downwards. It may or may not have a connection with the figure. *Date:* —.

ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ

Ποτεδαν[. ?]. . τι . ια . [.]εθκε

(a) Ποτεδαν. (b) Ἀντιφίᾱς μ[ὲν ἀν]έθε(ε)κε. (Or Ποτεδαν[ι] Ἀντιφίᾱς etc.)

*Epigraphy:* Almost nothing is lost, but the surface is badly worn. The letters after -δαν are uncertain, both in the earlier drs. and now on the original. Either there was an iota in the small gap after Ποτεδαν, in which case the whole may form one sentence, or there was not, in which case the name of the god is a label and the rest is independent. Considering what both fits the traces and is a plausible restoration, one may reach the above (uncertain) solution. *Interpretation:* Dedication to (and label of?) Poseidon.

The name as tentatively read may be a hypocoristic in -ῖᾱς of Ἀντιφᾱμος or the like (for the type of hypocoristic see §230). In the verb, there seems to be A.W. (see §111).

°COP 28 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 811

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 55; Furtwängler (1885), no. 811; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1893–4) 23. 15a (23. 15b the reverse); M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 306; ph. of the reverse Cuomo di Caprio (1984), 80, no. 17; Amyx (1988), 605, no. 4 in the list. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene:* Top of a tablet (two holes in the corners); Poseidon with trident. On the reverse (turned through 90° with respect to the holes) a kiln scene. *Date:* —.

(←) ΑΡΞΜΤΟΦΞΓΟ

Αριστοφιλοσ[. . . ?]

Ἀριστόφιλος[. . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* Runs down the l. margin from Poseidon's head, as is often the case. The verb should have easily fitted in. *Interpretation:* Probably a dedication.

°COP 29 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 667 + 803  
(PARTLY INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 38 + 81; Furtwängler (1885), no. 667 + 803; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 30. 9; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 225 + 218; Payne (1931), 108; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 20; Geagan (1970), 37 and 41, with ph. and dr. 36 fig. 8; Lorber (1979), 75 f., no. 118 (with dr.); Amyx (1988), 606, no. 6 in the list; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 103. *Photographs:* Geagan only (a), not very cl. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Top half of tablet; joined by Geagan. On one side Poseidon (unnamed) and inscr. (a) (on fr. F 667), on

the other (b) and (c) with a kiln and the arm of a man. *Date:* 575–550 (Payne, Jeffery).

(a) ΑΜΟΓΟΔΟΡΟΜΕΜΒΑΝΒΘ (b) ΠΙ (incised)  
(c) ΓΟΤΔΑΕΥ (incised)

(a) Ασποδοροσεμενεθ[. . .] (b) Π. (c) Ποτδαευ

(a) Ἀσπὸδὸδὸρος ἐμὲ ἀνέθ[εκε]. (b) Π. (?). (c) Ποτ(ε)δᾶ(ν) εῖ (?)

*Epigraphy:* (a) starts in the top-l. corner, leading downwards along the back of Poseidon.<sup>440</sup> (b) was considered a first attempt of (c) by Furtwängler, i.e. ΠΤ(. . .). (c) The second attempt was no complete success either. Fränkel in the letter after the alpha saw a middle bar as if of a digamma, but Geagan argued that since there is no continuation on fr. 667 joined by her the old reading -ν by Röhl and Furtwängler was likely to be correct. Fränkel, however, had been right: the letter *has* a middle bar, and a lower one too. Moreover on the adjoining fr. there seems to be an upsilon. *Interpretation:* (a) Dedication. (b)–(c) Note of destination (?).

(a) Names like Asopodoros, viz. containing the name of the river (god) Ἀσωπός, are particularly frequent in Boiotia (δωρος e.g. Pind. *Isth.* 1. 34, other examples and more derivations in *IG* vii, Index, p. 771), but here—as in the case of the Argive artist in *CEG* 380. ii (1st h. 5th cent.)—the river flowing through Phleious and Sikyon, 15 km. from Corinth, could also be the source.<sup>441</sup> Yet, first, the choice of the ε- form of the pronoun<sup>442</sup> is unparalleled at Corinth but typical of Boiotian dialect (see §224). Secondly, also the E-shape epsilon is unexpected, but is of course the normal form of the letter in the Greek world. I cannot help thinking that we have here a foreigner from Boiotia working at Corinth (see §261), who perhaps only partly mastered the art of writing (at least in Corinthian).

(b) and (c) could be an indication of the recipient's name in the 'neutral' case as used in lists (see COP 47, 78, and 84B, all incised too). If this interpretation is correct, we may suppose that the name of the god was not written in (a). The final εῖ (?) may mean 'good fortune' or the like, if anything at all. It would show a mistake similar to that of the pronoun in (a), although we cannot positively argue that (b) and (c) are by the same writer as (a).

°COP 30 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG I 18

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Pernice (1897), 42, no. 18; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 307; Amyx (1988), 606,

<sup>440</sup> Lorber erroneously writes ἐμὲ; instead of ἐμὲ; Röhl and Furtwängler had ἐμὲ.

<sup>441</sup> A(i)sopos was the mythical father of Aigina, Ismene and Ismenos, Pelagon, Salamis (Apollod.), as well as Antiope (*Od.* 11. 260). The Homeric attestations show a long [ā].

<sup>442</sup> Other interpretations seem to lead nowhere.

no. 9 in the list. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Part of the r. margin of a large tablet; hands and part of trident. *Date:* —.

(←) ΔΑΜΟΦΙΛ  
Δαμοφιλ[. . .]  
Δᾶμόφιλ[ος . . .].

*Epigraphy:* Fränkel apparently saw part of the final omicron; I did not. *Interpretation:* Probably a dedication.

°COP 31 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 392

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 42; Furtwängler (1885), no. 392; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 226; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 11 in the list. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Top-l. corner; head and back of a figure to r. *Date:* —.

ΔΟΡΚΟΝΜΑΝΒΘΒΚ  
Δορκομανεθεκ[. . .]  
Δόρκων μ' ἀνέθ[εκε[ε . . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* Written in very thin stokes, and running downwards behind the back of the figure. *Interpretation:* Dedication.

For the spelling of the name with kappa see §108. The name is an *n*-stem hypocoristic (see §229) from full names with the root δερκ- (see Bechtel, p. 120 f., with another attestation of our name; see also the Satyr-name CHA 1g and 14h).

°COP 32 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
F 424 + 429 (INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 104; Furtwängler (1885), no. 424 + 429; Pernice (1897), 15; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 311; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Joined by Pernice. Top-l. corner; head and back of a man. *Date:* —.

(←) ΒΔ  
Εδ[. . .]  
Έδ[. . .].

*Epigraphy:* Runs down the l. margin. Fränkel (following Furtwängler) proposed Έρ, although the second letter in his dr. is as clearly a delta as in Röhl's. *Interpretation:* Perhaps a dedication.

May have been a name from the root εδ- 'eat', or Έ(ν)διος (Bechtel, pp. 153 f.); there seem not to be many possible interpretations.

## °COP 33 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 383 + 419

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 101; Furtwängler (1885), no. 383 + 419; Pernice (1897), 13; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 309; Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 12 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Joined by Pernice. Top half; Poseidon with trident. *Date*: —.

Β ΘΒ

ΕϜθϵ . (?) [ . . . ? ].

*Epigraphy*: Read ΕϜθϵτ[ . . . ] by Furtwängler (followed by Pernice and Amyx) or ΕϜθϵι[ . . . ] by Fränkel. Neither version can be confirmed, since I was not sure whether the wavy structure after the fourth letter is at all part of a letter. Indeed, the letters are now so faint as to show only in the reflection of direct light (the surface is slightly less glossy where the letters were). The purple colour after the wavy line excludes the possibility that there was more text; if it went on, it was elsewhere on the tablet. The second letter is not clear now. *Interpretation*: Not clear, perhaps a dedication.

This example of a diphthong [eu] written with a digamma instead of an upsilon would be unique at Corinth,<sup>443</sup> and the bad state of preservation of the writing on this tablet suggests that we dismiss it as a wrong reading. Fränkel's interpretation as a name ΕϜθϵιος is implausible in even more respects. First, no such name seems to be attested, and, secondly, the spelling <ει> is a priori unexpected at Corinth.

## °COP 34 CORINTH, ARCH. MUS. KN-8

Fr. pinax from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth (1930). *Bibliography*: Newhall (1931), 21 f., ph. fig. 21; Stillwell-Benson (1984), 244, no. 1344, and Boegehold (1984), 359, no. 8, ph. pl. 56, drs. pls. 114 and 122; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 13 in the list (bibl.). *Photographs*: Newhall quite cl.; Stillwell-Benson sm. *Scene*: Top-l. corner; long-haired man holding an instrument. The break goes through the thighs of the man, so approximately a third of the height will be missing. *Date*: MC (Stillwell-Benson).

ΒΥΚΡΣΜΒ

Ευκρινε [ . . . ? ]

Εὐκρίνης [ . . . ? ].

*Epigraphy*: The penultimate letter is clearly an epsilon not an alpha; its lower loop is visible in outline on my original ph. (see the dr.). Of the last letter part of a downstroke is preserved. *Interpretation*: Dedication or label (workman).

<sup>443</sup> See the discussion by Kretschmer (pp. 37 f.) with some certain examples from other regions.

Boegehold read Εὐκρίνας. This reading should not have been compared with the name Εὐκρίνης (cited by Amyx; see Bechtel, pp. 172, 263), since that name is an *s*-stem (as the adjective εὐκρινής) and should be -ēs also at Corinth. With my new reading, however, the comparison is fully justified. Since about a third of the height of the tablet is missing below, ἀνέθεκε would exactly fit in.

This pinax, which is of the same kind as those found at Penteskouphia, is a welcome confirmation that they all came from the Corinthian potters' quarter (see also the Introd. to this ch. (COP)).

## °COP 35 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 630 + 539

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 27 + 48; Furtwängler (1885), no. 630 + 539; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 21 (only fr. 539); Pernice (1897), 23, with dr. fig. 14; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 227; Payne (1931), 104; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 15; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 267; Lorber (1979), 53, no. 73, ph. pl. 16; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 14 in the list; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 109. *Photographs*: Lorber quite cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition); I omitted to make a dr. of (a). *Scene*: Joined by Pernice. Poseidon (named) holding his trident and riding one of two horses. *Date*: 600–575 (Payne, Jeffery); 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

(a) (←) ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ (b) ΒΥΡΥΜΒΔΒΜΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ

(a) Ποτεδαν (b) Ευρυμεδεσμανεθεκε

(a) Ποτεδάν. (b) Εὐρυμέδης μ' ἀνέθεκε.

*Epigraphy*: (a) starts at Poseidon's head. (b) starts next to the top-r. corner, leading down the r. margin, then turning round. *Interpretation*: (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Dedication.

## \*COP 36 PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 206

Fr. pinax (very thick, c. 12 mm.) from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Collignon (1886), 26, dr. 25 fig. 2; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 228; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 268; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 15 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Middle part of l. margin; breast, back and arms of a man to r. The reverse is plain. *Date*: 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΒΥΜΤΡΑΤΟΜΜΑΔΒΘΒΚΒ

[ . . . ? ] Ευστρατοσμαδεθεκε

Εὐστρατος μ' ἀνέθεκε.

*Epigraphy*: Running downwards behind the figure's back. There is a break before the first letter, but the name seems to be complete. The sixth letter from the end is clearly a delta. *Interpretation*: Dedication.



The inscription is very neatly written and the writer does not seem to have been illiterate. Therefore the delta cannot easily be taken for a misshapen nu (as the last sign in COP 84A). In view of this spelling, I cannot help thinking that Eustratos may have had a cold (we have to imagine people speaking aloud when writing, as was the case in reading).<sup>444</sup> Possible parallels from Athens are *Κύκτος* on a 6th-cent. vase<sup>445</sup> and *CEG* 32 *μεῖμα* on a stone monument (c.530?). Of course we could also speak of some kind of dissimilation of the nasal component of the sound (see §212).

°COP 37 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 828

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 3; Furtwängler (1885), no. 828; Pernice (1897), 36; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 295; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1899–1901) 39. 1a; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 8; Payne (1931), 101; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 126, 131. 11, dr. pl. 19; Lorber (1979), 28, no. 26 (with dr.), ph. pl. 6. *Photographs*: Lorber partly cl. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Upright tablet preserved in full width (with the unnumbered fr. joined by Pernice); female figure (named). The reverse (correct in Pernice): man to r., leading a horse which is seen from the front<sup>446</sup> and with head to r. *Date*: EC (Payne); c.625–600 (Jeffery).

- (a) ΑΦΞΤΡΕΤΑΝ (b) (←) ƆΞΟ  
 (a) Αφιτρεταν (b) Φιο[. . .]  
 (a) Α(μ)φιτρῆτᾶν. (b) Φιό[λᾶς ? . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: (a) is complete; the final nu is certain (not a san as considered by Lorber). (b) Of the fourth letter the lower part of a vertical stroke was indicated earlier; I could not see it. *Interpretation*: (a) Label (Amphitrite). (b) Probably a dedication.

(a) For Amphitrite's name see §246 (for its spelling with E-shape epsilon see §219, for the lack of the nasal-sign see also §201). Here the accusative form is surprising.<sup>447</sup> It seems possible that the writer thought “*Φιόλᾶς ἀνέθεκε Ἀμφιτρίτᾶν*” (i.e. a picture of her), combining (b) + (a); but there are other imaginable contexts. (b) Probably the donor's name.

<sup>444</sup> See also Ch. Dickens, *Oliver Twist*, ch. 15: ‘Is anybody here, Barney?’ . . . ‘Dot a shoul’ . . . ‘Nobody?’ . . . ‘Dobody but Biss Dadsy’ . . . ‘Nancy! . . . Where?’ . . .

<sup>445</sup> *ABV* 110. 37, ph. *SE* 40 (1972) pl. 66 (sm.).

<sup>446</sup> A very early occurrence of this motive, if the date is correct. Neither Payne nor any other scholar seems to discuss this.

<sup>447</sup> I do not think we should assume that the writer simply mixed up Poseidon's and Amphitrite's endings (i.e. wrote *-ᾶν* as if he were writing *Ποτεδ-ᾶν*).

\*°COP 38A–B (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
 F 373 + 415 + 423, (B) PARIS, LOUVRE MNB 2856

Fr. and entire pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 43 + 80 + 93; Furtwängler (1885), no. 373 + 415 + 423; Pernice (1897), 11 f.; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 230; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 269a; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 17 in the list. (B) Rayet (1880), 104 f., no. 1, with drs.; Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 43a; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 231; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 6; Payne (1931), 108; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 269b; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 18 in the list. *Photographs*: —. (A) Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. (B) Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: (A) Joined by Pernice. Poseidon to r. The reverse is plain. (B) Poseidon to r., with trident and wreath in this hands. On the reverse (uninscribed) a man working at a kiln. *Date*: 575–550 (Payne).

- (A) (a) (←) ΓΟΤ (b) ΞΓΡΟΝ ΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ  
 (B) (a) (←) ΓΟΤΕΞΔΑΝ (b) ΞΓΡΟΝ ΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ

- (A) (a) Ποτ[. . .] (b) Ιγρον μανθεκε[. . . ?]  
 (B) (a) Ποτειδαν (b) Ιγρον μανθεκε

- (A) (a) Ποτ[ῆιδᾶν]. (b) Ἰγρὸν μ' ἀνέθεκε. (B) (a) Ποτειδᾶν.  
 (b) Ἰγρὸν μ' ἀνέθεκε.

*Epigraphy*: The shape of the gamma is something between Γ and C, almost identical in both copies. (Ab) The figure's hand comes in between the name and the pronoun. On both pinakes (b) runs downwards from next to the top-r. suspension hole, and (a) down the god's back to the l. (B) Amyx (p. 608, no. 45, referring to autopsy) read *Χίρδον*, which is wrong; he was not aware of the identity of the piece he recorded. *Interpretation*: (a) Labels (Poseidon). (b) Dedications.

In (Ab) there is a break after the verb, which led Pernice to suggest that *Ποτ*[. . .] could be dative. That is hardly correct. Not only are the two tablets very similar, which allows us to restore (A) by analogy with (B), but also there was enough space after the verb in (A) for a dative to be written continuously, perhaps in *boustrophedon*, had it been desired, whereas a stichic arrangement, with the tablet turned round after the first line, would be odd.

The name of the donor is not otherwise attested and obscure.<sup>448</sup> Considering his unusual spelling of the god's name (see §§219, 255), Igron may be thought of as a foreigner.<sup>449</sup>

<sup>448</sup> As /u/ was probably pronounced [u] not [y] at Corinth (see §217) and initial [h] is usually preserved (see §210), *Υγρὸν* is not a likely solution.

<sup>449</sup> Should we connect his name with the fairly frequent Karian name *Πίγρης* (Hdt., Xen., etc.), which in Attica is also attested as *Ἰγρῆς*? See Threatte, pp. 557 top and 439 bottom, with other cases of a sporadic loss of initial [p] in foreign names.

## °COP 39 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 554 + 582

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 52; Furtwängler (1885), no. 554 + 582; Pernice (1897), 24; M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 312; Amyx (1988), 606, no. 19 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Joined by Pernice. Top-l. corner and two thirds of upper margin; horse with horseman to l. The inscr. starts behind the back of the horseman. *Date*: —.

ΚΑΝΘ

Κανθα[. . .]

Κανθα[ρ- . . .].

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication.

Fränkel restores *Κάνθα[ρος]* or *Κανθα[ρόν]* (see Bechtel, p. 582), taking the inscription as ‘nomen equitis’. Instead of a label, we may assume a full dedicatory inscription, as with Phlebon of COP 48A.

## °COP 40 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 348

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 49; Furtwängler (1885), no. 348; dr. *AntDenkm ii* (1893–4) 24. 3; M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 232; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 21 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Top of upright tablet; Poseidon with trident. The reverse is plain. *Date*: —.

ΓΥΜΞΑΔΑΜΜ

Λυσιαδασμ[. . .]

Λυσιάδᾱς μ['] ἀνέθεκε . . .].

*Epigraphy*: Runs downwards from the god’s head. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication.

Patronymic name from *Λύσις*, which is a hypocoristic of *Λυσί-* compound names (see §231; Bechtel, p. 291). The name would be ideal for a metrical dedication.

\*COP 41 (= COR 120) PARIS, LOUVRE MNC  
212 + BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 511

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Collignon (1886), 27 f., with dr. fig. 6, repeated in *WV* (1888), pl. 1. 4; Furtwängler (1885), no. 511 (no inscr.); dr. *AntDenkm ii* (1895–8) 29. 17 (only F 511); M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 244; Nicole (1916), 376; Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 9; Hoppin (1924), 10 f.; Payne (1931), 110; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 20, dr. pl. 20; Geagan (1970), 34, ph. 33 fig. 2; Lazzarini, *FDV*

(1976), no. 816; Lorber (1979), 74 f., no. 114, ph. pl. 33; Amyx (1988), 591 no. 120, 607 no. 23 in the list (cat. p. 255 no. 1), ph. pl. 110. 1. *Photographs*: Geagan, Lorber, Amyx quite cl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990 (the Paris part). *Scene*: R. part and middle of a tablet; *quadriga* waiting. Geagan joined the uninscribed Berlin fr. to the inscribed Paris one. The reverses are plain. *Date*: 575–550 (Payne, Jeffery); 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

ΜΞΓΟΝΞΔΑΜΒCΡΑΥΒΚΑΝΘΒΚΒ

Μιλονίδασεγραψεκαθέκε

Μιλόνιδᾱς ἔγραψε κ' ἀνέθεκε.

*Epigraphy*: The first alpha is incomplete: its r. foot below the horizontal bar was never drawn. Of the lower loop of the first epsilon only a shadow remains. *Interpretation*: Painter’s signature and dedication by the painter.

The inscription on this pinax<sup>450</sup> seems to reflect the pride of its painter. But unlike Timonidas on COP 18, Milonidas places his inscription at the margin in a more modest-looking way, perhaps because his painting did not leave any room in the middle where the horses are, and to the l. and above the horses there may have been the names of the gods in the chariot. On the other hand, unlike Timonidas, Milonidas is also the donor of his tablet (see §302).

The writer missed the opportunity of producing an iambic trimeter by writing *Μιλόνιδᾱς ἔγραψε κατέθεκέ με* (as Exekias in *CEG* 436 f., with *καπόεσε*),<sup>451</sup> at least if crasis was an option in Corinthian dialect as it was in Attic. For the lack of the pronoun see COP 18. The name (perhaps also attested in COP 47, see n. 454) is a patronymic derivative from *Μίλων* (Bechtel, p. 499); see §240.

## °COP 42 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 496 + 940

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 41, only (c), fr. 940; Furtwängler (1885), no. 496 +

<sup>450</sup> The inscr. reported by Dragatsis (1881), with dr. pl. Γ' fig. 3 (repeated in *IGA* [1882], no. 20. 36a, from there in Roberts (1887), no. 90, and analysed by Kirchhoff (1887), 103), which Collignon and Fränkel etc. thought to be the same as our pinax, must be a false copy forged in Greece. There are many reasons for this assumption. (1) It is incised not painted, as is evident from Dragatsis’s dr. (2) The fr. on which it is incised is only the corner of a tablet (bottom-l.), not the well preserved r. quarter as the Paris fr. of our pinax, and does not show the beautiful horses, whereas Dragatsis’s dr. of our COP 47, his fig. 2, is accurate, also in size—apart from the fact that he does not show the incised inscr. (b). (3) It is strange that an inscr., which also occurs on a genuine piece, should be preserved again in its entirety on another fr. with breaks precisely before the first and after the last letter. (4) The text of the incised version is very odd syntactically and with respect to its nu ephelkystikon: ΜΞΛΟΜΞΔΑΜΕΓΡΑΦΜΕΝΑΝΘΕΚΕ. (5) Its writing system is equally odd and looks more like a silly mixture of Attic and Corinthian letters produced by a forger who was not familiar with what was possible in the respective local scripts.

<sup>451</sup> Other examples of *καῖ* from *καὶ* *ā*- are *CEG* 26, 74, 262, 419 (?), 463 (?). For *καῖ*- from *καὶ* *ē*- see *CEG* 70. 3, 239 (?), but *κεῖ*- is the result in *CEG* 139. *χῶ* from *καὶ* *ho*- occurs in *CEG* 380. ii.

940; Pernice (1897), 20; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 29. 13; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 264; Payne (1931), 108; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 20; Lorber (1979), 75, no. 117 (with dr.), ph. pl. 33; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 27 in the list; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 117\* = 255, dr. pl. 361. *Photographs*: Lorber partly cl. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Joined with an unnumbered fr. by Pernice. Top-l. corner; two bearded men (*a*) and (*b*) in a chariot. *Date*: 575–550 (Payne, Jeffery).

(*a*) ΓΟΤΒΔΔΑΝ (*b*) ΞΒ (*c*) ΟΡΘΟ  
 (*a*) Ποτεδαν (*b*) Ξευσ (*c*) Ορθο[. . .]  
 (*a*) Ποτεδδαν, (*b*) Ξεύς. (*c*) 'Ορθο[. . .].

*Epigraphy*: (*a*) Leading downwards to the l. (*b*) Horizontal, starting at the face of the figure in question. In Fränkel's dr. clear remains of the -ς and an Y-shaped upsilon are shown; less is visible now. (*c*) Of garland-like shape in the middle of the tablet, i.e. at the r. end of the fr. as it is now. *Interpretation*: (*a*)–(*b*) Labels (Poseidon and Zeus). (*c*) Probably a dedication.

The main inscription (*c*) starts over the reins in big letters and leads downwards towards the centre (it might have gone up again towards the heads of the horses as a symmetrical garland). It makes a careful and competent impression.

(*a*) For the spelling with normal epsilon see §255 and (*c*) below. (*b*) For the initial Ξ see §258. The upsilon seems to have had a different form from the one in COP 75, where we find the same type of spelling. This suggests that the two inscriptions were written by two different writers, i.e. this spelling was not just an idiosyncrasy. (*c*) As we should probably expect *Φορφο*[. . .] in proper Corinthian (see §§206, 209) this may be taken as an indication that the writer of this tablet was a foreigner in Corinth. The same can be argued in the case of the spelling in (*a*), whose parallel in COP 44 is likely to be written by a foreigner for other reasons (see ad loc.).

°COP 43 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 414

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 40; Furtwängler (1885), no. 414; Pernice (1897), 14; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 315; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 25 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Top-r. corner (damaged); Poseidon with trident (on the reverse a kiln, Pernice). *Date*: —.

ΞΒΝΦΟΚΤΒ  
 Ξενοκλε[. . .]  
 Ξενοκλέης[ μ' ἀνέθεκε . . .].

*Epigraphy*: Runs downwards. Of the san, a small trace is visible. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication.

For the digamma see §209.

°COP 44 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 765 + 485

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 56 + 112; Furtwängler (1885), no. 765 + 485; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 11, without (*a*) and (*b*); Pernice (1897), 19, dr. 20 fig. 10; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 265; Payne (1931), 108; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 20; Lorber (1979), 75, no. 115, ph. pl. 33; *LIMC* i, 'Amphitrite' 13; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 32 in the list; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 112\*, ph. pl. 360. *Photographs*: Lorber and *LIMC* (*a*) uncl., the rest quite cl. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: The fr. with (*a*) and (*b*) was joined to the rest by Pernice. Two women (*b*) and (*c*) facing Poseidon (*d*) (with trident), behind whom there is Triton (unnamed). *Date*: 575–550 (Payne, Jeffery); c. 550 (*LIMC*).

(*a*) ΦΟΜ (*b*) ΑΘΝΑ (*c*) ΑΝΦΞ Α (*d*) ΓΟΤΒΔΔΑΝ  
 (*a*) Qom[. . .] (*b*) Athna[. . .] (*c*) Amphi . . . [ . ? ] α (*d*) Ποτεδαν  
 (*a*) Qόμ[ιως μ' ἀνέθεκε . . . ?]. (*b*) Αθ(ε?)να[ί]α,  
 (*c*) Αμφι[τ?]ρίτ[α], (*d*) Ποτεδδαν.

*Epigraphy*: If the inscs. at first sight are easy to read on the original, it is because of the pencil lines that somebody has added in the past. Although these lines are drawn in a plausible manner, in my dr. I only give the remains and traces of paint. (*a*) (not mentioned by Lorber) runs down the l. margin and is not a label. The third letter cannot be a nu, but only mu or san, more likely a mu. No more is visible before the break. Of (*b*) (not mentioned by Lorber) a faint angle, which must be of a final alpha, is visible on the adjoining fr. (it was not noticed by Fränkel). (*c*) The form was read with the tau missing, i.e. *Αμφι(τ)ρίτα*, in the past. Whether the tau is really lacking, is uncertain if one disregards the pencil lines. For if the letters were close together, and if we suppose that of one of them nothing remains, we could perhaps restore the full form of the name.<sup>452</sup> *Interpretation*: (*a*) Probably a dedication. (*b*)–(*d*) Labels (Athena, Amphitrite, Poseidon).

Although the 'wrong' β-shaped epsilon in (*d*) (as in COP 42 etc.; see §255), the lack of a vowel sign in (*b*), and maybe—if correctly read—also the lack of a letter in (*c*), show some uncertainty as to Corinthian orthography, we must not call our Kom[ios] an illiterate man. The letters are drawn in a clear and competent manner, and the two certain mistakes may find some satisfactory explanation. It must be considered that Athena's name is here given in the longer form, whereas all the attestations on Corinthian vases show the short form. The other two exceptions are COP 59 and 77.<sup>453</sup> The scene on COP 77 suggests epic influence (see §443); this reason cannot be maintained here, however, and we

<sup>452</sup> The fact that this mistake occurs in COP 5 *Αφιρίτα* may, however, support the old reading.

<sup>453</sup> Fränkel writes *Αθ(α)να[ία]*. He will have chosen the longer form by analogy with COP 77.

have to look for a different explanation. The third case of the long form, COP 59, with its Ionic vowel suggests Athenian influence (as is often to be observed in LC vase-painting, see *Introd.* to ch. 5 (COR)), most likely Athenian origin of the painters in question. This also leads to a satisfactory explanation of the problems on the present pinax. For in that case (1) the long form of the name is plausible, since the Athenians considered Athena to be theirs, using the form derived from the name of their city (see §247). (2) The mistake in (b) can be normal A.W. (see §111). (3) The incorrect spelling of Poseidon's name is more excusable, since a foreigner from Athens was used to a distribution of the graphemes and phonemes for the *e*-sounds which was different from that of the Corinthians. An Athenian in Athens would not have hesitated to write the sound in question, such as he heard it pronounced in Corinth, with the normal grapheme Ε in his own script, where this grapheme was used for [ē], [ē̄] and [ē̅]. The most frequent correspondence of this grapheme in the Corinthian script, however, was Β.

For the spelling <νφ> in (c) see §114.

°COP 45 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 784

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 51 (only the fr. with the first two letters); Furtwängler (1885), no. 784 (ditto); dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 8. 2 (ditto); Pernice (1897), 33 ff., with dr. fig. 25 (p. 34); M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 233 (both frs.); Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 33 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Part of l. margin and bottom-l. corner (with a suspension hole!). Joined to an unnumbered fr. by Pernice, who discusses wrong earlier interpretations. Fox walking under trees (?). The reverse is plain. *Date*: —.

(←) ϞΟ ΡΞΜ ΜΑΜΒ

Qo[.]ρισμαν[. . .]

Qó[.]ρϑς μ' ἀνέ[θῆκε . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: The qoppa is next to the l. margin. Kretschmer (*apud* Pernice) had suggested Qó[π]ρϑς and Qó[ρ]ρϑς. For the pronoun the writer had to change the direction by 90°; after the break he had to turn again, parallel to the margin (or zigzagging back into the tablet?). *Interpretation*: Dedication.

Both restorations, Qó[π]ρϑς and Qó[ρ]ρϑς, fit equally well from an epigraphical point of view. Although Fränkel preferred the latter, which is attested elsewhere, one should remember that geminates are rarely spelled with two signs on our documents (see §113). The suspension hole in the lower corner is odd, since there was no painting on the reverse for which it could be devised (as in COP 28), so either the plaque had four holes or it was painted with no regard for the holes.

°COP 46 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 391

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 99; Furtwängler (1885), no. 391; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 317. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Top-l. corner; the back of the head and the shoulders of a figure. *Date*: —.

ϞΡ

Qv[. . .]

Qv[. . .].

*Epigraphy*: Runs downwards to the l. Fränkel and Röhl read Qρ. I thought Qv[. . .] was more likely. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication.

It could be the name Qυλοῖδᾶς of COP 11, although the letters are smaller there.

COP 47 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 368  
(PARTLY INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879); lost in World War II? *Bibliography*: Dragatsis (1881), with dr. pl. Γ'; Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 16; Furtwängler (1885), no. 368; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 28; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 320; Payne (1931), 112; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Upper part; Poseidon, (a) and (b), with trident. *Date*: after mid-6th cent. (Payne).

(a) ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ (b) ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ (incised) (c) ΞΓΟ

(a) Ποτεδαν (b) Ποτεδαν (c) [. . .]υλο[. . .]

(a) Ποτεδᾶν, (b) Ποτεδᾶν, (c) [Φ?]υλο[. . .].

*Epigraphy*: (b) is not shown by Dragatsis. (c) runs downwards along the r. margin. At the beginning, one, or at most two letters are worn off. *Interpretation*: (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Note of destination (?). (c) Probably a dedication.

Inscription (a) is just a label, but the graffito (b) (if it is not a modern addition; see n. 450) must have had a different function (see COP 29). (c) The tablet in its full length can hardly have offered space for more than the name and μ' ἀνέθῆκε, but the inscription may have turned left at the bottom.<sup>454</sup>

°COP 48A–B (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 557,  
(B) IBID. F 611

Pinakes from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 10; Furtwängler (1885), no. 557, dr. *AntDenkm*

<sup>454</sup> Should we perhaps restore [Μ]υλο[υῖδᾶς . . .] (i.e. with one wide initial letter) according to COP 41, despite the higher date given to the latter pinax?

i (1886), no. 8. 25; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 235; Payne (1931), 104; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 15; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 270b; Lorber (1979), 53, no. 74, ph. pl. 17; Amyx (1988), 608, no. 41 in the list. (B) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 11; Furtwängler (1885), no. 611; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 8. 26; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 234; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; Payne (1931), 104; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 15; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 270a; Lorber (1979), 53, no. 75, ph. pl. 17; ph. Cuomo di Caprio (1984), 78, no. 4; Amyx (1988), 608, no. 42 in the list. *Photographs*: (A) Lorber mostly cl. (B) Lorber and Cuomo di Caprio quite cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (both on exhibition). *Scene*: (A) Man leading a horse (the reverse is plain). (B) Man working at a kiln (the reverse is plain). *Date*: 600–575 (Payne, Jeffery); 6th cent. (Lazzarini).

(A) ΦΓΒΙΠΟΝΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ (B) ΦΓΒΙΠΟΝΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ  
(A) Φλεβονμανεθεκε (B) Φλεβονμανεθεκε  
(A) Φλέβων μ' ἀνέθεκε. (B) Φλέβων μ' ἀνέθεκε.

*Epigraphy*: (A) Squeezed in at the end between the horse's tail and the margin of the tablet. Although Fränkel asserts that the final epsilon is and always was incomplete, i.e. a κ, it looked complete to me. (B) By the same hand as (A) (Furtwängler, Lorber), which seems correct in view of Π and Θ, and especially of Β, whose loops are not joined with the vertical in the middle. *Interpretation*: Dedications.

The name (see also COP 12) is derived from φλέψ 'vein'. Bechtel (p. 482) thinks of φλέψ γονίμη, but a prominent blood vein somewhere in the face seems equally appropriate.

\*COP 49 PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 210

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Collignon (1886), 25, dr. 24 fig. 1; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 239; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 271; Amyx (1988), 608, no. 47 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Bottom-l. corner; back of a dressed upright figure (Poseidon, Collignon) to r. The reverse is plain. *Date*: —.

ΟCETONΞΔΑΜΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ  
[. . .]ογετονιδασμανεθεκε  
[. . .]ογετονιδās μ' ἀνέθεκε.

*Epigraphy*: Runs downwards between the back of the figure and the margin. Amyx (p. 607, no. 30, referring to autopsy) read [Π]οτεδονιδās, which is wrong; he was not aware of the identity of the piece he recorded. (His form is highly unlikely anyway.) *Interpretation*: Dedication.

Although the remains are dactylic, hardly enough can be missing at the beginning to complete a hexameter. For the first part

of the name there are very many possibilities, as Φιλ-, Δι(φ)-, Τιμ-, Θει(ι)-, Ἀριστ- etc.

°COP 50 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG I 155 + I 39

Fr. pinax<sup>455</sup> from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Pernice (1897), 47, no. 155; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 249; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Bottom-l. corner with the inscr. along the l. margin; man walking beside a horse. *Date*: —.

ΒΜ:ΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ Ο Μ Α Ξ

[. . .]ἔς : ἀνέθεκε | [. . .]. οροσ . α . ι . [. . .]

[. . .]ἔς : ἀνέθεκε | [. . .]. οροσ . α . ι . [. . .] (perhaps: [. . . τὸ δ] ἐ δὸς χάρις[σ(σ)αν . . .]?).

*Epigraphy*: Contrary to Fränkel's reading, the final epsilon of the first line is clearly visible. The first letter is an epsilon not an omicron; before it, the surface is worn off, so that no more is visible. *Interpretation*: Dedication (metrical?).

The dotted theta (see COR 85), the punctuation and the stichic arrangement (the lower line, however, is not clear) point to a somewhat later date for this pinax.

It seems possible that, if the first omicron of the second line is allowed to stand for a rounded delta, the line is to be restored [. . . τὸ δ] ἐ δὸς χάρις[σ(σ)αν . . .], i.e. of the type of COP 1 (see ad loc., in particular ad COP 1D), although it is hard to see how the end of the hexameter line could have fitted in the corner of the tablet. For the lack of the pronoun, which is very rare and may be another indication of a more unusual kind of formula (with ἀνέθεκε at the end of a first hexameter?), see COP 18.

°COP 51A–B (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 420,  
(B) IBID. F 701 + 706

Fr. pinakes from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 87; Furtwängler (1885), no. 420; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 243; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. (B) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 89; Furtwängler (1885), no. 701 + 706; Pernice (1897), 31; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 30. 28; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 241; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs*: —. (A) Not found in the museum. (B) Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: (A) Part of l. margin; remains of a figure. (B) Pernice added two unnumbered frs. Left and lower parts of a tablet; breast, arm and (non-contiguous) legs of a man walking to r. *Date*: —.

<sup>455</sup> The join of the two frs. does not seem to be indicated anywhere in print, but was noted in the museum.

(A) ΜΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ (B) ΜΜΑΝΝ

(A) [. . .]σμανεθεκε[. . .] (B) [. . .]σμαννε[. . .]

(A) [. . .]ς μ' ἀνέθεκε[. . .]. (B) [. . .]ς μ' ἀννε[θεκε].

*Epigraphy:* (A) runs downwards. It is not certain whether the verb was the last word. (B) runs downwards between the back of the figure and the margin. The return to the vertical hasta of the upper loop of the epsilon is just visible. In the gap (c.6 cm.) between the inscribed fr. and the uninscribed one with the legs, there can have been no more than the rest of the verb. *Interpretation:* Dedications.

(B) For the unexpected geminate see §215.

°COP 52 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 941

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 70; Furtwängler (1885), no. 941; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 240; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Top-r. corner; at the bottom possibly flames emerging from a kiln. *Date:* —.

(a) ΜΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ (b) ΞΔΑΜ

(a) [. . .]σμανεθεκε (b) [. . .] ἰδᾶς

(a) [. . .]ς μ' ἀνέθεκε. (b) [. . .] ἰδᾶς.

*Epigraphy:* (a) leads into the corner of the tablet and is complete at the end. (b) Of the letter(s) in front of -ἰδᾶς only two faint vertical hastas are visible. Not an able writer. *Interpretation:* (a) Dedication. (b) Label (of workman?).

(b) Cannot be the donor's name (unless it was repeated), since the last letter of his name is preserved in (a). It will be the label of a figure standing in front of a kiln.

°COP 53 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 376

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 91; Furtwängler (1885), no. 376; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 6; Pernice (1897), 12 f., with dr. fig. 2; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 250; Payne (1931), 104; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 15; Lorber (1979), 53, no. 70, ph. pl. 16; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs:* Lorber cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene:* Poseidon alone on a narrow upright tablet preserved in full width but not length. To the l. the inscr., running downwards. To the r., in front of the figure, one has suspected the remains of a letter (alpha), which was not interpretable, however, and is probably the foot of a jug held by Poseidon (as in COP 73O = F 461). *Date:* 600–575 (Payne, Jeffery).

ΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ

[. . .]νανεθεκε

[. . .-ῶ]ν ἀνέθεκε.

*Epigraphy:* One of the unnumbered frs. joined by Pernice shows that the verb was the last word. Since the tablet will not have reached much above the head of the god and the top of the trident, which are on the same level, the name of the donor must have been short. *Interpretation:* Dedication.

For the lack of the pronoun see ad COP 18.

°COP 54 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 567

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Furtwängler (1885), no. 567; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 336 (with wrong no. F 569, our COP 80). *Photographs:* —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Middle part of upper margin; mane of a horse to r. *Date:* —.

ΓΟΜ

[. . .]. πος

[. . .]. πος [. . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* Comes in from the l., stopping in front of the mane. It cannot be the label (e.g. *ἥπιπος*) of the horse, as it would have to be retrograde. The first letter is not clear (an iota does not seem excluded). The inscr. may have continued to the r. of the horses' heads. *Interpretation:* Probably not a label, but a donor's name in a dedication.

°COP 55 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 483

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 94; Furtwängler (1885), no. 483; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 242; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991 (no complete dr. made). *Scene:* Part of r. margin; remains of a female figure. *Date:* —.

(←) ΜΑΝΒΘΒΚΒ

[. . .]μανεθεκε[. . .]

[. . .]μ' ἀνέθεκε[. . .].

*Epigraphy:* Runs downwards. It is not certain whether the verb was the last word. In the space between the break and the mu, no san is now visible, as was indicated earlier. *Interpretation:* Dedication.

°COP 56 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 508

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 53; Furtwängler (1885), no. 508; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1893–4) 24. 4; Pernice (1897), 21, with dr. fig. 12; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 248; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 24 in the list. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene:* Part of the top; *quadriga*. *Date:* —.

- (a) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\text{IAN}\Theta$  (b) ( $\rightarrow$ )  $\text{ANB}\Theta\text{BK}\text{B}$   
 (a)  $\text{Eav}\theta[. . .]$  (b)  $[. . .]\text{av}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$   
 (a)  $\text{Eav}\theta[\text{OS}]$ . (b)  $[. . .]\text{av}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ .

*Epigraphy:* (b) comes in from the l. along the upper margin and stops next to the horses' heads (it seems not very likely that it continued to their r.). (a) runs backwards from the mane of one of two horses. It can hardly be the beginning of the dedication (b), since it is retrograde. Therefore it is a label. *Interpretation:* (a) Label (a horse). (b) Dedication.

(a) For the horse-name Xanthos see §§244 and 506 with n. 1286.

- $^{\circ}\text{COP } 57\text{A-L}$  (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 944,  
 (B) IBID. F 947 (INCISED), (C) IBID. F 531,  
 (D) IBID. F 394 + 421, (E) IBID. F 954 (INCISED),  
 (F) IBID. F 948, (G) IBID. F 507 + 729 + 739  
 (UNINSCRIBED) + CORINTH, ARCH. MUS.  
 C-63-181 + 199 + 225, (H) BERLIN,  
 ANTIKENSAMMLUNG I 60, (I) IBID. F 378, (J) IBID.  
 F 467, (K) IBID. F 842, (L) IBID. I 33, (M) IBID. I 15

Fr. pinakes from Penteskouphia (1879, (G) partly 1963). *Bibliography:* (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 95; Furtwängler (1885), no. 944; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 253. (B) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 82; Furtwängler (1885), no. 947; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 255. (C) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 85 (*sic*); Furtwängler (1885), no. 531; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 252. (D) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 90 (*sic*); Furtwängler (1885), no. 394 + 421; Pernice (1897), 13; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 251. (E) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 85a; Furtwängler (1885), no. 954; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 254. (F) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 86; Furtwängler (1885), no. 948; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 256. (G) Furtwängler (1885), no. 507 + 729 + 739; dr. *AntDenk* i (1886), no. 7. 4 (only F 507); Pernice (1897), 31; Geagan (1970), 35, with ph. fig. 5. (H) Pernice (1897), 43, no. 60; dr. *AntDenk* ii (1899-1901) 40. 6b; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 257. (I) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 84; Furtwängler (1885), no. 378; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 258. (J) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 88; Furtwängler (1885), no. 467; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 259. (K) Furtwängler (1885), no. 842; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 310; Geagan (1970), 44, ph. 45 fig. 18. (L) Pernice (1897), 42, no. 33. (M) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 54; Pernice (1897), 42, no. 15; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 260. *Photographs:* (G) Geagan quite cl. (K) Geagan quite cl. (D) and (J) vidi 26 Sept. 1991. (B), (E), (F), (H), (K), and (M) vidi 27 Sept. 1991; I omitted to make a dr. of (H). (A), (C), (L) could not be found in the museum. (I) Lost in World War II? *Scene:* No connections with the figs. (A) Upper margin; no figs. preserved. (B) Small fr., painted on both sides. (C) Part of the upper margin; remains of horses and reins. (D) Joined by Pernice. Top-l. corner and l. margin; man to r. (E) Painted on both sides. (F) No figs. preserved. (G) F 729 and 739 joined by

Pernice, the other frs. by Geagan. Man on a cart drawn by two oxen; of the top, where the inscr. is, only the r. corner is preserved. (H) No figs. preserved (on the other side remains of a man with a pot). (I) Top-r. corner; only hands and a trident. (J) Bottom-r. corner, feet walking to l. (K) Part of upper margin; winged creature (Geagan thinks of Pegasus). On the other side, upper part of Poseidon (?). (L) Bottom-l. corner. (M) Poseidon to r. *Date:* —.

- (A)  $\text{NB}\Theta\text{BK}$  (B)  $\text{B}\Theta\text{BK}\text{B}$  (incised) (C)  $\text{ANB}\Theta\text{BK}\text{B}$   
 (D)  $\text{NB}\Theta\text{BK}\text{B}$  (E) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\text{NB}\Theta\text{BK}\text{B}$  (incised) (F)  $\text{B}\text{BK}\text{B}$   
 (G)  $\text{B}\text{BK}\text{B}$  (H)  $\text{B}\text{BK}\text{B}$  (I)  $\text{BK}\text{B}$  (J)  $\text{KB}$  (K)  $\text{B}$   
 (L)  $\text{KB}$  (M) ( $\leftarrow$ )  $\text{ANB}\Theta$ .

- (A)  $[. . .]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa[. . .]$  (B)  $[. . .]\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon[. . . ?]$  (C)  $[. . .]\text{av}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$   
 (D)  $[. . .]\text{av}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  (E)  $[. . .]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  (F)  $[. . .]\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$   
 (G)  $[. . .]\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  (H)  $[. . .]\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  (I)  $[. . .]\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  (J)  $[. . .]\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$   
 (K)  $[. . .]\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  (L)  $[. . .]\kappa\epsilon$  (M)  $[. . .]\text{av}\epsilon\theta[. . .]$

- (A)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa[. . . ?]$ . (B)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa[. . . ?]$ .  
 (C)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ . (D)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ . (E)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ .  
 (F)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ . (G)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ . (H)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ .  
 (I)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ . (J)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ . (K)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ .  
 (L)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ . (M)  $[. . . \acute{\alpha}]\text{v}\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon[. . . ?]$ .

*Epigraphy:* (B) is incised along the margin. (C) runs above the figs. (D) is to the l., running downwards; complete at the end. (E) leads along the margin; complete at the end. (F) is at the margin; complete at the end. (G) runs horizontally into the top-r. corner. (J) comes in from above, to the r. (K) Geagan is right to refuse Fränkel's reading  $\text{EF}[. . .]$  since after the third letter (which is in fact squeezed in) there is the wing. Her reading fits the traces. (M) runs down Poseidon's back; not to be read  $[. . . -\delta]\text{av}\iota \theta[\epsilon\acute{o}\iota . . .]$  (Röhl and Fränkel), which would be unique, but as given above, despite Pernice's doubts. *Interpretation:* Dedications.

- $^{\circ}\text{COP } 58$  BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 912 + I 121

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 57 (only fr. F 912); Furtwängler (1885), no. 912; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 266 (only fr. F 912); Geagan (1970), 37 and 43, dr. 36 fig. 7. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Joined by Geagan. On one side (top-l. corner) the back of a man (a). On the other side (top-r. corner) inscr. (b) and the arm of a warrior to r. holding a shield and a spear; there is no immediate connection between the figure and the inscr. *Date:* —.

- (a)  $\text{PO}$  (b)  $\text{TA}\xi\text{A}\Theta$   
 (a)  $\text{Ποτ} . . \text{av}$  (b)  $\text{Tαιαθ} . . .$   
 (a)  $\text{Ποτ}\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ . (b)  $\text{Tαι} \text{Aθ} . [\text{v}\alpha\iota . . . ?]$ .

*Epigraphy:* (a) starts at the upper margin. Parts of the tau are preserved. The epsilon seems to have been oblique and is now almost lost in the break. After the break (i.e. on fr. I 121), traces of the last three letters show, of which the nu is the clearest. (b) also starts at the upper margin. There was no text before the tau, unless the inscr. came in from the l. with a sharp turn. Of the sixth letter parts are preserved (as in the drs. by Röhl and Fränkel). After the break (i.e. on fr. I 121, where the shield is) nothing is now visible, unfortunately. *Interpretation:* (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Probably a dedication to Athena.

For Athena's presence at Corinth see COP 63. The warrior of the painting fits this goddess well. This tablet, COP 59, also to Athena, and perhaps COP 78 to Zeus, are the only dedications not to Poseidon (and Amphitrite) on these pinakes.

°COP 59 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 826 + 619

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 107; Furtwängler (1885), no. 826 + 619; Pernice (1897), 25; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 296. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Joined by Pernice; almost complete. A woman to r. On the reverse (uninscribed) man working at a kiln. *Date:* —.

AΘΒΝ ΑΜΕΜΞ  
Αθελ[.]ασεμ  
Αθελ[αί]ας έμύ.

*Epigraphy:* The inscr. is leading downwards to the l. behind the figure, starting at the suspension hole. Fränkel's dr. of the inscr. is much more detailed than Röhl's. I cannot, however, confirm his reading Αφίτ[ρίτ]ας έμύ (with missing nasal) for the following reasons: (1) The second letter cannot be a phi, since the remains of two diameter lines are quite cl. and both are oblique. (2) The wavy line of the third letter is a *reversed* 'iota', and there are traces of the vertical line which complete the epsilon. (3) The fourth letter has a pointed angle at the top, which excludes a tau. (4) The gap is somewhat narrow for three letters, but ideal for two. *Interpretation:* Dedication to Athena (property formula).

The form of Athena's name is not in the Corinthian dialect, for which we would expect Αθᾶνᾱ (see ad COP 44). Both the Ionic-Attic [ē] and the long form of the name suggest Athenian influence. This form, and that in COP 44 with possible A.W., support each other. Since there is a female figure next to the inscription, we could also understand 'I am Athena's (sc. figure)', but this is less likely in view of, first, the many dedications (of which COP 58 probably to Athena) and, secondly, the label COP 5a 'I am Amphitrite . . .' with the name in the nominative. For the property formula see §301.

## e. Potters' or Painters' Signatures

(See also COP 18 and 41.)

°COP 60 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 939 (INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Furtwängler (1885), no. 939; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 304; Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Perhaps part of lower margin; indistinct scene. *Date:* —.

A ΒΤΑΔΞ (incised)  
[. . .]α . εταδι[. . . ?]  
[. . . έγρ?]αφε ταδι(?)

*Epigraphy:* Incised faintly. Fränkel restores the name Αρητάδ[ας] (hence taken over by Amyx, p. 605, no. 3), but after the delta there is another letter which is clearly an iota. The second letter, which looks like a rho, could also be a phi (psi, on the other hand, is unlikely). *Interpretation:* Perhaps a painter's signature.

For the demonstrative pronoun reinforced with -ι and used with reference to painted figures on vases see the Attic bf. band-cup Boston 61. 1073, discussed by Scheller (1981) (*Para.* 69 f.; Immerwahr, no. 229; 3rd q. 6th cent.). The interpretation of our graffito as a painter's signature (as which it should be painted too), however, is very uncertain.

°COP 61 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 873 (INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 15; Furtwängler (1885), no. 873; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 16; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 326. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* On one side (upper part) a man walking to r., one hand raised (worshipping or greeting?). On the other side (l. part) a horseman to l. Both sides considered, the tablet cannot have been much longer originally. The suspension hole is top-r. for the worshipper and bottom-l. for the horseman; the other corner preserved, which is top-l. for both sides, strangely has no hole.<sup>456</sup> *Date:* —.

(←) ΞΜΟΕΜΞ (incised)  
[. . .]ιμοεμ  
[Σ?][ι]μὸ έμύ.

*Epigraphy:* The inscr. leads upwards (which is rare) along the r. margin. As the tablet will not have been much longer below, a short name is to be preferred. *Interpretation:* Probably a potter's (and donor's) signature (property formula).

<sup>456</sup> For a parallel see COP 25.



Fränkel suggests: ‘Subintellege εἰκόν’. But the inscription has no immediate relation to the figure depicted, since it is incised and does not start by the figure. Also I cannot think of a deity’s name of which it could be the property formula. So we should rather supply δόρον, Féργον or the like. As the tablet was found together with all the other dedicated items, we may conclude that the man was both the producer and the donor. For if he was only the donor or only the producer, the inscription would be too ambiguous. (For a similar case see COP 64, and see §302.)

#### f. Labels of Potters and Other Humans

(For uncertain labels of workmen see also COP 23, 34, 52, 82a.)

°COP 62 (= COR 40A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
F 672 + 684 + 770

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia, probably by the Ophelandros P. (Amyx)<sup>457</sup> (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 39 + 46 (see p. 170); Furtwängler (1885), no. 672 + 684 + 770; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1893–4) 24. 9, only (b); Pernice (1897), 29 f., with dr. fig. 22; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 322; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; Payne (1931), 112; Amyx (1988), 603 n. 2, 606 no. 5, and 608 no. 44 in the list (cat. p. 234 no. AP-3). *Photographs*: —. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Joined by Pernice. Top-l. part; an old and a young man walking to r. (towards a kiln?). *Date*: after mid-6th cent. (Payne).

(a) (←) ΦΥΜΦΟ (b) (←) ΠΝΒΜΞΟΜ  
(a) Φυσφο .[. . . ?] (b) [. . .]πνεσιος  
(a) Φύσφο̅ν (?), (b) [Α]πνε̅σιος.

*Epigraphy*: Very likely labels to the figs. depicted. (a) starts somewhat far from the man’s head behind his back and is parallel to the margin; but as the beginning of a dedicatory inscr. we would expect it to begin further up in the corner. Amyx, p. 608, claims that the last letter could also be a san instead of the nu of the accepted reading. Both seemed uncertain to me. For I could not see a continuation leading upwards again after the dark blot, neither of outline-grooves which are clearly visible elsewhere in the inscr., nor of the faintest remains of paint or its shadow. We must therefore also consider a lambda, although this leads to difficulties of interpretation. (b) is usually read [Α]πνεσιος; as such it would start right above the youth’s head and be his label. If it were the end of a much longer inscr., i.e. not a label, it would not have been bent down between the two heads, but would have led straight up into the free space above. *Interpretation*: Labels (probably workmen).

<sup>457</sup> Amyx (p. 234) says that this attribution, which seems plausible, is due to Bouzek (1963). I could not find it there, however; on the other hand, Bouzek (p. 62 with n. 6) attributes the uninscribed pinax *AntDenkm* i, no. 8. 21 to this painter. Amyx does not mention this, nor Payne’s view that COP 63 seems to be by the same painter as our COP 62.

From the point of view of letter-forms the attribution of this pinax to the Ophelandros P. (i.e. the painter of COR 40) seems perfectly possible.

(a) Φύσφο̅ν, as the name is normally read, means ‘pot-belly’. Bechtel (p. 481) puts it together with the noun φύσκων, which, however, is no proper noun but expressly formed to designate humans. Indeed, at about the time of our pinakes this nickname was given by Alcaeus (fr. 129. 21 L–P Φύσγων and fr. 429 L–P Φύσκων) to his political enemy Pittakos, “ὅτι παχὺς ἦν”. It also occurs later. The same is true for a close semantic parallel, viz. γάστρων (Alc. fr. 429 L–P, also for Pittakos; Ar. *Ran.* 200). A further parallel between the two is the fact that they do not only evoke the figure of the man laughed at, but also what he likes to eat. For both φύσκη (see LSJ, s.v.) and γαστήρ (*Odyssey* three times; Ar. *Nub.* 409) as well as γαστρίον (see LSJ, s.v.) mean ‘sausage, black pudding, paunch stuffed with mincemeat’ or the like. Furthermore there is ἀσκός, which normally means ‘wineskin’, but sometimes (Archil. fr. 119 *IEG*, Eur. *Med.* 679 etc.) also ‘paunch, belly’, from which—via \**Ἀσκων*—the name Ἀσκώνδας may have been derived (Ar. *Vesp.* 1191; see Chantraine, s.v. ἀσκός). As explained above, the final letter is not certain. Nevertheless, with a lambda the name, which would have to be a compound Φυσφο-λ[. . .], is so difficult to interpret that we had better stick to a hypocoristic, and the one in -ων, i.e. the traditional reading, is paralleled much better than Amyx’s suggestion -ος. In any case, the semantic connotations would remain the same.

It is interesting that in Alc. fr. 129 the papyrus has Φύσγων. This form was defended in a short note by Specht (1944), who gave more examples for [sg] in Greek, for example μίσγω (explicable by analogy with -μυγ-forms, see Lejeune, §111 n. 1). We should indeed not rush to change Alcaeus’ form to -σκ-, since on the whole [sg] is very rare in Greek, which makes it a *lectio difficilior*. I wonder whether we may not connect it with the German word for ‘belly’: Swiss German *Büch*, i.e.—reconstructed into PIE through the sound-changes—\**b<sup>h</sup>ūg-*. In that case it would be a formation with -sko/ā-, which was clearly felt to be a nominal suffix in very early Greek (although probably not yet in PIE), as is evident from δίσκος (\**dik-sko-s*) and λέσχη (\**leg<sup>h</sup>-skā*). If this is correct, this would yield a second example of \*[gsk] > [sg] (as in μίσγω) and one should perhaps reconsider a phonological development, although here too analogy with \**φῡγ-* forms may have worked. That the normal form was to become *φυσκ-* already in our Corinthian inscription,<sup>458</sup> can be easily explained by the rarity of [sg] and the frequency of [sk], and especially by the parallel of ἀσκός. Further etymological connections for our \**φῡγ-* and German *Bauch* remain difficult. The whole may still belong to the root of *φῡσα*, as was hitherto assumed for φύσκη (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. *φῡσα*).

(b) Thought to be from ἀρνέομαι ‘deny’ by Röhl (referring to *DGE* 452. 14 Ἀρνεσίχα). The vowel of the second syllable is

<sup>458</sup> The quantity of the upsilon is impossible to establish here.

uncertain, but in view of COR 19f *Φηαδέσιος*, formed from the future *ἀδήσω* of *ἀνδάνω*, a formation from the future *ἀρνήσομαι* of *ἀρνέομαι* seems the most likely. A genitive (of a nom. -*ς*) is much less likely.

°COP 63 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
F 683 + 757 + 822 + 829

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia<sup>459</sup> (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 67 + 69; Furtwängler (1885), no. 683 + 757 + 822 + 829; Pernice (1897), 30; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1899–1901) 39. 12; Pernice (1898), with dr.; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 313; Payne (1931), 112; Jocelyn (1980), 16 f., 19 (see also *SEG* 30. 342); ph. Cuomo di Caprio (1984), 79, no. 10; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 20 in the list. *Photographs*: Cuomo di Caprio quite cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: To the l. a kiln, on which an owl is sitting; (a) is above the owl. On the stoking tunnel stands a little ithyphallic man to r. (b), facing a normal-sized human to l. (c), who is working at the kiln. *Date*: after mid-6th cent. (Payne).

(a) ΦΟΚΑ (b) ΚΔ (c) (←) ΛΟΚΡΞΜ

(a) [. . . c.7 . . . ?]φοκα (b) ΚΔα [. . .] (c) Λοκρίς

(a) [. . . c.7 . . . ?]φοκα, (b) κάμ[ῖνος?], (c) Λόκρης.

*Epigraphy*: (a) In view of the fact that (1) the writer started (b) and (c) exactly at the faces of the respective figs. and that (2) around the owl there was plenty of plain space to do the same, it seems doubtful that (a) belongs to the owl.<sup>460</sup> It comes down from the break not even *towards* the owl. Fränkel and Pernice are right to point out that the first letter is phi (in Röhl it looked like qoppa). From the reverse (Poseidon with Amphitrite or Zeus), Pernice (1898: 76) tried to restore the full size of the tablet, which according to him must have been ‘um ein Viertel höher und links um ein Geringeres breiter’ (sc. than the area covered by the frs. preserved). But in that case the hypothetical frame which he adds round his drs. of the frs. (p. 75) is misleading, since it should be considerably taller. Therefore the phi need by no means have been the first letter of the inscr. Both Pernice and Fränkel were aware of this possibility. As for the extension of the tablet to the l., in Pernice’s reconstruction a strip of not even 1 cm. width but several cm. length would be missing. Such strips do not break off clay plaques. We should therefore assume that the kiln was depicted in about three quarters of its full width, which is usual on these pinakes (e.g. on COP 38B and 65). If this is true, inscr. (a) may have formed a symmetrical bow over the flame on top of the kiln, starting at the l. margin, in which case about 7 let-

ters would be missing. From the break through the phi it seems likely that the preceding letter did not consist of, or end in, a vertical stroke. (b) The second letter is clearly an alpha. Its top must have been considerably higher up in the now broken-off area. Therefore the first letter is not a lambda but the lower half of a kappa, which suggestion is supported by the fact that the lambda in (c) leans forward, whereas our stroke is exactly vertical. The fact that the downstroke of this kappa is much longer than those of the other two, is no argument against our reading, since the same is true for the first downstroke of the (certain) alpha in contrast to the alpha in (a). The third letter starts with a vertical upstroke,<sup>461</sup> its continuation must have remained in the upper half, and the whole is not likely to have been a narrow letter, since otherwise part of the next letter should be visible too; nu or—better—mu are most likely. *Interpretation*: (a) Not clear. (b)–(c) Labels (workman and probably the kiln).

(a) Together with a man Λόκρης our four letters evoke geographical associations (gen. of a compound name in \*-φώκης, nom. of a fem. one in \*-φώκη?). Pernice (1898: 80), who was aware of the possibility that the phi need not be the first letter, cautiously tries to support his interpretation of this inscription as the label of the owl by the passage, *φωκίων ὄρνις ποιός* (Hsch.). But I doubt whether this gives ‘wenigstens einen entfernten Anhalt zu ihrem Verständnis’, in view of the fact that the word such as it would be written here, viz. *φώκᾱ*, exists, but in the meaning ‘seal’ (i.e. *φώκη*). One may also try to separate the particle *κᾱ*. The problem remains to be solved.

As for the owl, Pernice (ibid.) denies an obvious connection: ‘An Athena, die Schützerin handwerklichen Gewerbes, kann nicht gedacht werden, denn ihre Stelle vertritt in Corinth Poseidon, wie der Pinax des Timonidas zeigt [i.e. its back, *AntDenkm* i, no. 8. 15], der den Poseidon neben dem gewaltigen Töpferofen darstellte.’ But he overlooked the pinax F 801, where it is precisely Athena (unnamed), armed with spear and shield, who stands on the stoking tunnel of the kiln. Geagan (1970: 42 f.) mentions the latter pinax in order to support her interpretation of the reverse of COP 67 (no inscriptions), together with COP 58 (probably a dedication to Athena), and COP 44 (labels to Athena, Amphitrite, and Poseidon).<sup>462</sup> Yet, she fails to mention our owl. And there are even more connections with Athena.<sup>463</sup> We may therefore accept that the owl is indeed representing Athena, protectress of the kiln.<sup>464</sup> But this does not help to interpret the inscription [. . . ?]φοκα, which is probably not even related to the bird.

<sup>459</sup> Jocelyn’s reading and connection with *λαικάζειν* (following Pernice, p. 79; see also A. B. Cook (1940), 798 f. with dr.) is therefore wrong. Furtwängler transcribed ΓΑΙ, but neither he nor Fränkel interpreted it as ΛΑΙ.

<sup>462</sup> The third occurrence of Athena’s name on a pinax adduced by Geagan, namely COP 77, is different, since there the goddess takes part in a scene in the Trojan War and has no direct connection with Corinth or Poseidon and Amphitrite.

<sup>463</sup> See COP 59, 73L, 76.

<sup>464</sup> An owl appears on the reins of a *quadriga* on the pinax COP 2B, very much like e.g. on the representations of the myth of Herakles and the Hydra where Athena is often present (see §411).

<sup>459</sup> Payne attributed this pinax to the painter of COP 62.

<sup>460</sup> Pernice, who takes (a) for the label of the owl, otherwise is fully aware of what I call the starting-point principle (see §104), e.g. (1897), 34 (on COP 45): ‘Wie sonst pflegt auch auf den korinthischen Pinakes die Inschrift von der Person oder dem Gegenstand auszugehen, zu dem sie gehört; im Notfalle steht sie darüber oder läuft daran entlang.’

(b) The general interpretation of the little ithyphallic figure as either a daemon who tries to destroy the pottery (Pernice (1898))<sup>465</sup> or an apotropaic patron of the kiln (Jocelyn) makes sense; with the reading suggested here I prefer the latter (though the owl, i.e. Athena, would seem to suffice). Yet, we should not rush to attribute a name *Κάμινος* to our dwarf; for it seems more reasonable to take the inscription as the label of the kiln (as in COP 81, where there is no dwarf), which was naturally placed in front of the anthropomorphic figure belonging to the kiln, the dwarf on the stoking tunnel. (Alternatively, we may assume that the dwarf had a compound name with *καμινος*- as its first part; such compounds, however, are rare and late.)

(c) is probably the name of the potter or painter who depicted himself and then dedicated the tablet. Furtwängler (on F 822 and 829) judged: 'Stil des Timonidas', which was repeated by Pernice (1898), 75. However, the handwriting is certainly not Timonidas' (in fact, the present one is more careful), and our name is written retrograde, although the loose composition suggests that there was enough space around the figure to write in the other direction, which was Timonidas' preference (see COP 18). Moreover, if the interpretation of *Λόκρις* as the name of the potter (and donor) is correct, we know who made this piece. Of course, Lokris may have been working together with Timonidas.

°COP 64 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 629

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 60; Furtwängler (1885), no. 629; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 308; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Top-l. corner and most of l. margin; part of a kiln (to its r. there will have been a figure working at it, whose label the inscr. would be). The reverse is plain. *Date*: —.

ΔΒΡΞΜ

Δερεῖς

Δέρεῖς or Δέρεῖς.

*Epigraphy*: Well preserved in the free space between the l. margin and the kiln. *Interpretation*: Probably label of a workman.

Pernice (1898: 80) considered the interpretation of this inscription as a name as uncertain. But there is no alternative. It is one of the ambiguous cases which do not tell us what the man, whose name is on the tablet, did with it (see COP 61). The name has been transcribed Δέρεῖς (Röhl) and Δήρεῖς (Fränkel, Schwyzer); it may be connected, for example, with δέρω, or perhaps with δεῖρας, which is used of the Isthmos of Corinth by Pind. *Ol.* 8. 52, *Isth.* 1. 10.

<sup>465</sup> He also (p. 77) refers to figures like the little *πῆλινος Ἡφαιστος*, overseer of the fire in fire-places and kilns (*Σ Ar. Av.* 436) and the apotropaic Satyr mask attached to a kiln on the vase Munich 1717 = *ABV* 362. 36.

\*°COP 65 PARIS, LOUVRE MNB 2858

Pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Rayet (1880), 105 f., no. 2, with drs.; Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 59a + 60a; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 316 + 318; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; ph. Cuomo di Caprio (1984), 78, no. 2; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 26, and 608, no. 37 in the list. *Photographs*: Cuomo di Caprio only (b), quite cl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Complete. On one side a man is chopping a tree with a double-axe (a), on the other another one (b) is working at a kiln, wielding a stick. Both are facing r. 'C'est sans doute le nom du potier représenté, comme *Ῥορύμων* est celui de son associé le bûcheron. Mais je ne connais aucun autre exemple de ces deux noms' (Rayet). *Date*: —.

(a) ΟΥΥΜΟΝ (b) ΜΟ ΔΞΜ

(a) *Ουυμων* (b) *Σορδης*

(a) *Ῥορύμων*. (b) *Σόρδης*.

*Epigraphy*: The inscs. are written behind the men's backs. (b) The third letter in its present state (see dr.) could also be an upsilon (Υ) or a gamma (of the type of COP 38). But since Rayet apparently was in no doubt as to its being a rho (see his dr.), we should accept his reading. *Interpretation*: Labels (workmen).

Both labels contradict the starting-point principle (see §104).

(a) This name is the animated stem of the 'Doric' (etc.) form of Attic *ῥνομα* (see e.g. Lejeune, §§192 n. 3, and 212 n. 8; the [u] is present also in Attic (etc.) *ῥνώννυμος*). Another example of the name is given by Bechtel (p. 350). (b) \**Σόγδης* or \**Σοῦδης* do not make better sense than *Σόρδης*, which is, however, equally obscure.

°COP 66 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 804

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 59; Furtwängler (1885), no. 804; Pernice (1897), 35; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 319; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 11; Amyx (1988), 608, no. 38 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: On one side (bottom-r. corner) a man (a) working at a kiln.<sup>466</sup> On the other side (top-l. corner) Poseidon with inscr. (b) next to his figure. *Date*: —.

(a) (←) ΜΤΞΓΟΝ (b) ΥΞΘ

(a) *Στιπον* (b) *υιϙ*

(a) *Στίπων*. (b) *υιϙ*.

<sup>466</sup> Pernice slightly modifies Furtwängler's description, pointing out that nothing survives of the kiln, but the leg of another man, standing on the stoking tunnel of the kiln, is preserved on the existing fr.

*Epigraphy*: Both inscs. are fully preserved. (a) starts in front of the workman, added with paint of different consistency. (b) is to the l., leading downwards. *Interpretation*: (a) Label (workman). (b) Nonsense inscription.

(a) A possible connection for this otherwise unattested name is given by Bechtel, p. 487. But since in view of (b) the writer (and donor?; see §302) may have been illiterate, the name is perhaps incorrect.

\*<sup>o</sup>COP 67 PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 211 + BERLIN,  
ANTI-KENSAMMLUNG F 601 + CORINTH, ARCH. MUS.  
C-63-203 + 250 + 251

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879, 1963). *Bibliography*: Collignon (1886), 28 f., with dr. fig. 7 (only the Paris part); dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 29. 18 (only Berlin); M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 341 (only Paris); Geagan (1970), 41 f., and esp. 44 f., with ph. (and dr. of the reverse) (p. 42). *Photographs*: Geagan sm. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990 (the Paris part). *Scene*: Joined by Geagan. A warship (two men, two shields and a bunch of spears are preserved). On the other side (no inscs.) a woman (Geagan thinks of Athena, see COP 63) and to the r. a man with a pick-axe working on something lost in the middle (the axe is on the Paris fr.). *Date*: —.

(←) ΔCΔ⊗OM  
[. . .] αγαθος  
[. . .] ἀγαθος.

*Epigraphy*: Only the Paris fr. is inscribed. Whereas *IG* did not attempt a reading, Geagan did, namely [. . .] αῖθος. Autopsy, however, showed that her nu is impossible. It has to be resolved into a gamma and an alpha (of which only small blotches of the paint remain, the rest is visible as a shadow). Nor is her claim true that the remains of the first letter suit lambda best. The oblique stroke of a lambda rarely comes down so close to the ground line, and there is a cross-bar, rising slightly.<sup>467</sup> *Interpretation*: Perhaps a label (unidentified scene; seafaring?).

Geagan takes the inscription for the name of the man sitting just underneath. This is not convincing, since this would not be written in such a narrow circle leading up (the beginning, lost) and down again. The inscription is more likely to have run on horizontally. It will therefore be a label of a lost figure. There are several names with -αγαθος as their second part (see Bechtel, pp. 8 f., e.g. Παντάγαθος, 6th cent.), none of which is heroic. We may therefore take the scene as non-heroic and the name as belonging to a contemporary Corinthian depicted on the pinax (see §302, end).

<sup>467</sup> As Geagan's reading is wrong, her theory (pp. 45 f.) of a representation of Phalanthos emigrating from Sparta via Delphi to Italy (Taras) is void.

## g. Other Heroic or Non-heroic Labels

(For labels see also the preceding chapter (COP 60 ff.) as well as COP 2C, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 20, 23, 27 (?), 35, 37, 38, 42, 44, 47, 52, 56, 58.)

### <sup>o</sup>COP 68 BERLIN, ANTI-KENSAMMLUNG F 475

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 72; Furtwängler (1885), no. 475; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 17; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 299; Payne (1931), 104; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 15; Lorber (1979), 53, no. 71, ph. pl. 16; *LIMC* i, 'Amphitrite' 11\*, dr. pl. 577; Schefold (1993), 217, with dr. fig. 227; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 111. *Photographs*: Lorber cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Top-r. corner; head of a woman (named) to l., where the top of Poseidon's trident is visible. *Date*: 600–575 (Payne, Jeffery); c.620 (*LIMC*); c.600 (Schefold).

(←) ΑΝΦΞΤΡΞ  
Ανφιτρι . .  
Ανφιτριτῆ.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Label (Amphitrite).  
For the spelling Ανφ- see §114, for the name in general see §246.

### <sup>o</sup>COP 69A–B (A) BERLIN, ANTI-KENSAMMLUNG F 484, (B) IBID. F 480

Fr. pinakes from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 71; Furtwängler (1885), no. 484; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 298. (B) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 73; Furtwängler (1885), no. 480; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 300 (with wrong reference to *AntDenkm*). *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991 (both). *Scene*: (A) Part of l. margin; dressed figure to r. (B) Top-l. corner; Poseidon to r. with trident. *Date*: —.

(A) ΜΦΞΤΡΞΤ (B) ΡΞΤ  
(A) [. . .]μφιτριτ [. . .] (B) [. . .]ριτ[. . .]  
(A) [Α]μφιτριτῆ. (B) [Α(μ)φιτ]ριτ[ῆ].

*Epigraphy*: (A) runs downwards to the l., behind the back of the figure. (B) is a plausible reading of three faint letters to the r. of Poseidon's figure, downwards; Furtwängler concluded that there had been an Amphitrite to the r. *Interpretation*: Labels (Amphitrite).

For the name see §246.

### <sup>o</sup>COP 70 BERLIN, ANTI-KENSAMMLUNG F 486

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 2; Furtwängler (1885), no. 486; dr. *AntDenkm* i

(1886), no. 7. 25; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 294; Payne (1931), 112 with nn. 1 f.; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 132. 25; *LIMC* i, 'Amphitrite' 14\*, ph. pl. 577; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 116\*, dr. pl. 361. *Photographs*: *LIMC* i (b) quite cl., (a) less so. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Top-r. corner; a man (a) and a woman (b) to l., meeting Hermes (no name preserved). *Date*: after mid-6th cent. (Payne); c.530 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΟΤΕ Ν (b) (←) ΑΦΞΤΡΞ  
(a) Ποτεδαν (b) Αφιτρ[. . .]  
(a) Ποτεδαν, (b) Α(μ)φιτρ[τᾱ].

*Epigraphy*: (a) is now very faint. *Interpretation*: Labels (Poseidon and Amphitrite).

The spelling Αφ- occurs several times, see §246.

°COP 71 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 349

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Furtwängler (1885), no. 349; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 29. 2; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 277; Payne (1931), 104; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 15; Lorber (1979), 52 f., no. 69 (with dr.), ph. pl. 16; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 105\*, dr. pl. 359. *Photographs*: Lorber quite cl. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Upper two fifths of a tablet; Poseidon (named) with trident. Carefully framed picture. The reverse is plain. *Date*: 600–575 (Payne, Jeffery).

ΓΟΤΒΔΑΝ  
Ποτεδαν  
Ποτεδαν.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Label (Poseidon).

The form is noteworthy because of its Β instead of normal Ε (see §255).

°COP 72 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 497 + 527

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 23; Furtwängler (1885), no. 497 + 527; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 13 (only F 497); Pernice (1897), 21, with dr. of both frs. fig. 11; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 280; Payne (1931), 108; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 131. 20; Lorber (1979), 75, no. 116, ph. pl. 33; *LIMC* vii, 'Poseidon' 115\*, ph. pl. 360. *Photographs*: Lorber and *LIMC* cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Added to F 527 (uninscribed) by Pernice. L. half; a man (named) and a woman (no name preserved) in a chariot. *Date*: 575–550 (Payne, Jeffery).

(←) ΓΟΤΕΔΔΝ  
Ποτεδαν  
Ποτεδαν.

*Epigraphy*: Behind Poseidon's back. *Interpretation*: Label (Poseidon).

For the name see §255.

°COP 73A–O (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 377,  
(B) IBID. F 375, (C) IBID. F 416, (D) IBID. F 389,  
(E) IBID. F 418, (F) IBID. F 825, (G) IBID. F 514 + 515,  
(H) IBID. F 370, (I) IBID. F 355, (J) IBID. F 3921,  
(K) IBID. F 953, (L) IBID. F 840, (M) IBID. F 945,  
(N) IBID. F 809, (O) IBID. F 461

Fr. pinakes from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 24 (*sic*); Furtwängler (1885), no. 377; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 283. (B) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 25; Furtwängler (1885), no. 375; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 30. 4; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 284. (C) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 28 (*sic*); Furtwängler (1885), no. 416; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 279. (D) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 78; Furtwängler (1885), no. 389; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 274. (E) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 30; Furtwängler (1885), no. 418; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 286. (F) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 29; Furtwängler (1885), no. 825; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 288. (G) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 32; Furtwängler (1885), no. 514 + 515; Pernice (1897), 22; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1899–1901) 40. 4; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 289. (H) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 76; Furtwängler (1885), no. 370; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 29. 11; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 291; Payne (1931), 108. (I) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 77; Furtwängler (1885), no. 355; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 290. (J) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 111; Furtwängler (1885), no. 3921; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 272. (K) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 109a; Furtwängler (1885), no. 953; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 270. (L) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 79; Furtwängler (1885), no. 840; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 276. (M) Furtwängler (1885), no. 945; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 273. (N) Furtwängler (1885), no. 809; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 292. (O) Furtwängler (1885), no. 461; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 293. *Photographs*: —. (B)–(E), (I), (M) vidi 26 Sept. 1991; I omitted to make a dr. of (I). (G), (J), (K), (L) vidi 27 Sept. 1991. (H), (N), (O) vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). (F) Not found in the museum. (A) Lost in World War II? *Scene*: (A) Top-r. corner; hands and trident of Poseidon (named). (B) Top-l. corner; the back of a bearded man (named). (C) Middle part of a figure (named). (D) Top-l. corner; part of the cloak of a figure (named). (E) Top-l. corner; part of the head of a figure (named). (F) Top-l. corner; probably a label, although no figs. are preserved on this side (on the other a man walking; perhaps a working scene, Furtwängler). (G) Joined by Pernice. Part of upper margin and centre; horses and reins of a *quadriga* to r. (H) Male figure (named) with a stick (trident?). (I) Lower parts of a figure (named). (J) L. margin; middle part of Poseidon with trident. (K) Probably l. (not r.) margin; small part of dressed figure (?). (L) L. margin; male figure to r. (named)

with stick (trident?). On the reverse a Palladion, standing on something. (M) No figs. preserved. (N) Upper margin; head of Poseidon to r. (named) with trident. On the reverse a kiln and part of a tool. (O) R. margin; a hand holding a jug, part of a stick (trident?) held by the other hand (Furtwängler): therefore probably a label. *Date:* (H) 575–550 (Payne).

(A) ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ (B) ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ (C) ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ (D) ΓΟΤΒ Α  
(E) ΓΟΤΕΔ (F) ΓΟΤΕ (G) ΤΕΔΑΝ (H) ΔΑΝ (I) ΔΑΝ  
(J) (←) ΒΞΔΑ (K) (←) ΟΤΒΞ (L) ΟΤΞΔΑ (M) ΟΤΒ  
(N) Γ (O) Γ

(A) Ποτεδαν (B) Ποτεδαν (C) Ποτεδαν (D) Ποτε . α .  
(E) Ποτεδα[. . .] (F) Ποτε[. . .] (G) [. . .]τεδαν  
(H) [. . .]δαν (I) [. . .]δαν (J) [. . .]ειδα[. . .]  
(K) [. . .]οτειδ[. . .] (L) Ποτιδα[. . .] (M)  
[. . .?]οτε . . .[. . .] (N) Π[. . .] (O) Π[. . .]

(A) Ποτεδάν. (B) Ποτεδάν. (C) Ποτεδάν. (D) Ποτεδάν.  
(E) Ποτεδάν[ν]. (F) Ποτε[δάν . . .?]. (G) [Πο]τεδάν.  
(H) [Ποτε]δάν. (I) [Ποτε]δάν. (J) [Ποτ]ειδάν[ν].  
(K) [. . .? Π]οτειδ[άν . . .?]. (L) Ποτιδάν[ν]. (M)  
[. . .?]Ποτεδάν[ν . . .?]. (N) Π[οτεδάν]. (O) Π[οτεδάν].

*Epigraphy:* (B) Downwards. (C) Probably downwards to the r. (D) Fränkel after the epsilon seems to have assumed an iota, which is non-existent. (E) runs downwards to the l. (G) comes in from the l. and is likely to be the label of a (the?) figure in the chariot. (J) leads down the l. margin, in big letters; Furtwängler thinks of a dative, but in view of the large size of the letters it is more likely just a label of the figure. (L) The pi was probably the first letter, next to the (lost) upper margin. It seems likely that the inscr. was just a label. (M) Fränkel writes Π[οτειδάν], meaning plene-written ΒΞ; but from the remains of the letter after the epsilon this seems less likely. *Interpretation:* Labels (Poseidon).

For the name and its different spellings see §255. For the reverse of (L) see also ad COP 63a.

°COP 74 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 488 + 492

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Furtwängler (1885), no. 488 + 492; Pernice (1897), 19; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1899–1901) 39. 2; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 281;<sup>468</sup> Payne (1931), 108. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Pernice joined the uninscribed fr. F 492. Lost figure (named) leading or meeting three others, who are facing l. (no names preserved). *Date:* 575–550 (Payne).

<sup>468</sup> This is not *IGA* 20. 31 (as Fränkel holds). Kretschmer (p. 34 n. 2) had already observed its omission by Röhl in *IGA*.

ΓΟΤΕΔΑΝ  
[. . .?]Ποτεδαν  
Ποτεδάν.

*Epigraphy:* Furtwängler saw traces of more letters, which Fränkel does not mention. *AntDenkm* only give ΤΕΔΑΝ (with free space before and after). On the original, the name is entirely visible, and the inscr. is certainly complete at the end, probably also at the beginning, where the surface is somewhat worn off. *Interpretation:* Probably a label (Poseidon).

For the name see §255.

°COP 75 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
F 403 + 405 + 490

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 66; Furtwängler (1885), no. 403 + 405 + 490; Pernice (1897), 13; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1895–8) 30. 12; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 263; Payne (1931), 159 n. 2; Guarducci (1967), 174 f.; Wachter (1989b), 56 with n. 77. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Joined, with addition of an unnumbered fr., by Pernice. Two dressed figures with dark feet facing each other. One of them is holding a stick. The inscr. is running downwards between them. Pernice suggested that the other figure is Poseidon. *Date:* —.

ΞΒΜ  
ΞΕΥΣ  
ΞΕΥΣ.

*Epigraphy:* I (Röhl and Furtwängler), Ξ (Pernice, Fränkel); the latter is correct. *Interpretation:* Label (Zeus).

For the initial Ξ see §258.

°COP 76 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 911

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 58; Furtwängler (1885), no. 911; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 267. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Top-l. corner; unbearded head to r. (the inscr. starts in front of it). On the other side parts of a bearded man with spear. *Date:* —.

ΑΘ  
ΑΘ[. . .]  
ΑΘ[άν?].

*Epigraphy:* Although more of the tablet is preserved, no further letters show. The incised vertical lines (accidental scratches, or spears in the middle of the scene?) may have been in the way and caused the writer to continue elsewhere. *Interpretation:* Label (perhaps Athena).

Fränkel thinks of the goddess (which was also Furtwängler's opinion) or a human name; see ad COP 63a.

°COP 77 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 764

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 4 + 4a (p. 170); Furtwängler (1885), no. 764; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 15; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 268; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 14; Payne (1931), 104 with n. 2 (bibl.), 135 no. 10; Friis Johansen (1967), 57–63, with dr., cat. p. 244, no. A. 1a; Schefold (1964), 85, and (1966), 88 f., with dr. fig. 37; Lorber (1979), 76, no. 119, phs. pl. 33; *LIMC* i, 'Aineias' 35; *LIMC* ii, 'Athena' 564; *LIMC* iii, 'Diomedes' i. 12\*, ph. pl. 285; Schefold (1993), 316, with ph. fig. 348a; *LIMC* vii, 'Pandaros' i, 'Sthenelos' ii. 5. *Photographs*: Lorber mostly cl.; *LIMC* all but (a), quite cl.; Schefold only (a), cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: An archer shooting to r. (a). In front of him, probably also to r. and standing beyond the horses of a chariot, a lost figure (b). In the chariot Athena (c) is waiting. She is watching to r., where a warrior (d) is about to throw his spear at his opponent (no name preserved). To the r., a warrior (e) is lying on the ground. *Date*: perhaps c.600–575 (Payne, p. 104); shortly before mid-6th cent. (Friis Johansen, p. 61); c.560 (*LIMC* i; ii; vii, 'Pandaros'; Schefold); c.550 (*LIMC* iii; vii, 'Sthenelos').

(a) ΤΒ (b) ΒΜΒΓΟΜ (c) ΑΘΑΝΔΕΑ (d) ΔΞ (e) (←) ΡΟΜ

(a) Τε [. . .] (b) [. . .]. ενελος (c) Αθαναεα (d) Δι [. . .]  
(e) [. . .]ρος

(a) Τεϛ[ρως], (b) [Σ]θένελος, (c) Αθᾶναέᾱ, (d) Διο[μῆδεϛ],  
(e) [Πάνδα]ρος.

*Epigraphy*: The writing is one of the most careless on all these pinakes. (a) Röhl's dr. shows the bottom of qoppa, which I could not see; not even the upsilon was evident. (b) It seemed odd, but I could not see anything of the theta. (d) Part of the omicron is visible. *Interpretation*: Labels (fight of Diomedes, perhaps with Aineias).

According to Payne (p. 104 with n. 2), the clay of this pinax is 'reddish', but 'not exactly red, as is often said.' For the myth represented see §443.

For (b), which is a hypocoristic, see §228. (c) For the spelling of the *i*-diphthong (or of the intervocalic [i]) see §225; for the long name of Athena see §247.

°COP 78 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 555 (INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 45; Furtwängler (1885), no. 555; Pernice (1897), 24;

dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 7. 23; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 314; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 22 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Horses walking to r.; inscr. (a) is underneath, along the margin. The reins are held by a little jumping man, labelled (b) between his legs and partly on his body. On the reverse (no inscr. preserved) a kiln (Pernice). *Date*: —.

(a) ΔΒΥΜ (incised) (b) ΓΥΜΞΓΟΜ (incised)

(a) Δεϛς (b) Λυσιππος

(a) Δεϛς. (b) Λύσιπ(π)ος.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Furtwängler and Fränkel complete [Αχ]ιλλ(λ)εϛς, supposing a horseman. Yet not only does the drawing in *AntDenkm* show a delta, but a horseman—if there was any<sup>469</sup>—should not be named so far below the horse. Autopsy has shown that delta is correct: the third stroke does not meet the others, just as in the pi of (b). The two lines to its l., which are less deeply engraved, are not parts of letters. *Interpretation*: (a) Note of destination (?). (b) Label (probably a non-heroic marching scene).

(a) The inscription is easier to interpret with Zeus (see §258 on the spelling of this name) than with Achilleus,<sup>470</sup> since Zeus is more than once represented together with Poseidon. But it can hardly be the label of a figure on the pinax. Instead of a Zeus depicted, we may rather interpret the name as a note of destination (see COP 29), meaning '(this tablet is destined for) Zeus' or '(... has been offered to) Zeus'. At any rate, we can accept the inscription as Corinthian and contemporary with the production of the tablet, although it is incised. (b) 'Lysippo nomen inditum ex officio suo' (Fränkel), which is one possibility (it would then be a horsey or speaking name or both; see §§238 f.). Another one would be that Lysippos depicted himself in the action expressed by his name, although he was a potter or painter.

°COP 79 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 565

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 50; Furtwängler (1885), no. 565; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 8. 10; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 331; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 123. 15; Amyx (1988), 607, no. 31 in the list. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene*: Two horsemen galloping. Only their horses are named, (a) and (b). *Date*: —.

(a) ΓΥΡΦΟΜ (b) ΤΑΧΥΔΡΟ

(a) Γυρφος (b) Ταχυδρο[. . .]

(a) Γύρφος, (b) Ταχύδρο[μος].

<sup>469</sup> This seems not clear, in view of the little man (b) holding the reins. Fränkel takes it for granted that the inscr. belonged to a horseman: 'in quo sedet Achilles'.

<sup>470</sup> Why did Amyx (p. 606; see also n. 7) incorporate this "Αχιλλεϛς" in his list of non-heroic and non-divine names?

*Epigraphy:* (a) In front of the second horse's head. (b) Under the leading horse's head; the name must have been continued under the leg. *Interpretation:* Labels (horses in a non-heroic riding scene).

For other horse-names see §244. (a) Kretschmer (p. 48 n. 3) gives the translation 'feuerrot'. (b) The adjective *ταχυδρόμος* is attested in literature (see also the horse CHA 6c).

°COP 80 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 569

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Furtwängler (1885), no. 569; not in M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (see COP 54). *Photographs:* —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Bottom-r. corner; forelegs of horses to r. *Date:* —.

OM

[. . .]σος

[. . .]σος.

*Epigraphy:* Comes in from above, where the horses' heads are, and is complete at the end. It is therefore likely to be a label, rather than the end of a longer inscr. (e.g. a dedication ending in a father's name). *Interpretation:* Probably a label (horse, probably belonging to a *quadriga*, perhaps of Poseidon).

°COP 81 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
F 482 + 627 + 943

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 105 + 96; Furtwängler (1885), no. 482 + 627 + 943; Pernice (1897), 19, with ph. fig. 9; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 332; ph. Cuomo di Caprio (1984), 79, no. 7. *Photographs:* Pernice invis.; Cuomo di Caprio uncl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (on exhibition). *Scene:* Joined, with addition of an unnumbered fr., by Pernice. Man (no name preserved) working at a kiln (named).<sup>471</sup> *Date:* —.

ΚΑΜΞΝΟΜ

Καμινος

κάμινος.

*Epigraphy:* Label, written upside-down instead of retrograde. *Interpretation:* Label (kiln).

As no dwarf is standing on this kiln, the likely label *κάμινος* on COP 63 probably designates the kiln rather than the dwarf.

<sup>471</sup> This is not the name of the donor as Geagan (1970: 41 with n. 35) thinks, because the inscr. starts at the kiln and runs towards the man's feet.

°COP 82 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 830

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 100; Furtwängler (1885), no. 830; dr. *AntDenkm* ii (1899–1901) 40. 1a–b (no inscr.); M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 335. *Photographs:* —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Part of upper margin (no corner); back of a head to l. (kiln scene, Furtwängler); (a) runs above, along the margin. On the other side back of a female head to r. with diadem (no inscr.). On top of the margin, very unusually, inscr. (b). *Date:* —.

(a) ΝΟΜ, (b) ΚΡΑ.

(a) [. . .]νος (b) [. . .]κραν[. . .].

*Epigraphy:* (a) is complete at the end; the first letter is a nu not a lambda. (b) The last letter can only be an upsilon or a psi. *Interpretation:* (a) Label (unidentified scene; workman?). (b) Not clear.

(a) Probably the end of a proper name (label of a workman?). (b) Unclear. One may consider *ἐγραψε* written with kappa, as happens in this position (cf. Attic [*Δ*]ἑακρος καλός (*ARV* 354. 25); see Threatte, p. 556, and especially Kretschmer, pp. 144 f.). Very uncertain.

## h. Unusual Inscriptions

°COP 83 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 356 + 609

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography:* Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 26 + 14; Furtwängler (1885), no. 356 + 609; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 287 + 327; Geagan (1970), 41, with ph. fig. 15. *Photographs:* Geagan *Ποτ-* uncl., the rest quite cl. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene:* Joined by Geagan. Man standing in front of a kiln; the inscr. does not start at his head. The reverse is plain. *Date:* —.

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝΔΕΜΞ

Ποτεδανδεμι

Ποτεδάν δ' ἐμι.

*Epigraphy:* The traditional reading *Ποτεδάνα ἐμί* is grammatically wrong. The fourth letter from the end is a delta. *Interpretation:* 'Label' of imaginary Poseidon (?).

Geagan is right not to consider the figure represented to be Poseidon just because the inscription could suggest it. The parallel she cites (our COP 84A), where no less than two men are working at a kiln and *Ποτεδαν* is written on top, makes such an interpretation unlikely. On the other hand, her view that the form *Ποτεδανα*, as read at the time, could 'well be an early alternate form' of the genitive (which would yield a property formula: 'I am Poseidon's (pinax)'), is impossible and was duly criticized by J. Mansfield *apud* Amyx (p. 603 n. 7). But Mansfield's own



<sup>473</sup> F. Blass, *SGDI* 3119i, with *Περαεόθεν Μίϙω(ν) ἐμέ [ἀνέθηκε]*? tried to achieve a better meaning, but the result was no more satisfactory.

One major problem is the spelling of the first syllable.<sup>474</sup> The Attic harbour is spelled *Περαειός* in most of the inscriptions which are still written in the local alphabet,<sup>475</sup> but also *Πειρ-* already in the fifth century,<sup>476</sup> and therefore contained a long vowel, which is confirmed by Ar. *Pax* 145 and 165.

As for the Corinthian name, the spelling with 'normal' β in our inscription suggests that there is not the same long and closed sound as in the Attic name, where the spelling with a (spurious) diphthong prevails, since in that case we might expect the letter Ε (see §219), as it is used in the following <ae>-diphthong (for which see §225).<sup>477</sup> Theoretically the sign could represent an original long [ē], but then, the name would be without apparent etymology. So in view of the fact that we not only have *Πειραιόν*, the harbour of Corinth, but (from Steph. Byz.) also *Περαία*, a region near Corinth, we should prefer the latter, and there is little doubt that this name is derived from *πέρα* 'on the other side (mostly of water)' (Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.). The question is, how we can justify a form in *-οθεν* from an *a*-stem. The form is indeed hardly from *Περαία*, since this should give *Περαιάθεν*.<sup>478</sup> Should we therefore assume that the region in question was called *Περαία* (ntr. pl.), like *Μέγαρα* or *Κύθηρα* (with Hom. *Κυθηρόθεν*)? Or is the form nevertheless—as is normally assumed—taken from *Πειραιός* or *-όν*?

If we return to the topographical situation, we may state the following. The account in Xen. *Hell.* 4. 5. 3 etc. (with *Πειραιόν*) is likely to concern a village in the north-west corner of the peninsula north of Corinth, which is now called Perachora.<sup>479</sup> This peninsula is generally accepted to be the land *Πέραια* of Steph. Byz., since it is precisely opposite and fairly close to Corinth. But the harbour of which Thuc. 8. 10. 3 talks cannot possibly be the same, for this is not on the peninsula in question,<sup>480</sup> but somewhere on the east coast of the Corinthia: . . . ἐς Πειραιὸν τῆς Κορινθίας· ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν ἐρήμος καὶ ἔσχατος πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Ἐπιδaurίας. The conclusion must be that the harbour *Πειραιός* (masc. in Steph. Byz. and probably in Thuc.: sc. λιμὴν) and the village *Πειραιόν* (ntr. in Xen. *Hell.*) are not the same place. If so, they need not have or are indeed unlikely to have had the same name: the harbour in the east will be

*Πειραιός*, the village in the north *Περαίων*, from the same root as the region *Περαία* in Steph. Byz. This village *Περαίων* in *Περαία* will have got its *-ει-* (through an error by Xenophon?) from the two well-known harbours.<sup>481</sup> And this village seems to be the place where our worshippers won their contest.

The expression *νικάω* + a form in *-οθεν* is not paralleled. Nevertheless, it is understandable in view of similar usages of *-οθεν* forms; for instance, from a context of war, *LSAG* 169. 18 = *DGE* 80. 1 *Τάργ[εῖ]οι ἀνέθεν τοῦ Διὸς τὸν Κορινθόθεν* (c. 500–480?),<sup>482</sup> and *[Διὸς] Ὀλυ[νπ]ίου Φλεβόνταθεν* (*LSAG* 146 n. 1 = *SEG* 11. 1212; 1st. h. 5th cent.); or, from a context of games, the many Panathenaic amphorae (see Immerwahr, pp. 183 ff.) with *τὸν Ἀθηνῶθεν ἄθλων* (ἐμί), and, similarly, *LSAG* 85. 88. 16 *Ἐρετρίᾳθεν ἄθλων· παρ' Ἡερακλέος*.<sup>483</sup> The form in *-οθεν*, originally of ablative meaning, was often understood in a locative sense, a tendency which can already be observed in Homer (see Chantraine (1942), 241). This is easy to understand precisely in our contexts, where 'we were victorious at X' is very similar to 'we have brought home the booty/prize from X'. For the use of present for perfect 'have been victorious', see Schwyzler-Debrunner, p. 274 (e.g. *IGDS* 78 = *LSAG* 277. 39 = *DGE* 166 [δι]ὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμεν καὶ διὰ . . . ; Selinus, c. 450). On the whole, the expression 'we have won (a prize) from Peraion' seems unusual enough to support the possibility of a metrical inscription.

When we come to think about the event which may be reported in our inscription, the private character of the gift suggests a contest rather than a war. The festival *Πέραια* in Attic Piraeus, however, seems an unlikely candidate, not only for phonological reasons as explained above, but also because those—much later—basically contained tragic and comic contests in honour of Dionysos, which is unsuitable here. Perhaps we should imagine some sporting event at *Πειραιόν*, possibly connected with water, in view of the region where the contest seems to have taken place and the fact that our tablet was dedicated in a sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite. The connection with the pottery trade, however, remains uncertain.

#### COP 86 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 662

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 13; Furtwängler (1885), no. 662; dr. *AntDenkm* ii

<sup>474</sup> Kretschmer does not go into this. Buck thinks of a spelling mistake. No great help is brought by the Theraian proper name *Περαειός* (*DGE* 215. 1 = *GD* 110a = *LSAG* 323. 5, ph. pl. 61, c. 600?), which only shows that there is no real diphthong.

<sup>475</sup> *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 234. 27, 293. 14 (440 BC), 329. 14, 335. 59 (?), 358. 17, 359. 20 (= *IG* i<sup>3</sup>. 294, 363, 421, 433, 457, 455).

<sup>476</sup> *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 302. 53; 313. 2; 374. 12, 18, etc. (= *IG* i<sup>3</sup>. 370, 386, 476).

<sup>477</sup> Cases of <e> instead of expected <ae> do occur, but on the whole they are rare or have special reasons (see §219).

<sup>478</sup> See Schwyzler, p. 628: cases of *-οθεν* from *a*-stems are extremely rare. There is also *περαιόθεν* with the meaning 'from the other side', but this does not make sense here, and only occurs much later (Ap. Rhod., Arat.), the normal form being *πέραθεν* (Eur. *Heracl.* 82; Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 2; Hdt. *-ηθεν*).

<sup>479</sup> See the discussion of the passage in the topographical account in Fowler-Stillwell (1932), 42 (and generally pp. 35 ff. with a map on p. 36). On Perachora see also Wiseman (1978), *passim*.

<sup>480</sup> The peninsula originally belonged to Megara, as I am informed by N. Milner (see J. Salmon, *ABSA* 67 (1972), 159 ff.; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 17 = *Mor.* 295b).

<sup>481</sup> A geographical explanation with *πέρα* is hardly possible in the case of Attic Piraeus, which has no obvious 'on the other side'. Its etymology—as well as that of the Corinthian harbour—therefore remains uncertain. Of no help is the patronymic *Il.* 4. 228 *Πειραιδᾶο*, whose first syllable may, but need not, show metrical lengthening.

<sup>482</sup> This is an iambic trimeter, missed by Hansen in *CEG*. Jeffery must have been aware of it when she wrote about these donations at Olympia (p. 162): 'all bear, whole or in part, the same verse for the dedication.' For the resolution of a short (here: *Διὸς*), which is frequent in comedy, see Maas (1929), §111, e.g. Ar. *Av.* 1226 *εἰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀρχομεν, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ θεοί* . . . This metrical licence is particularly plausible where it occurs in the line from Ar. and in this inscr., namely before a caesura (also marked by a syntactical cut).

<sup>483</sup> Almost a trimeter too.

(1893–4) 24. 23 and (1895–8) 29. 19; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 333; Guarducci 1959/60, 279–81, with dr.; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 117 f., 131. 16, dr. pl. 20; Lorber (1979), 88 f., no. 143, ph. pl. 34; Wachter (1989b), *passim*. Photographs: Lorber quite cl. Vidi 28 Sept. 1991 (I did not make a dr.). *Scene*: Man with spear and flower. *Date*: 600–550 (Jeffery).

ΕΦΙΘΘΞΚΓΜΝΟΓ(←)ΙΨΡΜΤ

[. . .]εϜζηθικλμνοπξϞρστ[. . .]

[αβγδ]εϜζηθικλμνοπξϞρστ[υφψχϵ].

*Epigraphy*: The mu has two vertical hastas of almost the same length (see COP 1A). After the pi, having just finished the loop, the writer decided to put the tablet back in its first position and to work retrograde (was it because he wanted to place his fist outside the tablet rather than on its wet surface?). In doing so, he produced the rho in reversed shape. *Interpretation*: Abecedarium.

For the alphabetical sequence of letters see §106, and see Wachter (1989b).

### i. Nonsense Inscriptions

#### °COP 87 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 951

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 34; Furtwängler (1885), no. 951; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 339; not in Amyx (1988), 605–8. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: No figs. recognizable. *Date*: —.

⊗ΕΦΥ⊕

ΘεϞυθ[. . .]

*Epigraphy*: The margin is undamaged to the l. and above, therefore the inscr. is complete at the beginning. The <ε> has four oblique strokes. The qoppa could be a phi. The two thetas are different. *Interpretation*: Nonsense inscription.

#### °COP 88 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 709

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 98; Furtwängler (1885), no. 709; Pernice (1897), 31; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 323. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Bottom-l. corner; lower part of a figure to r. On the reverse a kiln (Pernice). *Date*: —.

(←) ΟΜΦ

[. . .]οσφ or [. . .]ομφ

*Epigraphy*: Comes in from above, the Φ being the last letter. Although the direction of script cannot be established from the

letters, in view of the great majority of inscrs. which run downwards, we have to accept this direction. *Interpretation*: Nonsense inscription.

#### °COP 89 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG I 144

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Pernice (1897), 46, no. 144; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 338. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Man walking behind a horse. *Date*: —.

ΡΟΗ ΗΟ Γ

[. . . ?]ρoη hο π

*Epigraphy*: Below the figs. No more was written, neither in the gaps nor at the end. *Interpretation*: Nonsense inscription.

#### \*°COP 90A–C (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 900, (B) IBID. F 938, (C) PARIS, LOUVRE MNC 216

Two fr. pinakes and one entire pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: (A) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 108; Furtwängler (1885), no. 900; dr. *AntDenkm* i (1886), no. 8. 20; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 340. (B) Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 33; Furtwängler (1885), no. 938; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 334. (C) Unpublished. *Photographs*: —. (A) Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. (B) Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. (C) Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: (A) Sketches. Two men, the bigger one as if named with the short inscr., furthermore a bird, a snake (?) and, floating in the top-r. corner, a small horse with horseman. On the other side from top to bottom a bull, a second bull, perhaps a kiln, in front of it two men. (B) Top-r. corner; no figs. recognizable. (C) Sketch (kiln from above?). On the reverse two crossed diagonals. *Date*: —.

(A) (a) ΑΟΟΞΒΤ (b) ΛΖΟΞΒΤ⊗ΡξΓΟΖΑΖΛ

(B) ΟΒΕΟ (C) Scattered letters, e.g. Ρ, Β, +

(A) (a) αοοιετ (b) αβοιετθριλοβαββ

(B) [. . . ?]οεεο . . . (C) No text.

*Epigraphy*: (A) (a) The second omicron is just a round dot. The iota is reversed. (b) The iota is again reversed. The beginning reminds us of an abecedarium (ΑΒΓ). Although most signs exist, the whole is nonsense. It is interesting that (a) is almost identical with the beginning of (b). (B) Along the upper margin. Some letters may be broken off to the l. The present third letter is not a heta as given by Fränkel. The fifth has a shape which allows no restoration as a known letter. After that there is the lower part of another sign. *Interpretation*: Nonsense inscriptions.

## j. Inscriptions of Uncertain Interpretation

## °COP 91 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 937 (INCISED)

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 65; Furtwängler (1885), no. 937; Pernice (1897), 15; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 302. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Strange animals, in view of which Pernice thought it could be the (non-contiguous) top of COP 8.<sup>484</sup> This is unlikely because there the reverse is covered with inscrs., whereas here we have what Furtwängler called 'Rest von Flammen?'. Our inscr. is incised next to the upper margin, in a vertical oval black field apparently painted for this purpose; it will have no connection with the animals. *Date*: —.

ACAMB  
 Αγαμε

*Epigraphy*: Röhl and Fränkel think that the inscr. was never completed. It is indeed completely preserved such as it is, but could in theory have been continued elsewhere on the tablet. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

Άγαμέ(μνων), Röhl; Άγαμή(δης) (?) Fränkel. Also Amyx (p. 605, no. 1) thinks of a proper name without making concrete suggestions. It is, however, far from certain that we are dealing with a name (surely Amyx should not have included it in his list of contemporary Corinthians). Of the many other possible ways towards an interpretation I only mention: vocative of ἄγαμος 'unmarried' (archaic, mostly used of men); a name or a verb (ἄγνυμι or ἄγαμαι ?) + pronoun (ε)με; a verb + μή (postponed, see LSJ, s.v., [D], and Eur. *Med.* 83). Nothing seems to put itself forward.

## °COP 92 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 544

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 37; Furtwängler (1885), no. 544; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 305. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Top-l. corner; flying bird, part of a spear. *Date*: —.

APΞMT  
 Αριστ(. . .).

*Epigraphy*: Starts in the corner. In his dr., Fränkel indicates that it was left incomplete, which is probably correct. After the tau, there is a distinct boundary between two different textures of surface. In the lower part the surface is coarse with incised lines, above (where the inscription is) it is polished. *Interpretation*: Not clear, perhaps a sketch which was never completed.

<sup>484</sup> This has led to Amyx's double registration of COP 8, viz. p. 608, no. 46 (F 422 + 908 + 937), and p. 607, no. 28 (F 908 + 422).

## °COP 93 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 481

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 36; Furtwängler (1885), no. 481; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 324. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Poseidon and Amphitrite. *Date*: —.

(←)ΡΟΚΑΜΞΑ  
 [. . .]ροκαμία

*Epigraphy*: Runs downwards between the figs. towards the bottom of the tablet, where it turns to r. *Interpretation*: Not clear; perhaps a gen. of a name (father of a donor?).

First read correctly by Kretschmer (p. 35): '[Ανδ]ροκαμία oder dgl.' (see Bechtel, p. 234), by which he will have understood the genitive of a proper name in -ίᾱς.

## °COP 94 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 942

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 103; Furtwängler (1885), no. 942; M. Fränkel, *IG* iv (1902), no. 330. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Top-r. corner; indistinct scene. The reverse is plain. *Date*: —.

ΑΜΟΤΟΔΒΟΜΒ  
 [. . .]. ανοτοδεονε  
 [. . .]. ανο τὸ(ν)δεῖν(ν) (?)

*Epigraphy*: Horizontal; clearly legible. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

Fränkel transcribes ἄνθ τὸδε Ὀνε(. . .), 'Videtur dedicans, de cuius nomine nil nisi exordium fuerit scriptum, profiteri se suspendisse testam, quae re vera foraminibus duobus in summa parte est instructa'. But holes are a frequent feature of these pinakes and should not be used to justify an unusual inscription. Moreover, Fränkel ignores the remains of a preceding letter that Furtwängler saw, reading a gamma or the like: [. . .]ανοτοδεονε; such remains indeed exist, though nu or kappa, perhaps iota, pi, or san, would also be possible. Now, the passage τοδεονε reminds one strikingly of the enlarged demonstrative pronoun in the genitive plural masculine τὸνδεῶν and nominative plural neuter ταδῶν in the Argive dialect (Buck, §123, with *GD* 83; Schwyzer, p. 612, Schwyzer-Debrunner, pp. 208 and 566). These are to be analysed as τὸν-δε-ὦν-ῶν and τα-δε-(α)-ῶν, i.e. as the demonstrative with -δε + another case ending + the particle ῶν 'see there'. Our form because of its penultimate letter could be either an accusative singular or a genitive plural, but both the pre-consonantal and the final [n] would be missing. Of these, the first is a lesser problem (see §201). But as long as the preceding letters are not clear, we must remain cautious.

## °COP 95 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 805

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 83; Furtwängler (1885), no. 805; M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 337. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 27 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Middle part of r. margin; Poseidon with trident. On the reverse (no inscr. preserved) men working at a kiln. *Date*: —.

Β ΜΝ ⊕

[. . .]μμελ . σν . θ . [ . . . ]

*Epigraphy*: Down the r. margin. The reading is very uncertain. Furtwängler saw . . αιεπ . σμυθ . . . , Fränkel [. . .]αιε[ . . .]σνυθ . [ . . . ]. The end reminds us of -νέθξ[κε, but there is no alpha. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

## °COP 96 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 425

Fr. pinax from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: Röhl, *IGA* (1882), 20. 35; Furtwängler (1885), no. 425; M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 342. *Photographs*: —. Vidi 26 Sept. 1991. *Scene*: Part of l. margin, middle part of a body. *Date*: —.

(←) ΤΕ

[. . .] . . . τε

*Epigraphy*: Runs downwards between the margin and the clothing of the figure. Complete at the end. The old reading [. . .]. δετε could not be confirmed. I saw something like [. . .]. δετε, [. . .]. μετε or [. . .]. αρε. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

Could be a third person singular or a dative singular in -ει, for example δμαρτει 'goes together with', κάρτει 'with force', etc.

°COP 97<sup>A-F</sup> (A) BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG F 437,  
(B) IBID. F 434, (C) IBID. INV. —, (D) IBID. I 37A,  
(E) IBID. I 119A, (F) IBID. F 457

Fr. pinakes from Penteskouphia (1879). *Bibliography*: (A) Furtwängler (1885), no. 437; M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 343. (B) Furtwängler (1885), no. 434 (not 433); M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 344. (C) M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 345 (no inv. no.). (D) Pernice (1897), 43, no. 37a. (E) Pernice (1897), 45, no. 119a. (F) Furtwängler (1885), no. 457; M. Fränkel, *IG iv* (1902), no. 275. *Photographs*: —. (A), (B), (F) vidi 26 Sept. 1991. (C)–(E) could not be found in the museum. *Scene*: (D) Bottom-l. corner, a foot and parts of the clothing of man (Poseidon) walking to r. (F) A hand (of Poseidon). *Date*: —.

(A) ΜΜ (B) — (C) (←) Ν (D) Κ Μ (E) ? (F) Β

(A) [. . .]σσ[. . .] (B) — (C) [. . .]ν (D) . . . κ . σ[. . . ?]  
(E) ? (F) [. . . ?]ε

*Epigraphy*: (A) Since geminates are not normally written with two letters, the two signs may cover a word-end. If we read [. . .]σμ[. . .], it could be the end of a name and the pronoun of μ' ἀνέθεκε. (B) has previously been read as a final san, but is probably no letter at all (see dr.). (F) A single letter. Fränkel restores Ποτ[ε] (ιδάν), but it seems more likely that it is the end of an ἀνέθεκε, for which there was not enough space above, in the now lost part. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

## APPENDIX

# The Wooden Pinakes from Pitsà

°COP APP. I ATHENS, NAT. MUS. A 16464–16467

Wooden pinakes from Pitsà (August 1934). *Bibliography*: first mentioned by Payne (1935), 153 f., and Karo (1935), 197 f.; *EAA* vi. 200–6 (s.v. Pitsà), col. pl. of (A) opp. p. 202, ph. of (C) fig. 225, of (D) fig. 226; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 57, only (Ac) and (B); ph. of (A) in Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni (1976), no. 236; ph. of (A) *AD* 33A (1978) pl. 3; col. ph. of (A) Pemberton (1978), 28; Lorber (1979), 93 f., no. 154, phs. pls. 45 f.; Guarducci (1987), 266 f. with col. ph. of (A) pl. viii; Amyx (1988), 604 n. 22 (bibl.). *Photographs*: *EAA* (A) quite cl., (C) and (D) uncl.; Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni, *AD* 33A, Pemberton, Guarducci only (A), quite cl.; Lorber (A) quite cl., (B) sm., (C) rather sm., (D) uncl. *Scene*: (A) Sacrificial procession to r. involving a man (head and beard almost invisible, on his ‘label’ see below), two women (a) and (b), three boys (unnamed), two playing music and the smallest, in front, leading the sacrificial lamb. He is preceded by a woman (unnamed)—perhaps the priestess of the Nymphs?—who carries the utensils on a tray on her head and is pouring a libation on to the altar. (B) Part of a woman’s head to l. (no name preserved), two groups of women facing each other, (a)–(d), another woman to l. (e)/(f). (C) Three women to r. in beautiful clothes. (D) Three women; very badly preserved. *Date*: c. 540–520 (Payne); 2nd h. 6th cent. (*EAA*); 3rd q. 6th cent. (Lazzarini); all very similar (Lorber).

(A) (a) ΒΥΘΥΔΞΚΑ (b) ΒΥΘΟΥΞΜ (c) ΒΘΒΚΒΤΑΞΜΜ  
ΑΞΜΒΘΒΓΟΥΧΒ (d) ΟΥΟΥΞΝΘΞΟΜ (B) (a) (←) ΘΑΒ  
(b) ΒΑ (c) ΚΑΧ Ο (d) ΓΞΥ (e) Ζ Π (f) ΤΒΓΒΜΟΞΟ  
(C) ΒΘΒΚΒΤΑΣΜΝΥΜΦΑΜ (D) ΕΥ ΒΓΓΟΝ

(A) (a) Εὐθυδικα (b) Εὐφολις (c) [. . . α]νέθεκεταισ . .  
φαισεθελονχε . . [. . .] (d) [. . .] [?]ηορυνθιος  
(B) (a) Θαε [. . .] (b) Ηα . . [. . .] (c) Καχ . . ο . (d) . λυ  
(e) . η . (?) (f) Τελεσοιο (C) [. . .] . τ α . [. . .]  
εθεκεταισνυμφασ[. . .] (D) [. . .] εν . . ελλον[. . . ?]

(A) (a) Εὐθυδικα, (b) Εὐφολις. (c) [. . . α]νέθεκε ταῖς Νύμφαις  
ἐθέλων (?) χε . . (?) [. . .], (d) [. . .] [?] ηορυνθιος.  
(B) (a) θαε [. . .], (b) ηα . . [. . .], (c) καχ . . ο . , (d) . λυ,  
(e) . η . (?), (f) τελεσοιο. (C) [. . .] . τ α . [. . . α]νέθεκε ταῖς  
Νύμφαις[. . . ?]. (D) [. . .] εν Ἀπέλλον[. . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: (A) (a) and (b) are clear. (c) runs horizontally along the top margin and may have started in the top-l. corner (near the man’s head or face and therefore being his ‘label?’). If the verb is followed by ‘to the Nymphs’, the first letter of the goddesses’ name is not a nu but a san or mu, since it has a clear second vertical stroke. The upsilon is illegible. The following letter, of which some faint traces survive, is probably a mu, less likely a nu. The part εθελονχε, interpreted as a woman’s name by A. K. Orlandos (*EAA*) and Lorber (duly criticized by Masson (1981/2: 544)), is too high above the woman to be her label and is in fact the immediate continuation of the dedication. Its second epsilon is not wholly clear but very likely (iota is unlikely, since its fourth stroke should be visible and would be too far down). What comes immediately after χε could be two letters (chi + alpha) or one only (nu or mu?), but it remains wholly dubious. The same is true for some further traces. (d) runs down the right margin and could well be the end of (c) (in that case c. 10 letters would be completely lost). Of the heta before the first omicron the top left corner seems visible, but it is not certain. There is also the bottom of a vertical hasta of a second or third letter counted backwards from the first omicron. (B) Only (f) was read by Lorber. The other inscs. seem all to be nonsense. This is clear for (d), which consists of a ‘pi’ without the long vertical stroke, a lambda, a reversed iota, and an upsilon. Almost continuously there follows (e), starting with a strange 2-type sign followed by a gap, a heta, and maybe another letter. Moreover, (e) and (f) seem to designate the same figure. In (c) the last letter looks like the left part of a Ω-shape omega (it is not an iota, which is angular and has four strokes). The pinax is not by the same painter as (A). (C) The beginning is unclear but will have contained the donor’s name, starting at the hem of the nearest woman’s mantle. The mu is clear. Since the first iota is of the three-stroke type, the last letter cannot be an iota. Its position also supports a san. The writer will have forgotten the similar looking iota (there is no trace of another letter to read νύμφαις, *vel sim.*). (D) ‘erlauben weder eine Lesung, noch eine Beurteilung’ (Lorber). What is legible seems to be the end of an inscr., leading downwards after a turn. Of its first part (above the legible line in the dr.) only ghosts are visible. The big cross is probably not part of the inscr. *Interpretation*: Sacrificial procession and festival scenes. (A) Labels and dedication (metrical?). (B) Nonsense labels. (C) and (D) Dedications.

(A) This pinax shows a most intriguing sacrificial procession, probably of a family, with a little boy leading the animal to be sacrificed. It strongly reminds one of the vase BOI 16 (see §475). (a) *Εὐθυδικᾶ* is an ordinary compound name (see Bechtel, p. 178, for the masc. counterpart); she will be the wife of the man to the left. (b) *Εὐφολίς* is a feminine from *Εὐκολος*<sup>485</sup> according to Heubeck (1980: 285), who also states that *-ίς* from an *o*-stem is not very frequent and mentions *Θεοπροπίς* from *θεόπροπος* (Bechtel (1902), 67); see also §231. Our character may have been the eldest daughter. As for (c), the restoration of *ταῖς Νύμφαις* is difficult but plausible in view of (C). If we combine (c) and (d), it is tempting to restore an iambic text of the structure  $\varpi\text{---}\varpi\text{---}$  ( $\mu'$ )  $\alpha\text{---}\theta\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \underline{N}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \varpi\text{---} \mid \varpi\text{---}\varpi\text{---}\ \varpi\text{---}\varpi\ \sim\ \eta\omicron\ Q\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . In that case,  $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$ , which is the interpretation of the legible letters that comes to mind first but remains unclear as to its function, may have to be cut in two. (F)  $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota$  ‘as is the custom’, may be considered, but the continuation  $\lambda\omicron\nu\chi\epsilon\ .\ .$  is difficult; should we think of  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\chi\alpha\iota\ .\ \alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  (Hsch.)? The case remains open.

<sup>485</sup> Bechtel, p. 172; id. (1902: 50) also records a woman *Εὐκολον*.

(B) This pinax seems not to have shown a procession proper, but the women depicted also seem to be in a context of festival (they are partly wreathed). In (d) Arena (1968: 364 f.) sees a verbal form of  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , ‘una formula d’augurio in una cerimonia di consacrazione?’, arguing against the possibility of a genitive singular in *-οιο*. His own suggestion is not convincing either. Heubeck, who observes that the inscription is added to a female figure, points out that a patronymic genitive, also considered by Lorber, is impossible. In view of the other inscriptions on this tablet I would consider it a nonsense label.<sup>486</sup>

Pinakes (C) and (D) show unclear scenes which may have been of a similar kind. (C) The name of the nymphs seems to recur on (A). The only fact to be gained from (D) is another Corinthian attestation of Apollon, who seems to make sense in a context of nymphs; the overall meaning of the inscription is not clear, however, since the case-form of the name cannot be established with certainty.

<sup>486</sup> The strangest sign is the one on the head of the lady to the right, a  $\varpi$  with a seriph and perhaps a vertical line going partly past, partly through it. Since it is followed by a gap, it may not be part of the (nonsense) label. The sign reminds one somehow of the two  $\S$ -shape signs on the head of a goddess on an Attic bf. kyathos by a certain Lydos (*Add.*, p. 400), where it is also debated whether the signs belong to the inscr. or not.

## 7. Argolid

*Introduction:* Not much can be said about Argive painted vase inscriptions, since no more than one piece seems to be known.

ARG I ATHENS, NAT. MUS. INV. ?

Frs. of a dinos from the Heraion at Argos (1892–5). *Bibliography:* Heermance (1905), 185, no. 2, with ph. fig. 102; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 156, 168. 1; Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 275*a*. *Photographs:* Heermance quite cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* 7th cent. (Jeffery, Lazzarini).

ΜΔΡΟΜ:ΜΕΑ

[. . .]νδρος : μεαυ[. . .]

[. . .-α]νδρός : με εἰς ἐθεκε . . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* Of the last letter only part of a vertical hasta is preserved. *Interpretation:* Dedication.

The word-division in front of the ‘enclitic’ is interesting because it suggests that the pronoun was treated as proclitic (see DOI 1 and §226). The pronoun is unelided for reasons of clarity (see §224).<sup>487</sup>

<sup>487</sup> Different interpretations such as [. . .-α]νδρος με εἰς αὐ[. . .]! are less likely.



## 8. Lakonia

*Introduction:* Lakonian vase-painting has recently been made better known and understood mainly by Stibbe (1972) and Pipili (1987). Yet, inscriptions are rare on the vases in this style. The pieces in question have been found at different places, none of them Sparta. The opposite is true for a number of fragments with dedicatory inscriptions (partly painted, partly incised), which were found at Sparta but which cannot be attributed to any of the Lakonian bf. artists. These latter documents contribute hardly anything to our knowledge of the Lakonian dialect if isolated from the rest of the linguistic evidence, nor do they contribute to our understanding of Lakonian vase-painting. Moreover, they are of different and mostly uncertain periods. Therefore I have disregarded them altogether, which seems the more justifiable as they can easily be found in *SEG* 2. 84–114, 125–55 and *SEG* 11. 666–70 (with bibl.).<sup>488</sup> I have also excluded the small and unintelligible frs. of Lakonian (?) vases found at Amyklai, incompletely published in *Πρακτικά (PAAH)*, 1960, 230, with uncl. phs. of some pieces pl. 171.

### LAK 1 KYRENE, MUS. 71-659

Fr. of a cup from the sanctuary of Demeter at Kyrene, by the Naukratis P. (1971). *Bibliography:* Schaus (1979), with ph. pl. 16; Pipili (1987), 61 with n. 622, 116 no. 161. *Photographs:* Schaus cl. *Scene:* ‘Part of an enthroned goddess rendered in outline, holding a wreath and with a bird under her seat’ (Pipili). The inscr. runs downwards to the l. of the figure (who is facing l.); according to the direction principle (see §105), it is more likely to designate a lost figure to the l. facing the seated one. *Date:* 1st h. 6th cent.

ΧΣΤΣΛ

[. . .]Χυττ[. . .]

[Αρ?]Χίτιμ[ος?].

*Epigraphy:* The last letter could be lambda, mu, or nu (Schaus). *Interpretation:* Unidentified scene (label?).

Schaus is right to point out that unless we assume a nonsense inscription the sign Σ must be an iota. On the other hand, he

was probably too cautious not to exclude the option of a retrograde inscription, since, first, it would run upwards (which is extremely rare; see §105), secondly, it would run towards rather than away from the head of the person it designates (unless we assume someone prostrated or dead on the ground; see §104), and, thirdly, the iotas would have the more unusual direction. On the whole his interpretation [Αρ]Χίτιμ[ος?] is acceptable, since there are a number of names in Αρχι-, including -τιμος (Bechtel, pp. 79 f.).

As for the alphabet, which is not Lakonian, Schaus thinks of a foreigner, possibly from Kyrene, working in Sparta. This cannot be excluded, although it seems too much of a coincidence that the vase should be inscribed in a writing system which fits the writer’s place of origin and the place where the vase was found but not its place of production. A different solution would be that the vase, which was of high quality, was made for export to Kyrene and deliberately inscribed in that script by a possibly indigenous Spartan (we should then label the inscription PLA, pseudo-Lakonian).<sup>489</sup> We have to wait for a vase inscribed by this painter to be found at Sparta.

### \*LAK 2 OLYMPIA, MUS. K 2121

Fr. of a ? from Olympia, probably by the Boread P. (found ?). *Bibliography:* Stibbe (1972), 93, 104, 278, no. 184; not in Pipili (1987). *Photographs:* —; DAI(A) Ol 6757 (*sic*). *Scene:* A man to l. (named). I think I can see Herakles’ lion skin with one of the hind paws going down in front, and the tail at the back. Above the girdle there may be part of the knot of the fore-paws, and on the man’s back his quiver. *Date:* 1st h. 6th cent.

ΒΕ

Ηε[. . .]

Ηε[ρακλῆς].

*Epigraphy:* —. *Interpretation:* Unidentified scene with Herakles (label).

<sup>488</sup> Two features worth mentioning: (1) As in many other Lakonian dedications, the long form of Athena’s name is used, e.g. *SEG* 2. 126 τᾱθᾱναίᾱ (similarly 146–8, 11. 666 f.); see §247. (2) Some archaic forms of Orthia’s name occur, e.g. *SEG* 2. 84 Φορθασίᾱ.

<sup>489</sup> I do not understand Pipili’s opinion (n. 622). First she argues for a nonsense inscr., since in her view even with Σ = iota ‘it is impossible to reconstruct a name’. But then she continues, ‘Another possibility would be that the inscr. was copied by the artist for a Cyrenaean, who took the cup home to dedicate it to Demeter (the total lack of inscs. by the Naukratis P. suggests that he may not have been literate)’, which only makes sense if the inscr. was *not* a nonsense inscr. Moreover, the total lack of inscs. on vases by a certain painter does not say anything about his literacy, particularly in the case of a Lakonian (for literacy in Sparta see Boring (1979)).

°LAK 3 PARIS, CABINET DES MÉDAILLES 189  
(4899) (2707)

Cup from Vulci, by the Arkesilas P. (shortly before 1833). *Bibliography*: d'Albert (1833), with dr. *MonIned* 1, pl. 47a; de Witte (1836), 158–60, no. 422; F. G. Welcker (1851), 488 ff., dr. pl. 34; *CIG* (iv), no. 7757; Puchstein (1880); Klein (1886), 76 f.; Kirchhoff (1887), 65 f.; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 295 f., no. 1; Kretschmer (1894), 13–15; de Ridder (1902), 98–100, no. 189 (bibl.); Furtwängler–Reichhold (1932), 211–14, dr. pl. 151; M. Lambrino, *CVA France*, 7 (1928), 17 f., phs. pls. 20–2; Lane (1933/4), 140, 161 f.; Smith (1944), 251 f.; Beazley (1943); Beazley (1950), 310; Chamoux (1953), 258–63, ph. pl. 6; Shefton (1954), 301, no. 16, 309 n. 9; Benton (1959); Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 188 ff., 199, 8, dr. pl. 35; Arias–Hirmer–Shefton (1962), 309 f. (bibl.), phs. pl. 74 and col. pl. xxiv; col. ph. Devambez (1962), pl. 59; col. ph. Chamoux (1966), 28 f. fig. 17; col. ph. Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard (1971), 79 fig. 84; Stibbe (1972), 115–17, 279 f., no. 194, ph. pl. 61, 2; ph. Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni (1976), no. 248; Neumann (1979); Lorber (1979), 77 n. 482; Simon–Hirmer (1981), 59–61 (bibl.), phs. pl. 38 and col. pl. xv; Schaus (1983), 88 f. *Photographs*: *CVA* quite cl.; Chamoux (1953) sm.; Arias–Hirmer–Shefton cl.; Devambez uncl.; Chamoux (1966) cl.; Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard cl.; Stibbe quite cl.; Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni sm.; Simon–Hirmer cl. Vidi 8 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: For an interpretation see Arias–Hirmer–Shefton and Simon–Hirmer. Sitting on a throne to r., a man with elaborate robe and sceptre (*a*) is supervising workers working at scales, one (*b*) to r. looking and pointing back to (*a*), one striving to l. (*c*) looking at (or checking?) the l. pan of the scales,<sup>490</sup> one to r. carrying a sack (*d*), and two tying up a sack, one to r. (*e*) turning his head back and looking up to where his opposite (*f*) is pointing (to the finger of the scales rather than to the birds). In the segment below, a man to r. is standing (*g*), while two workers (*h*) and (*i*) are striding to r., carrying sacks to a deposit. *Date*: c.570–560 (Jeffery); c.565–560 (Arias–Hirmer–Shefton); shortly before 560 (Stibbe, Simon–Hirmer).

(*a*) ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΞ (*b*) ΖΟΦΟΡΤΟΣ (*c*) (←) ΑΘΜΟΣ  
(*d*) ΙΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ (*e*) (←) ΟΡΥΧΟ (*f*) ΞΛΙΘΟΜΑΨΟΣ  
(*g*) ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ (*h*) (←) Ε (*i*) ΜΑΕΝ

(*a*) Αρκεσιλας (*b*) Σοφορτος (*c*) [. . .]αθμος  
(*d*) [. . .]ιρμοφορος (*e*) Ορυχο (*f*) ΣλιφομαΨος  
(*g*) Φυλακος (*h*) Ε. . . . (*i*) Μαεν

(*a*) Ἀρκεσίλας, (*b*) Σόφορτος, (*c*) [. . .]αθμος,  
(*d*) [. . .]ιρμοφόρος, (*e*) Ὀρυχο(ς), (*f*) Σελφι(ι)όμαΨος,  
(*g*) φύλακος, (*h*) Ε. . . ., (*i*) Μαεν.

<sup>490</sup> I cannot believe that he is falling on his knees (Simon–Hirmer). His arms suggest that he is running. The alleged parallel cited by Simon–Hirmer (end of bibl.) looks different.

*Epigraphy*: Some of the sigmas are almost (but never quite) straight lines. I shall often cite from the ed. pr. by d'Albert, who scrutinized the vase very thoroughly. (*b*) The first letter is a certain sigma (as suggested by Pottier); autopsy has shown that nothing is written before it (I could not verify the repainting observed by Beazley (1950)). (*c*) A total of 4 or 5 letters are missing. (*d*) 'mutilé au commencement' (d'Albert). A maximum of two letters are missing at the beginning. The first visible letter consists of a vertical stroke which is just a fraction bent to the l. It can in no way be read as the r. part of an omicron as Neumann suggests (see n. 493 below), since omicron is always perfectly round on this vase; also the lower end of the stroke is intact and nothing is visible of a continuation leading over to the break. (*e*) 'L'état parfaitement sain du vase dans cet endroit ne permet de supposer ni omission ni oblitération de caractère' (d'Albert). (*h*) Ε . . . Α . . ., Kretschmer from de Witte; Ε, a reversed Γ and three dots, Pottier. I could only see clearly the initial epsilon, the other letters are dubious, more or less similar to what my dr. shows. (*i*) 'aucune fracture, aucune restauration n'est auprès: la légende est donc parfaitement conservée et complète' (d'Albert). Lambrino confirms that the traces after the nu are 'qu'un défaut de la surface'. Autopsy has shown that this is right. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic working scene (labels, partly nonsense?).

For details I refer to Neumann's thorough discussion.

(*a*) This is Ἀρκεσίλας I or—if contemporary—II of Kyrene; the latter is preferred, for instance, by Stibbe, who (pp. 195–201) reckons that he was born c.595 and reigned 566–560. The second element of the name is as expected in epichoric Doric. According to Neumann (p. 87 with bibl. in n. 3) the epic sphere, to which the name belongs, is responsible for the South Greek form of the first element (*Il.* 2. 495, 15. 329; a Boiotian); names often cross dialect or language borders (see also ad COR 64b).

(*b*) This label<sup>491</sup> is best interpreted with Neumann as a possessive compound (of the type σῶφρων: 'dessen (Schiffs-) Ladung unversehrt ist'.<sup>492</sup> Neumann considers it a historical name rather than a speaking name (see §239). However, the latter is the easiest interpretation in view of the context of the scene.

(*c*) In view of the fact that ἐπίσταθμος 'quartermaster', which is a possible restoration of our label, has no semantic connection with 'scales' (as is also emphasized by Neumann), whereas our figure seems to deal with the scales (see n. 490), we should also consider a speaking name like Εὔσταθμος 'having good scales'.

(*d*) The interpretation as εἰρμοφόρος suggested in the last century, which does not give a satisfying meaning ('carrying

<sup>491</sup> An Attic parallel was restored by Beazley (1943) (for the alleged Corinthian one, COR 92g, see ad loc.). Lorber's restoration [ἰ]σόφορτος (sc. ὁ σταθμός) is implausible, since there is no certain other exclamation on this vase, and exclamations are extremely rare on vases anyway (except for the *kalos*-inscrs.); also, the beginning of the label is complete.

<sup>492</sup> Simon–Hirmer's interpretation, 'Vertrauter und Aufpasser des Königs', does not suit this meaning very well.

a series'), was solely due to the desire to stick to what is visible (two letters would have to be restored: [Hε]ιρμο-). A good sense, on the other hand, would be gained if we read φορμός 'basket for carrying corn, etc.' in the first element, as suggested by Neumann,<sup>493</sup> but it is not possible to read an omicron (see above). The question remains open.<sup>494</sup>

(e) The main problem is, how we should interpret the fourth letter, as [ks] (i.e. xi), the expected value in the Lakonian local script, or as [k<sup>h</sup>] (i.e. chi). d'Albert translated: 'extraham?', obviously thinking of the future of ὀρύσσω (he obviously read -ξω, not -χω). The interpretation ὀρύξω (sc. σίλφιον) as an exclamation contrasts with the vast majority of vase inscriptions, which are names or (rarely) nouns. Also, nobody is actually digging.<sup>495</sup> In a more general way, taken as a label for a man involved in the processing of silphion roots, this connection makes sense, but then we have to accept the label as a (speaking) name. Since there is no reason to assume a genitive label (which are rare anyway; see ad COR 71b, and CHA 11b with n. 560), it will be a nominative with the final [s] missing (see §204; yet, such an [s] is written six times on this vase, and indeed wherever we may expect it). The second problem is the internal [ks] (if we read a xi). Although Neumann found a few names with -ος added to the aorist stem (e.g. Κρέξος, Φριξος, Ἀρκεσος, Κτησος, Κέλυσος) to support the earlier suggestion of a name \*Ορυξο(s), the normal stem of the verb involved is clearly ὀρυχ-, such as in ὀρυχή and ὀρύχω alongside -σσω (s. LSJ, s.vv.), and especially in the compounds like, for example, φρεώρυχος. We should therefore rather expect ὀρυχ- to be used in a proper name. See below.

(f) The three problems in this label were already noticed by d'Albert: 'on y reconnaît, par une métathèse commune, le mot ΣΙΑΦΟΜΑΨΟΣ ou ΣΙΑΦΙΟΜΑΨΟΣ, celui qui recueille le silphium.' The problems are as follows: (1) Σλιφ- instead of Σιλφ-, (2) -φο- instead of -φιο-, (3) the meaning of the second element. As for (1), it is not too difficult to find parallels for metathesis in Greek (see Neumann; see also §205). But we have to admit that word-initial [sl] is unparalleled (see below). We would therefore have to assume that [sl] is the original beginning of this loan-word, which does not seem likely in view of the widespread and normal form σίλφιον, of Latin *sirpe*, which can hardly be taken from Greek, and of the isolated gloss σέλπον· σίλφιον (Hsch.). This leads us to the next problem, (2), the lack of the iota. Neumann uses the Hesychian gloss as evidence for an explanation

of our -φο- instead of -φιο-. This seems doubtful. After all this form is different from the ordinary Greek one in two more respects ([e] and [p]), which means that it is probably an independent borrowing and cannot make the existence of \*σίλφον (or \*σλίφον) very likely. It may be easier to assume a case of A.W. (see §111), i.e. Σλιφ(ι)ο-. (3) The worst problem is the second element of this compound which in the Lakonian alphabet we have to read as -μαχος.<sup>496</sup> Unless we are prepared to read the first element as Ξιφο- (which for its meaning is out of place in our scene and creates numerous other problems of script), an interpretation of the second element as derived from μάχη does not make sense.<sup>497</sup> A connection with Egypt. *macha* 'scales', as suggested by Puchstein (n. 15) and still mentioned by Stibbe (p. 117) and Simon-Hirmer, has to be considered impossible for three reasons, first, because of the generally Greek character of our inscriptions; secondly, because we are now certain that not Kyrene (but probably Sparta) was the place of production of this type of pottery (Lane; already suggested by Klein), which makes an Egyptian word an unlikely occurrence, particularly in a compound; thirdly, and most importantly, because the pronunciation of the Egyptian word was not (yet) similar to that of contemporary Greek μάχη.<sup>498</sup> Neumann's idea is possible, that -μαχος could contain the root of μάσσω 'knead', which makes sense semantically; progressive assimilation of the aspiration in this compound would have to be assumed, since the root does not contain an aspirate; see below, (i). The fact that no kneading is shown is no grave obstacle; it would have to be considered a name not a noun, just like (a), (b), (c?), and (e), but unlike (g) and probably (d). Yet I somewhat doubt that any Greek would have understood such an element -μαχος in this way (after all it is attested neither in names nor in nouns/adjectives, whereas -μαχος from 'fight' is very frequent). See also below.

(g) clearly describes the function of the figure, an overseer, and could be a noun or a (speaking) name (see §239). There is no reason to assume a genitive label (from φύλαξ), which is comparatively rare; see (e). The noun φύλακος is only attested in Ionic and in epic language (*Il.* 24. 566, Hdt., etc.), as Kretschmer noticed, whereas the name, albeit rare, has a wider distribution, as is often the case with names.<sup>499</sup>

(h) No interpretation of the small remains seems possible.

<sup>496</sup> Chantraine, s.v. σίλφιον, calls our name a 'composé obscur'.

<sup>497</sup> At first sight one might be tempted to compare Alciph. 3. 35 Ψιχόμαχος 'fighting for crumbs'. But this writer belongs to a completely different sphere and is notorious for his made-up names. And 'fighting for silphion' is not an appropriate meaning for our figure either. Benton (1959), in an original and completely different approach, understands 'insect-fighter' (σίλφη 'bookworm' *vel sim.*), interpreting the inscr. as referring to the woodpecker above the workmen; the general sense of her interpretation, however, remains dubious.

<sup>498</sup> I am grateful to Th. Kappeler (Zurich) who checked for me the 6th-cent. Egyptian pronunciation of the word in question. Following *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, s.v. 'Lautsystem' and 'Vokalisation', we can say that it was most probably something like [mëχë], maybe on the way to [mëšë], but not yet [māšë] as later in Coptic. It was certainly never pronounced with an aspirated velar [k<sup>h</sup>] which we have to assume for 6th-cent. Lakonian (see Lejeune, §49).

<sup>499</sup> See above on (a); LSJ, s.v.; and Masson (1973/4), 430 with n. 14.

<sup>493</sup> 'Vielmehr lässt sich der bisher als Iota gelesene Rest des ersten erhaltenen Zeichens durchaus als ein unvollständig erhaltenes Omikron auffassen. Der kleine, leicht gekrümmte Strich ist oben und unten kürzer als die Hasta des benachbarten Rho. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist daher einfach zu φ[ο]ρμοφόρος "Lastenträger" zu ergänzen.'

<sup>494</sup> As far as I can see, only one more of the nouns ending in -ρμος, -ρμων, or -ρμη could make sense in our context: βυρμός· σταθμός (Hsch.). But this is an obscure gloss, and we cannot even be sure that the explanatory σταθμός has the meaning 'scales', rather than one of its many other meanings. It seems not impossible, although not very likely, that the stroke preserved is the oblique stroke of an upsilon.

<sup>495</sup> The restoration ὀρυξο(ν), as preferred by Lorber, is therefore implausible, as was pointed out by Neumann (1980: 298).

(i) Unexplained. Lane's idea of reading  $\mu\alpha(\gamma)\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  'kneaded', phonologically supported by Neumann, is the best suggestion from a philological point of view. But we must consider it impossible, since the label (which is not retrograde) must designate the man. Not only would it be odd that the sack that he carries should get a label,<sup>500</sup> but, also, the man would be the only human on the vase without a label. Moreover, from Neumann's point of view this interpretation is hard to reconcile with his interpretation of (f). For although it is not clear whether the root of this verb is  $\mu\alpha\gamma$ - or  $\mu\alpha\kappa$ - (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ ), we would not expect both variants on one and the same vase. I cannot help thinking that this last label is a nonsense inscription or a copying error. It can often be observed that vase-painters become negligent or lose patience towards the end of the labelling procedure. More experienced writers might produce dull but correct throwaway names (see §237); less experienced ones might commit mistakes or nonsense inscriptions (see §§112, 403). It is not infrequent that nonsense inscriptions occur together with meaningful ones (e.g. on many Attic vases, e.g. Immerwahr, nos. 97, 134, 170, 178, 181, 214–16, 409, or on the one with  $X\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{o}\nu$  cited at §248 with n. 889); often there are mistakes in the meaningful inscriptions too.

Here we should return to (f). For in addition to all the other problems this label is written upside-down, not retrograde like (c), (e), and (h), and the first three letters are very large, whereas the remaining ones are tiny. Neumann's explanation of the latter fact, namely that the writer realized that he would run into a problem of space, seems plausible (although the inscription could have been written in a bow). But was there perhaps another reason why the writer stopped at that very moment? It has to be stressed that the start of this label as read in the normal position,  $\Sigma\nu\iota\phi$ - (. . .  $\Phi\text{IV}\xi$ ), is very similar to what we would expect, i.e.  $\Sigma\iota\lambda\phi$ - (. . .  $\Phi\text{I}\xi$ ). If we assume that our writer was copying (this can also mean writing the same text repeatedly without actually having an original under one's eyes) and got the arrangement of the three strokes  $\Lambda\text{I}$  wrong, i.e.  $\text{IV}$ , it is easy to imagine that he stopped to think, then turned the cup round in order to get a proper lambda (tolerating, or not realizing, the fact that the latter preceded the iota instead of following it), and at the same time decided to continue in smaller letters. This—as well as the following A.W.—is the kind of procedure we might expect from a semi-experienced writer. Therefore I write  $\Sigma\iota\lambda\phi(\iota)\acute{o}$ - assuming two mistakes. But what about (i)? If we imagine a semi-experienced writer, who was copying and became negligent towards the end as suggested above, the case is open to conjecture.

As for the type of local script, it is generally agreed after Kirchhoff that  $X$  is  $\xi$  and  $\psi$  is  $\chi$ , i.e. that the alphabet is of the 'red' type. Externally this is supported by the fact that the so-called Lakonian pottery is most likely to have been produced at Sparta. The internal evidence of this vase, however, seems weak

to me. Both forms with these two crucial signs are difficult, i.e. for (e) a form  $\text{Ὀρυχο}(s)$  seems acceptable if not better than with  $-\xi$ -, and for (f) a reading  $\Sigma\iota\lambda\phi(\iota)\acute{o}\mu\alpha(\rho)\psi\acute{o}s$  'the one who seizes silphion' (no doubt this is what d'Albert had in mind) should not be excluded too readily.<sup>501</sup> The form of the sigma is not decisive: neither is the variant with more than four strokes confined to Lakonian (see IOD 1), nor is it consistently used there; see our (b) and (g). Letter-forms could always be adapted easily, whereas changing the value of signs or—if the writer was copying—replacing some signs by others would have been a much more fundamental change, viz. one of the writing system.

There are no more inscribed vases by this painter, and so there is no way of proving or disproving that he was not an indigenous Lakonian. But there may be East Greek influence which could justify the use of a 'blue' alphabet. Not only should we remember  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{o}s$ , but also the letter-form  $\Phi$  of phi in (f), of which this is a surprisingly early example in Mainland Greece (see §102).<sup>502</sup> Moreover Stibbe (pp. 7 f.) stresses the strong influence of East Greek art (also of Rhodian plates like our DOH 1) on the Arkesilas P. and already on the Boread P., as well as of Corinthian animal friezes on Lakonian vase-painting in general (Corinth also uses a 'blue' alphabet).

We should therefore not exclude  $\text{Ὀρυχο}(s)$  and  $\Sigma\iota\lambda\phi(\iota)\acute{o}\mu\alpha(\rho)\psi\acute{o}s$ , although a Lakonian would hardly have read the name in this way, and perhaps not even the writer himself, who seems to have just been copying; and there may be more misunderstandings in the labels of our vase.

#### LAK 4 RHODES, ARCH. MUS. 15373

Hydria from Rhodes, by the Hunt P. (1934). *Bibliography*: mentioned by Lane (1933/4), 143; *l'Illustrazione* (13 Jan. 1935), 43 (non vidi); Laurenzi (1936), 85–95, with phs. figs. 56, 71–80, dr. pl. 4; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 199, 16a, dr. pl. 35; Stibbe (1972), 126, 137 f., 281, no. 219 (bibl.), phs. pls. 75–7; Simon–Hirmer (1981), 58, ph. pl. 36; *LIMC* i, 'Aniochidas' ii. 1, with dr.; mentioned by Pipili (1987), 118, no. 209c; *LIMC* vii, 'Synis'. Photographs: Laurenzi cl.; Stibbe (a) uncl., (b) and (d) cl., (c) mostly cl.; Simon–Hirmer quite cl. *Scene*: On one of two horses to r. a youth (a) is watching his master (b), who is facing r. and fighting his opponent (c) over the dead body of a warrior (unnamed, head to the r.); behind (c) on one of two horses to l., his page (d) is watching the fight. *Date*: c.560–550 (Jeffery); c.555 (Simon–Hirmer); c.555–550 (*LIMC*).

<sup>501</sup> For [r] missing before stop see §203 (and see Schwyzler, p. 213, for Tsakonian [nd] for earlier [rt]). With this root the aorist stem is particularly suitable, since the bare root  $\mu\alpha\rho\pi$ - is not used on its own in word-formation (see both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\tau\omega$ ); the noun  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\tau\iota\varsigma$  resembles the present stem, and  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\rho\psi\iota\varsigma$  the aorist stem. See CHA 23b for names from this root.

<sup>502</sup> The fact that the writer gives the name of the king of Kyrene in Doric dialect is not decisive for his origin, since the king no doubt could be referred to under this form of the name everywhere in the Greek world (therefore we cannot combine the two criteria, 'East' and 'Doric' and argue, e.g., for Rhodian influence).

<sup>500</sup> If it were to designate the sacks stored in the corner, the label would have to be retrograde.

(a) (←) ΑΝΙΩΝΙΔΑΣ (b) (←) ΑΡΧΙΛΟΧΥ ΔΑΞ  
(c) (←) ΔΕΝΟΜΑΨ(→)(?)Ο (d) ΞΥΝΙΞ

(a) *Ανιοχιδας* (b) *Αρχιλοχ[ι]δας* (c) *Δενομαχος* (d) *Συνις*  
(a) *Ἀνιοχίδας*, (b) *Ἀρχιλοχ[ι]δᾶς*, (c) *Δενόμαχος*, (d) *Σύνις*.

*Epigraphy*: (b) The iota is lost in a break. (c) The final sigma is damaged. (d) Often read in the wrong direction, *Συνις*. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic fight over the body of a dead warrior (labels).

For the type of scene see §471. Stibbe (p. 125 n. 1) cites Jeffery (p. 190), according to whom the form Ψ of the chi is more modern than that of the Arkesilas P. (LAK 3); yet, the second chi in (b) on our vase is closer to the Υ-type.

(a) For the lack of aspiration see §210. For the speaking names of this type see §239. (b) is a derivative from the name *Ἀρχιλοχος* ‘commander of the troop’ and echoes name (a). Used for a warrior this is also a speaking name. For (c), a non-heroic name, the same is true. For the spelling of its former real diphthong<sup>503</sup> with <ε> see §219. (d) The fourth label is less clear. It is incised, but the absence of a painted name for this figure suggests that this was done by the painter himself or at least by somebody in the workshop. Laurenzi (p. 86 n. 2), dismissing the reading *Συνις*, proposes the following etymology: Σι- he interprets as the Lakonian equivalent of Θεο-, and -νις as derived from νύσσω ‘incito (i cavalli)’. The latter is impossible (the stem is νυκ- or νυχ- and the velar would have to be present). The former would be our earliest example of the spirantic pronunciation of theta, and in view of LAK 6 *Φιόλας*, a contraction in Σι- from Σιο- is also unlikely. The main argument against this reading, however, was pointed out by Jeffery (p. 190 n. 2): the name has to be read *Συνις* because the writing must lead away from the body (or head) of the figure (starting-point principle; see §104). Also, in view of the correct direction of the nu in (a) we do not want a reversed letter, and the same is true for the sigma as compared with that of (b). *Συνις* is therefore the correct reading. Its interpretation, however, is not easy. The ending -ις suggests a hypocoristic name (see §231), and in view of the other names we would expect a speaking name. Should the name be analysed as Συν- + -ις, indicating that the man is assisting the warrior? Such a name (which may also have a geminate, *Σύννις*) may be taken, for example, from *συνιππεύς*, *συννικῶς*, *σύμμαχος*, *σύννομος* (the latter two found as proper names in Bechtel, p. 412).

°LAK 5 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG,  
SAMOS 476X (+464X)

Fr. of a ? from Samos, by the Hunt P. (found ?). *Bibliography*: Diehl (1964b), 573 f., no. 52a, with ph. fig. 33; Stibbe (1972), 126

<sup>503</sup> *δευός* is to be analysed as \*δφει-νo-, i.e. with a real diphthong; see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. *δεῖδω*.

(wrong no.), 280, no. 207. *Photographs*: Diehl sm. *Scene*: Dog or fox to l. and a man to r. (to whom the inscr. seems to belong) throwing a stone. *Date*: mid-6th cent. (Diehl).

(←) ΕΜΣΙΒ(→)ΙΥΟΣ  
*Εμισιβιος*

*Epigraphy*: The inscr. is inside of the vase, and the paint in the letters has run below, which makes it very likely that the inscr. starts retrograde rather than being upside-down. If so, what was read as λ cannot be a Lakonian lambda (which would be Λ). Indeed, the original ph. clearly shows that this alleged lambda is attached to the following alleged reversed nu, making a reversed ‘Euboian’ mu. Then follow an odd sigma, an iota, a slightly misshapen reversed beta. After the turn the direction of the script probably changes, therefore we have to read -ιως, not -ιλος. *Interpretation*: Nonsense inscription.

Previously this inscription has been read *Ελνσιβιος vel sim.*<sup>504</sup> My reading *εμισιβιος* seems not to improve the situation,<sup>505</sup> indeed a nonsense inscription is the most likely solution.<sup>506</sup> This would, however, be unusual if the fragment were indeed by the Hunt P.

LAK 6 SAMOS, PYTHAGOREION K 176

Fr. of a cup from Misokampos on Samos, by the Hunt P. (found ?). *Bibliography*: Technau (1929), 38, ph. Beilage 16. 1; Lane (1933/4), 163; Woodward (1932), 30, with dr. fig. 4; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 199. 16c; Stibbe (1972), 247, 280, no. 206a, ph. pl. 68. 3; Pipili (1987), 3 with ph. fig. 5, 111 ff. nos. 6, 100, 210c; *LIMC* v, ‘Herakles’ 2015a and ‘Iolaos’ 27\*, ph. pl. 461. *Photographs*: Technau, Stibbe, and *LIMC* cl.; Pipili not very cl. *Scene*: Arm of Herakles to r. (no name preserved) fighting the Hydra, to the r. the head of his companion to l. (named). *Date*: c.560–550 (Jeffery); 565–560 (Pipili); c.560 (*LIMC* v, ‘Iolaos’); c.550 (*LIMC* v, ‘Herakles’).

(←) ΦΙΟΛΑΞ  
*Φιόλας*  
*Φιόλας*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Herakles and the Hydra (label).

*Φιόλας* is the expected form in epichoric Lakonian at the time.

<sup>504</sup> *Ἐλεσίβιος*, Jeffery, p. 340 (= Bechtel, p. 151; Abou Simbel), perhaps also attested at Naukratis (E. A. Gardner (1888), 66, no. 801, dr. pl. 21), is as near as I could get for this reading.

<sup>505</sup> Stones are thrown by Hektor and Aias in COR 10, by Perseus in COR 101.

<sup>506</sup> Many Attic nonsense inscs. end in -ος, which is of course frequent in proper labels.

°LAK 7 FORMERLY LEIPZIG, ANTIKENMUS.  
DER UNIV. INV. —

Frs. of a cup from Italy (?), by the Hunt P. (found ?); the inscribed part is lost. *Bibliography*: Rumpf (1923/4), 82 f., with ph. fig. 19; Woodward (1932), 27 ff., ph. 26 fig. 2; Lane (1933/4), 143, 166; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 199. 16d; Stibbe (1972), 126, 138 f., 281, no. 222, ph. of the preserved frs. pl. 78. 3; E. Paul, *CV4* German Democratic Republic, 2 (1973), 47, phs. pl. 44. 5–6 (the preserved frs.); Pipili (1987), 21 f. with dr. fig. 32, 113 no. 68; L. Kahil, *LIMC* iv, 'Harpyiai' 27. *Photographs*: Rumpf and Woodward uncl.; Stibbe invis. *Scene*: A naked man to r. (upper part lost) holding a thunderbolt (no name preserved) is chasing another figure (named) of whom only a short chiton and one leg is preserved; from the latter's ankle a wing is emerging.<sup>507</sup> They are running over the surface of the sea; underneath there is the long fish-tail of a sea-creature. *Date*: c.560–550 (Jeffery); 555–545 (Pipili; *LIMC*).

(←) AFE  
AFε[. . .]  
AFελ[λδϵ].

*Epigraphy*: It is certain that the alpha is the first letter of the name. The digamma is clear too. The third letter was read by Rumpf without hesitation, but he did not attempt a reading of the following letters, whose existence he explicitly states (worn but not broken off). From the ph. in Rumpf, however, the lower part of the next letter seems visible to me: the bottom strokes of either lambda (which is Λ or ^ in Lakonian) or alpha. *Interpretation*: Boread chasing a Harpy (label).

For the interpretation of the scene, first deduced and published by Pipili, see §424. The name of the Harpy is probably a hypocoristic name (see §236) derived from compounds with ἄελλα (ἀέλλη) 'storm' as their first element, such as ἀελλόπο(υ)ς (Iris, e.g. *Il.* 8. 409). The noun ἄελλα must be connected with the root of the archaic verb ἄημι 'blow' (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.). The [w] is attested in Aiolic, Inc. 7 L–P, from αὐεουλλαῖ· ἄελλαῖ (Hsch.).

LAK 8 KYRENE, MUS. INV. ?

Fr. of a cup from Kyrene, by the Hunt P. (found ?). *Bibliography*: Beazley (1950), 313, ph. 312 fig. 2; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 199. 16b; Stibbe (1972), 281, no. 221, ph. pl. 78. 2; Schefold (1978), 183, with ph. fig. 244; *LIMC* i, 'Amphiaraos' 79; Pipili (1987), 25 f. with ph. fig. 36, 113 no. 78. *Photographs*: Beazley, Stibbe, Pipili cl.; Schefold quite cl. *Scene*: Four men walking to

l.; the second is (a), the third is (b), the others' names are lost. The second (a) is grasping the arm of the first one, who has drawn his sword against a lost opponent to the l. *Date*: c.560–550 (Jeffery); towards 570 (Schefold); c.550 (*LIMC*); 555–545 (Pipili).

(a) (←) ΓΑΡΘΕΝΟΓΑΟϑ (b) (←) Οϑ  
(a) Παρθενοπαος (b) [. . .]ος  
(a) Παρθενοπάος, (b) [. . .]ος.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Peacemaking scene with some of the Seven against Thebes (labels).

The two final sigmas have different direction, as in LAK 4 by the same painter. Apparently this did not matter to him. For the topic of the scene see §427.

(b) Beazley thinks of [Ἀδραστ]ος or [Ἀμφιάρε]ος, less likely [Ἐτέοκλ]ος. (a) The second element of the compound shows -ᾱος instead of -αῖος. Beazley—considering Παρθεν(ο)πάος on an Attic bf. hydria<sup>508</sup> and Parthanapaes on an Etruscan scarab<sup>509</sup> (which is less significant)—thought that -πάος is older than -παῖος in this name, and that the latter is analogous to παῖς (giving the name a meaning 'son of a virgin'). It is, however, unlikely that any Greek should have understood the name in this way, as the [d] of παιδ- is always there in derivatives from παῖς (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.). Unless the second element is of non-Greek origin (which in view of the Greek first element seems unlikely), we can only analyse the name in one of the two following ways: (1) Παρθεν-πα(ι)ος. In this case a verbal root \*pa(i)- or a noun would have to form the second element (of a verbal compound or a possessive compound, respectively). We may think of παῖω 'beat', i.e. 'beater of virgins', and of πηός (Doric πᾱός) 'kinsman', i.e. 'having virgins as his kinswomen'. Both meanings are unsatisfactory. (2) Somewhat better results are obtained from an analysis as Παρθεν-οπα(ι)ος. In this case the second element contains a noun ὀπή, an *a*-stem, and our name is a derivative (a possessive compound is less likely). For such a derivation only the (frequent) denominal suffix -ιο- lends itself, whereas -ο- is not productive after an [a]. Therefore -αῖος is likely to be older than -ᾱος and the latter due to a sound-change (rare in Attic, see Threatte, p. 292 f.; more usual e.g. in Ionic, see Bechtel (1924), 41). But what was the basic *a*-stem? For the second element the similarly structured ἀστραπαῖος and especially ἀστεροπαῖος (as a name already in the *Iliad*, see CHA 8e) from ἀστραπή and ἀστεροπή 'lightning' come to mind. There -οπ- represents the root 'see', and the noun is a derivative in -ή (i.e. -ᾱ̃) from a compound (see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. ἀστεροπή). The original meaning must have been 'glance of a star'. Whatever the original meaning of \*παρθενοπή might have been ('eye, face, glance

<sup>508</sup> *ABV* 293. 10, where the -ν(ο)- may be a case of A.W. (see §111).

<sup>509</sup> See de Simone (1968), 97 (1st h. 5th cent.), and *ETPe* G. 2. The whole document: Parthanapaes (see also ad CHA 11b), Atresbe (see *ibid.*), Amfiare, Fulnice (*ET* wrongly P-), Tute (excellent ph. *LIMC* i, 'Amphiaraos' 29\*, pl. 560).

<sup>507</sup> 'über der Wade des Flichenden ein formloser roter Gegenstand', Rumpf; 'durch einen Flügel am Fuß als Hermes (?) gekennzeichnet', Stibbe (p. 139).

of a virgin’?),<sup>510</sup> our name would have to be derived from it. Parthenopaïos’ mother was of course Atalante.

ΑΡΥΕΓ

[. . .]αρχεπ[. . .]

Ἀρχεπλ[. . .] (?).

LAK 9 SAMOS, HERAION (MAGAZINE), INV. —

Fr. of a ? from Samos, probably by the Hunt P. (found ?). *Bibliography*: Stibbe (1972), 126, 147, 254, 283, no. 252, ph. pl. 86. 7. *Photographs*: Stibbe cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: c. mid-6th cent.

<sup>510</sup> The simple noun ὀπή has undergone a shift of meaning to ‘hole’, which seems inappropriate here; see ad COR Gr 15a.

*Epigraphy*: The last letter preserved could be a lambda, mu (which is unlikely after a pi), or nu. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

Soph. *El.* 72 ἀρχέπλουτος ‘founder/ruler of wealth’ would fit the traces and would also be a good proper name (many names with Ἀρχε- are listed in Bechtel, p. 78 f., and see *Πλούταρχος*). But since we cannot even say whether the letters are, for instance, a label or part of a dedication, all remains very uncertain.

## 9. Elis

*Introduction:* Some of the fragments of very modest and merely functional cups from the sanctuary of Olympia bear painted inscriptions (see also §317). ELI 3–5 are collective numbers.

### ELI 1 OLYMPIA, MUS. INV. —

Fr. of an oinochoe (?) from Olympia (1954–6). *Bibliography:* Schiering (1964), 153, no. 31, ph. pl. 55. *Photographs:* Schiering cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* probably 4th cent. (Schiering).

ΔΑΜΟΞΙΟΝ

Δαμοσιον

δᾶμόσιον.

*Epigraphy:* —. *Interpretation:* Measuring vase (‘Maßbecher’, Schiering).

The letter-forms, although not specific, conform to Elean, and so does the dialect. Other examples of this inscription, which must have existed in many copies, are in Attic, as is expected in a workshop of Pheidias and his men; for example the graffito Schiering, p. 153, no. 30 δᾶμόσιον (ph. pl. 55),<sup>511</sup> neatly inscribed across the bottom of a bowl. For a possible function of such vessels see §317.

### ELI 2 OLYMPIA, MUS. INV. —

Dikotylon from Olympia (1954–6). *Bibliography:* Schiering (1964), 153, no. 34, ph. pl. 55; Hamdorf (1981), 202 f., no. 34, ph. pl. 21. *Photographs:* Schiering and Hamdorf invis. *Scene:* None. *Date:* 2nd h. 5th cent. (Schiering, p. 150); 2nd h. 4th cent. (Hamdorf).

ΑΛ

αλς

ᾶλς or ᾷλς.

*Epigraphy:* Of the sigma the lowest stroke is said to be preserved. *Interpretation:* Measuring vase (‘Maßbecher’, Schiering).

As the date of this vase is uncertain, we cannot decide whether αλς represents the psilotic Elean dialect or is Attic and just written in the Ionic standard alphabet. We may assume that of this

<sup>511</sup> The graffito Λᾶχάρῃς καλός on the same piece, however, has a non-Attic (Elean?) name. See also p. 193, no. 7, ph. pl. 69.

kind of vase also many copies were once made and inscribed in the same way. For the function of such vessels see §317.

### ELI 3 OLYMPIA, MUS. INV. —

Frs. of kotylai and choinikes from Olympia (found at different occasions). *Bibliography:* Hamdorf (1981), with some phs. pls. 21 ff. *Photographs:* Hamdorf mostly cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* late 5th to late 4th cent. (Hamdorf, p. 208).

καρπόμετρον (?).

*Epigraphy:* The word καρπόμετρον has been put together by Hamdorf from the following four frs.: (1) p. 194, no. 6 [. . . ?] καρπ[. . .] (pl. 22); (2) p. 194, no. 7 [. . .]αρπομ[. . .] (pl. 22, centre); (3) p. 201, no. 31 [. . .]πομε[. . .] (pl. 22); and (4) pp. 193 f., no. 1 [. . .]τρον[. . . ?] (pl. 21). Strictly speaking, there is an uncertainty over this new word καρπόμετρον at the beginning (perhaps solved by no. 26; see ad ELI 4), at the end, and between the parts -με- and -τρον, which do not overlap in any of the existing fragments. See also ELI 4. *Interpretation:* Measuring vases (Hamdorf).

The word is new and is not attested ‘en bloc’. Its meaning may be ‘measure for corn’. For the function of the vessels see §317.

### ELI 4 OLYMPIA, MUS. INV. —

Frs. of kotylai and choinikes from Olympia (found at different occasions). *Bibliography:* Hamdorf (1981), with some phs. pls. 21 ff. *Photographs:* Hamdorf mostly cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* late 5th to late 4th cent. (Hamdorf, p. 208).

[δᾶ]μόσια (?).

*Epigraphy:* Represented by the frs. p. 195, no. 8 [. . .]μοσια (no ph.); p. 198, no. 18 [. . .]οσια (pl. 21); and p. 201, no. 30 [. . .]οσια (no ph.). *Interpretation:* Measuring vases (Hamdorf).

The meaning of the word must be ‘public’ (see ELI 1), but it is not clear what form it is (ntr. pl. or fem. sg.?). For the function of the vessels see §317.

A possible combination of ELI 3 and 4 are the following four frs.: (1) Hamdorf, p. 200, no. 26 [δᾶμο?]σι<sup>α</sup>καρ (ph. pl. 26);



(2) p. 196, no. 11 ]ακαρ (no ph.), confirming the squeezed-in first alpha of (1); (3) p. 199, no. 24 ]αρ (ph. pl. 22); and (4) p. 200, no. 29 ]αρ (no ph.). The constant final καρ, however, is strange (abbreviation?). Or should we look for a completely different interpretation for these four frs.? (A final [r] can be developed from [s] and a long [ā] from long [ē] in Elean.)

ELI 5 OLYMPIA, MUS. INV. —

Frs. of kotylai and choinikes from Olympia (found at different occasions). *Bibliography*: Hamdorf (1981), 202, nos. 32 f., phs. pl.

22. *Photographs*: Hamdorf mostly cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: late 5th to late 4th cent. (Hamdorf, p. 208).

’Ολυμπ[ία . . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: The name of Olympia occurs in two different kinds of texts on these vases. In no. 32 ]εολυ[ it seems to be preceded by something, in no. 33 (our text) it is not; several other frs. give parts of the name too. *Interpretation*: Measuring vases (Hamdorf).

Obviously the place name or a derivative. For the function of these vases see §317.

# 10. Ithaka

*Introduction:* Only a few vases from Ithaka bear inscriptions. They are from a very early period and do not show any labelled figure decoration. The first must have contained a long metrical inscription, of which we would wish to have more.

°ITH I VATHY (ITHAKI), MUS. 232

Five frs. of a long-necked ‘off-conical’ oinochoe from Ithaka (1932). *Bibliography:* Robertson (1948), 80–2 (with advice from L. H. Jeffery), ph. pl. 34. 490; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 230 f., 233. 1, ph. pl. 45; Hansen, *CEG* (1983), no. 453. *Photographs:* Robertson quite cl.; Jeffery only (a)–(c), quite cl.<sup>512</sup> *Scene:* None (preserved). *Date:* c.700 (Jeffery *apud* Robertson, p. 82; Jeffery; Hansen).

(a1) ΑΛΞΜΤΑΘ (a2) Γ (b1) ΝΦΟΜΤΕΦΞΙΟΜΚΑΞΓ  
(b2) ΞΛΑΕΝ (c1) ΕΤΑΞΡΟΜ (c2) ΟΞΤΕΜΑΤ (d) ΤΟ  
(e1) Ο (e2) ΟΤ

(a1) [. . .]μάλιστα hōs [. . .] (a2) [. . .]π[. . .]  
(b1) [. . .] νφοστεφιλοσκαπ[. . .] (b2) [. . .]ιλαενπ[. . .]  
(c1) [. . .] εταυροσ[. . .] (c2) [. . .]ριτενατ[. . .]  
(d) [. . .]το[. . .] (e1) [. . .] ο[. . .] (e2) [. . .]οτ[. . .]

(a1) [. . .]μάλιστα hōs[. . .], (b1 + d + c1) [. . .] ξένφος τε φίλος  
καὶ π[ισ]τὸς ἑταῖρος[. . .], (a2) [. . .]π[. . .],  
(b2) [. . .]φιλα ἐνπ[. . .], (c2) [. . .]ριτενατ[. . .],  
(e1) [. . .] ο[. . .], (e2) [. . .]οτ[. . .].

Ηός [μοι] ἔε ? ξένφος τε φίλος καὶ π[ισ]τὸς ἑταῖρος |  
[– ≈ – ≈ – ≈ – ≈ – ≈] μάλιστα |  
[– ≈ – ≈ φ?] ἰλᾶ ἐνπ[. . .] c.14 . . . . .]ρι |  
τενα (?) τ[. . .]π[. . .]

Of unclear location: [. . .] ο[. . .] and [. . .]οτ[. . .]

*Epigraphy:* The inscr. ran spirally round the vase in at least two lines, here numbered (1) and (2), as frs. (a), (b), (c), and (e) show. (a1) Of the Ν only the end of the fourth stroke is preserved. The tau is written very close to the preceding san and the alpha as close to the tau as to touch it. After that there are normal or even generous spaces between the heta and the omicron and between the omicron and the uncertain san (which could also be mu or nu). (b1) Of the Ε only the top bar is preserved. Of σκαπ only the top parts are preserved. (b2) The last letter is probably a pi; also

possible, though less likely in this script, is an ‘Euboian’ gamma Γ. (c1) Hansen is right to observe that the trace of the first letter is hardly of a Θ (h); a Μ (σ), such as the one in φίλος, fits better. The iota and the rho are only partly preserved. (d) Only the top of the letters is preserved. (e1) The first letter is probably Υ, the last can be Ρ, Ν, Μ, Τ etc. *Interpretation:* Metrical inscription of unclear content (perhaps a dedication to a human).

The sequence ξένφος τε φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἑταῖρος was ingeniously restored by Robertson (p. 82) and forms the larger part of a hexameter. How big the gap between (a) and (b) is cannot be seen directly from the fragments, but the inscription plus the decoration above the top line allow some attempt at restoration. First, it is clear that the end of μάλιστα on fragment (a) is much condensed, which must be due to lack of space, whereas hōs right after μάλιστα shows ample spacing. This means that μάλιστα comes in from the l. to where with hōs the inscription had been started, i.e. hōs is the first word of both the inscription and the first line. This is plausible for linguistic and metrical reasons, since a short word starting with a vowel would create a metrical difficulty after μάλιστα. The main confirmation, however, comes from the decoration above hōs. For there is an elaborate cable, the centre of which is above the omicron, and to the l. follow some smaller decorative elements, viz. first a volute and palmette, then an even simpler stylized plant. The element above hōs is the most eye-catching part and below it would seem to be the most obvious place to start the inscription. Indeed, a relative pronoun hōs must have been a common beginning of such archaic hexametrical inscriptions, as is evident from the Nestor cup *CEG* 454 *Hōs δ’ ἄν τὸδε πῖεσι* . . . , and the Dipylon jug *CEG* 432 *Hōs νῦν ὀρχέστων πάντων* . . .<sup>513</sup>

Now, on fragment (b), above most of the inscription, there is a simple wavy line or cable, which to the right stops altogether, the inscription coming up right under the parallel lines which go all round the vase above the decoration. Yet, to the l. of the wavy line, above the lost [ks] of ξένφος, some other decoration is visible, which looks like a horizontal bar with a vertical at its right end. We can conclude from this that fragment (b) is from the right side of the decoration, which we see expiring with the wavy line. If we assume that the whole decoration was symmetrical, we may estimate that to the right of fragment (a), after the central element,

<sup>512</sup> In his letter of 5 Aug. 1991, Mr. Michalis Petropoulos kindly informs me that all frs. except (d) still exist.

<sup>513</sup> See also the newly found inscr. from Eretria, *LSAG* 416, 434B. ii, ph. pl. 73. 4, which shows *hē δ’ ἄν τὸδε πῖεσι* ? . . . in the second (the first hexametrical?) line.

one volute-and-palmetter element and one stylized-plant element followed. A tiny end of the latter may in fact show to the very l. of fragment (*b*), although this is not certain. If it were correct, we would have a gap of some 6–7 letters, which would seem ideal for the missing anapaest plus the one or two signs for [ks] of a line: *Hὸς* [⚭– ξ] *ἐν* *φ*ος *τε* *φ*ίλος etc. A possible restoration would be *Hὸς* [μοι ἔῃ ξ] *ἐν* *φ*ος *τε* *φ*ίλος etc., ‘He who was my dear guest-friend . . .’; but this is only a guess.<sup>514</sup>

As for the lost part on the reverse of the vase and to the l. of fragment (*a*), it is difficult to know how much is missing. Perhaps the exact three-dimensional measurements of the fragments could help, but this would need autopsy and precise measuring. From the photograph one should think that at the level of the top line and the decoration, the two sides of the line should meet at approximately seven eighths of a plane projection of the conical surface (see my drawing). This would bring the end of *ἐταῖρος* almost exactly to the back, i.e. on the l. half of the circumference a second hexameter line, ending in *μάλιστα*, would fit in. Indeed, the end of the line is the favourite place of *μάλιστα* in the Homeric epics, and if it held this position here, it would even better explain why the writer tried to squeeze its end in before the initial *hὸς*.<sup>515</sup>

The third hexameter line, of which we have some bits, would then have started one level below, probably right under *hὸς*. Its interpretation, as well as its end, which may be somewhere in the passage (*c2*) (see my tentative reconstruction), is entirely unclear. For (*b2*) also the neuter [. . . *h*] *ι*λᾶν *π*[. . .] seems possible (*ιλαεὺς* is a poetic word). As for fragment (*e*), we have no indication of where it belonged; it cannot even be decided (without exactly establishing the three-dimensional measurements) whether it is from levels (1) and (2) as the other fragments or from further down. Above, I have tried an arrangement of the text as seems plausible from the published information, tentatively splitting up (*c2*) into an ending *-οι* at the end of the third line and the Doric demonstrative starting the fourth; it is probably about as far as we can get with this interesting, but regrettably fragmentary, inscription.

For the alphabet see §107. For the digamma after nasal in *ξένφος* see §209. For *ἐταῖρος* see §§206, 210 (the form seems to reflect a borrowing from Ionic epic dialect, see §503). Apart from that, no problems of dialect appear. The overall meaning of the inscription may have been an elaborate dedication to a friend (of the potter or painter?).

<sup>514</sup> Inspired by *Il.* 13. 661 = *Od.* 24. 104; *Il.* 5. 695 ~ 23. 556; and 20. 426 ~ 21. 96.

<sup>515</sup> A. W. Johnston doubts my attempt at restoring the sequence of decoration elements, mainly because, according to him, the volute and palmetter must have been under the handle attachment and can therefore have occurred only once. Although this would destroy the supporting argument for the length of the gap between (*a*) and (*b*), the whole restoration of the text would remain untouched: *hὸς*, now slightly to the r. of the handle attachment, must still be the beginning (of the first) and *μάλιστα* the end (of the second line) on the top level, and as we have the end of the second line, the passage [ξ] *ἐν* *φ*ος *τε* *φ*ίλος *καὶ* *π*[ι]σ[τ]ὸς *ἐταῖρος* must belong to the first line, i.e. the gap between (*a*) and (*b*) must still be one anapaest.

## ITH 2 VATHY (ITHAKI), MUS. 292

Stand with handle (candlestick?) from Ithaka (1932). *Bibliography*: Payne (1933*a*), 283, ph. and dr. 282 fig. 9; Karo (1933), 236, ph. and dr. 237 fig. 11; Kretschmer (1936), 63; Lejeune (1945), 103–6 (bibl. 103 n. 3); Robertson (1948), 88 f., phs. pls. 38 f., no. 53; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 230 f., 234. 2, dr. pl. 45; Guarducci (1974), 477; Lorber (1979), 12, no. 7. *Photographs*: Payne and Karo uncl.; Robertson quite cl. *Scene*: Sphinxes etc., not related to the inscr. *Date*: imitating PC (Payne); 1st q. 7th cent. (Karo); younger than our INC 1 and EUC 3 (Robertson); no later than c. 675–650 (Jeffery).

ΚΑΤΞΚΓΕΑΜΠΟΞΑΜΕ

Καλικεασποιασε

Καλ(λ)ικλέας ποίᾱσε.

*Epigraphy*: From Robertson’s ph. (pl. 39*a*) the first iota, rendered as *ῖ* in the dr., seems to be like the second. In view of the *μ*-type mu of ITH 1, the penultimate letter, although slightly different from the first san, is probably not a mu. *Interpretation*: Potter’s signature.

A reading \**ποιᾱ* *με* is unlikely for epigraphical reasons, and the imperfect tense is comparatively rare in this use.<sup>516</sup> Kretschmer states that the long [ā] instead of [ē] recalls Elean dialect (see §218). He points to the lack of digamma (–*κλέφ*–, see §142; *ποιφ*–, see §209). In view of the missing augment, he wonders whether the inscription is not meant to be the beginning of a hexameter. A similar case, also an incomplete line, is *IGDS* 128 = *LSAG* 278. 49 = *GD* 105 *Πᾶσιδάδᾱφο τὸ σᾶμα· Κράτῆς ἐποίη* (see §506).

In his thorough discussion, Lejeune points out that the alphabet is not Corinthian (Payne, Karo), in view of the ‘normal’ epsilon, but very close to Achaian (see §107). He also shows that the dialect is not Corinthian, the main argument being the [ā]. Another argument for this view is the loss of [w] in *ποίφῃσε* which seems to have occurred only later in the Corinthian dialect (we may compare *Αῖφας*, *passim*; see §209).

For the name *Καλλικλέας* Lejeune considers an attractive alternative explanation. Apart from –*κλέφῃς* with ‘Elean’ [ā] and loss of intervocalic [w], the name could also be understood as a hypocoristic name (see §§228 ff.) from –*κλέφῃς* with the suffix –*έας* (probably via –*κλος*); see Schwyzler, p. 580. The latter possibility is well supported by attestations of *Καλλικλέας* outside the ‘Elean’ area (also *Κλέας* alone exists; see Bechtel, p. 241). In that case no loss of intervocalic [w] and no ‘Elean’ [ē] > [ā] would have to be assumed in this form; the [ā] in *ποιᾱσε*, however, remains a very likely case of the latter change.<sup>517</sup>

<sup>516</sup> When it occurs, does it have a durative aspect, e.g. ‘it took him a long time to do it well’? Alternatively, it may reflect a special usage in the dialect in question (see ad DOI 1). Examples are the gravestone made by Krates for Pasiadas, mentioned below, and *ἐγραφε* on two Attic cups by Aristophanes and Erginos, *ARV* 1318 f. nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>517</sup> Alternative interpretations, such as *Καλ(λ)ικλέας* *ποι ἄμέ*, ‘K. (sc. may come) to us’, do not seem to make better sense.

## ITH 3 VATHY (ITHAKI), MUS. 224

Frs. of an oinochoe (?) from Ithaka (1932). *Bibliography*: Robertson (1948), 88 (with advice by L. H. Jeffery), ph. pl. 32, no. 529. *Photographs*: Robertson uncl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 7th cent.<sup>?</sup>

ταυ-αῖοιχ-θρονλα (Robertson); ταυτασοιχυθ . ονπρι (instead of σ and χ possibly μ and ξ, respectively) (Jeffery *apud* Robertson).

*Epigraphy*: Too fragmentary and badly worn. As it seems to have gone round the base of a jug, it may have been of the same (metrical) kind as ITH 1. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

# 11. Euboian Colonies

*Introduction:* Two vases from Pithekussai bear painted inscriptions. With these I group a vase of unknown provenance but rather from the West than from the island of Euboea.

EUC 1 ISCHIA, MUS. DI LACCO AMENO INV. ?

Fr. of a local late geometric krater, from Ischia ('metalworking quarter' of Mazzola, Lacco Ameno) (1966–71). *Bibliography:* Buchner (1971), 67, with dr.; Buchner (1972), 371, dr. pl. 93; Peruzzi (1973), 26, ph. pl. 3; Guarducci (1974), 476; Heubeck (1979), 123, no. 6d; Orlandini (1983), 332 f., col. ph. fig. 282 (after p. 336); Cordano (1984), 289 (bibl.), no. 1; Guarducci (1987), 433; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 453. 1a. *Photographs:* Peruzzi uncl.; Orlandini cl. *Scene:* Sphinx (?), not related to the inscr. *Date:* late 8th cent. (Cordano); c.700–675 (Johnston); c.730–720 (G. Buchner, *per litt.*).

(←) ΙΥΟϚΜΕΓΟΙΕϚ  
[. . .]. υοοσμεποισε[. . . ?]  
[. . .]. υος μ' ἐποίεσε[ν . . . ?] (or [. . .]. υος με ποίεσε[ν . . . ?]).

*Epigraphy:* The first letter may be a sigma (G. Buchner, *per litt.*); rho, pi and others are also possible. *Interpretation:* Potter's signature.

Although the retrograde direction is normal in the earliest inscriptions, the sigma is reversed (this is fairly frequent, see IOD 4A and C, written from l. to r.). Despite their age, the letters are not of the 'spindly' character that is often taken for granted for early Greek writing (see e.g. Immerwahr, p. 17, dating this alleged style to '750–600 BC'). The style of the letters depended on the medium. It is obvious that with a brush on clay, as with a brush or pen on papyrus or parchment or leather, the letters would become bolder and wider than in graffiti. The letters we find on this vase would seem well-suited for literary texts.

How Peruzzi can say 'una formula che già denota una tradizione' is not clear in view of the fact (pointed out by Buchner), that this is the earliest potter's signature, although he may of course be right. The name could be a derivative in -ῦος (like e.g. Ἀρκτῦος), or a hypocoristic name such as Ἀγασῦος (Bechtel, p. 10), Ἀλεξῦος (p. 34), Ἀλκῦος (p. 37), etc. For the pronoun, elision, and augment see §224.

°EUC 2 ISCHIA, MUS. DI LACCO AMENO 166780

Krater (of Euboian make?), almost complete, from tomb 168 of the S. Montano necropolis, Pithekussai (1953). *Bibliography:* Johnston

(1983), 67; Cordano (1984), 289, no. 2; Buchner–Ridgway (1993), 216 f., no. 168. 1 (with bibl. of some earlier allusions to the piece), ph. pl. cxxix, dr. pl. 67. *Photographs:* Buchner–Ridgway sm. and uncl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* 3rd q. 8th cent. (Cordano); some time before 720, the date of the tomb (G. Buchner, *per litt.*).

(←) Δ(?)ΕΧΘΕΟ  
Δ(?) εξθεο  
Δεξ(ι)θεό (?)

*Epigraphy:* Written upside-down round the foot. Johnston reads ΕΘ, considering an 'abbreviated personal name or an indication of divine ownership, very much out of place in a tomb'.<sup>518</sup> Before the theta, however, G. Buchner's drawing shows a cross-shaped xi and an epsilon (reversed, with four strokes), which in my view cannot be said to belong to the decoration. The omicron has a—probably casual—dot. The star after it is probably not meant to be a letter in view of the other similar stars. *Interpretation:* Probably an owner's inscription or a dedication to a human.

At first, I was tempted to interpret Johnston's reading as Θεό, a woman's name of the type Σαπφώ (see §236). But if the signs in front of the theta belong—as seems likely to me—we have to read a longer string. The only possibility of obtaining a satisfactory meaning that I can think of would be to assume A. W. of the ξ and to take one of the preceding triangles for a delta, turned into decoration by mistake or a whimsical idea. This would give a genitive Δεξ(ι)θεό (attested e.g. at Eretria some centuries later; see Bechtel, p. 206, Fraser–Matthews, Pape–Benseler), i.e. an owner's inscription. According to Buchner–Ridgway (p. 212) the tomb in question, in which the Nestor Cup was also found, is of a 12 to 14 year-old boy. However, since the vessel is of non-local fabric (ibid. 216), the inscription can hardly be the boy's name, but perhaps his father's, who may also have been the owner of the Nestor Cup.

EUC 3 BOSTON, MUS. OF FINE ARTS 98. 900

Pointed aryballos (imitation of PC) from ? (1898 or earlier). *Bibliography:* E. Robinson, *AnnRepBoston* 21 (1898), 55 (non vidi); anon. (1899a), 142, no. 7; anon. (1899b), 574, no. 7; Tarbell–Buck

<sup>518</sup> Buchner–Ridgway's reference (p. 216 n. 5) to the inscribed amphora from Eretria, our EUB 1, seems out of place to me, since there the relevant word, θεῶ 'goddess', is in the nom. and is a label to a painted figure.

(1902), with ph.; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5292; Nicole (1916), 375, no. I. 1; Ducati (1922), 104 f.; Friis Johansen (1923), 171; Hoppin (1924), 1; Lejeune (1945), 103; Buck, *GD* (1955), no. 9; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 83 f., 88. 22, ph. pl. 6; Burzachechi (1961); Lorber (1979), 13, no. 10. *Photographs*: Tarbell, Jeffery quite cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 7th cent. (Robinson); early 7th cent. (Lorber).

(←) ΡΥΡΟΖΜΕΡΟΙΕΞΕΝΑΓΑΣΙΛΕΦΟ

*Πυροσμεποιεσεναγασιλεφο*

*Πύρ(ρ)ος μ' ἐποίησεν (or μὲ ποίεσεν) Ἀγασιλέφο.*

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Potter's signature.

The alphabet was recognized as that of the colonies of Chalkis by Robinson (in theory it could also be proper Euboian; the provenance of the vase is unknown). This fits the Ionic dialect of -λεφο and of the nu ephelkystikon (see §202). Burzachechi is incorrect to say that the Γ-shape gamma excludes the Chalkidic colonies. Nevertheless, this letter-form is remarkable because of its extremely archaic type (see Jeffery, p. 79, on this letter-form in archaic Euboia and her colonies). Jeffery's suggestion (p. 84 n. 2) that the alpha is upside down because the vase was placed upside down on the wheel is implausible. (1) If that were so, we would have good reason to expect other letters to be upside down too (in particular λ and Ε). (2) The blobs of paint are at the lower end of the letters (see π, υ, ρ, ο, σ, μ, ε, π, σ, ν, γ, α, ε) which shows that the vase was placed (or held) in an upright position when it was inscribed. This alpha, too, is very likely to be an archaic feature. For it seems to emerge directly from the horizontal alpha of the eighth century, from which two vertical normalizations by means of a rotation through 90° were possible, namely clockwise or anti-clockwise (see Wachter (1989b), 50). Considering the fact that in the mother-town Chalkis on Euboia upright alpha was in use—though not necessarily in exclusive use—already in the eighth century (see *ibid.* 27 n. 24), it seems more likely that this letter-form survived in some unspecified colony. Imitation of PC (suggested by the clay and glaze, Lorber)

seems more probable in the melting-pot of the West than on Euboia anyway.

Buck (1902) thought that this is 'the first incontestable example of the preservation of an original *Ϝ* in the Attic-Ionic dialects' (therefore no change of quantities, as in Attic -λεω, would yet have occurred in our form). Bechtel criticized this view because of the lack of digamma in the verb ἐποί(Ϝ)εσεν (this criticism was later acknowledged by Buck in *GD*; a [w] is also lost, we may note, in the name Πύρ(ρ)ος, see §209). Bechtel took -εφο as a case of secondary, etymologically unjustified, digamma, as in *CEG* 143 *Τλασίαφο* and *IGDS* 128 = *LSAG* 278. 49 *Πασιάδαφο* (for which see §506), and thought of Pyrrhos' father as of a Boiotian \*Ἀγασίλ(λ)ᾱς living on Euboia.<sup>519</sup> But his main argument for a Boiotian connection, namely the gamma Γ, is void, since it need not be Boiotian (see above). Secondly, the assumption of an etymologically unjustified digamma is problematic in genuine Ionic. For there is otherwise no trace of inherited [w] in the Ionic dialects in alphabetic times, and therefore we cannot argue, as we can in the case of Corinthian Doric (see §506), that anywhere in Ionia the letter digamma, which—in contrast to Corinthian—was, and probably always had been, a dead letter, could be used merely for metrical purposes and in an etymologically unjustified way.

However, considering the writing of the digamma in the name as opposed to Πύρ(ρ)ος and ἐποίησεν, we may indeed be tempted to suspect Pyrrhos' ancestors to be of non-Ionic origin. If this were true, we still cannot establish their original dialect, in which inherited [w] in -λαῖφος was still preserved or at least remembered in 'high speech', and as we cannot say positively that they were Boiotians, the vase, again, need not be from Euboia rather than from a Western colony. In view of the style of the vase, which is an imitation of Protocorinthian, and the use of digamma for lost or unetymological [w] in Corinth (see §506), we may rather consider a Corinthian family emigrated to an Ionic colony in the West (for other cases of migrant vase-painters or potters see the Introduction and §§259 ff.). But we cannot be certain.

<sup>519</sup> I do not understand Thumb-Scherer's statement (p. 262 top): 'nicht etwa -λήφου zu lesen!'

## 12. ‘Chalcidian’

*Introduction:* The name of this important ‘school’ of archaic Greek vase-painting is exclusively based on the type of local alphabet that the painters apply. No ‘Chalcidian’ pottery has so far been found on Euboia, and only few fragments in Euboian colonies in the West. Therefore the place (or places?) of production is still debated. I have nothing to add to this question. Instead, I have concentrated on the main exponent of the inscribed Chalcidian vases, the so-called Inscription P., whose inscriptions show a number of interesting linguistic and epigraphical features which, combined with what we know about the components of the Chalcidian style, contribute to a plausible biography for this important artist (see §§259 f.). I have not included the chalcidianizing vase mentioned by E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1975), 188, dated to c.460, found at Paestum, and bearing a nonsense inscr.

\*CHA I LEIDEN, RIJSMUS. VAN OUDHEDEN PC 28  
(FORMERLY 1626)

Neck-amphora from Vulci, by the Inscription P. (Feb. 1829). *Bibliography:* Bonaparte (1829), 91 ff., no. 802, drs. of inscrs. pl. 20; Gerhard (1831), 171 (656), 174 (671*n*), 175 (673\*, 676), 217 f., drs. of some inscrs. pl. A. ii; Jahn (1854), p. cxlix n. 1060e; *CIG* (iv), no. 7459; Heydemann (1880), 28 (*w*), 35 ff.; Kirchhoff (1887), 125, no. 3; Fick (1883), 10; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 277 f., no. 1; Roberts (1887), 207 f., no. 190. 1; Kretschmer (1894), 63 f., no. 4; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5295; Fränkel (1912*a*), 1–16 (*A*), 82; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 797. 3; Rumpf (1927), 7 f. no. 2 (bibl.), 46, phs. pls. 2–5; Brants (1930), 15, ph. pl. 17; phs. Vogel (1978), 148 f. figs. 74 f.; *LIMC* i, ‘Anties’ 1\*, ph. pl. 658; Collinge (1985), 217 f. (sect. 29), cat. no. A1; *LIMC* iii, ‘Chora’ 1\*, ph. pl. 219, ‘Dason’ 1, ‘Dorkis’ 1; *LIMC* v, ‘Hippaios’ 1\*, ph. pl. 301, ‘Io’ iii. 1\*, ph. pl. 452; *LIMC* vi, ‘Klyto’ ii. 1, ‘Molpe’ 1, ‘Myro’ 1\*, ph. pl. 409; *LIMC* vii, ‘Ouaties’ 1\*, ‘Simis, Simon, Simos’ 3\*, phs. pls. 91, 560. *Photographs:* Rumpf and Brants quite cl.; Vogel (*a*)–(*c*), (*f*)–(*h*), (*k*), and (*l*) cl., (*i*) uncl., rest invis.; *LIMC* i only (*a*)–(*c*), quite cl.; *LIMC* iii only (*f*) uncl., (*g*) quite cl., (*h*)–(*i*) uncl.; *LIMC* v, ‘Hippaios’, only (*d*)–(*f*), sm.; *LIMC* v, ‘Io’, only (*l*), cl.; *LIMC* vi only part of (*i*), and (*j*), uncl.; *LIMC* vii (*i*) and (*j*–*l*) cl. *Scene:* Dance involving horse-hoofed Satyrs and Maenads (three of the Maenads are looking back over their shoulders); no clear beginning or end nor grouping in pairs. All figures are labelled. *Date:* 530–525 (*LIMC* i).

(*a*) ANTIEΣ (*b*) (←) ΜΟΛΠΕ (*c*) (←) ΔΑΣΟΝ  
(*d*) (←) ΚΛΥΤΟ (*e*) (←) ΒΙΓΓΑΙΟΞ (*f*) (←) +ΑΜΘΟ  
(*g*) ΔΟΡΚΙΣ (*h*) (←) ΥΟΡΟ (*i*) ΟΥΑΤΙΕΣ (*j*) ΜΥΡΟ  
(*k*) ΙΜΟΣ (*l*) (←) ΚΙΟ

(*a*) Αντιες (*b*) Μολπε (*c*) Δασον (*d*) Κλυτο  
(*e*) Ηιππαιος (*f*) Ξανθο (*g*) Δορκις (*h*) Χορο  
(*i*) Οφατιες (*j*) Μυρο (*k*) [. . .]ιμος (*l*) Φιο

(*a*) Αντιῆς, (*b*) Μόλπῃ, (*c*) Δάσον, (*d*) Κλυτῶ, (*e*) Ηιππαῖος,  
(*f*) Ξανθῶ, (*g*) Δόρκις, (*h*) Χορῶ, (*i*) Ὀφατίης, (*j*) Μυρῶ,  
(*k*) [Σ]ῖμος, (*l*) Φιῶ.

*Epigraphy:* (*c*) Gerhard was the first to read Dason,<sup>520</sup> which was preferred by Kretschmer and eventually accepted by Fränkel and Rumpf. (*f*) The final –ō was first recognized in *CIG*; before one had read –a. (*g*) The initial delta was first seen as belonging to the inscr. by Jahn. (*h*) The final letter was normally read as (long) –a, but Heydemann, referring to the final letter in (*f*), read –ō.<sup>521</sup> There is no doubt that he was right. All alphas show oblique hastas extending well below the horizontal, whereas the omicrons are often irregular. The triangular ones in (*f*), (*e*), and also (*c*) are particularly similar to the one here. (*k*) The initial sigma was seen by Bonaparte (and Gerhard), but has now disappeared. *Interpretation:* Unspecified scene with a dance involving Satyrs and Maenads (labels).

Although the Inscription P. normally uses qoppa before [o] and [u],<sup>522</sup> he preferred to write kappa in (*d*); why, we do not know (see §108). For some possible implications of these names, particularly of (*a*), on the age and tradition of such Dionysiac revelry see §407.

(*a*) Heydemann (p. 43) thought that this name was taken from the stock of everyday names. In fact Αντίας occurs several times (from the sixth century onwards)<sup>523</sup> and is normally considered a hypocoristic of Αντίνοος, Αντικλῆς etc. (Bechtel, p. 60). Here, however, this interpretation of the name is implausible. For a detailed discussion see §407. (*b*) is clearly a speaking name (see

<sup>520</sup> The sigma, which is leaning slightly backwards, caused many conjectures in the last century: Βαρον, Θαρον, Θασον, Ραρον, Ρασον, Φαρον, Φαρος.

<sup>521</sup> A. Kossatz-Deißmann (*LIMC* iii) gives the heading Chora, but writes “Χώρα oder Χόρα oder Χορώ?”

<sup>522</sup> See CHA 3e with the same name Κλυτῶ and CHA 10d with the masc. equivalent, moreover CHA 3, 4, and 8 (CHA 20 and 26 are by different painters). For the mediate sequence see nn. 784 and 787.

<sup>523</sup> *LSAG* 361. 4 = *DGE* 647<sup>a</sup> (Lesbos/Naukratis, 6th cent.). More examples in Pape–Benseler, e.g. an Argive in Pind. *Nem.* 10. 40, and the Roman writer Valerius Antias (1st cent. BC).



§239). The stem of *μολπ-* does not infrequently occur in personal names, see Bechtel, pp. 323 f. Here, the basic noun ('dance') is directly used as a name (i.e. 'dancer').<sup>524</sup> (c) was explained as 'villous, shaggy' by Fränkel (pp. 8 f.), who referred to vases (particularly Attic ones) on which Satyrs have fur,<sup>525</sup> and to a Satyr-name *Λάσιος* 'shaggy'.<sup>526</sup> This explanation is very plausible also from the point of view of the formation of our hypocoristic name, which is of a very old type (*Δάσων* from *δασύς* as *Πλάτων* from *πλατύς* etc.; see §229). It is no serious problem that our Satyr has no pelt (see §407 with n. 983);<sup>527</sup> *Λάσιος* on the Attic vase just mentioned has none either. Whether *Δασύλλιος*, epithet of Dionysos (Paus. 1. 43. 5, cited by Kretschmer) has any direct relation, we cannot say. (d) is a common name, according to Fränkel (p. 14). Nevertheless, it seems very appropriate for a good dancer (compare the Muse *Κλειώ*). For its formation see §236. (e) is also a speaking name, in view of the horse-tails and hooves of our Satyrs. For the formation Bechtel cites the parallel *Πτολεμαῖος* (Il. 4. 228), an adjective used as a name. The horsey aspect of Satyrs is also present in CHA 14c *Ηίπ(π)ος* and the straightforward Satyr-names *Στύσιπ(π)ος* and *Φλέβιπ(π)ος* of an Attic cup.<sup>528</sup> (f) shows the same formation as (d); see also CHA 14b. This name, according to Fränkel (p. 14), 'rühmt das blonde Haar' (adjective *ξανθός*; see §407).<sup>529</sup> She would be very popular in Greece still today.

(g) was connected with *δέρκομαι* by Fränkel (p. 11). Since our figure is a dancer, she compared the name with a special kind of dance, *σκοπός*, *σκώπενμα*, *σκώψ*, where one shaded one's eyes with the hand to see better (see LSJ for the attestations).<sup>530</sup> Whether the notion of this special dance is relevant here, we cannot say, but in view of the other Satyr-names on our vase it seems likely that our figure gets his name from his eyes. For whereas the Maenads are shown with normal human eyes, the Satyrs have enormous round circles with two small corners to the left and right. And also the notion of looking out while shading one's eyes makes perfect sense for a Satyr; indeed there is one of these creatures (covered with thick fur) on a vase by the same painter,

<sup>524</sup> Other examples are *Κόρδαξ* (Bechtel, p. 610, 5th cent.), *Λύρα* (ibid. 604, a hetaira). Abstract feminine nouns e.g. *Φύη*, *Μελέτη*, *Άλκή*, *Γνώμη* etc. (the accents are uncertain), see Bechtel (1902), 129–40. Fränkel (p. 15) has some doubts because of the early date of this use of an abstract noun as a name; they are, however, unnecessary. The above-named *Φύη*, who was Peisistratos' companion when he returned to Athens 558/7 and was of upper class origin, must have been born c. 575 or even earlier.

<sup>525</sup> e.g. on *ABV* 151. 22, Simon–Hirmer (1981), 82 f. (ph. pl. 68).

<sup>526</sup> On the vase *ARV* 88. 3; Fränkel, pp. 9 and 23; Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), 159.

<sup>527</sup> The adjective will hardly refer to his hair and beard.

<sup>528</sup> Fränkel, p. 24; Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), 166 and 173. For the latter name see Bechtel, p. 482. Beazley in *ARV* 65. 108 with p. 1609, less plausibly, thinks of *kalos* names; see below (g).

<sup>529</sup> For the colour *ξανθός* in connection with horses see ad *COR* 103b.

<sup>530</sup> In view of the obvious connection of *σκώψ* 'owl' with *σκέπτομαι*, the relation of *δέρκομαι* and *δορκάς* 'roe, gazelle' (there is also the root-noun *δόρξ*, *-κός*) could well be genuine. Roes have good eyes. (Because of a Celtic word corresponding to isolated Greek forms with initial <ζ>, it is, however, normally considered a popular etymology; see both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. *δορκάς*.) For names derived from *δόρξ* or *δορκάς* see Bechtel, p. 589.

lurking behind a tree and watching a solitary dancing Maenad.<sup>531</sup> As far as the formation of the name is concerned, Fränkel compared *τρόχης* 'messenger', *τρόφης* 'nursling', *στροφής* 'twister'; see also the Satyr *Δρόμης*.<sup>532</sup> *Δόρκης* is also attested on CHA 14 (by the same painter), and has been plausibly restored as [*Δόρ*]κῖς on an Attic vase.<sup>533</sup>

(h) Heydemann was the first to take the first [o] as short, i.e. to derive the name from *χορός*, with the meaning 'dancer'. Kretschmer and Fränkel followed him, comparing (b) for the sense. The name recurs on Attic vases, partly written *Χορώ* (which confirms the short first [o]), partly *Χορό* in the local script.<sup>534</sup> For its formation see (d).

(i) First correctly interpreted by Fick, who referred to the long ears of the Satyrs. Semantically there are many parallel formations from parts of the body (e.g. *Πνίγας* from *ρῖς*; Bechtel, p. 480).<sup>535</sup> For the phonetic structure Fick cited *ῶατ' ἐταίρων* Alc. 80. 1 *PMG* (in a hexameter; *ῶτα θ'* cod.; for *ἐταίρος* see §206), as well as *ἐξωβάδια ἐνώτια*, *Λάκωνες* (Hsch.), *ῶατα ὠρία*, *ῶτα* (id.; no provenance), and the proper name *Οὐατίας* of a king at Asian Kyme in the Dark Ages (10th cent.?), reported by Nic. Damasc. (*FGrH* 90, F 51). We can now add another instance in a poem by Balbilla, *SEG* 8. 716. 9 *ῶατα*. Bechtel, on the other hand, found the spelling *ῶφα-* peculiar. He suggested a reading *Οὐ-* or *Οὐφ-*, i.e. he interpreted the form as the stem *οὐατ-* of epic etc., citing several more parallels for it (see LSJ, s.v. *οὐς*), including some from the *Corp. Hippocr.*, and a sacrificial calendar from Kos of c. 300 BC (*SGDI* 3636. 62). In our context there are two questions:<sup>536</sup> (1) What is the function of the *φ*? As intervocalic [w] is regularly lost in our painter's inscriptions,<sup>537</sup> our digamma must be an exceptional spelling. It could be—as Bechtel suggested—the second component of the diphthong in *οὐατ-*, or it may stand for no inherited sound, but either mark a glide<sup>538</sup> or bridge

<sup>531</sup> Rumpf (1927), no. 111, phs. pls. 118 f.; Simon–Hirmer (1981), 63, ph. pl. 40 (Villa Giulia 50410). See also the vase CHA 28, on which Satyrs observe bathing Maenads (all nameless).

<sup>532</sup> Fränkel, p. 23; Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), 152; *ARV* 370. 13; *LIMC* iii, 'Dromis' 1; Immerwahr, no. 551.

<sup>533</sup> Fränkel, pp. 11 and 23. This restoration is accepted in *LIMC* iii, 'Dorkis' 3, and Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), 152. Beazley, *ARV* 65. 108, less plausibly, seems to have thought of a *kalos* name; see above (c) with n. 528.

<sup>534</sup> *ARV* 1247. 1, 1253. 57 and 58; *LIMC* iii, 'Choro' ii. 1–3; Lezzi-Hafter (1988), 342 f., 315, 321, nos. 234, 31, 76; Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), 177.

<sup>535</sup> Also *Ῥίνων*. Other examples: *Ῥαμφίας* from *ράμφος* 'crooked beak' (Bechtel, p. 478), *Λοβίας* from *λοβός* 'lobe of the ear' (p. 481, also *Λόβων*), *Δερίας* from *δέρα* 'neck' (p. 481; son of a *Στομάς*), *Σιαλίας* from *σίαλον* 'saliva'; probably also *Κανθίας* from *κανθός* 'corner of the eye' (not from *κάνθαρος* 'beetle', as Bechtel, p. 582, holds). We may also count hairdressing with these cases: *Κορυμβίας* from *κόρυμβος* (p. 601), *Σκαφίας* from *σκάφιον* (p. 602, also *Σκάφων*), [*Σ*]κολλίας from *σκόλλης* (p. 602), and probably also *Κυρβασίας* from *κυρβασία* 'pointed hat' (p. 600).

<sup>536</sup> I need not discuss the etymology of *οὐς*; see Szemerényi's (1967) thorough treatment.

<sup>537</sup> See CHA 2b *Ηερακλῆς* (<κλεφεῖς; ibid. (c) *Γάρυφόνες* has a glide [w], see CHA 9c *Γερνόνες*), CHA 4b *Διομέδης* (<Διφο-, also CHA 8h) and (h) *Λεόδορος* (<Λαφο-); indeed, even in the situation where Corinthian has preserved it, viz. in the name *Αῖας* (CHA 4d), no digamma is written (the Corinthian form is *Αῖφας*).

<sup>538</sup> Yet, this development is more plausible after a [u] (see CHA 2c *Γάρυφόνες*) than after an [o].



the hiatus as in Corinth (see §506), where our painter seems to have come from (see §259). Since in CHA 3i *Qpōπιος* he writes an inherited diphthong [ou] with one sign (see ad COR 107e), Bechtel's solution is less likely; the spelling of a diphthong with the consonant sign digamma as the second element is very rare in Greek anyway (see ad COP 33). (2) The second question is whether we would at all expect a stem [o(u)at-]. For the stem of the oblique cases is normally contracted, i.e. *ὠτ-*, in Greek. Not only is this found once in Homer (*Od.* 12. 200 *ὠσίῳ*),<sup>539</sup> but it is attested in Attic, Ionic (Hdt. 1. 8. 2; 2. 69. 2; 2. 162. 5 etc.), and Doric (Theocr. 14. 27). The longer form survives in poetry, viz. Alc. (see above, *ὠατ*), Epich. (fr. 21 *CGF* *οῦατα*, iamb. trim.), Theocr. (22. 45 *οῦατα*), Callim. (*οῦατα* several times; but *ὠτα* fr. 23. 4 Pfeiffer), Balbilla (see above, *ὠατα*), and in other learned contexts such as the *Corp. Hippocr.* and the sacrificial calendar from Kos, mentioned above.<sup>540</sup> We have no other sources on the dialect of the 'Chalcidian' vases, but nonetheless it is theoretically likely that our name should be \**ὠτῖες* in contemporary speech and that our form is archaizing.<sup>541</sup> Does it reflect a literary, i.e. poetic, source of some kind? If it does, it cannot be decided whether the digamma is meant to mark the hiatus or was actually pronounced in the literary dialect that the painter had in mind. For it is hard to say what the source in question could have been. For once it would not have been the sphere of epic, where Dionysos and his cult rarely appears, although with its likely scansion *— — —*, which we may infer from the poetic occurrences, our name would suit a dactylic metre too.

Label (j) according to Fränkel's plausible explanation (pp. 14 f.) 'rühmt das köstliche Parfüm seiner Trägerin', and is derived from the noun *μύρον* 'perfume'; historical names from this noun, including *Μυρώ*, are found in Bechtel (p. 602); for the formation see (d). (k) Many parallels of this name, which means 'flat-nose', are given by Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), 170 f. (also *Σιμάδης*, *Σιμαῖος* etc.). See also CHA 14a, as well as COR 110a (?) and 118b (?). This was certainly a traditional Satyr-name. (l) According to Fränkel (p. 14) this is an ordinary name; for its formation see (d). It recurs on Corinthian vases. Kretschmer (p. 44) offers several possible connections for it, namely *ῥῖς* 'strength', *ῥῖσθαι* 'haste, desire', *ῥίος* 'poison', *ῥίτυς* 'curve, rim, felloe', *ῥίον* 'violet'. In our context, particularly for a woman following one who is labelled *Μυρό*, the notion 'fragrance of a violet' seems most appropriate (see also ad COR Gr 15a; §237 at the end; §510).

<sup>539</sup> The form has of course been often condemned, see Chantraine (1942), 230, but the suggestion of an elided *οῦατ* is not satisfactory. There are many cases of surprising modernisms, not only contractions, in Homer, which cannot be easily dismissed and which we have to accept for the poet's time.

<sup>540</sup> The above-mentioned *Ὀυατίας* of Kyme is archaic enough to have the uncontracted form of the name (was his story transmitted through some local epic-historic account?). We cannot judge the style of the source of *ἐξωβάνδια* (Lakonian) and *ὠατα*, known from Hsch. (see above).

<sup>541</sup> At least we can say that in East Ionic, on many Ionic islands (Bechtel (1924), 61, *Ἐρμῶναξ* etc.), and in Attica contraction of [o] and [a] after the loss of [w] regularly took place.

Neck-amphora from Vulci, by the Inscription P. (1828/29). *Bibliography*: Gerhard (1831), 47, 150 (368), 171 (660), 174 (671), 175 (675), 217, drs. of some inscs. pl. A. ii; Hirt (1833), 231 f.; de Witte (1836), 97 n. 1 ad no. 294; Gerhard (1843), 77–80, drs. pls. 105/6; Jahn (1854), p. cxlix n. 1060f; *CIG* (iv), no. 7582; Kirchhoff (1887), 126, no. 5; Fick (1883), 10 f.; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 2; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 279, no. 5; Roberts (1887), 208, no. 191; Kretschmer (1894), 62 f., no. 2; de Ridder (1902), 106–8 with sm. drs. of inscs.; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5294; ph. Furtwängler–Reichhold (1909), fig. 79c (opp. p. 216); Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 797. 2; Rumpf (1927), 8 f. no. 3 (bibl.), 46, phs. pls. 6–9; M. Lambrino, *CVA* France, 7 (1928), 19–21, phs. pls. 24. 1–4, 25; ph. Merlin [n.d.], pl. 31; phs. Schmalenbach (1948), pls. 40–3; Lippold (1952), 81 f., phs. 82 f. figs. 5 f.; phs. *EAA* ii. 262 figs. 393 f.; Robertson (1969), esp. 208; Lane (1971), 42, ph. pl. 56; col. ph. Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard (1971), 81 fig. 86; Page (1973), 145; Schefold (1978), 117, with ph. fig. 146; Brize (1980), esp. 42 f.; *LIMC* ii, 'Athena' 512\*, ph. pl. 757; Brize (1985), 85; Collinge (1985), 69–78 (sect. 1), cat. no. A2; *LIMC* iv, 'Eurytion' ii. 47, 'Geryones' 16\*, ph. pl. 106; *LIMC* v, 'Herakles' 2464\*, dr. pl. 84. *Photographs*: Furtwängler–Reichhold only (a)–(c), sm.; Rumpf (a), (b), and (d) clear, (c) uncl.; *CVA* quite cl.; Merlin and *EAA* (a) and (b) cl., (c) uncl., (d) invis.; Schmalenbach (b) and (d) cl., (a) and (c) uncl.; Lippold (b) cl., rest uncl.; Lane (d) cl., (b) and (c) uncl., (a) invis.; Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard only (a)–(c), cl.; Schefold (b) and (d) cl., (a) and (c) uncl.; *LIMC* ii (a) cl., (b) and (c) uncl., (d) invis.; *LIMC* iv only (c) uncl., (d) cl. Vidi 8 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: In front of a herd of cattle is Athena (a) backing Herakles (b), who is shooting an arrow at Geryones (c). A man (d), an arrow in his back, is lying dead and face-down on the ground with his head to the r. His hound (unnamed) is lying dead on his back. On the other side there is a frontal *quadriga* (with Iolaos, unnamed). *Date*: 540–530 (Lane; *LIMC* iv and v); c. 530 (Schefold); towards 530–520 (*LIMC* ii).

(a) ΑΘΕΝΑΙΕ (b) ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ (c) (←) ΓΑΡΥΦΟΝΕΣ  
(d) ΕΥΡΥΤΙΟΝ

(a) Αθελαιε (b) Ηερακλες (c) Γαρυφονες (d) Ευρυτιον

(a) Αθῆναίῃ, (b) Ηῆρακλῆς, (c) Γᾱρυφόνῃς, (d) Εὐρυτίῳν.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Herakles and Geryones (labels).

For the scene see §414. The rhos in (b) and (d) have the form P (see §§101, 259). Inscription (d), which is parallel to the back and the hair of the dead man, is placed slightly to the l. above his head and should therefore, according to the starting-point principle (see §104), be written from r. to l., although this is not a serious exception (Rumpf p. 49; see CHA 10). The reversed sigma in (c) is a symptom that the direction l. to r. was the normal one at the time.

(a) See §247. (b) See also CHA 9b, CHA 19, and CHA 20a. (c) Geryones' name is also attested on Attic vases, *ABV* 136. 49 showing Γερυόνες[s], Εὐρυτίων, and Ηερακλῆς,<sup>542</sup> and *ARV* 16 f., no. 17, with Ηερακλῆς, Ἀθ[ε]ναία, [Γερυ]όνες, Εὐρυτίων, and Τόλεος.<sup>543</sup> For the long [ā] in our Γερυόνες see §259, for the glide [w] see §207. (d) Eurytion on COR 107 is a different character, perhaps with a wrong ending. Here we have the true Εὐρυτίων, well known as Geryones' shepherd.

°CHA 3 PARIS, CABINET DES MÉDAILLES 203

Neck-amphora from Vulci, by the Inscription P. (1828/29). *Bibliography*: Gerhard (1831), 174 (671i), 175 (673, 673\*), 183 (742a), 184 (742\*), 217, drs. of some inscs. pl. A. ii; de Witte (1836), 143 f., no. 394; Jahn (1854), p. cxlix n. 1060c; Gerhard (1847), 84–7, drs. pl. 190/1. 1–2; *CIG* (iv), no. 7381; Kirchhoff (1887), 123 f., no. 1; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 4; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 278, no. 3; Roberts (1887), 206 f., no. 188; Kretschmer (1894), 64 f., no. 5; de Ridder (1902), 109 f. with sm. drs. of inscs.; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5296; O. Hoffmann, *SGDI* iv/4 (1915), p. 890; Schwyzler, *DGE* (1923), no. 797. 4; Rumpf (1927), 9 no. 4 (bibl.), 46, phs. pls. 10 f.; M. Lambrino, *CVA* France, 7 (1928), 20 f., phs. pls. 24. 5–7, 26; Collinge (1985), 110–13 (sect. 8), cat. no. A3; *LIMC* iii, 'Demodokos' iii. 1\*, ph. pl. 270; *LIMC* iv, 'Glaucos' vi. 3\*, ph. pl. 160; *LIMC* v, 'Hippolyte' v. 1; *LIMC* vii, 'Polydos' 2. *Photographs*: Rumpf (a)–(c) uncl., (d) quite cl., (e) uncl., (f)–(h) cl., (i) cl. except the first two letters (see dr.), (j) cl.; *CVA* mostly quite cl.; *LIMC* iii only (a) and part of (b), uncl.; *LIMC* iv only (a) quite cl., (h)–(j) uncl. Vidi 8 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: A man to r. (a) putting on his greaves, a woman to l. (b) holding his shield and spear. A warrior to r. (unnamed) putting on his helmet, in front of him an archer on horseback to r. (c) with a spare horse, and another archer to r. on foot (d) facing a woman to l. (e). Next comes a warrior (f) with a boy (unnamed), both looking back at the others while walking to r. towards an old man, who is greeting them (g). Behind him two horses (h) and (i) to l., ridden by an armed horseman, probably (j), and his page, probably unnamed, waiting. *Date*: c. 530 (*LIMC* iii–v, vii).

(a) (←) ΔΕΜΟΔΟΦΟΣ (b) ΒΙΓΓΟΥΥΤΕ (c) ΤΥΧΙ  
(d) (←) ΤΟ+ (e) (←) ΟΛΥΤΟ (f) ΠΕΡΙΦΑΣ  
(g) ΠΟΛΥΔΟΣ (h) (←) +ΔΗΘΟΣ (i) (←) ΡΟΡΓΙΟΣ  
(j) (←) ΚΛΑΥΡΟΣ

(a) Δεμοδοφος (b) Ηιππολυτε (c) Τυχι[.].  
(d) Τοξ[. . .] (e) Ολυτο (f) Περιφας (g) Πολυδος  
(h) Ξανθος (i) Οροπιος (j) Γλαυρος

<sup>542</sup> Immerwahr, no. 128; ph. Schefold (1978), 115 fig. 143; Brize (1980), 134, no. 14, ph. pl. 2. 2.

<sup>543</sup> Immerwahr, no. 362 (whose readings I have adopted); phs. Simon–Hirmer pls. 108 f. (inscs. invis.); Brize (1980), 139, no. 54.

(a) Δεμοδοφος, (b) Ηιππολύτῃ, (c) Τύχι[o]s, (d) Τοξ[. . .],  
(e) Ολυτό, (f) Περιφας, (g) Πολυδος, (h) Ξάνθος,  
(i) Ορόπιος, (j) Γλαυρος.

*Epigraphy*: (c) Gerhard was right to read Τύξις (he used the dot for an illegible letter), whereas later on, no letter was indicated as missing. The first letter is a tau. The final –ς was no longer indicated by de Witte, but there is a clear trace even now. For the value of the third letter see below. (e) was read as (←) ⊕ΛΤΟ by Lambrino, *pace* earlier authors. The first letter, however, is clearly a qoppa. (g) Gerhard has a correct Δ as the fifth letter in his drawing, but most others read Πολυβο[s]. Rumpf (p. 52) was right to observe that the letter is a delta. M. Daumas (*LIMC* iv) again reads a beta, wrongly. (i) Rumpf (see p. 52) was the first to read Ορόπιος correctly. *Interpretation*: Pseudo-heroic departure scene (labels).

For the nature of the scene see §467.

(a) means 'accepted by the public' and is attested as the (speaking) name of the Phaiakian singer in *Odyssey* 8 (see Burkert (1987), 47). (b) This name, which, as far as I can see, is attested only as a heroic name, together with some other labels gives the scene a slightly heroic touch; but we could also point to its horsey aspect (see §238).

(c) The restoration Ζεῦξις of *CIG* could be justified as a case of A.W. (see §111): Ζ(ε)ῦξις. But this reading is impossible. The first letter is (and was unanimously read as) a tau, and Gerhard was right to observe that in front of the iota one letter is missing. Hoffmann writes: 'Als fingierter Name passt Τύξις "Treffer" (eigentlich Verbalnomen, vgl. τύξιν τεῦξιν, παρασκευήν Hsch.) für einen Bogenschützen sehr gut.' This gloss is the only example of the stem τυξί-, however, and its meaning, which is not 'Treffer' but 'attainment, acquisition, preparation', and indeed the use of a feminine verbal noun for a masculine name, is very odd. We cannot take Τύξις as a hypocoristic in –ις either, since compound names with Τυξί- as their first element are unattested. On the other hand, names with Τυχ- do exist (Bechtel, p. 433, also e.g. Τύχιππος in Pape–Benseler), and they yield a satisfactory meaning: 'lucky'.<sup>544</sup> Now, our name reads Τυχι[.].s, and since the missing letter can hardly be anything but a vowel, we may confidently restore Τύχι[o]s. This name, a hypocoristic, is attested from the *Iliad* onwards (7. 220; more examples in Fraser–Matthews and Pape–Benseler).<sup>545</sup> If so, we have to take this as a lapse in the writing system committed by a writer who for a number of reasons is likely to have been of non-Ionic origin (he seems to have been a Corinthian; see §259).

(d) Since the figure is an archer, he must have had a speaking name, for example Τοξ[ότῃς] (*CIG*) or Τοξ[εύς] (Jahn; see §416 on COR 12a); names with Τοξ- are mostly heroic. (e) For the formation see §236 (see also CHA 1d and CHA 10d). (f) In the

<sup>544</sup> Kretschmer (p. 65) already admitted: 'Es scheint, dass + hier ausnahmsweise χ, nicht ξ bedeutet, also Τύχης zu lesen ist . . . Τυξίς hat keinen Sinn'.

<sup>545</sup> Τυχίας, on the other hand, seems not to exist.

*Iliad* there are two different characters of the name *Περίφας*, which is only used in the forms *-φαντα* and *-φαντι*. Another one probably occurs on an Attic fragment showing the funeral games for Pelias (see §425 with nn. 1067 ff.), and yet another one is said to have been Oidipus' father-in-law (see §429). (g) M. Daumas (*LIMC* iv), reading a beta (see above), takes this 'Polybos' for Antenor's son (*Il.* 11. 59), and consequently claims that (j) *Γλαῦρος* is the person known as Antenor's son (see COR 74); this argument is wrong, since *Πόλυδος* is the correct reading (see now the correction by P. Müller in *LIMC* vii, also p. 426). Rumpf (p. 52) was tempted to assume a mistake for *\*Πολύιδος*, but was well aware of the undoubted parallel *Πόλυδος* on COR 62. This comparison is the most plausible approach for our name (see §228 for the formation of the name, §237 for its semi-throwaway character). (h) *Ξάνθος* is a common horse-name in Corinthian (see §244). (i) Rumpf, comparing COR 107e, was the first to read *Qρῶπιος*, a horse-name which seems less stereotyped (see ad COR 107e and §244). The spelling of the diphthong with a simple vowel (see COR 107e) is parallel to CHA 14f *Μέξας*. (j) In view of the preceding names, Glaukos, which is also a common historical name (see Pape-Benseler, etc.), only slightly adds to the pseudo-heroic quality of the scene.

\*CHA 3A MALIBU, ANONYMOUS LOAN TO THE J. PAUL GETTY MUS. L. 88. AE. 56

Neck-amphora from ?, by the Inscription P. (found ?).<sup>546</sup> *Bibliography*: True (1995), with phs. (I have only seen the draft version). *Photographs*: True probably cl. *Scene*: In a continuous scene covering both sides of the vase a total of thirteen men are lying around on mattresses, wrapped in blankets, some with their heads on a cushion, most of them sound asleep.<sup>547</sup> On one side, however, a warrior to r. (a) is about to stab a man on the ground (b), who—his eyes widely open—is startled, having just had the time to pull his arms from under the cover. On the other side a warrior (c) is stabbing another man, who has his eyes still closed like all the others. Under the handle a number of horses, tethered to trees, are shown in great emotion. *Date*: c.550–540 (True).

(a) (←) ΔΙΟΜΕΔΕΞ (b) (←) ΕΡΕΞΟΣ (c) ΟΔΥΣΕΥΣ  
(a) Διομεδες (b) Ερεσος (c) Οδυσευς  
(a) Διομέδεξ, (b) Ερεσος, (c) Όδυσ(σ?)εύς.

<sup>546</sup> I am grateful to G. Berger-Doer, who informed me about the vase in Dec. 1993, to K. Hamma, who sent me the phs., to M. True, whose draft article I have been allowed to read, and to the owners, who have authorized me (via K. Hamma) to publish the phs. of their splendid vase.

<sup>547</sup> Not all thirteen show on my phs. True, in order to establish a closer link to the story in the *Iliad*, suggests that they are already dead. But no blood is shown on them (except with Rhesos, the man who is being killed by Odysseus), and the men, partly lying on their backs, partly on their sides, make a very peaceful impression (except Rhesos, who is awake). Also, it seems more likely that they are wrapped in a kind of blanket (e.g. *χλαῖναι*, see *Od.* 4. 299, 20. 4) or sleeping bag rather than just wearing *himatia* as True suggests, as no arms (except for Rhesos) and no feet are shown—at least on the phs. at my disposal.

*Epigraphy*: The last sigma in (b) may be of the four-stroke type, the final part being worn off. The rest is clear. *Interpretation*: The slaughter of the Thracians (labels).

For the scene see §446A.

Labels (a) and (c) are already known from other Chalcidian vases; for the latter, which is typical of poetry, see §§213, 254. Rhesos' name (b), however, is new and with its digamma is interesting in three respects. (1) It is alien to the Ionic dialect and should be judged a further indication of the non-Ionic origin of the painter (see §259; for initial *Fp-* at Corinth see also Johnston (1979), 234). (2) Although the painting shows some clear parallels to the plot in *Iliad* 10, a form *Fpēσος* cannot simply have been taken from there, and particularly in view of the poetic form of (c) we may wonder where it comes from. Here it is important to observe that in the only occurrence in epic language where we can judge the matter the initial [r] of the name Rhesos lengthens a preceding short syllable, just as that of Rhodios (<*\*wrod-*).<sup>548</sup> It is clear therefore that the name was connected already in epic times with the *\*wrē-* root of *έρω*, *ρήτωρ* etc., more precisely with forms like *ρήσις* (see *DGE* 665A. 15 = *GD* 21. 29 *ἐπὶ Φρήσι*, Arkadia, mid-4th cent.; Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. 2 *έρω*). This connection may, however, be due to popular etymology, since the name—like many others on the Trojan side—may basically be of non-Greek origin. We may also note that in the Corinthian dialect *ρήσις*, *ρήσιος* etc. should have a [t] instead of an [s] (like *Ποτεδάιν*, see §255). This means that if the Inscription P. brought the form with its digamma with him from his likely Corinthian home, his countrymen had not only got to know the name from an assibilating dialect, but also learnt about the connection with the verbal root from there, which prompted them to add a [w] to the name. Their source was no doubt East Greek epic (see §446A).

#### CHA 4 LOST

Neck-amphora from Vulci, by the Inscription P. (shortly before 1833; first in the Pembroke coll., then in the Hope coll., lost since 1849). *Bibliography*: Hirt (1833), with dr. *MonIned* 1, pl. 51 (the only original dr., of very good quality); Gerhard (1847), 145 n. 38; Jahn (1854), pp. cxix with n. 864, cxlix n. 1060b; *CIG* (iv), no. 7686; Kirchhoff (1887), 124 f., no. 2; Luckenbach (1880), 622–4; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 1; Roberts (1887), 207, no. 189; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 278 f., no. 4; Kretschmer (1894), 62, no. 1; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5293; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 797. 1; Rumpf (1927), 9 f. no. 5 (bibl.), 46 f., dr. pl. 12; Schadewaldt (1951), 161; Friis Johansen (1967),

<sup>548</sup> See Hes. *Th.* 340 *Φᾶσιν τε Πῆσόν τ' Ἀχελωίων τ' ἀργυροδίνην, Νέσσον τε Ποδίων . . .*, and for Rhodios also *Il.* 12. 20 *Ῥήσός θ' Ἐπτάπορος τε Κάρησός τε Ποδῖος τε*. For the prosody of the name Rhesos the occurrences in the *Iliad* (12. 20, the river near Troy as in Hes. *Th.* 340, and 10. 435, 474, 519, our Thracian hero) are irrelevant.

cat. p. 271, no. C. 1; Buschor (1969), 87 f., with dr. fig. 92; Schefold (1978), 219, with dr. fig. 297; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 850\*, 'Aineias' 58, 'Alexandros' 90, dr. pl. 140; *LIMC* ii, 'Athena' 553; Collinge (1985), 125 f. (sect. 10), cat. no. A4; *LIMC* iii, 'Diomedes' i. 113, 'Echippus' 1; *LIMC* iv, 'Glaukos' v. 9; *LIMC* vi, 'Laodokos' 1\*, dr. pl. 94; *LIMC* vii, 'Sthenelos' ii. 4. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: A warrior to r. (a), who has laid down his armour, is treating the wounded finger of a companion to l. (b). Athena to r. (unnamed) is standing behind a huge warrior, who is striding to r. (d) and stabbing his opponent (e). The latter tries to pull away the dead body of Achilleus (c), who is lying between them, an arrow in his heel, head to the l. Next is an archer (f), running away but at the same time shooting back at (d). Two warriors, (g) and unnamed, are rushing to l. to attack (d). Finally a warrior to r., hit in the breast, stumbles and collapses (h), while another one (i) is passing him, following (g). *Date*: c. 550 (Schefold; *LIMC* ii, iii, 'Diomedes', vii); c. 550–540 (*LIMC* i, 'Achilleus'; iv); c. 540 (*LIMC* i, 'Alexandros'; vi); c. 540–520 (*LIMC* iii, 'Echippus'); c. 530–520 (*LIMC* i, 'Aineias').

From a dr.: (a) (←) ΣΘΕΝΕΛΟΣ (b) ΔΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ  
(c) ΑΥΙΛΛΕΥΞ (d) ΑΙΑΖ (e) (←) ΚΛΥΘΟΣ (f) (←) ΓΑΡΙΞ  
(g) (←) ΑΙΝΕΕΞ (h) (←) ΛΕΟΔΟΦΟΣ (i) (←) ΕΥΙΓΓΟΣ

(a) Σθενελος (b) Διομεδες (c) Αχιλλευς (d) Αιας  
(e) Γλυφος (f) Παρις (g) Αινεες (h) Λεοδοφος  
(i) Εχιππος

(a) Σθένελος, (b) Διομέδης. (c) Ἀχιλλεύς, (d) Αἴας,  
(e) Γλ(α)ῦφος, (f) Πάρις, (g) Αἰνέες, (h) Λεῶδοφος,  
(i) Ἑχιππος.

*Epigraphy*: The letter-forms in the dr. are hardly all accurate. (g) CIG tried to distort the second Ε into an Λ, which is not justified. *Interpretation*: Fight over Achilleus' body (labels).

For the scene and its importance as a source for the myth see §456.

Most names, viz. (a), (b), (c), (d) (see §209), and (f), are as expected. In (e) Γλ(α)ῦφος (designating the son of Hippolochos, as on COR 82) there is A.W. (see §111), exactly as in COR 74i (designating the son of Antenor). (g) For Aineias' name see §245. Bechtel and Schwyzler assumed a shortened first [e] (from [ei]) in our form. As [-ēēs] is not a likely development from an earlier [-ejēs], and the latter should be written -ειες in this script, they must be right. This form is fully Ionic, whereas the Homeric form shows non-Ionic [ā] (see ad COR 12f). As for (h), we cannot know from the script whether the painter thought of Λεῶ- or Λεῶ-, at least the name is properly Ionic as opposed to Homeric Λᾱ- (see *ibid.*). But since this case is comparable to (g) Αἰνέες and there the diphthong is reduced to a short vowel, we may likewise assume [ē] for earlier [ē] of [lēwo-], and in that case quantitative metathesis is likely too; therefore I write Λεῶδοφος (see §456). For (i), which may be a horsey name, see *ibid.*

# CHA 5 FLORENCE, MUS. ARCH. ETRUSCO 4210 (FORMERLY 1784)

Fr. of a neck-amphora from Chiusi, by the Inscription P. (1870 or shortly before). *Bibliography*: Heydemann (1870b), 187, no. 32; Klein (1886), 65 no. 10, 66; Luckenbach (1880), 616; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 10; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 281, no. 11; Kretschmer (1894), 65 f., no. 7; Rumpf (1927), 7 no. 1 (bibl.), 46, ph. pl. 1; Caskey–Beazley (1954), 15; Brinkmann (1985), 117 f. n. 138, ph. 118 fig. 87; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 809, 'Antilochos' i. 28\*, ph. pl. 665; Collinge (1985), 131 f. (sect. 11), cat. no. A9; *LIMC* vi, 'Memnon' 35. *Photographs*: Rumpf quite cl.; Brinkmann sm.; *LIMC* sm. but quite cl. *Scene*: A woman to r. (a), upset, is standing behind a warrior (b), who is fighting his opponent (d) over the dead body of a third, (c) (head to the r.). Behind (d) there is a woman to l. (e), relaxed, and behind her slight remains of a charioteer are visible (f). *Date*: c. 540 (*LIMC* i, 'Achilleus'; iii, 'Eos' and 'Automedon'); c. 530 (*LIMC* i, 'Antilochos'; vi).

(a) ΕΟΣ (b) (←) Μ ΟΝ (c) (←) ΝΤΙΛΩΟΣ  
(d) (←) ΑΥΙΛΛΕΥΞ (e) (←) ΘΕΤΙΞ (f) (←) ΤΟΜΕΔΟΝ

(a) Eos (b) Μ[. . .]ον (c) [Α]ντιλοχος (d) Αχιλλευς  
(e) Θετις (f) [Αυ]τομέδων

(a) Ἔως, (b) Μ[έμν]ων, (c) [Ἀ]ντίλοχος, (d) Ἀχιλλεύς,  
(e) Θέτις, (f) [Ἀυ]τομέδων.

*Epigraphy*: (b) The mu is partly damaged, and of the final nu the third stroke is broken off. (c) The last letter is damaged. (d) Because of a break it is not clear whether the sigma had a fourth stroke. *Interpretation*: Achilles and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).

(a) For Eos' name in general see §249. In Attic it regularly has an initial [h]. The same aspiration occurs in the Phokian dialect (see ad COR 80e with n. 330). And there is a very likely example, not of the name of Memnon's mother but of the noun 'dawn', in an inscription from Oropos in Euboian dialect, namely GD 14 = DGE 811. 45/6 h(ε)[δ]s.<sup>549</sup> Although initial [h] is regularly written in the dialect of the Chalcidian Inscription P., which is basically of the Euboian Ionic type, in our name it is not. We may therefore compare the form with that of Hektor's name (CHA 15d), which seems to be due to the Corinthian origin of the painter (see §259), and ultimately to the East Ionic epic (see §503). In our name we cannot claim Corinthian influence, of course, but in view of the context from the Trojan cycle direct influence of the East Ionic epic name of the goddess may be considered. The quantity of the [e] cannot be established with certainty, but since we may assume epic influence, a long vowel seems more likely.

<sup>549</sup> With A.W., for which see Wachter (1991a), 79 with n. 130, and §111 below.

Labels (b)–(f) pose no problems. Memnon's charioteer is lacking.

\*°CHA 6 PARIS, LOUVRE CA 7305; BASLE,  
H. A. CAHN COLL. HC 1007

Frs. of a neck-amphora from ?, by the Inscription P. (Collinge, Keck) (found ?).<sup>550</sup> *Bibliography*: Collinge (1985), cat. no. A12 (only Basle); Keck (1988), 183 f., no. iv. 3 (bibl.) (joined), ph. pl. 2; *LIMC* vii, 'Polybos' iii. 2\*, 'Polydoros' i. 1, ph. pl. 344. *Photographs*: Keck (a)–(c) uncl., (d) quite cl.; *LIMC* vii (a) quite cl., (b) sm. Basle: Vidi 25 Nov. 1989 (the inscribed fr.); Paris: Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Paris: Head and hands of a charioteer to r. (no name preserved), beyond the reins a woman to r. (a) facing a warrior with spear to l. (b). Four horses' heads; inscr. (c) is in front of the second. Basle: Floral and animal decoration etc.; inscr. (d) does not belong to the indistinct remains of painting (a woman's robe?) on the same fr. The Basle fr. with the sphinx to l. joins the Paris fr. with -βος of (b), as was discovered by N. Kunisch (see Keck, n. 867). Where the inscribed Basle fr. belongs in the scene, is not clear. *Date*: c. 540 (Keck, *LIMC*).

(a) (←) □□ (b) ΓΟΛΒΟΣ (c) ΜΟΣ (d) (←) ΒΔΟΡΟΣ  
(a) *F*ιo (b) *Π*ολυβος (c) [. . .]μος (d) [. . .]. *υ*δορος  
(a) *F*ιo, (b) *Π*όλυβος, (c) [*Δ*ρo?]μος, (d) [*Π*o]λύδορος.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The horizontal bars of the digamma are not parallel. (c) In view of the space three letters seem to be missing. (d) Of the first letter the top of a vertical hasta is preserved. *Interpretation*: Probably a non-heroic departure scene (labels).

(a) is a throwaway name (see §§236 f.). For (b) see §§228, 259. (c) ends in -μος and must be a horse-name; [*Δ*ρo]μος seems a possibility (see §244 and the horse-name on the Corinthian pinax COP 79b). For (d) other restorations, such as *Εὔδορος*, cannot be excluded, although lambda seems more likely as the first letter; *Πολυ-* (H. A. Cahn's suggestion) is also most plausible in view of the *Πολυ-* name (b) (see §237) and the throwaway name (a).

°CHA 7 CATANIA, MUS. COMUNALE INV. ?

Frs. of a neck-amphora from Catania, by the Inscription P. (June 1960). *Bibliography*: Rizza (1960), 251, ph. 254 fig. 12 (top r.); not among *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 902 ff.; Collinge (1985), cat. App. I, no. 3; Keck (1988), 184, no. iv. 4 (bibl.). *Photographs*: Rizza cl. *Scene*: A warrior to r. (named) stabbing another one (no name preserved). *Date*: 550/530 (Keck).

<sup>550</sup> I was informed that the Paris part had been reinventoried because the old number was lost.

ΑΥΙΛΛΕΥΞ  
*A*χιλλεύς  
*A*χιλλεύς.

*Epigraphy*: The script, particularly the sigma with its tiny fourth stroke, also seems to indicate the Inscription P.'s hand. *Interpretation*: Unidentified fight of Achilleus (label).

CHA 8 MELBOURNE, NAT. GALLERY OF  
VICTORIA 1643. 4

Psykter-amphora from Italy, by the Inscription P. (1957 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Trendall (1958), 5–8, phs. pls. 1–4; ph. *ArchKal* 18 June–1 July 1961; Friis Johansen (1967), cat. p. 280, no. C. 16; col. ph. Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard (1971), 85 fig. 90; ph. Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni (1976), no. 338; Schefold (1978), 208–10, with phs. figs. 286 f.; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 556\*, ph. pl. 113; Brommer (1983), 118, ph. pl. 46; Collinge (1985), 124 f. (sect. 10), cat. no. A14; *LIMC* iii, 'Automedon' 3\*, ph. pl. 53, 'Diomedes' i. 19\*, ph. pl. 286; *LIMC* iv, 'Eurymachos' i. 2, 'Glaukos' v. 6; Keck (1988), 181 f., no. iv. 1 (bibl.); *LIMC* v, 'Hippolochos' 1; *LIMC* vi, 'Menestheus' 2a, 'Odysseus' 63. *Photographs*: Trendall and Schefold uncl.; *ArchKal* (f), (g) and (j)–(l) uncl., (h) and (i) quite cl., rest invis.; Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard (f) and (g) uncl., (h)–(j) cl., (k) uncl., (l) quite cl., rest invis.; Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni uncl. or invis.; *LIMC* i only (a)–(e), uncl.; Brommer only (f)–(l), sm.; *LIMC* iii, 'Automedon', only (a), uncl.; *LIMC* iii, 'Diomedes', only (f)–(k), of which (h) cl., rest uncl. *Scene*: On one side a charioteer (a) with chariot and four horses as well as a warrior (b) are trampling on another warrior (c) who is lying face-down on the ground (head to the r.) and is being stabbed by (b)'s spear. To the r. another warrior facing r., down on his r. knee (d), is stabbed by his opponent (e). On the other side a warrior to r. (f) is helping another one (g), who is kneeling to l. and is about to be stabbed from behind by his opponent (h). In the middle the central figure (i), to r. but face in frontal view, is fighting his opponent (j). Finally a victorious warrior (k) to r., as if fighting on the Trojans' side, has set one foot on his opponent (l), who is lying on the ground (head to the r.), and is about to stab him. *Date*: c. 540 (Trendall; Schefold; Keck; *LIMC*, mostly); c. 540–530 (*LIMC* iii, 'Diomedes'; v, 'Hippolochos').

(a) ΑΥΤΟΜΕΔΟΝ (b) ΑΥ ΛΕΥΣ (c) ΕΥΡΥΜΑΧΟΣ  
(d) ΠΕΡΙΦΑΤ(←)ΑΣ (e) (←) ΔΞΤΕΡΟΓΑΙΟΣ  
(f) (←) ΠΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ (g) (←) ΥΑΡΟΦΞ (h) (←) ΠΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ  
(i) (←) ΚΛΑΥΘΟΣ (j) ΜΕΜΕΣΘ (k) ΟΔΥΣΕ (l) ΜΕ  
(a) *Αυτομεδον* (b) *Αχ*[.]*λεύς* (c) *Ευρυμαχος*  
(d) *Περιφατας* (e) *Αστεροπαιος* (f) *Ηιπολοχος*  
(g) *Χαροφς* (h) *Πιομεδες* (i) *Γλαυρος*  
(j) *Μενεσθ* . [.] . . (k) *Οδυσε* . [.] . . (l) *Με*[.] . . ]

(a) *Ἀὐτομέδων*, (b) *Ἀχ[ιλ]λεύς*, (c) *Εὐρύμαχος*, (d) *Περιφάτᾱς*,  
(e) *Ἀστροπαῖος*, (f) *Ἡπ(π)όλοχος*, (g) *Χάροφος*, (h) *Διομέδῆς*,  
(i) *Γλαῦρος*, (j) *Μενεσθεύς*[s], (k) *Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς*[s], (l) *Με[. . .]*.

*Epigraphy*: (b) The gap requires a second lambda. (h) The first letter is clearly a rho, which is just a lapse; the delta in (a) is similar. (j) Of the theta a circular ghost is visible on Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard’s pl., as well as perhaps the vertical of the epsilon and the top of the upsilon. *Interpretation*: Unspecified battle scene with Achilles, etc. (labels).

The rho and the delta are very similar. The sigma has a tiny fourth stroke when retrograde. For the problem of the epic context of the scene see §462.

Most names are as expected. The non-Ionic form of (d), however, seems to have escaped all previous editors (see §259). For a similar name to (e) see LAK 8. The name (k) has neither the Attic nor the Corinthian, nor even the ‘indigenous’ Euboian Ionic form (see §213), but is a reflection from epic (see §254).

\*<sup>o</sup>CHA 9 LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1843. 7–24. 1

Belly-amphora from Caere, by the Inscription P. (1837 or earlier). *Bibliography*: de Witte (1837), 88 n. 2 ad no. 139; Gerhard (1858), 96–8, dr. pl. 323; *CIG* (iv), no. 7583; Brunn (1871), 32 (116); E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 280, no. 9; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 3; *BM Cat.* B (1893), no. 155 (bibl.), dr. p. 17 fig. 26; Kretschmer (1894), 66, no. 9; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5298; Roscher (1884–1937), iii. 555 fig. 1, 2034 fig. 7, 2037; Buschor (1913), 113, dr. 112; id. (1914), 99 f., with dr.; Rumpf (1925), 371 f.; Rumpf (1927), 10 f. no. 6 (bibl.), 47, phs. pls. 13–15; Lippold (1952), 91, ph. 90 fig. 8; ph. *EAA* ii. 263 fig. 395; Robertson (1969), esp. 209; Schefold (1978), 82, with ph. fig. 93; Brize (1980), esp. 42 f.; *LIMC* ii, ‘Athena’ 508, our (f); Brize (1985), 85; Collinge (1985), 68 f. (sect. 1), 179–82 (sect. 21), cat. no. A15; *LIMC* iv, ‘Geryones’ 15; *LIMC* v, ‘Herakles’ 2479\*, ph. pl. 86; *LIMC* vii, ‘Perseus’ 88\*, ph. pl. 287. *Photographs*: Rumpf (1927) (a), (d)–(f) quite cl., (b) and (c) uncl.; Lippold, *EAA*, and *LIMC* v only (a)–(c), uncl.; Schefold only (d)–(f), quite cl.; *LIMC* vii only (d)–(f), sm. Vidi 13 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: A woman to r. (a), who is holding a cup, is seconding Herakles to r. (b), who is fighting Geryones (c) to l., one head in frontal view (like CHA 8i). On the other side three women to r., labelled (d) next to the middle one, are bringing a bag, a hat, and winged shoes to a young warrior to l. (e), who is backed by a woman to l. (f). *Date*: c.520 (Schefold; *LIMC* ii, vii); c.540–530 (*LIMC* iv and v).

(a) ΑΘΕΥΑΙΕ (b) ΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ (c) (←) ΓΕΡΥΟΝΕΣ  
(d) ΜΕΙΔΕ (e) (←) ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣ (f) (←) ΑΘΕΝ

(a) *Ἀθεναίε* (b) *Ἡερακλῆς* (c) *Γερρυόνες* (d) *Νεΐδε[. . .]*  
(e) *Περσεύς* (f) *Ἀθην[. . .]*

(a) *Ἀθεναίε*, (b) *Ἡερακλῆς*, (c) *Γερρυόνες*. (d) *Νεΐδε[s]*,  
(e) *Περσεύς*, (f) *Ἀθην[αίε]*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) All of the central cross of the theta is broken off. (b) The heta is not necessarily of the modern H type but could be Θ (normal with the Inscription P.) with a slightly prolonged r. hasta. The final –s of (d) and –αιε of (f) no longer exist and were probably lost already when the vase was found. On Rumpf’s ph. the letters –αιε (but not –s) show quite clearly, whereas Gerhard dotted them, no doubt to mark their being restored (repainted?). (e) The last sigma is almost of the three-stroke type. *Interpretation*: Herakles and Geryones (labels). Perseus receiving wings, cap and bag (labels).

This vase was missed by Kirchhoff (1863) and (1887) as well as Roberts (1887), in spite of the Ionic form *Ἀθεναίε*, the λ-type lambda (see CHA 15), and Brunn’s placing it amongst the Chalcidian vases in 1871.<sup>551</sup> A. Collinge informs me (*per litt.*) that it seems to her ‘now definitely questionable that A2 [our CHA 2] and A15 [this vase] are by the same painter . . . There are stylistic differences, and A15 would be the painter’s only use of that vase shape.’ The handwriting, however, is so typical that at least from the point of view of the inscriptions the vases are clearly by the same hand.

For the scenes see §414 (Herakles) and §408 (Perseus). If we compare the labels with Attic, some differ in dialect, viz. (a) / (f) (see §247), (d) (see §259; it is a collective label, see §401), and (e) (see §214); others would be the same in Attic, viz. (b) and (c) (for the latter see also §259).

CHA 10 MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
SH 596

Hydria from Vulci, by the Inscription P. (Jan. 1829). *Bibliography*: Bonaparte (1829), 53, no. 530, drs. of inscrs. pl. 7; Gerhard (1831), 122 (43), 154 (418a), 171 (657), 174 (671g), 175 (673\*), 217, drs. of some inscrs. pl. A. ii, iii; Gerhard (1847), 158 f., dr. pl. 237; Jahn (1854), pp. cxix n. 864, cxlix n. 1060a, 38 no. 125; *CIG* (iv), no. 7382; Kirchhoff (1887), 127, no. 7; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 9; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 279 f., no. 7; Roberts (1887), 208, no. 193; Kretschmer (1894), 67, no. 11; Furtwängler–Reichhold (1904), 161–7, drs. pls. 31 f.; Sieveking–Hackl (1912), 67–9, no. 596, ph. pl. 23 (opp. p. 66); Buschor (1913), 114, dr. 113; id. (1914), 96, dr. 95; Rumpf (1927), 12 f. no. 10 (bibl.), 47, phs. pls. 23–5; ph. *EAA* ii. 260 fig. 391; Beazley (1960), 224; Arias–Hirmer–Shefton (1962), 310 f. (bibl.), col. ph. pl. xxv; Schefold (1964), 73, and (1966), 78, phs. [pl.] 66 and col. pl. iv; E. Walter–Karydi, *CVA* Germany, 28 (1968), 24–6, phs. pls. 280–2; ph. Buschor (1969), 85 fig. 90; Schefold (1978),

<sup>551</sup> On the other hand, Brunn’s general theory (see ad CHA 15) was wrong and immediately rejected.

178, with ph. fig. 234; Simon–Hirmer (1981), 62 f., phs. pl. 39 and col. pl. xviii; *LIMC* ii, 'Atalante' 74\*, ph. pl. 698; Collinge (1985), 149–52 (sect. 15), 160–2 (sect. 17), cat. no. A19; *LIMC* vi, 'Klytios' i. 3, 'Mopsos' i. 7; Schefold (1993), 196 f. with ph. 198 fig. 198, and 274 with ph. 276 fig. 296; *LIMC* vii, 'Peleus' 16, 'Peliou athla' 17. *Photographs*: Sieveking–Hackl sm.; Rumpf not very cl.; *EEA* only (e), uncl.; Arias–Hirmer–Shefton only (e), cl.; Schefold (1964) etc. quite cl. except (b); *CVA* quite cl.; Buschor only (e), cl.; Simon–Hirmer mostly not very cl.; *LIMC* uncl. *Scene*: In front of a group of three men and a woman, all unnamed, Atalante (a) (the name begins at the back of her head running to l.) is wrestling with a naked man facing her (b) (the name begins at the back of his head running to r.), behind whom three men, one dressed and holding a spear (c) (the name is painted on his robe), one naked (d) (the name begins next to his forehead), and another one dressed (unnamed), are watching the match. In the background a boar's head is lying on a table. On the reverse of the vase Zeus (e) is fighting a winged, bearded, long-eared creature with double snake body (Typhon, unnamed). *Date*: 540/530 (Arias–Hirmer–Shefton, Simon–Hirmer); c.550 (Schefold (1964) and (1966), *LIMC* vii); c.540 (Schefold (1978); *LIMC* ii–vi); c.530 (Schefold (1993)).

(a) (←) ΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΕ (b) ΜΗΟΦΞΟΞ (c) (←) ΓΕΛΕΥΞ  
(d) (←) ΡΛΥΤΙΟΞ (e) ΙΕΥΞ

(a) Αταλαντε (b) Μηοφσος (c) Πελευς (d) Qλυτιος  
(e) Zeus

(a) Αταλάντῃ, (b) Μηόφσος, (c) Πελεύς, (d) Qλύτιος. (e) Ζεύς.

*Epigraphy*: (b) Bonaparte's drawing leaves little doubt that MH- is written; see below. *Interpretation*: Before the wrestling match of Atalante and Peleus at the funeral games for Pelias (labels). Zeus fighting Typhon (label).

For the myths represented see §404 (Zeus) and §425 (Atalante; with a discussion of the problem concerning the attribution of the labels). Most names on this vase are as expected. For the use of qoppa (mediately) preceding <v> in (d) see CHA 3e (but kappa in CHA 1d) and—by a different painter—CHA 20b. In (b) the reading of the second letter is a problem. The fact that, in spite of his transcription *Μαοφσος*, Bonaparte in his drawing shows an H, is the best confirmation that when the vase was found, H was clearly legible (the transcription is of course understandable, since not many cases of *Mh-* can have been known in the early 19th century). Gerhard (1831) writes partly *Mhοφσος* (pp. 122, 175), partly both possibilities (p. 154), finding the one with <h> peculiar (p. 175; see still later *CIG*: 'prava est'). Kretschmer doubts both, although he was much more aware of the existence of *Mh-* spellings (see pp. 158–60). Jeffery (p. 159) reads *Mh-*. This reading is also supported by the fact that on an 'Argive' shield-band, inscribed in the Corinthian or Argive alphabet, Mopsos is also

spelled ΜΘΟΥΟΥ *Mhόφου* (gen.).<sup>552</sup> For the nasal followed by an <h> see §211. Open H is attested on two or three other vases attributed to the Inscription P., CHA 9b (uncertain), CHA 14c, and CHA 16b (see §259).

\*°CHA 11 PARIS, LOUVRE F 18

Hydria from Caere, by the Inscription P. (ex Campana inv. Cp 94; 1856 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Newton–Birch (1856), 8; *CatCamp* ii. 1; Roulez (1858), with dr. *MonIned* 6, pl. 15; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 286 n. 1, 327, no. 5; Pottier (1901), 87 f.; Pottier (1906), 719 f.; Rumpf (1927), 13 no. 12 (bibl.), 47, ph. pl. 26, dr. p. 175; Collinge (1985), 174–8 (sect. 20), cat. no. A20; *LIMC* iii, 'Ariadne' 25\*, ph. pl. 728; *LIMC* vi, 'Minos' i. 17\*, ph. pl. 312 (not under 'Minotauros'). *Photographs*: Rumpf sm.; *LIMC* both the same, uncl. Vidi 7 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Two female onlookers to r. (unnamed). A warrior (a) with a sword wrestling with the Minotaur (b) and about to stab him. Looking back over her shoulder at the scene, a woman to r. (c), and facing her, a man to l. with spear (d). *Date*: c.550 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΘΕΣΕΥΣ (b) ΥΠΟΣΜΙΝΟΙΟΣ (c) (←) ΑΡΙΑΔΕ (d) (←) ΜΙΝΟΣ

(a) Θεσεύς (b) [ . . ]υποσμινωίος (c) Αριαδε (d) Μινος

(a) Θῆσεύς, (b) [τα]ὑρος Μινώϊος, (c) Αριᾶδῃ, (d) Μίνως.

*Epigraphy*: (b) The final sigma, although partly lost, is clearly there (see dr.). (c) Roulez supplied Αρ[ι]ε]δῃ, but the alpha is clear. *Interpretation*: Theseus and the Minotaur (labels).

Two different shapes of the letter rho are used (see ad CHA 12, and §§101, 259).

Labels (a) and (d) are as expected. The phrase (b) [τα]ὑρος Μινώϊος, however, is a *hapax legomenon*. Roulez understood the adjective as 'qui appartient à Minos' (comparing *h. Apoll.* 393 Κρήτες ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ Μινωΐου, οἳ ῥά τ' ἀνακτι . . .). It is not patronymic, as must have been clear to any Greek who knew the myth. The form suggests that at the time of its formation Μίνως (mostly with [ĩ]) was considered to be an athematic stem Μινῶ- rather than a vocalic stem analogous to the (secondary) type λείως. In fact, the athematic inflection<sup>553</sup> is older and better attested than the thematic one.<sup>554</sup> Other occurrences of the name

<sup>552</sup> Kunze (1950), 178, 213, no. iii. a; dr. also Schefold (1993), fig. 294bis ('Faustkampf von Admet und Mopsos', but Ἀδμηᾶτος is not a plausible reading for the remains of the label to Mopsos' competitor as shown on the dr.); mentioned by Johnston (1990), 441.

<sup>553</sup> See gen. -ωος (*Od.* 11. 322, 17. 523; Hes. *Th.* 948; fr. 204. 57 M–W), dat. -ωι (*Hes.* fr. 145. 10 M–W), acc. -ωα (*Il.* 13. 450; *Od.* 11. 568), later contracted -ω (*Aesch.*, *Plat.*, *Ap.* *Rhod.*).

<sup>554</sup> Gen. Μίνω (*Hdt.* 1. 171. 2 f., 1. 173. 2, 3. 122. 2 with v.l. Μίνωος), dat. Μίνωι (two long syllables, *Hes.* fr. 145. 15 M–W), acc. Μίνων (*Il.* 14. 322?, v.l. Μίνω, Μίνωα; *Hdt.* 7. 170. 1 and 171. 1, Μίνων, Μίνων vel sim. codd.). The Hesiodic form, only 5 lines after the athematic dat., may be due to synizesis of the athematic form, and the same may be true for the acc. in the *Iliad*.

of the Minotaur on vases are all Attic, namely *Μινωταυρος* (several times)<sup>555</sup> and *Μινώιο(ς) ταῦρος* (once).<sup>556</sup> Obviously the Greeks had no standard expression for this monster until much later.<sup>557</sup> The striking Etruscan parallel mentioned by Rumpf (p. 51), a mirror (*ET Fa S. 2*; 4th-cent.) showing *Θεβρυμίνες* together with *Ηερκλε* (instead of Theseus), *Αριαθα*, *Βίλε* (i.e. *Φιόλαος*),<sup>558</sup> *Μενρνα*, and *Μινε*, was last discussed by Glück (1970) (see also de Simone (1970c)). There are two main problems. (1) Is *Θεβρυμίνες* a compound or two words? (2) What grammatical category is represented by the final -ς? Glück comes to the conclusion that (1) *mines* of *Θεβρυμίνες* is not a nominative, since the nominative form would have to be \**Mine*, like *Ηερκλε* and *Βίλε* (both attested elsewhere); (2) *Θεβρυμίνες* is not both a compound and a genitive (i.e. the genitive of a compound),<sup>559</sup> since this is 'inhaltlich . . . sinnlos' and 'unhaltbar' (pp. 49 f., criticizing other scholars). However, the second conclusion is not certain; we cannot exclude the existence of an Etruscan compound \**Θεβρυμίνε* (nom.), and the use of the genitive for a label would be paralleled on Attic vases,<sup>560</sup> where we usually supply something like 'sc. *εἰκὼν*'. A genitive *Θεβρυμίνε-ς* (sc. 'body'), written next to the dead Minotaur, would therefore be quite acceptable. Nevertheless, we may agree that a nominative of the whole label is more likely, and in that case Glück is right to assume a phrase *Θεβρυ Μίνες* instead of a compound. The name *Mines* is therefore likely to specify the supposed nominative *Θεβρυ*, and in such a case it is appropriate to assume the category called 'genitive'. As we—unlike Glück—are more concerned here with the Greek side, we should also ask from which Greek expression the Etruscan one is derived. Since the Etruscan phrase follows a frequent pattern (Glück, pp. 51–3), in which the determinative name follows the determinate one, it is not certain that the order, 'first *ταῦρο-*, then

*Μινω-*', was already that of the Greek original. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that the latter was a firmly established compound *Μινώταυρος*.<sup>561</sup> This agrees with the Greek situation, where the compound is attested, but is still not generally accepted as late as under the Roman empire (see above); since the compound is mainly attested on Attic vases, it will have originally been specific to Attica (where the myth was more important than anywhere else). Of all the Greek forms attested, our Chalcidian one<sup>562</sup> is clearly the best starting-point for the Etruscan borrowing. We may even take the Etruscan *mines* for an exact rendering of the adjective *Μινώιος*. For if Greek *Παρθενοπ-ᾱ(ι)ος* could be rendered in Etruscan first by *Parthanap-aes* on a 5th-cent. scarab (see ad LAK 8a with n. 509) and later by *Partinip-e* (*ET OI G. 3*),<sup>563</sup> an adjective in -*ώιος*, too, could probably end up as an Etruscan form in -*e* (perhaps with the -*s* preserved, and reinterpreted as an Etruscan 'gen.'). Also, we may be certain that an Etruscan would not have hesitated to interpret *Μινώιος* as a genitive form directly transferable to his own 'genitive', all the more so since he was bound to be even less confident than the Greeks themselves were about the 'correct' inflection of *Μίνωος*.

(c) Kretschmer (pp. 171 f.) and Threatte (pp. 565 f.) give occurrences of Ariadne's name with -*δν-*, -*νν-*, -*ν-* (i.e. -*ννν-*?), and -*γν-*, mainly on Attic vases.<sup>564</sup> The form with -*δν-* is the most frequent one and also occurs in Homer (twice, ~—). Our Chalcidian form is different from all these. Nevertheless, it is well paralleled, as Roulez has already seen (he therefore supplied *Ἀρ[ι]δ[ε]*), namely in Callim. fr. 67 *Ἀριήδη* (see Pfeiffer's n. ad loc.), *Il.* 18. 592 (an important v.l.), and on a (lost) Attic vase, *ARV* 1316. 3 *Ἀριήδα*.<sup>565</sup> Obviously the name of the Cretan princess was current in different forms. All, however, seem to agree in their prosodic structure ~—, and since of all variants the only one to match our form is *Ἀριήδη*, we have to take the middle [a] as long (hence our reading *Ἀριάδ[ε]*). This is an easy assumption, since the Inscription P. has a general tendency to use semi-Doric forms (see §259; a perfect parallel is *CHA 2c Γᾱρυφόν[ε]ς*, also with a normal Ionic ending). The etymology of the name is disputed,<sup>566</sup> but it looks as if the form with [d] only,

<sup>555</sup> For references see Brommer (1982), 85 with nn. 95–7, who cites our Chalcidian example wrongly *ταῦρος Μινώιο*. Ibid. also a later example on a stone relief, *Μεινωταυρος*. Brommer's example *Ταυρομινιον* (n. 96 with bibl.) is the vase *LIMC* vi, 'Minotaurus' 8a (with bibl.; now Marangou (1995), 106–9 with col. ph.), not Brommer (1973), 227, no. A. a. 11 (which is the same as p. 237, no. A. f. 22, a vase also in the Niarchos coll., but uninscribed; *Para.* 111. 85bis; now Marangou (1995), 64–9 with col. ph.); the form *Ταυρομινιον*, 'clearly legible' according to Marangou (the ph. is uncl.), is strange.

<sup>556</sup> A good ph. of this vase (*Para.* 75. 1bis, by Tleson, c.550) is contained in Simon-Hirmer (1981), pl. 66 (and p. 81); see also *LIMC* vi, 'Minotaurus' 9\*. This form without an -ς could make us think of an epic gen. in -*οιο* e.g. of the Homeric type *Πετεώιο Μενεσθεύς* (e.g. *Il.* 2. 552). But a gen. *Μινώιο* is not attested, nor does it fit into a dactylic metre with *ταῦρος* immediately following; and since in our 'Chalcidian' example we clearly have the adjectival phrase, it is more likely that the Attic form is the same. It is therefore a likely example of the loss of final -ς (see §204).

<sup>557</sup> See also the literary occurrences: Apollod. 3. 1. 4 τὸν κληθέντα *Μινώταυρον*; Diod. Sic. 1. 61. 3 τὸν λεγόμενον *Μινώταυρον*; Paus. 1. 22. 5 τὸν *Μίνω* καλούμενον *ταῦρον* (the same 3. 18. 11), 1. 24. 1 τὸν *ταῦρον* τὸν *Μίνω* καλούμενον (*Μίνω* gen. or acc.?), but also 1. 27. 10 τῶι λεγομένῳ *Μίνω* *ταύρωι* (better: *Μινωταύρωι*?).

<sup>558</sup> We would expect \**Vīule*.

<sup>559</sup> By 'genitive' we should understand the Etruscan grammatical category that the specialists usually call like that.

<sup>560</sup> e.g. *ABV* 320. 1 with *Ηερμῶ*, *Ἀθ[ε]ναί[α]ς*, *Διός*, *Ἡ[ε]ρά[α]ς*, and *Ἄρεος*. Sometimes gen. labels occur alongside nom. ones. On the whole they are rare, even on Attic vases (see ad COR 71b). See also Kretschmer, p. 84 and 137.

<sup>561</sup> Glück (p. 53) calls this a 'Zusammenrückung' (univerbation). Although this is possible (with the thematic gen. *Μίνω*), I prefer the proper formation in view of the existence and primacy of the athematic stem *Μινω-* (see above).

<sup>562</sup> Glück (p. 47) calls it Attic.

<sup>563</sup> See Glück (p. 47); de Simone (1968), 97; there are no more attestations of the name. *ETR* 3a *Μεαιταε* is not Etruscan (see ad loc.) and cannot claim to contain a more regular rendering of Greek -*αιος*, as de Simone thinks.

<sup>564</sup> See also Schulze (1896), 699 f.

<sup>565</sup> Wrong reading with A for H at the end? The vase is not in *LIMC* iii.

<sup>566</sup> Schwyzler (pp. 208, 215, 489), who does not mention our form, follows Kretschmer (p. 198) in regarding -*δν-* as secondary and assumes an etymology from *ἀρι-* and *ἀγνός*. But why should one have changed an etymologically clear name into something unintelligible? I prefer to see in *Ἀριάδην* a pre-Greek name, perhaps with the same formation as Myc. *ko-ri-ja-do-no* /koriadnon/. The latter noun shows that [dn] can also develop into [nn] (see *κορίαννον* in the 1st millennium), so that the Attic -*νν-*, attested among the earliest examples of Ariadne's name, does not necessarily (as Threatte, p. 566, thinks) presuppose an early -*γν-* form, which in fact is attested only much later. An occasional change into 'intelligible' *Ἀρι-ᾱγν-η* is easy to understand, namely as a case of popular etymology (see §510).



as we have it in Ἀριήδη and on our vase, was more frequent in archaic times than we might think. For in its fully Doric form \*Ἀριᾶδᾱ it could be the starting-point of the Etruscan form of this name,<sup>567</sup> which is *ariaθa*, *areaθa*, *araθa*.<sup>568</sup> This would provide a parallel to the Minotaur's name (*b*); and a third case of such a close contact between a 'Chalcidian' and an Etruscan form of a mythical name is *Atresθe* (i.e. Adrastus) on the Etruscan scarab mentioned above, (*b*), which, however, seems to reflect the Ionic form (see CHA 12a, CHA 27c), not the Attic or Doric ones.<sup>569</sup> See also §254.

°CHA 12 BOLLINGEN, BLATTER COLL.

Frs. of a hydria from ?, by the Inscription P. (found ?). *Bibliography*: Blatter (1983), with ph. fig. 1; Collinge (1985), 186–9 (sect. 23), cat. A22; Keck (1988), 187 f., no. iv. 9. *Photographs*: Blatter cl. *Scene*: A head to r.; inscr. (*a*) hardly refers to it as Blatter thinks it does. On a non-contiguous fr. one leg each of a warrior to l. (*b*) and a naked man to r. (no name preserved). On another non-contiguous fr. the head of a warrior to l., probably (*c*), and an unarmed man, probably not (*c*), perhaps restraining the warrior from fighting. *Date*: c. 540 (Blatter, Keck).

(*a*) ΑΔΡΕΣΤΟΣ (*b*) (←) VDEYΞ (*c*) Δ  
(*a*) Ἀδρεστος (*b*) [... ]υδεύς (*c*) Αμ[...]  
(*a*) Ἀδρεστος, (*b*) [T]υδεύς, (*c*) Αμ[φιάρεος?].

*Epigraphy*: (*c*) Of the second letter only the lower end of an oblique upstroke is preserved; it could also be a nu. *Interpretation*: Peace-making scene with some of the Seven against Thebes (labels).

The form of the rho is surprisingly different from that of the other vases by the Inscription P. Nevertheless, the attribution seems convincing from the point of view of style. This fluctuation of letter-forms can be observed on CHA 11 where it occurs on one and the same vase (see §259). Ξ is used in retrograde script only, which is in agreement with CHA 8.

For the scene represented see §427. The names are as expected; for (*a*) see CHA 27c.

<sup>567</sup> See de Simone (1968), 24; each form is attested once; see now *ET Fa S. 2*, Cl S. 9, Vs S. 21.

<sup>568</sup> This is an easier explanation than the one given by de Simone (1970a: 189, 306), who assumes an Etruscan 'Sonderentwicklung' replacing an expected form \**ariatre*. He obviously thinks of an epic origin of the Etruscan name. But did Etruscans understand and care for Greek epics? We may note that the Corinthians did not bother to adapt their inscs. on vases for export to Etruria to a script easier to read for the Etruscans, as they seem to have done on those for export to other places (see ad PCO 5 and 6).

<sup>569</sup> De Simone (1970a: 40) holds that *Atresθe* can represent an older Ἀδρεστος just as well as Ἀδρεστος, but in view of the non-weakened interior syllables of the name *Parthanapaes* on the same scarab (later *Partimpe*, as mentioned above), it seems more likely to me that *Atresθe* directly represents the Ionic form.

\*°CHA 13 LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1865. 7–22. 15  
(FORMERLY 474)

Hydria from Vulci, by the Inscription P. (1865 or earlier).<sup>570</sup> *Bibliography*: Löschcke (1881), 36 n. 23;<sup>571</sup> Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 282, no. 12; *BM Cat. B* (1893), no. 75; Kretschmer (1894), 66 f., no. 10; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5299; Rumpf (1927), 11 f. no. 9 (bibl.), 47, phs. pls. 19–22; Lippold (1952), 90 f.; Collinge (1985), 126 (sect. 10), cat. no. A18; *LIMC* vi, 'Medon' iii. 1\*, ph. pl. 202. *Photographs*: Rumpf and *LIMC* quite cl. Vidi 13 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: Two warriors (*a*) and (*b*) to r., the first stabbing an opponent (unnamed), who has fallen on his knees, in his back, the second fighting another one, who is facing him, (*c*). To the r. two warriors facing l., the first (*d*) is fleeing, but already on one knee, the second (*e*) attacking him. *Date*: c. 540–520 (*LIMC*).

(*a*) (←) ΑΝΤΑΙΟΣ (*b*) ΑΝΤΙΟΨΟΣ (*c*) ΓΟΛ ΒΔΟΡΟΣ  
(*d*) (←) ΓΑΥΥΣ (*e*) ΜΕΔΩΝ

(*a*) Ανταιος (*b*) Αντιοχος (*c*) Πολυδορος (*d*) Γαυυς  
(*e*) Μεδων

(*a*) Ἀνταῖος, (*b*) Ἀντίοχος, (*c*) Πολύδορος, (*d*) Γάυυς,  
(*e*) Μέδων.

*Epigraphy*: (*a*) The lower part of the sigma is lost. Kretschmer's *Ανταιος* is an error. (*c*) is carelessly written, but clearly not to be read *Πολύα(ν)δρος*, as was also suggested. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic battle scene (labels).

For the character of the scene see §471.

In the warrior-names (*a*) and (*b*) the notion of Ἀντ(ι)- is clearly 'against, opponent'. We may therefore call these names speaking names (see §239). Label (*c*) reminds us of the Corinthian *Πολυ*-names (see §237). (*d*) is a throwaway name also well known from Corinthian vases (see *ibid.*); for the quantity of its [a] see §259 with n. 932. As it stands it contradicts the starting-point principle (see §104; see also Rumpf, p. 49). But considering the almost total lack of space around the figures of the two warriors, it seems likely that the painter first wanted to give the attacking warrior the name *Γάυυς*, but then changed his mind and gave him another name (*e*) in the small free area behind his back, leaving (*d*) for the defeated man (see CHA 10). The denominations seem to be chosen more or less at random anyway. (*e*) is both a heroic and a historical name (Bechtel, p. 302). Here no heroic connection should be assumed (see §471); on the contrary, its brevity reminds us of the hypocoristics in -ων (see §229), also used as throwaway names (see §237).

<sup>570</sup> No earlier owner is recorded. The vase was acquired for £ 60.

<sup>571</sup> His reference to Gerhard (1840–58), no. 92, must be an error.

## °CHA 14 BRUSSELS, MUS. ROYAUX A 135

Krater from Vulci, by the Inscription P. (1836 or shortly before). *Bibliography*: de Witte (1836), 49, no. 145; mentioned by Gerhard (1849), 86 f.; *CIG* (iv), no. 7460; Kirchhoff (1887), 125 f., no. 4; Fick (1883), 10; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 8; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 278, no. 2; Roberts (1887), 207 f., no. 190. 2; Heydemann (1880), 28 (x), 35 ff.; Kretschmer (1894), 63, no. 3; Fränkel (1912a), 1–16 (B), 82; Rumpf (1927), 13 no. 13 (bibl.), 47, phs. pls. 27–30; F. Mayence and V. Verhoogen, *CVA* Belgium, 2 (1937), 1, no. 1, ph. pl. 1; Collinge (1985), 217 f. (sect. 29), cat. no. A23; *LIMC* iii, 'Dorkis' 2\*, ph. pl. 529, 'Doro'; *LIMC* v, 'Hippas' 1, 'Io' iii. 2; *LIMC* vi, 'Megast' 1\*, ph. pl. 204, 'Nais' 1; *LIMC* vii, 'Phoibe' v. 1, 'Poris' 1, 'Simis, Simon, Simos' 2. *Photographs*: Rumpf mostly rather uncl.; *CVA* sm.; *LIMC* iii only (g)–(i) quite cl., (j) uncl.; *LIMC* vi only (e)–(g) quite cl., (d) and (h) uncl. Vidi 29 June 1992. (Where I give two drawings of a name, one was made in the morning, the other in the afternoon when the light was different.) *Scene*: Dance involving human-footed Satyrs (S) and Maenads (M). The sequence is very likely to start with the Satyr (a),<sup>572</sup> which can be seen from the neatly crossed tails of the two Satyrs (unnamed) and (a), the l. of which is painted later, after the r. one was already dry. First comes a group SMS (a)–(c), then a pair MS (d)–(e), two pairs SM (f)–(g) and (h)–(i), and another group SMS, (j), (k), and nameless. In the triple groups the M are dancing towards the S to their r., but looking back over their shoulders at the S to their l. *Date*: —.

(a) ΣΜ (b) (←) +ΑΝΘΟΙ (c) (←) ΗΙΓΟΣ (d) (←) ΕΙΟ  
(e) (←) ΣΜΙΣ (f) (←) ΜΕ+ΑΞ (g) (←) ΦΟΙΒΕ  
(h) (←) ΔΟΡΚΙΞ (i) ΝΑΙΣ (j) ΓΟΙΣ (k) ΔΟ

(a) Σμ . . (b) Ξανθοί (c) Ηίπος (d) Fίο  
(e) [. ?]σμυς (f) Μεξας (g) Φοίβε (h) Δορκίς  
(i) Ναις (j) Πο . ις (k) Δ[.] ο

(a) Σ(ι)μορς, (b) Ξανθόι, (c) Ηίπ(π)ος, (d) Fίό, (e) [ʹΟ]σμυς (?),  
(f) Μεξας (?), (g) Φοίβε, (h) Δορκίς, (i) Ναις, (j) Πόρις (?),  
(k) Δ[ο]ρς.

*Epigraphy*: See dr. (a) ΖΜΟΣ, de Witte, with the first letter reversed. (c) ΗΙΓΟΣ, de Witte. (d) ΕΙΟ, de Witte; yet, a middle bar would fall precisely into the break and can hardly have been visible. (e) ΖΜΙΖ, de Witte. This was interpreted by Heydemann as Sim(o)s, read from l. to r., which was taken up by Kretschmer. The name, however, is retrograde, therefore Rumpf interpreted Σ(ι)μυς. It seems likely to me that at the beginning one letter is missing. (f) ΜΕΥΓΑ . . . , de Witte. Kretschmer discusses the readings without deciding. Rumpf draws what looks like the remains of a ρ-type third letter and decides for gamma: Μεγας.

<sup>572</sup> This seems to have been the impression also of de Witte, who starts his series with the same figure.

This is hardly possible; the remains of the letter only fit a xi. (h) de Witte transcribes with a R, which is a good observation (see §101). (j) De Witte transcribes ΓΟΔΙΣ *Podis*, accepted by Heydemann; Gerhard reads Πόρ(τ)ις. Kretschmer thinks both are to be considered. Herrmann (1898: 132), in discussing COR 105, uses our form as support for a reading Πόρις on the Corinthian vase. The reading of the Corinthian form cannot be right, however, and therefore cannot support the reading of a rho here. Nevertheless, a rho gives the most plausible name, lambda (of πωλ- 'foal') being excluded. (k) ΔΟΡΟ was read by de Witte, but completely ignored by Rumpf. We should accept de Witte's reading, although the remains do not suit a rho very well. Obviously the vase had suffered some damage in the mean time.<sup>573</sup> One wonders whether the last figure also had a name originally; nothing of it remains, however. *Interpretation*: Unspecified scene with a dance involving Satyrs and Maenads (labels).

Collinge (pp. 217 f. with n. 443) points to the labels of COR 105, thinking of Corinthian influence on our vase. But the names on COR 105 are not so similar to those here as one used to think. More important is the ending of (b). For the scene see §407. For the open heta in (c) see ad CHA 10b.

(a) shows A.W. (see §111). (b) is most remarkable because of its 'Doric' ending -όι as opposed to (d) and (k) (see §§236, 259). (c) The Satyr simply bears the name of the animal that he represents (see CHA 1e). With regard to (d), Fränkel (p. 15) remarks that nymphs often have just ordinary women's names. In view of the speaking names not only on CHA 1 but also on this vase, viz. (a)–(c), (h), probably also (e), (f), (j), it seems better to interpret the name as 'that with the fragrance of a violet', like its equivalent CHA 1k; see also (k).

(e) As the name \*Σίμυς, with A.W. as in (a), would be unusual for a Satyr, especially together with normal Σίμος on the same vase, we should consider a different solution, namely a derivative from δσμή 'smell'. For its formation see (h) and §231. Such a name would be most appropriate for a horsey creature and would continue—and contrast—the notion of (d). For the parallels δδμή and δσμή (the latter reflecting a formation \*od-smā) see e.g. Lejeune, §§64 and 66 n. 5; and see ad COR 19g above.

(f) The obvious interpretation of our reading is as the aorist participle active μεξας. But the very frequent meaning of μείννυμι, 'to have sexual intercourse', which seems not inappropriate for our Satyrs (see ad CHA 1e), is normally reserved to the middle and passive voice, μείννυμαι. However, μειξ- can have this meaning in the future μεξομαι, which seems even more appropriate here than the present, as well as in the noun μεξίς. The name therefore should not be regarded as the active aorist

<sup>573</sup> Mr. Aelvoet, curator in the Musées Royaux, informs me about an illuminating detail of last century vase-restoration technique. When the fragments were stuck together, an unevenness over the join was often filed off and the surface then repainted. This of course led to a considerable damaging of the surface next to breaks, which makes early readings the more important.

participle proper but simply as a hypocoristic derivative from *μειξ-* in *-avτ-* like, for instance, *Βίας, Περύφας, Θόας, Φόρβας* (for more examples see Risch, p. 27); see n. 832. If this reading and interpretation of the name is correct, we have here the spelling of a real diphthong with a simple vowel (for a parallel see CHA 3i).

(g) According to Fränkel (p. 14) this name refers to a 'helle, lichte Erscheinung'. For (h) see CHA 1g. As for (i), Fränkel (p. 13) notices that this is the generic name serving as a name for an individual; we may compare (c). Fick (and Kretschmer, Fränkel, Rumpf) counted this name amongst the non-Ionic forms in Chalcidian (see 'correct' Ionic CHA 9d), Fränkel (p. 14), however, adds that the forms with [a] of this name are also Attic and later predominant; see §259. (j) It was Gerhard who first read *Πόρ(τ)ις* (i.e. *πόρις*, meaning 'calf, boy, girl' in poetry, for which there is also *πόρτις*). This was accepted by Fränkel (pp. 10 f.) who wrote *Πό[ρ]ις*, interpreting 'Kalb, Tierjunges'. I cannot think of a better solution. (k) Kretschmer: 'zweifelhaft erscheint, ob noch ein Buchstabe (Iota?) folgte.' See (b) and (d). I could not see any trace after the last omicron. Like (d), the name is also frequent as a throwaway name (see §237).

\*CHA 15 WÜRZBURG, MARTIN VON WAGNER MUS.  
DER UNIV. L 160

Krater from Vulci (Rumpf), by the Inscription P. (before 1858). *Bibliography*: Gerhard (1858), 94–6, dr. pl. 322; Brunn (1871), 32 (116); Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 5; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 280 f., no. 10; Kretschmer (1894), 66, no. 8; Furtwängler–Reichhold (1909), 215–18, with phs. figs. 79a–b and dr. pl. 101; Rumpf (1927), 13 f. no. 14 (bibl.), 47, phs. pls. 31–4; Langlotz (1932), 22 f., no. 160 (bibl.), phs. pls. 23 f.; Arias–Hirmer–Shefton (1962), 311, phs. pls. 75 f. and col. pl. xxxvi; Alföldi (1967), 16, ph. pl. 2. 1; Friis Johansen (1967), cat. p. 275, no. C. 4; ph. Buschor (1969), 88 fig. 93; col. ph. Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard (1971), 83 fig. 88; Simon (1975), 83 f., ph. pl. 17; Schefold (1978), 200, ph. 199 fig. 271; ph. *ArchKal* 2–15 July 1979; Simon–Hirmer (1981), 63 f., ph. col. pl. xix; *LIMC* i, 'Alexandros' 68\*, ph. pl. 390, Andromache i. 4; Beckel–Froning–Simon (1983), 46, no. 16 (bibl. p. 179), col. ph. p. 47; Collinge (1985), 108–10 (sect. 8), cat. no. A24; *LIMC* iv, 'Helene' 193\*, ph. pl. 327, 'Hektor' 13; *LIMC* v, 'Kebriones' 5\*, ph. pl. 616. *Photographs*: Furtwängler–Reichhold sm. and uncl.; Rumpf rather uncl.; Langlotz, Arias–Hirmer–Shefton, and Buschor uncl.; Charbonneaux–Martin–Villard and *ArchKal* (a) uncl., (b)–(d) quite cl., (e) uncl.; Alföldi (c) and (d) cl., (e) uncl.; Simon sm.; Schefold uncl.; Simon–Hirmer mostly uncl.; Beckel–Froning–Simon only (a)–(d), quite cl.; *LIMC* i only (a)–(d), cl.; *LIMC* iv only (a)–(c), cl.; *LIMC* v only (e), mostly cl. *Scene*: A woman to r. (a) looking back over her shoulders, an archer to l. (b) with winged shoes watching her, another woman to r. (c) facing a warrior to l. (d), the eye-catching central figure. A rider (e) on one of two horses is waiting for him. Under the handles

there are two men, on the reverse two horsemen, all unnamed. *Date*: 530–520 (Schefold); c. 540 (Arias–Hirmer–Shefton; Simon–Hirmer; *LIMC*).

(a) (←) ΘΕΛΕΝΕ (b) (←) ΓΑΡΙ (c) (←) ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΥΕ  
(d) (←) ΕΚΤΟΡ (e) (←) ΚΕΒΡΙΟ(→)ΝΕΞ

(a) *Ηελενε* (b) *Παρι* [...] (c) *Ανδρομαχε* (d) *Εκτορ*  
(e) *Κεβριονες*

(a) *Ηελένῃ*, (b) *Πάρι[ς]*, (c) *Ἀνδρομάχῃ*, (d) *Ἑκτόρ*,  
(e) *Κεβριόνῃς*.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Departure of Hektor and Paris (labels). Non-heroic running and riding scenes (no labels).

For the scene see §444. This vase was missed by Kirchhoff (1863) and (1887) as well as Roberts (1887) (see CHA 9). It was first grouped with Chalcidian ware by Brunn (1871), who, however, did not notice the strong argument of the 'blue' chi. He thought that the discrepancy of aspiration between (a) and (d) was due to 'Mangel im Verständniss der alten Schreibweise' according to his general—and generally rejected—view of a late and archaizing origin of Chalcidian vases. Within the three epsilons of (a) *Ηελένῃ* the carelessness of the writer grows: the first is normal, the second shows bent-down tips of the oblique strokes, the third has three bows and an extra tail. He must have been very quick with his brush. The rho in (b) is almost of the type of BOI 2 (see CHA 2); for the tail goes deeper down than the vertical stroke (see §101).

For name (a) see §251, for (d) see §250. The other names pose no problems.

°CHA 16 REGGIO CALABRIA, MUS. NAZ. 1169

Fr. of a dinos from Reggio, by the Inscription P. (?) (1882). *Bibliography*: Barnabei (1886), 243; Roscher (1884–1937), v. 1222; Rumpf (1927), 15 no. 18 (bibl.), 48, ph. pl. 36; ph. *EAA* ii. 260 fig. 390; *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 258; Collinge (1985), 118–21 (sect. 9), cat. no. A30; mentioned by Lattanzi (1987), 87–90. *Photographs*: Rumpf cl.; *EAA* quite cl. *Scene*: Heads of horses to r., a fountain in the shape of a lion's head, a youth to r. (a), and a woman to r. (b) looking back at the youth while filling a vase with water from a second fountain. *Date*: c. 550 (*LIMC*).

(a) TP ΙΛΟΞ (b) (←) ΜΗΕΔ  
(a) *Τρ[.]ειλος* (b) *Μηεδ[.]*  
(a) *Τρ[ό]ειλος*, (b) *Μηεδ[εσικαστῆ]*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The letter before the iota shows a third black stroke emerging from the break and protruding a bit further than the other two bars. Although it looks like paint, only autopsy or perhaps an original photograph could confirm that it is (unfortunately

my several letters and facsimiles have remained unanswered). The form of the epsilon would agree with the one in (b) which also has the middle bar in the lower half. The sigma is probably meant to be of the four-stroke type. (b) This name has been read in various ways, e.g. [Is]men[e] or [Poly]xen[e] (neither of which fits the letters, the latter also being too long at the beginning), or Hel[ene]. The latter was accepted by Rumpf, who, however, ignored the clear stroke, already seen by Barnabei, before the heta. There was apparently reluctance to expect a letter preceding a heta.<sup>574</sup> The stroke belongs to a mu which is quite cl. in Rumpf's ph.; and so is the upper half of the alleged lambda, which is in fact a delta. *Interpretation*: Achilles and Troilos (label).

Here and in CHA 14c we have unequivocal open hetas (see ad CHA 10b); on other vases by the same painter Η is the normal form. Although the use of different letter-forms by one and the same writer is in principle not impossible, it is particularly plausible in the case of a man with more than one cultural background (see §259). This vase is one of very few pieces attributed to the Inscription P., and indeed the only inscribed one, that has been found in Reggio di Calabria.<sup>575</sup>

For (a) see §257. (b) For the name and character restored see §442. For the spelling with <h> after the [m] see §211.

#### °CHA 17 LOST

Fr. of a cup from ?, by the Inscription P. (attribution accepted by Collinge) (1767 or earlier). *Bibliography*: d'Hancarville (1767a), 122–5, dr. (engraving) pl. 4 (preceding p. 1); Rumpf (1927), 17 no. 21, 48, dr. (a copy of d'Hancarville's dr.) fig. 4; Collinge (1985), 202 with n. 412 (sect. 26 'Dubia'), cat. no. A36. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Four horses' heads (i.e. a *quadriga*) to r., with (a) written along the manes of the upright dark ones, and (b) beyond an unarmed man's head to l. *Date*: —.

- (a) (←) ΚΘΙΕ (b) (←) ΦΟΙΜΕΥΞ (from a drawing)  
 (a) [. . . ?]. θιϵ[. . . ?] (b) Φοιμευς  
 (a) [᾽Ο]ρθιζ̄ε (?), (b) Φοιμεύς.

*Epigraphy*: (a) d'Hancarville writes about 'la parole Ktié à la quelle il manque quelque lettre / the word Ktie of which some letters is wanting' (it should probably read 'letter'). The first letter shown looks like a kappa (if misread, it could be a R or Ϻ or Δ; see dr.), the second, about whose form d'Hancarville is explicit, must be correct as a theta, the third is slightly oblique but roughly parallel to the following (it could, however, still be the remains

of an upsilon or nu), and the fourth and last is an epsilon. After that there will have been a plain space before the break (if the surface was undamaged). (b) Clear and plausible. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene (possibly a heroic departure or wedding-procession scene).

As the name (a) belongs to a horse and horses occasionally have female names, the form, which should be in Ionic, will have ended with the epsilon.<sup>576</sup> Therefore the missing letter, mentioned by d'Hancarville, is at the beginning, which suits the fact that (b) starts close to the upper edge of the drawing. If the position of the edge is accurate in the drawing, a maximum of two letters may be missing. Since a kappa is unexpected in front of the (apparently certain) theta, it will be wrongly copied. As regards the penultimate letter, nu is unexpected after theta. The name therefore ends in ρ/ν/α, θ, ι/υ, and ε̄. The only possibility that seems to make sense is ᾽Ορθιζ̄ε (see §465). (b) The name Οἰνεύς, well known from myth, is almost unattested as a personal name in archaic times (Bechtel, pp. 345, 575); for its [w] see §206.

#### CHA 18 CAMBRIDGE, FITZWILLIAM MUS. GR. 25. 1864 (FORMERLY G 45)

Hydria from Vulci, by the Cambridge P.<sup>577</sup> (1864 or earlier). *Bibliography*: Kretschmer (1894), 70; E. A. Gardner (1897), 19, no. 45, ph. pl. 8; Furtwängler-Reichhold (1904), 162; Rumpf (1927), 11 no. 8 (bibl.), 47, phs. pls. 17 f.; W. Lamb, *CVA* Great Britain, 6 (1930), 17, ph. pl. 8; Collinge (1985), 214 (sect. 28), cat. no. B7; *LIMC* vi, 'Leon' ii. 1\*, ph. pl. 127. *Photographs*: Gardner uncl.; Rumpf sm.; *CVA* and *LIMC* uncl. *Scene*: Three pairs of men and women facing each other, the men labelled (a)–(c), the women nameless, and an extra man to l., also nameless. *Date*: 3rd q. 6th cent. (*LIMC*).

- (a) Δ ΟΝ (b) ΠΙΟΝ (c) ΔΝΤΑΙΟΣ  
 (a) Δ[.]ον (b) Φιον (c) Ανταίος  
 (a) Δ[ι]όν, (b) Φιόν, (c) Ανταίος.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Kretschmer (who only had a dr.) and Gardner read Δ[ε]ον, which is both odd and unparalleled. On the original ph. the Δ-shaped delta is quite cl. (b) ΠΙΟΝ, Kretschmer. On the ph., however, a clear digamma is visible. (c) is clear. *Interpretation*: Non-heroic conversation scene (labels).

Collinge uses the term 'Conversation Scene', which seems appropriate. Only the men are named, two of them with throw-away names of the Corinthian type, (a) and (b) (see §237). This

<sup>574</sup> Barnabei's reading '... ΙΗΕΛ', indicates that he thought even more than a stroke was visible. His reading was, incidentally, upside-down (direction principle, see §105).

<sup>575</sup> According to Collinge's catalogue apart from this piece (A30) only A10 (Rumpf (1927), no. 72, pl. 104) and A31 (Reggio 11723, Foti (1972), 75, pl. 41; badly damaged) are from there.

<sup>576</sup> Rumpf (p. 49) thinks of Oineus' wife Althaie. But there is no woman to which the inscr. could refer, and the lack of an alpha after a theta is hard to excuse.

<sup>577</sup> Another such hydria (Rome, Villa Giulia, or Vulci, Antiquarium?) seems to have illegible inscs., see Keck (1988), 182 f., no. iv. 2, with bibl. referring to A. Emiliozzi Morandi, who did not attempt a reading.

shows that this painter, too, is in the Corinthian–Chalcidian tradition (see §259). (c) The name *Ἀνταῖος* (not found in Homer and Hesiod, although there was the famous opponent of Herakles), also occurs on CHA 13 by the Inscription P. (a); on that vase there are two other such dull names which are paralleled in Corinthian, namely *Φάχυς* und *Πολύδωρος* (see §237).

°CHA 19 NAPLES, MUS. NAZ. INV. ?

Fr. of a hydria from Cumae, by the Cambridge P. (Collinge) (found ?). *Bibliography*: Gábrici (1913), 476, with ph. fig. 182; Rumpf (1927), 13 no. 11 (bibl.), 47, ph. pl. 36; not in *LIMC* iv or v?; Collinge (1985), cat. no. B12. *Photographs*: Gábrici quite cl.; Rumpf cl. *Scene*: A warrior to r. (named behind his back, downwards). *Date*: —.

(←) ΕΕΡΑΡΑΚ  
*Ηεραρακλ[.]ς*  
*Hēpa{pa}κλ[ē]ς.*

*Epigraphy*: Rumpf was clearly right to pose the fr. so that the inscr. runs vertically. The missing epsilon probably belongs after the turn of the inscr., and its direction will have been (→). *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Herakles (label).

For the form of the first rho see §101. For the type of mistake see §112.

CHA 20 MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
 SH 592

Belly-amphora from Vulci, by a painter only known from this piece (Collinge) (1829/30?). *Bibliography*: Braun (1839), 8 f.; Jahn (1854), pp. clxix, 323 no. 1108; *CIG* (iv), no. 7611; Kirchhoff (1887), 126 f., no. 6; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 280, no. 8; Roberts (1887), 208, no. 192; Kretschmer (1894), 67, no. 12; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5300; Sieveking–Hackl (1912), 65 f., no. 592; Schwyzer, *DGE* (1923), no. 797. 5; Rumpf (1927), 11 no. 7 (bibl.), 47, ph. pl. 16; Vian (1945), 22, ph. pl. 3. 1; ph. Lullies (1982), 47 fig. 1; Collinge (1985), 79–82 (sect. 2), cat. no. F1; *LIMC* vii, 'Kyknos' i. 22\*, ph. pl. 690. *Photographs*: Rumpf quite cl.; Vian uncl.; Lullies sm. but cl.; *LIMC* cl. *Scene*: A warrior (a), who has left part of his armour behind, is slaying a fully armed warrior (b) with his sword. On the reverse a horseman (unnamed). *Date*: c. 540.

(a) (←) Η ΛΕΞ (b) (←) ΘΥΘ/ΝΥΣ  
 (a) *H[.] λες* (b) *Qυθνυς*  
 (a) *H[ēpa]κλēs*, (b) *Qύθνυς*.

*Epigraphy*: (a) Of the kappa only the end of an oblique stroke seems now to survive. *Interpretation*: Herakles and Kyknos (labels).

This vase (as well as CHA 10) was grouped amongst the Chalcidian vases by Kirchhoff on the grounds that qoppa in Attic is not used in front of <v> (which was pronounced [y]); see the discussion by Kretschmer, pp. 68 f.<sup>578</sup> Later on, stylistic arguments for its being Chalcidian were also established (see Rumpf). The vase is not by the Inscription P. For the myth represented see §420.

(a) is as expected. (b) The ending -υς in *Qύθνυς* is surprising. Bechtel, without any further arguments, remarks: 'Die von Kretschmer angezogene Parallele *Ἰππος* : *Ἰππυς* trifft nicht zu.' Indeed, *Ἰππυς* is a hypocoristic in -υ-, derived from a shortened *Ἰππο-* compound name (see the fuller evidence, Bechtel, pp. 52 and 225), which procedure does not apply to the name *Κύκνος* ('swan'). A phonological change is hardly plausible in view of the many Chalcidian endings in -ος, even after an [u] in the preceding syllable (CHA 3g, 4e, 6b, 8i, 11b, 28g, similarly 10d). The parallels with [u] instead of [o] mentioned by Rumpf (p. 51), viz. *IG* xiv. 871 (from the Euboian colony Kyme) with *θυπυ* and *IG* xii/9. 56. 276 *Μέτυικος*, both equally erratic, should perhaps not be over-emphasized. We may also envisage a writing error, cognate—though in a way opposite—to A.W. (see §111), amounting to a spelling <νυ> because of the letter-name νϋ involved: [speaking:] '[ku] as qoppa-ū', [writing:] θ-υ, [speaking:] '[kno] as qoppa-nū- . . .', [writing:] θ-νυ (omitting the proper vowel sign).

CHA 21 REGGIO CALABRIA, MUS. NAZ. 1027/8

Frs. of a lid from Reggio, by a painter only known from this piece (Collinge) (1882).<sup>579</sup> *Bibliography*: Barnabei (1886), 243; Rumpf (1925), 373 f., with ph. fig. 3; Rumpf (1927), 14 no. 15 (bibl.), 48, ph. pl. 35; Foti (1972), 72, ph. pl. 26; Schefold (1978), 172, with ph. fig. 225; Collinge (1985), 192–6 (sect. 24), cat. no. G1; *LIMC* iii, 'Dioskouroi' 194\*, ph. pl. 471; mentioned by Lattanzi (1987), 87–90, with ph. *Photographs*: Rumpf (both) quite cl.; Schefold quite cl.; Foti quite cl.; *LIMC* sm.; Lattanzi uncl. *Scene*: A man (a) carrying a woman (b) towards a chariot. *Date*: 'dreißiger Jahre', sc. of the 6th cent. (Schefold); last q. 6th cent. (Foti); 3rd q. 6th cent. (*LIMC*); 550–530 (Lattanzi).

(a) ΓΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΕΣ (b) ΦΟΙΒΕ  
 (a) *Πολυδευκες* (b) *Φοίβε*  
 (a) *Πολυδεύκες*, (b) *Φοίβε*.

<sup>578</sup> It is interesting, though, that on Sophilos' fr. *ABV* 39 f., no. 16 (see below, n. 595), qoppa is indeed used in front of <v> in the form *Πατροφλύς* (gen. of -κλēs, see §228) where, however, a secondary [ō], normally written <o> in the local Attic script) is expected.

<sup>579</sup> Rumpf (1925) was the first to group this fr., 'das stilverwandt mit der "Phineusschale" ist, aber Inschriften im älter-euböischen Alphabet aufweist', with the Chalcidian ware.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: The Dioskouroi and the Leukippides (labels).

The names are as expected. For the myth see §438.

CHA 22 SYRACUSE, MUS. ARCH. REGIONALE

‘P. ORSI’ INV. —

Fr. of a lid from Leontinoi, by a painter only known from this piece (Collinge) (found ?). *Bibliography*: Rumpf (1927), 14 no. 17 (bibl.), 48, ph. pl. 36; Collinge (1985), 168–72 (sect. 19), cat. no. H1; *LIMC* ii, ‘Artemis’ 1226\*, ph. pl. 545. *Photographs*: Rumpf cl.; *LIMC* quite cl. *Scene*: Two women (named) in a chariot. *Date*: c.540–520 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΛΕΤΟ (b) ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ

(a) Λετο (b) Αρτεμις

(a) Λετοῖ, (b) Αρτεμις.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Artemis and Leto in a chariot (labels).

(a) A name in -ῶ(ι) (see §236), here of course heroic. For a possible context of the scene see §406.

°CHA 23 REGGIO CALABRIA, MUS. NAZ. 14777 C

Fr. of a lid from Reggio (Griso-Labocchetta), by ? (1960/61: Iozzo, p. 3 with n. 10). *Bibliography*: Iozzo (1983), 20–2, no. 51, with ph. fig. 15; Keck (1988), 185 f., no. iv. 6; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 455D, ph. pl. 76; *LIMC* vi, ‘Marposos’ 1\*, ph. pl. 183. *Photographs*: Iozzo, Johnston, *LIMC* cl. *Scene*: (concave) The tree (used as a weapon) and an arm of a Centaur to l. (a), followed by—at least—two others, (b) and one whose name is lost. *Date*: 6th cent. (Iozzo); 550/530 (Keck); c.520 (*LIMC*).

(a) ΛΑΤΙΟΣ (b) ΜΑΡΦΟΣΟΣ

(a) [. . . ?].λατιος (b) Μαρφσος

(a) Ἐλάτιος, (b) Μάρφσος.

*Epigraphy*: (a) The first visible letter contains a lower falling (or horizontal) bar, of which the bottom tip is preserved (it could be α, γ, ε, ζ, κ, ρ, ξ). For the second an upsilon (Iozzo, Johnston) is not the most likely possibility, since the l. bar is almost vertical; λ is the best-suited letter, δ or β, if very narrow and tall, are also possible. (b) There is no space at the end for another letter in front of the third Centaur’s head. *Interpretation*: Unidentified battle of Centaurs, perhaps with Herakles (labels).

The attribution of this fragment to the Chalcidian Inscription P. by Iozzo (p. 22) is interesting because the letter-forms do not

agree with those commonly used by this painter (see §259). For the possible context of the scene see §412.

(a) As the Centaurs’ names are always speaking names (see §239), Ἐλάτιος ‘the one with the fir-tree’ (ἐλάτη) seems an ideal solution.<sup>580</sup> For a parallel see §412. The Homeric use of the word does not suggest that we have to restore an initial [w] (see *Il.* 7. 5 ἐϋξέστηισ’ ἐλάτησι, 24. 450; *Od.* 5. 239). (b) Iozzo correctly derives Μάρφσος from μάρπτω (for a parallel to this name see §412; and see n. 629).

CHA 24 REGGIO CALABRIA, MUS. NAZ. 14777 B

Fr. of a lid from Reggio (Griso-Labocchetta), by ? (1960/61: Iozzo, p. 3 with n. 10). *Bibliography*: Iozzo (1983), 22 f., no. 53, with ph. fig. 17; Keck (1988), 186 f., no. iv. 8; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 455D, ph. pl. 76; *LIMC* vi, ‘Memnon’ 96. *Photographs*: Iozzo and Johnston cl. *Scene*: (convex) Two birds flying to l., the inscr. starts next to the one to the r. *Date*: 6th cent. (Iozzo); 550/530 (Keck).

(←) ΜΕΜΝ

Μεμν[. . .]

Μεμν[ονίς or -ίδης?].

*Epigraphy*: Of the fourth letter an oblique upstroke is preserved. *Interpretation*: Funeral scene after Memnon’s death (?) (label).

For the mu, which is in contrast to the ones of the Inscription P., see §259. For the scene see §455.

CHA 25 REGGIO CALABRIA, MUS. NAZ. 14777 A

Fr. of a lid from Reggio (Griso-Labocchetta), by ? (1960/61: Iozzo, p. 3 with n. 10). *Bibliography*: Iozzo (1983), 22, no. 52, with ph. fig. 16; Keck (1988), 186, no. iv. 7; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 455D. *Photographs*: Iozzo cl. *Scene*: (convex) Battle scene with two warriors to r., the inscr. split up by the leg of the one to the l. *Date*: 6th cent. (Iozzo); 550/530 (Keck).

ΓΑ ΙΣ

[. . . ?]Πα ις

Πά[ρ?]ις.

*Epigraphy*: Since between the alpha and the iota there is the leg of a warrior and the surface is undamaged, the missing rho would have to be written below, which seems possible. *Interpretation*: Unidentified battle scene, probably with Paris (label).

<sup>580</sup> I had also thought of \*Ἀλάτιος, but ‘the one with (big) ears’ does not work well because of CHA 11 Ὀφαιτῆς (Ὀψ- is impossible to read on our fr.), and ‘the one who causes damage’ (ἀτῆ, see n. 117) seems too far-fetched. Also the second letter is more likely to be a lambda than an upsilon.

There seems no way of justifying a name [. . .]  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  in a battle scene, and  $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  itself makes not much sense either. Iozzo's restoration  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}[\rho]\iota\varsigma$  with a letter missing below the break is therefore plausible.

°CHA 26 CATANIA, MUS. COMUNALE INV. ?

Frs., of which only one is inscribed (no. 2), of a krater from Catania, by ? (June 1960). *Bibliography*: mentioned by Rizza (1960), 251, phs. 254 figs. 13. 1, 2, 4–6; Collinge (1985), cat. App. I, no. 3; Keck (1988), 184 f., no. iv. 5 (bibl.). *Photographs*: Rizza sm. *Scene*: A warrior and (almost hidden) his page, both on horseback to l.; inscr. (a), written in front of their heads, is likely to designate the page, whose face is more forward; inscr. (b) behind their backs, leading along the back of the horse, will then designate the warrior rather than the horse. *Date*: c.540 (Keck).

(a) (←) ΕΥΡΥΜ (b) ΛΑΥΡ

(a) Ευρυμ[. . .] (b) [ . . . ? ]. λαυρ[. . .]

(a) Εὐρύμ[αχος?], (b) Λαυρ[ος].

*Epigraphy*: Nobody seems to have taken the trouble to read these inscs.<sup>581</sup> (a) The first upsilon is almost of the ʎ-type. The form of the rho is not quite clear on the ph. but likely to be of the type indicated above. The mu has five strokes. (b) Of the initial C-shaped gamma the lower end survives. *Interpretation*: Unidentified riding scene, probably with Trojans (labels).

The mu with five strokes (see CHA 23 and 24) argues against the Inscription P., although the other letter-forms resemble his. Since we may not want to assume that he changed this particular letter-form (the one he used was the 'international' one, and it seems unlikely that he adopted the 'local' form; see §259), we may assume that this vase was painted—or at least labelled—by a local pupil of his. For the scene see §463. The names are as expected.

°CHA 27 COPENHAGEN, NAT. MUS. INV. CHR. VIII 496

Small krater from Nola, by the Phineus P. (1834 or slightly earlier). *Bibliography*: Abeken (1839), with bibl. pp. 255, 258, and dr. pl. P; Jahn (1854), pp. liii n. 339, cxlix n. 1060i; CIG (iv), no. 7708; Kirchhoff (1887), 127, no. 8; Studniczka (1886a), 89 n. 12, no. 6; E. Pottier in Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 279, no. 6; Roberts (1887), 208, no. 194; Kretschmer (1894), 65, no. 6; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5297; Rumpf (1921), 169 ff. with dr. fig. 17, 190 f.; Rumpf (1927), 15 no. 19 (bibl.), 48, phs. pls. 37–9; Chr. Blinkenberg and K. Friis Johansen, *CVA* Denmark,

3 (1928), 77 f. (bibl.), ph. pl. 97; Schefold (1978), 181, with phs. figs. 240 f.; mentioned by Blatter (1983), 20, with dr.; LIMC i, 'Adrastos' 1\*, ph. pl. 172, and 'Amphithea' i. 1\* with dr., ph. pl. 575; LIMC ii, 'Argeia' 3\*, ph. pl. 428; Collinge (1985), 186–91 (sect. 23), cat. no. O86. *Photographs*: Rumpf uncl.; CVA (a) sm., (b) invis., (c) uncl.; Schefold (a) sm., rest invis.; LIMC i, 'Adrastos', only (c), almost invis.; LIMC i, 'Amphithea', only (c), slightly clearer; LIMC ii only (a) cl. and (b) invis. *Scene*: Badly damaged. To the r. of a column two men to r. are cowering; (a) is written to the l. of the column, (b) between the heads of the two. Beyond them two women are talking to each other, pointing to the men (no names preserved, thought since Abeken to be their future wives). To the r. a woman to l., standing (no name visible, now thought to be Amphithea), and a man (c) lying on a kline. *Date*: c.530 (LIMC).

(a) ΟΜΑΨΟΣ (b) — (c) ΑΔΡΕΣΤΟΣ

(a) [ . . . ]ομαχος (b) (Τυδ[ε]υς) (c) Αδρεστος

(a) [ . . . ]όμαχος, (b) (Τῦδ[ε]ύς), (c) Ἀδρεῖστος.

*Epigraphy*: (a) In view of the proximity of the handle hardly more than two letters are missing (Φιλ-, Abeken; Νικ-, Πρ-, etc., others). Some scholars (see Bechtel) thought that nothing is missing, which is implausible both for reasons of space and interpretation. The edge of the damaged area in the column points exactly between the omicron and a preceding letter (see dr.); we may therefore safely assume that some letters were lost. (b) M. Korsholm (*per litt.*) informs me that this name is hardly visible any more and would not show on a photograph. *Interpretation*: Tydeus and Polyneikes with Adrastus (labels).

There is a clear breach of the starting-point principle in (c) (see §104). Obviously this painter was used to writing from l. to r. only (see CHA 28). Therefore (a) and (b), too, cannot be expected to follow the direction principle (see §105), which allows us to accept (a) as the name of the l. suppliant, and (b) as that of the r. one.

(a) None of the possible restorations of [ . . . ]όμαχος seems preferable. Maybe a throwaway-type name (see §237) was used because the proper name escaped the painter for the moment, though this would be odd; after all Polyneikes was the cause of the Theban War. Was there perhaps another figure to the left, whose label (a) could be? (b) The name of Tydeus once was visible. (c) Ἀδρεῖστος is the Ionic form of the name, as in CHA 12a (see also ad CHA 11c on its Etruscan equivalent).

°CHA 28 WÜRZBURG, MARTIN VON WAGNER MUS.  
DER UNIV. L 164

Eye-cup from Vulci, by the Phineus P. (c.1840–50). *Bibliography*: Brunn (1865b), 50–2, with dr. *MonIned* 10, pl. 8; Kretschmer (1894), 55 f., no. i; Furtwängler–Reichhold (1904), 209–26, dr.

<sup>581</sup> Keck (p. 334 n. 675) expressly asserts that the ph. 'läßt leider keine Lesung der Namensbeischriften zu'.

pl. 41; Buschor (1913), 103 ff., dr. 107; id. (1914), 101 ff., dr. 105; Rumpf (1921), esp. 172–6, drs. figs. 1–3, 18a–c; Rumpf (1925), 372 f.; Rumpf (1927), 15–17 no. 20 (bibl., see also p. 6), 48, phs. pls. 40–4; Langlotz (1932), 23–5, no. 164, phs. pls. 26 f.; mentioned by Simon (1975), 82, phs. pls. 18 f.; Vojatzki (1982), 65–7, 114 f., no. 42, ph. pl. 5. 2; Beckel–Froning–Simon (1983), 48, no. 17 (bibl. p. 179), ph. 49; Collinge (1985), 142–5 (sect. 13), 163–7 (sect. 18), cat. no. O96; *LIMC* iii, ‘Boreadai’ 7\*, ‘Dionysos’ 763 with dr., ph. pl. 101; *LIMC* iv, ‘Harpyiai’ 14\*, dr. and ph. pl. 269; *LIMC* v, ‘Horai’ 19\*, ph. pl. 345; Boss (1992b); *LIMC* vii, ‘Phineus’ 9. *Photographs*: all invis. Vidi 8 Feb. 1991; I am also very grateful to M. Boss (Würzburg) who shortly after took for me a set of highly magnified detailed photographs, on which the surface, illuminated at a very low angle, shows clear relief structure where there used to be the paint of the inscs. (see below). *Scene*: Two Harpies running to l. and carrying dishes, (a) and unnamed, are chased by two winged daemons (b) and (c). Two women to l., (d) and unnamed, are standing in front of a *kline* on which a blind man (e) is lying, attended by a woman to l. (f). On the other side beyond a palm tree three nymphs (unnamed) are busy with their toilet, thereby attracting the attention of two Satyrs approaching from the r. Dionysos (g) and Ariadne, labelled (h) in front of the two figures, are standing in a chariot to r. pulled by wild beasts, accompanied by two Satyrs. The vase is in an extremely bad state after having been treated with some acid in the last century (as was explained to me by E. Simon). Furtwängler–Reichhold’s dr. is the best record that we have of the painting and the inscs.; but for the latter Brunn is also very important. *Date*: by the same painter as CHA 27 (Rumpf (1921); (1927), 50, 112); c.530 (*LIMC*, mostly); c.520 (*LIMC* iii, ‘Dionysos’).

(a) — (b) ς (c) ΛΔΑ ς (d) οδ (e) —  
(f) — (g) ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ (h) ΑΡ

(a) Αρ[. . .] (b) [. . .]τ.ς (c) Καλαῖς (d) Ὁρα [. . . ?]  
(e) Φ[. . .]ς (f) . ρ[. . .]ο (g) Διονυσος (h) Αρ . .

(a) Ἀρ[πυῖα], (b) [Ζεῖ?]τ.ς, (c) Κάλαῖς, (d) Ὁρα [. . . ?],  
(e) Φ[νέυ]ς, (f) Ἐρ[χθ]ός. (g) Διόνυσος, (h) Ἀρ[. . .]

*Epigraphy*: (a) Brunn ΑΡΙ (not ΑΡΙΓ), Furtwängler–Reichhold ΑΡΙ, Rumpf (1927) Α; I saw nothing, and nothing shows on Boss’s ph. (b) Brunn . . ΤΗΞ, Furtwängler–Reichhold ΤΟΞ (faint), Rumpf (1927) ΤΕς (of the penultimate letter he saw two parallel horizontal bars, which supports an epsilon); I could only see the final sigma, but some of the tau seems to show on Boss’s ph. (c) Brunn ΚΑΛΑΙΞ, Furtwängler–Reichhold ΚΛΛΛΙΞ, Rumpf (1927) ΚΛΛΛΙΞ; I saw ΛΔΑ ς, with an almost regular but not fully upright triangle before the alpha, and a three-stroke sigma; a trace of the iota also shows on Boss’s ph. (d) Brunn ὉΡΑΟ (the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th letters being unclear), Furtwängler–Reichhold ὉΡΛ, Rumpf (1927) ὉΡΔς; I saw οδ or ορ, and some of the alpha shows on Boss’s ph. (e) Brunn φ . . ΕΥΞ, Furtwängler–Reichhold φΙ,

Rumpf (1927) φ ς; I saw only the phi, while some irregularities of the surface appear all along the inscr. in Boss’s ph. (f) Brunn ΕΡΙΧΘΩ, Furtwängler–Reichhold ΓΡ Χ Ο, Rumpf (1927) nothing; I could see the last letter: Ο (before it the vase is heavily damaged so that nothing survives), and no more than this omicron shows on Boss’s ph. (g) Brunn ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΞ, Furtwängler–Reichhold Δ . . . ΨΟΞ, Rumpf (1927) ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΞ; I saw all the letters (both sigmas are of the three-stroke type, the delta is not symmetrical, Δ), and they all show on Boss’s ph. (h) The remains of Ariadne’s name between the whip and the reins were detected by M. Boss, see Boss (1992b); only the first three letters are legible. My and M. Boss’s readings mostly agree with the results of G. Beckel’s checking in 1971 of Rumpf’s readings (of which he informed me *per litt.*, 26 Sept. 1989). Beckel (1) could not find some letters that Rumpf (1927) had seen: Α of the Harpy, Σ of Phineus; (2) was uncertain about some: Τ and Η of Zetes, Φ of Phineus; (3) found some letters that Rumpf (1927) had not seen: final Ο of Erichtho, and in the same name a trace of a letter where Furtwängler had the initial Ε. *Interpretation*: Argonauts (Boreads) visiting Phineus (labels). Dionysos and Ariadne (labels).

All inscriptions are written from l. to r. and—except (h) (for lack of space)—to the l. of the figure they designate. This is against the starting-point principle (see §104) and, as Rumpf (1921: 172) observed, in perfect agreement with CHA 27, which is by the same painter. Rumpf (*ibid.*), in discussing the results of the cleaning process, emphasizes the fact that Dionysos’ name was as clear after the cleaning as it had been at the time of Brunn’s drawing, whereas in the mean time it had been partly overpainted and become unclear. On the other hand, he dismisses as forged many other letters that are now invisible but were seen by Brunn, in particular the ‘blue’ chi and the omega of (f) (which indeed seem to have been on a plaster area covering a break). Does Rumpf mean that we have to assume different stages of over-painting?

Whereas Rumpf takes an entirely negative view of all the letters that he could not see himself, we may trust the earlier reading of a R-type rho in (a) and probably also (f), as well as that of the Η for [h] in (d). Both features are unlikely to be forged in an inscription which was restored in East Ionic spelling (e.g. Ἐριχθώ).<sup>582</sup> These two letters are also in agreement with Chalcidian.

There is one case where all editors, including Rumpf, acknowledged a non-Chalcidian letter-form, namely the lambda in (c) (i.e. Λ instead of Chalcidian λ);<sup>583</sup> yet, as mentioned above, the remains of the letter are triangular, i.e. Δ, λ, Λ, and Λ, are equally possible.

<sup>582</sup> Kretschmer (pp. 55 f.), it is true, reports that the heta had disappeared: ‘Ulrichs hielt den ι. Buchstaben für alt, nach Sittl ist er augenscheinlich gefälscht und bei Betupfung sofort verschwunden.’ But this does not mean that there had been nothing at all where the ‘restorer’, who overpainted the letters, applied his paint—on the contrary. Moreover, the cleaning of the vase probably destroyed much more than just this secondary paint.

<sup>583</sup> In addition, the delta is Δ, i.e. not of the proper Chalcidian type δ, but this is a less important difference.



As the reading of most labels is so uncertain, not much can be said about the forms of the names. Only (a) offers a special feature sufficiently certain. The assurance by Brunn that the third letter is a simple iota not a pi leads to a form Ἀρί[πυια]. This reminds us of the Attic form of the Harpies' name with an extra vowel, viz. Ἀρεπυια (singular or dual, *ABV* 5. 4, Immerwahr, no. 57). For a plausible IE etymology of this name (root *\*h<sub>2</sub>rep*) see Rix (1969), 86 (with bibl.). In view of the [i], popular etymology must have been at work in our form.<sup>584</sup> For a name Ἀρίπυια, without [h] (as in Ἀρπυια, ἀρπάζω) but with the middle vowel, of the creatures who in the present story keep fouling King Phineus' meals, makes perfect sense as 'the much-stinking one' (epic ἀρι- plus the root *\*pu-*, for which see Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. πύθομαι). Surely this was not the original meaning of the name of these wind-daemons. But we may be confident that this variant was the form that their name had, or could have, in the particular context of the Phineus story and perhaps even induced the story in the first instance. Popular etymologies were a frequent feature of archaic, particularly epic, literature (see §510).

If the penultimate sign of (b) was indeed an epsilon (or an eta), this form would be the only indication of Ionic (or Attic) dialect.

<sup>584</sup> We should not consider a simple mistake, e.g. due to label (h).

On the other hand, Furtwängler-Reichhold read an omicron, which would yield Ζῆτος and might hint at a confusion of Ζήτης and Ζήθος by the vase-painter (see §444 on COR 79A for similar cases on Corinthian vases). It is interesting to note that also Ap. Rhod. (1. 736) puts Ζήθος and his brother Ἀμφίων among the Argonauts after having named Ζήτης and Κάλαϊς earlier (1. 211); does this reflect a similar confusion of the tradition?

For the name of Kalais (c), whose third letter is not clear, but probably a lambda as usual, see §425 n. 1068.

#### CHA 29 REGGIO CALABRIA, MUS. NAZ. 1039

Small fr. of a lid from Reggio, by the Phineus P. (Collinge) (1882). *Bibliography*: Rumpf (1927), 14 no. 16, 48, ph. pl. 36; Collinge (1985), cat. no. O79. *Photographs*: Rumpf cl. *Scene*: A man and a woman in a chariot. The inscr. runs from top-l. to bottom-r. to the l. of the chariot and is not connected with its figures.

. . (no clear letter-form)

*Epigraphy*: δε or θε Rumpf, but πε and οβ seem equally possible. *Interpretation*: Not clear, perhaps nonsense inscription.

# 13. Pseudo-Chalcidian

*Introduction:* A few vases are similar to the Chalcidian style but do not show any features of Chalcidian script. Only two of them bear painted inscriptions.

\*<sup>o</sup>PCH I BASLE, ANTIKENMUS. UND SAMMLUNG LUDWIG  
(ON LOAN FROM A PRIVATE OWNER)

Amphora from Vulci, Memnon Group (c.1829/30).<sup>585</sup> *Bibliography:* Gerhard (1831), 154, no. 411;<sup>586</sup> Gerhard (1847), 113–15, drs. pl. 205. 3–4;<sup>587</sup> *CIG* (iv), no. 8409; Kretschmer (1894), 56 f., no. ii; Ducati (1922), 194, with dr.; Rumpf (1927), 156–8 (bibl.), dr. 182 fig. 12; Caskey–Beazley (1954), 15; Canciani (1980a), 146 with n. 13, phs. 145 figs. 7 f., 146 fig. 9; Canciani (1980b), 118 f., with phs. figs. 1–2; *LIMC* i, ‘Achilleus’ 815 (‘pseudochalkidisch’) and ‘Antilochos’ i. 29\* (‘frühchalkidisch’), ph. pl. 665; mentioned by Brinkmann (1985), 118, with dr. fig. 88; Collinge (1985), 132 (sect. 11), 116 (sect. 8, the uninscribed side), cat. no. P1; *LIMC* iii, ‘Eos’ 302; *LIMC* vi, ‘Memnon’ 34. *Photographs:* Canciani (1980a) (a) uncl. (only traces of the last two letters), (b), (c), and (e) quite cl., (d) invis.; Canciani (1980b) (a), (b), and (d) uncl., (c) and (e) cl.; *LIMC* (c) sm. but cl., rest invis. Vidi 16 Nov. 1990. *Scene:* A woman to r. (a) backing a warrior (b) who over the dead body of another warrior, (c) (head to the r.), is fighting a third one (d). Behind the latter another woman (e) is standing, facing l. *Date:* c.530–520 (Canciani (1980a)); c.530 (*LIMC* iii); c.550 (*LIMC* i and vi); 3rd q. 6th cent. rather than later (Collinge, pp. 234–41).

(a) ΕΩΞ (b) ΜΕΜΝΩΝ (c) ΑΝΤΙΛΟΧΟΣ  
(d) (←) ΑΧΙΛΕΥΞ (e) (←) ΘΕΤΙΞ

(a) Εως (b) Μέμνων (c) Αντίλοχος (d) Αχιλεϋς  
(e) Θέτις

(a) Ἐώς, (b) Μέμνων, (c) Ἀντίλοχος, (d) Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς, (e) Θέτις.

*Epigraphy:* (a) *CIG* prefers ΕΩΣ to ΗΩΣ of Gerhard (1831) and ΑΩΣ of de Witte (1839) (non vidi); Gerhard (1847) reads ΗΩΝ (followed by Kretschmer); Rumpf in his dr. shows ΗΙΩ (the

last letter being oddly shaped, almost like an inverted Μ);<sup>588</sup> Canciani (1980a: 146) transcribes ‘HEOS’. Autopsy (see dr.) showed traces of three oblique bars of an epsilon, but no vertical hasta to the r. of this letter, which could make it an heta (and which, moreover, should have horizontal, not sloping bars, and hardly three of them in the 2nd h. of the 6th cent.); nor is there anything before it (the apparent vertical hasta is formed from the oblique parallel scratches). (d) The final sigma, which was no longer shown by Gerhard (1847), is clearly visible, continued by an inadvertent horizontal stroke of the brush. *Interpretation:* Achilles and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).

Rumpf considered the inscriptions to be forged or restored in the same way as those on CHA 28 (i.e. by Feoli’s restorers). Canciani (1980a: 155 f.) thinks that this is unlikely. Autopsy has shown that they are neither forged nor even repainted. Kretschmer observes that the front-view of faces (here applied to dead Antilochos) is typical of Chalcidian ware. On the other hand, the script on our vase is different from the usual Chalcidian one.

Some local scripts which we find on figure-decorated vases are excluded: Corinthian (because of epsilon, iota, lambda, sigma, omega), Chalcidian and Boiotian (chi, lambda, omega), and Attic (too early for East Ionic letter-forms and spelling norms, esp. lambda and omega, respectively). In view of the alphabet and the date of the vase the writer (and therefore probably also the painter) must have been an East Greek, and in view of the form (a) Ἐώς (see ad CHA 5a and §249) he must have been an Ionian (elsewhere we should have [a] not [e]). The fact that no initial aspiration is written is in accordance with the East Greek alphabet, and since in the East Greek alphabets there are two different signs for long and short [e], our label with epsilon must represent the form with a shortened first vowel. This is not the form known from the epic and Herodotus (7. 167), viz. ἦώς. But it has to be emphasized that it is the non-shortened form in Herodotus which is a problem. For [ē] before [ō] is normally shortened in epic (Lejeune, §281, e.g. gen. pl. νεῶν, nom. Ποσειδέων, etc., partly observable already in epic). As for the accent, I leave it as it is in Homer and Herodotus (and in Vedic). To conclude, our painter is likely to have come to a ‘Chalcidian’ workshop from East Ionia without adapting to the dialect (with [h]; but see CHA 5a) or alphabet (Υ for [k<sup>h</sup>]) of his new residence.

The other labels pose no problems.

<sup>585</sup> The vase was first in the Feoli, then in the Magnoncourt coll. Afterwards it was wrongly thought to be in Berlin, Boston, and Würzburg. At the time of Canciani’s (1980a) article (see his p. 145), i.e. in the late 70s, it was on the market.

<sup>586</sup> The inscs. are under no. 410 by mistake (pointed out in *CIG*).

<sup>587</sup> Rumpf (p. 157) was right to doubt the correctness of shape and decoration of the dr. pl. 205. 4.

<sup>588</sup> According to Canciani (1980a: 155 n. 49) the iota after the heta is a copying error and does not exist in Gerhard’s sketches.

°PCH 2 WÜRZBURG, MARTIN VON WAGNER MUS.  
DER UNIV. L 455

(←) ⊙ < +  
θ . χ (rather than θ . ξ)

Neck-amphora from Vulci, Polyphemos Group (before 1872).  
*Bibliography*: Rumpf (1927), 162, no. 17, phs. pls. 218 f.; Langlotz (1932), 87, no. 455, phs. pls. 132 f.; von Bothmer (1957), 113 f., phs. pl. 65. 2; *LIMC* i, 'Amazones' 287\*, ph. pl. 477; Collinge (1985), 197 f. (sect. 25), cat. no. Q17. *Photographs*: Rumpf cl.; Langlotz and *LIMC* quite cl.; von Bothmer uncl. Vidi 8 Feb. 1991. *Scene*: Amazonomachy. Over a collapsing Amazon there is an owl, sitting on a twig (to the l. of its head is the inscr.). *Date*: 530–520 (Canciani (1980a)).

*Epigraphy*: The writing system and middle letter (flat lunate gamma or rotated lambda or pi, or asymmetrical epsilon?), as well as the meaning, are not clear. Since pseudo-Chalcidian in PCH 1 represents the East Ionic system, we ought to take + for χ rather than ξ. But no Greek word can end in -χ. Therefore we have to consider this a nonsense inscription. *Interpretation*: Nonsense inscription.

# 14. Etruria

*Introduction:* Four rf. vases, which are thought to be of local Etruscan fabric and attributed to one painter, bear painted inscriptions. It will be argued that the painter was a Greek, not an Etruscan.

°ETR I PARIS, CABINET DES MÉDAILLES 913

Rf. amphora from Vulci, by the same painter as ETR 2–4, probably named Praxias<sup>589</sup> (March 1829). *Bibliography:* Bonaparte (1829), 135 f., no. 1500, drs. of inscs. pl. 33; Gerhard (1831), 175 f., no. 677;<sup>590</sup> L. J. J. Dubois (1843), 29 f., no. 102 (non vidi); Raoul-Rochette (1845), 57; *CIG* (iv), no. 8287 (bibl.); Klein (1887), 31 f.; Kretschmer (1894), 226, no. 1; de Ridder (1902), 540 f., ph. pl. 26; Rumpf (1923); Dohrn (1936), with phs. 78 figs. 1 f.; Friis Johansen (1939), 191 with n. 21 (bibl.); Beazley (1947), 196, no. 12 (bibl.); *LIMC* i, ‘Achle’ 2\*, ph. pl. 146; *LIMC* iii, ‘Cheiron’ 58; *LIMC* vii, ‘Peleus’ 226. *Photographs:* de Ridder mostly invis.; Dohrn invis.; *LIMC* i some letters, uncl. Vidi 8 Aug. 1990. *Scene:* On one side a youth to l. (a) holding a baby to r. in his hands; on the other side a Centaur to l., labelled (c) behind his head, likewise holding a baby, (b), the name starting above the child’s head and leading downwards to the l. Inscr. (d) is painted on the edge of the lip on the Centaur’s side; on the other side there is nothing on the lip. (e) is painted on the handle next to the Centaur’s tail. *Date:* c.480–460 (Dohrn, p. 80); mid-1st h. 5th cent. (*LIMC* i); 480–460 (*LIMC* iii, vii).

(a) ΓΕΓΕΙ (b) (←) ΛVIΛΕΞ (c) VΙQON (d) ΓQΛ+ΙΛΞ  
(e) (←) RDMOE

(a) Πελει (b) Αχιλες (c) Χιρον (d) Πραξιας (e) Arnthe  
(a) Πελει, (b) Αχιλ(λ)ες, (c) Χιρον. (d) Πραξιῖας. (e) Arnthe.

*Epigraphy:* (a) Bonaparte ΓΕΛΕΙ, rightly (Kretschmer ΓΕΛΕΙ., de Ridder Π ΛΕ); very probably nothing is missing. (b) Bonaparte (←) ΛVIΛΕΙ (de Ridder’s dr. is upside-down); I am certain about the final sigma. (c) Bonaparte VΙQON, rightly, with an omicron composed of two semicircles (de Ridder, Χιρ[ov]). (d) is not in Bonaparte or Gerhard; it was first read by Orioli in 1836 as ΓQΛ+ΙΛΞ ΕΛΡΑΦΞΕ (see Raoul-Rochette; Kretschmer); de Ridder ΓVΛ+ΙΛΞ (interpreting it as πv (?) Αχιλε), without εγραφε, which was an earlier invention or misreading of (e)

(Rumpf did not see the vase, but rightly doubts the ‘Attic’ gamma alongside lambda of the same shape; Beazley, who must have seen the vase, no longer mentions the verb). (e) Clear. *Interpretation:* (a)–(c) Chiron receiving the baby Achilleus (labels). (d) Probably painter’s (and donor’s?) name. (e) Probably (human) recipient’s name.

As the four vases ETR 1–4 are evidently by the same painter, some general points are discussed here. Bonaparte makes it clear that ETR 1 and 4 are from the same tomb. Gerhard was the first to discuss the alphabet. He was right to point out that the occurrence of an omicron argues against Etruscan. (The same is true for the delta in ETR 4.) On the other hand, he took Ψ and the –ει ‘endings’ for Etruscan. But with the Greek name (d) Πραξιῖας with another non-Etruscan usage of a letter, namely + for [ks],<sup>591</sup> the Greek character of these inscriptions definitely prevails. The general appearance of the alphabet reminds us, for example, of Lakonian (Chalcidian is unlikely because of the lambda), and the Greek dialect in general is likely to be Doric too, as we shall see below. The ‘Etruscan’ theory, however, is understandable in view of inscription (e). But this is the only word which should be called Etruscan,<sup>592</sup> which is particularly clear from the letter-forms of alpha and rho; here, and only here, do we have the typical Etruscan forms, whereas the respective letters in (b)–(d) and on the other vases are different.<sup>593</sup> For the linguistic arguments see below. Still, it seems clear that whoever painted the inscriptions painted them all; for there is no difference in paint or ductus between (e) and the other names.

As for ETR 1, de Ridder did not know Kretschmer’s readings and those which Kretschmer had drawn upon. Kretschmer, who depended on Bonaparte, in turn did not, and could not, know that the vase was in the Cabinet des Médailles.

(a) In Etruscan Peleus’ name never ends in –ei. De Simone (1968: 99–101) lists 16 examples of *Pele* (and 1 of *Peleis*, which is strange). On the other hand, it is true, a label in the dative is unexpected. Did the writer intend Πελες, like Αχιλες? (b) In de Simone (1968: 32–6) there are 29 Etruscan attestations of Achilleus’ name ending in –le (*Aχle*, *Aχile*, *vel sim.*; see also *ET*,

<sup>591</sup> The Greek letter in question was no longer in use in Etruscan at the time and, in the 7th cent., had only been used for [s] not for [ks].

<sup>592</sup> De Simone (1968) and (1970a), *passim*, takes everything on our vases for Etruscan. The same is true for Rix–Meiser (1991), i. 59, ‘Index der Wortformen in griechischem Alphabet’, who obviously consider all forms to be (1) in Etruscan language and (2) in Greek script.

<sup>593</sup> The Greek alpha is of the rare form with a dot (see Immerwahr, p. 134), and the rho has a tail (see §101).

<sup>589</sup> Beazley, p. 195.

<sup>590</sup> See n. 603 (ad ETR 4).

s.vv.). Two occurrences of the form *Aciles* are listed, but these are not Etruscan (see Wachter (1987), 148 f., §62c). Other Etruscan ‘endings’—as well as other forms of the ‘stem’—are *hapax legomena*, therefore the isolated *Aχlei* is as problematic as our (a) and should not be overestimated as a possible parallel, either for our (a) or for the old reading of (b).<sup>594</sup> My new reading *Αχιλες* is the Greek form from which the Latin one is likely to have originated; it is attested elsewhere.<sup>595</sup> It is of course particularly suitable on a vase from a semi-Etruscan context although the phenomenon of *-ης* instead of *-εύς* was more wide-spread (see ad COR 74b). The accent may have changed to the penultimate syllable: *Αχιλλης*, as in *Διογένης*, *Σωκράτης* etc. Label (c), in view of the omicron, which is clear,<sup>596</sup> cannot be Etruscan but is Greek (for its first vowel see §248). (d) with its spelling (see above), its nominative ending, and its formation (see §230), is also fully Greek.

(e), however, is a—very frequent—Etruscan praenomen (see Rix–Meiser (1991), i. 72 ff.). Yet, the form *Arnθe* is otherwise unattested (the normal form is *Arnθ*). Our form is therefore likely to contain a suffix (‘ending’?) and not to be in the nominative or subject case. Now, since of the two names (d) and (e) only *Πραξίας* is in the nominative, this is likely to be the potter’s or painter’s name, whereas *Arnθ* is probably in a different case and has a different function. The most likely meaning is of course ‘for Arnth’,<sup>597</sup> but this is not otherwise attested, and a dative case in *-e* seems not to be a well-established feature of Etruscan. Also, it is not likely that *Πραξίας* and *Arnθe* belong to the same phrase (e.g. ‘P. gave me to A.’ or ‘P. made me for A.’), since they are written on different parts of the vase,<sup>598</sup> otherwise we would expect them to be either both on the rim or both on the handles, and linked by a verb.

For a general interpretation of inscriptions (d) and (e) in connection with the whole set of vases and their paintings see §307. As far as the place of production is concerned, Kretschmer thought of one of the South Italian colonies, asserting that although the alphabet is ‘red’ (i.e. non-Attic), the dialect is Attic (ETR 1d

–*āς* alongside ETR 4 –*μάχῃ*). However, his dialect attribution is not certain; for it can be frequently observed on vases that writers render foreign dialect forms in an unsuitable alphabet, for instance the local one, and often mix them with forms in other dialects, for instance, again, the local one (see e.g. the Attic vase with *Σιλᾶνός Τέρπων*, cited in §457 with nn. 1145 and 1155; and see §259 below). It seems likely that our four vases are a similar case in view of the Etruscan name painted on ETR 1, which clearly presupposes some cultural mixture. The alphabet of the labels, on the other hand, is coherent, and since our writer also applied it for what is best taken for his name, it is most likely to have been his own. It seems better therefore not to insist on a coherent dialect (–*μάχῃ* + –*āς* = Attic), which leads to a discrepancy, particularly odd in the name of the writer, between the dialect and the alphabet, but to look for a coherent solution for the name of the writer and his alphabet and a separate explanation for Ionic-Attic –*μάχῃ*. This is easy, for the technique of our vases, which can only be motivated by a desire—however hopeless—to imitate Attic red-figure fashion, would justify any Attic influence, particularly in a name of a mythical figure of the decoration. It seems best therefore to take our writer for a Lakonian, which in Italy means Tarentine, who had emigrated to the north.<sup>599</sup>

#### °ETR 2 PARIS, CABINET DES MÉDAILLES 914

Rf. amphora from Vulci, by the same painter as ETR 1 (ex Canino; before 1843). *Bibliography*: L. J. J. Dubois (1843), 35, no. 125 (non vidi); de Ridder (1902), 541, ph. pl. 26; Dohrn (1936), with phs. 78 figs. 3 f.; Beazley (1936), 253; Beazley (1947), 196, no. 13 (bibl.); not in LIMC iii or iv? *Photographs*: de Ridder invis.; Dohrn invis. Vidi 8 Aug. 1990. *Scene*: An Eros to l. (named) picking up a shield (?). On the other side another Eros with *kerykeion*, sitting on a rock (not named as far as I could see). *Date*: c.480–460 (Dohrn, p. 80).

(←) ΕΡΟΤΟ

Εροτο

°Ερῶτο(ς).

*Epigraphy*: de Ridder read the inscr. the wrong way round, transcribing οτος. On the other side he saw κ . . (ava ?), whereas I could not detect anything there (nor could Beazley, apparently). *Interpretation*: Unspecified scenes with Eroses (label).

The omicrons exclude Etruscan, and the –τ– excludes the nominative. The most likely case is the genitive with –ς missing (see §204). See ad ETR 1.

<sup>594</sup> *-ei* is, as far as I can see, not used for other Greek names in Etruscan (de Simone gives another example of *αχilei* (no. 25), which is, however, not a label and of dubious interpretation; see also the difficulties which he experiences when he tries to justify these three forms in *-ei* of Greek names (1970a: 302)). In genuine Etruscan final *-ei* is rare except *-nei*, which is extremely frequent. For all these forms see now the Indexes in ET i.

<sup>595</sup> Giacomelli (1988), no. 36, a ‘pinax o fregio architetonico’ from Metapontion with *Αχιλες* and *Πατροκλος*]. As for Sophilos’ fr. ABV 39 f., no. 16 (Immerwahr, no. 62; Simon–Hirmer (1981), pl. 50; LIMC i, ‘Achilleus’ 491\*; Schefold (1993), 319 with ph. fig. 352), I am not certain whether there are not perhaps traces of an added epsilon below *-ες* of *Αχιλες*, just as in his signature the painter first wrote *Σοφίλος:μυραφσεν* and added an epsilon above in between the mu and the gamma; also the ‘title’ *Πατροκλῆς ἀτλα* (see Threatte, pp. 22 and 260; he writes a kappa) shows some features which do not conform to normal Attic spelling (this makes them all the more interesting).

<sup>596</sup> De Simone (1968: 131) writes *Xir[u?n]*, M. Gisler–Huwiler (LIMC iii) ‘*Chir[u]n*’, R. Vollkommer (LIMC vii) ‘*Chir[u?n]*’, wrongly.

<sup>597</sup> De Simone (1970a: 243 n. 105) takes him for the owner of the vase, without discussing the *-e*.

<sup>598</sup> This was pointed out by de Simone (1970a), 265 n. 173a.

<sup>599</sup> Etruria extended far down to Campania before the battle of Kyme in 474, and Etruscan continued to be in use in that region for some time. That our Praxias was an ‘etruskisierter Grieche’ (de Simone (1970a), 243 n. 105) may be slightly exaggerated, although admittedly he knew some Etruscan.

\*<sup>o</sup>ETR 3 FORMERLY BERLIN, ANTIQUARIUM V. I. 3363

Rf. amphora from Vulci, by the same painter as ETR 1 (1852 or earlier<sup>600</sup>); lost in World War II. *Bibliography*: L. Schmidt (1852), with dr. pl. T; Jahn (1854), p. cxiii n. 826; Hartwig (1893), 254 n.; Kretschmer (1894), 88 f.; Dohrn (1936), with phs. 82 figs. 5 f.; Beazley (1947), 196, no. 14 (bibl.). *Photographs*: Dohrn uncl. *Scene*: A youth, wreathed, and a dog, both to l.; inscr. (a) starts near the boy's head and leads down to the dog's. On the other side a bearded man to l. talking to a dog to r. which is listening with attention; inscr. (b) starts above the dog's head, rises above the man and falls down the latter's back again. *Date*: c.480–460 (Dohrn, p. 80).

(a) (←) ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΕ (b) >ΙΟ ΚΟΡΟΙ \

(a) Μελιταίε (b) . ιο . κοροί.

(a) Μέλιταίε (b) Διός κοροί.

*Epigraphy*: (a) All letters are clear on my ph.; the third is an impeccable alpha, so we should be sceptical about Jahn's conjecture, which was accepted by all later scholars. (b) ΙΠΟΡΟΙ Schmidt, followed by most others; ΙΟΟΡΟΙ Mus. inv. sheet<sup>601</sup> and Beazley, i.e. one letter less. On my ph., the first letter resembles something like >, similar to a delta (see the one in ETR 4), which leaves us with Διο οροι and gave me the clue to search for additional letters. The kappa (Schmidt's P?) is clearly visible to the r. above the man's head, of the sigma there seems to be one bar left, directly above the first omicron. Its straight form (unless the faint zigzag traces belong) reminds us of the last letter of ETR 1a, and if correct, its position 'off side' suggests that we read two separate words. At the very end, after the iota, a falling oblique stroke is visible and perhaps a dot above; a final nu seems likely. *Interpretation*: Dedications to humans and gods (?), added to non-heroic domestic scenes with men and dogs.

(a) Whereas Schmidt had read μή αἰταίη 'don't beg' (from αἰτέω), i.e. supposing <ai> to stand for [ē], which is not possible in a 5th-cent. inscription, one has unanimously read a vocative Μελιταίε ever since Jahn,<sup>602</sup> who referred to the literary evidence

<sup>600</sup> According to Schmidt it came from the Roman art dealer G. Baseggio, and therefore could well be from the Canino excavations. On the other hand, one may doubt that it was found together with ETR 1 and 4, since otherwise we might expect its record by Bonaparte (1829) among the inscribed vases. Yet, ETR 2, which was in his collection, is not recorded there either.

<sup>601</sup> I am grateful to U. Kästner, who sent me (Feb. 1992) a copy of the original inventory sheet (4 April 1896) and two prints from the old negatives, on which my readings are based. The inv. entry says that the vase was bought in Rome by P. Hartwig.

<sup>602</sup> The inscr. is not Etruscan, as de Simone (1968: 91) thinks. (1) The mu, lambda, and alpha have non-Etruscan letter-forms; (2) in (b) there are omicrons, which are alien to Etruscan; (3) the sequence of letters is unparalleled in Etruscan (see also ad ETR 1). Nor can I see a reason for de Simone's characterization (1970a: 231) of our (a) as an 'Individualname (Künstler- oder Besitzerangabe)', not even with Jahn's reading.

for special lap-dogs, κυνίδια Μελιταία. Yet the hairy dog on our vase looks more like a medium-sized shepherd's dog, and the inscription starts at the boy's not the dog's head although the painter's normal direction of script must have been from l. to r. (see ETR 1d). The main argument against this interpretation, however, is the third letter, which is a clear alpha. See §307 for my attempt at a new interpretation.

(b) Schmidt had suggested ἰὼ πόροι(s) 'hey, fetch!', but there seems to be no pi. Kretschmer and Beazley did not understand this inscription, but neither considered a nonsense inscription (in view of the other inscriptions by this painter). My reading suggests a dedication (dative dual). The first [o] of κόροι may be long or short according to whether or not we assume Attic influence here too (see ad ETR 1). For the possible general context see ibid. and §307 below.

## °ETR 4 SÈVRES, MUS. NAT. DE CÉRAMIQUE 3114

Rf. amphora from Vulci, by the same painter as ETR 1 (March 1829). *Bibliography*: Bonaparte (1829), 135, no. 1499, dr. of the inscr. pl. 33; Gerhard (1831), 175 f., no. 677;<sup>603</sup> L. J. J. Dubois (1843), 35, no. 123 (non vidi); CIG (iv), no. 7580 (bibl.); Kretschmer (1894), 226, no. 2; M. Massoul, CVA France, 13 (1936), 90, with dr. (and bibl.), phs. pl. 46. 1 and 5; Beazley (1936), 253; Beazley (1947), 196, no. 15 (bibl.); LIMC i, 'Amazones etruscae' 1\*, ph. pl. 527. *Photographs*: CVA uncl.; LIMC mostly invis. *Scene*: An Amazon rushing to l. (named), on the other side one to l. laying down or picking up her shield (obviously unnamed; the surface is badly worn). *Date*: 1st h. 5th cent. (LIMC).

(←) ΛΛΔΔΟΜΔ (→) ΨΕ

Ἀνδρομα χε

Ἀνδρομάχῃ.

*Epigraphy*: Bonaparte's letter-forms, ΛΛΔΔΟΜΔ (→) ΨΕ (not interpreted), are almost accurate. I am grateful to C. Monnier, who checked the inscr. for me. On the original ph. I cannot see the omicron, which according to C. Monnier is 'illisible (restauration)'. The last two letters do not show on the photographs; according to C. Monnier the chi is very faint, but the epsilon is clear. The small letter-like traces indicated by Massoul on her dr. could not be found and are probably meaningless. *Interpretation*: Unspecified scenes with Amazons (label).

For the name, which is well attested for Amazons (and also plausible, i.e. a speaking name; see §239), see E. Mavleev's Index, LIMC i. 653 (and see also above, ad COR 4c). It is entirely Greek (omicron and delta are both alien to Etruscan), and in the Ionic-Attic dialect. See ad ETR 1 and §307 with n. 970.

<sup>603</sup> He confuses this piece with Bonaparte, no. 1500 (our ETR 1), as to the inscr. on the handle.



## 15. Achaian Colonies

*Introduction:* A small number of vases from Achaian colonial contexts are grouped here, and one from a tomb at Nola (ACC 4), whose very likely production place in an Achaian colony has not been recognized until now.

ACC IA-B METAPONTO, MUS. ARCH. NAZ.  
(ANTIQUARIUM STATALE) 19746 AND 19743

Two frs. of (two different) local stamnoi from Metapontion (1964). *Bibliography*: (A) Manni Piraino (1968), 446 f., no. 23, with ph.; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 457*N*. (B) Manni Piraino (1968), 447, no. 24, ph. 446; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 457*N*. *Photographs*: Manni Piraino cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 2nd h. 6th cent. (Manni Piraino from both pottery and epigraphy; Johnston).

$$\begin{array}{l} (A) \Delta^M \vdash (B) (\leftarrow) \text{OM} : \Delta \\ (A) [\dots]_{\text{avK}} [\dots] \quad (B) [\dots]_{\text{OS}} : a \cdot (\cdot) [\dots] \\ (A) [\dots]_{\text{avK}} [\dots] \quad (B) [\dots]_{\text{OS}} \hat{\text{av}} \epsilon [\theta \bar{\epsilon} K \epsilon \dots]. \end{array}$$

*Epigraphy:* (A) The last letter, which will have been a vowel sign, may have been an iota or epsilon. (B) The first letter could also have been a phi or epsilon, and the last traces a sigma, a mu, or a combination of a nu and another letter (which seems most likely to me). *Interpretation:* (A) Not clear. (B) Probably a dedication.

Manni Piraino thinks that the two inscriptions contained the same text, restoring the second as  $[\Delta\iota]\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\kappa[\nu\lambda\omicron\rho\acute{\mu}\epsilon\tau\omicron]$ <sup>604</sup> and the first one accordingly. I would suggest easier solutions,<sup>605</sup> for (A), for instance, a proper name such as *LSAG* 324. 26 = *DGE* 238  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  (Anaphe, early 7th cent.?), and for (B)  $[\dots]\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}[\theta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon \dots]$ . The two fragments may still have contained the same text, for example  $[\delta \delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha] \acute{\alpha}\nu\kappa\nu[\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu]\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}[\theta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon]$ , but this is entirely uncertain. For the spelling of the velar nasal see §114.

ACC 2 LOST (PRIVATE?)

Stamnos from Metapontion, perhaps in private possession (Jeffery) (Oct. 1885). *Bibliography*: Fiorelli (1885), 607 f., with dr.; G. Kaibel, *IG* xiv (1890), no. 2420. 4; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 256, 261. 19 (bibl.), dr. pl. 50; Wachter (1989b), *passim*. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: None. *Date*: c.475–450? (Jeffery).

<sup>604</sup> This gen. would have been *ἀνκυλομέτᾱ* in the local dialect.

<sup>605</sup> One should also keep in mind that it was not Zeus, but his father who was ἀγκυλομήτης.

ΑΒΙΔΕΦΙΗΘΣΚΓΜΝΟΡΘΡΜΤΝΦΨ++  
αβγδεζήθικλμνοπρστυφχξξ

*Epigraphy: —. Interpretation: Abecedarium.*

Why the final xi is repeated is an unsolved problem (see Jeffery, p. 256; filling of the vacant space seems the most likely solution to me). For the type of alphabet see Wachter, and see below, §106.

ACC 3 SALERNO, MUS. PROVINCIALE INV. ?  
(INCISED BEFORE FIRING)

Small jug ('poseidoniate' according to Pontrandolfo, p. 62) from Fratte di Salerno, t. 26/1963 (17 May 1963). *Bibliography*: Pontrandolfo (1987), with phs. figs. 20–2; Cerri (1989). *Photographs*: Pontrandolfo quite cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 480–470 (Pontrandolfo, p. 58).

(a) ( $\leftarrow$ ) ΑΓΟΓΓΟΔΡΟΝ · ΧΥΓΓΑΜ · ΕΡΑΤΑΣ·  
 (b) ( $\leftarrow$ ) ΦΟΥΓΑΜ · ΑΓΥΙΣΙΕ · ΑΓΟΓΓΟΔΡΟΝ  
 (c) ( $\leftarrow$ ) ΟΝΑΤΑΜ · ΝΣΧΔΜ · ΕΡΑΤΑΣ  
 (d) ( $\leftarrow$ ) ΗΥΒΡΣΨΟΜ · ΓΑΡΜΥΝΣΟΜ · ΗΡΑΤΑΣ·

(a) Απολλοδορος : ξύλλας : εραται  
 (b) Φολχας : απυγιζε : απολλοδορον (c) Ονατας : νιξ . s : εραται  
 (d) Ηυβριχος : παρμυνιος : ηραται

(a) Ἀπολλόδορος Ξύλλας ἔραται, (b) Φόλχῡς ἀ(μ)πῡγίξῃ  
 Ἀπολλόδορον, (c) Ὀνάτῃς Νιξῶς ἔραται, (d) Ἡῡβριχος  
 Παρμύνιος ἡ(ἔ)ραται.

*Epigraphy:* (a) What looks like a dot after the first lambda is hardly deliberate; not only is it too high up, but there is also a break going right through it. (c) The penultimate letter in the middle word is not a normal omicron, it looks more like the deltas. *Interpretation:* Love statements.

For the overall meaning of the inscription, to which Cerri contributed a wider context,<sup>606</sup> see §§308, 310.

<sup>606</sup> His metrical interpretation (pp. 63 f.), however, is unconvincing, first, because with two thirds of the words being proper names, no doubt of a group of real people composed at random, and with sentences as simple and stereotyped as these, no metrical structure, deliberate or accidental, can be expected, secondly, because neither of the two different metrical structures which he needs for (*a*) and (*b*) (reiz. + monom. anap.; prosodiacus + reiz.) works for (*c*) and (*d*), which he disregards completely.

All inscriptions start from two divider marks set one above the other. Inscriptions (a) and (d) are on the upper line, (b) and (c) on the lower;<sup>607</sup> (c) and (d) were inscribed with the jug upside-down. Inscriptions (a) and (d) share one final dot at the back where they meet; between the ends of (b) and (c) there probably never was a dot.<sup>608</sup> All iotas are meant to have the same direction, but some are slightly irregular, especially the last one in (c) and the first in (d).

It is possible to establish with some probability the order in which the four sentences were inscribed. Since the end of (d) is squeezed in at the back where it meets (a), (d) must have been written after (a). We then may assume that the writer turned the jug upside-down only once and not three times. This makes sense if Apollodoros in (a) and (b) is meant to be the same character, for in that case the two statements about his love-affairs would have been inscribed immediately one after the other. It is also likely that the writer both times wrote the upper line first. So the order in which the inscriptions were written is as given above, viz. (a)–(b)–(c)–(d).

The chosen arrangement enabled the writer to stick to the retrograde direction, which was obviously his favourite. It also had the advantage of showing the names of the four lovers all together on one side of the jug: they could be read by the person who poured from it if held in his l. hand, or else by whoever was opposite; vice versa it worked with the names of the beloved, which all meet (more or less) on the other side.<sup>609</sup>

It is also worth mentioning that for some unknown reason, after the inscription had been incised, the jug was carefully dipped into diluted glaze so that its upper part with inscriptions (a) and (d) and the handle was covered and is now dark, whereas the lower part with inscriptions (b) and (c) was spared and is now light.

Pontrandolfo is certainly right to interpret *απυγιζε* in (b) as a present *ἀναπυγίζει*;<sup>610</sup> the old diphthong [ei] is written as if it were a secondary [ē] (see §219). She takes the assimilation of *ἀν-* for complete: [appug-], but see §201. Whereas this verb takes the accusative, the one in the other three sentences, *ἐράν*, takes the genitive.

According to Pontrandolfo there are five masculine names, (a) and (b) *Ἀπολλόδορος*, (b) *Φόλχᾱς*, (c) *Ὀνάτᾱς*, (d) *Ὡβριχος* and *Πάρμυις*, and two feminine ones, (a) *Ξύλλα* and (c) *Νιξί̄ς*. This is plausible, although in view of the fact that we have

three times *ἐράν*, twice with a woman as the object, and once *ἀναπυγίζειν* with Apollodoros as the object, we may be tempted to consider *Παρμυνίος* as a woman's name. But this is less likely from a morphological point of view (we would expect a fem. name in *-ις*<sup>611</sup> to have a genitive in *-ιδος*), and yields a boring text, unworthy of the spicy passage (a)–(b) (see §310).

*Ἀπολλόδορος* and *Ὀνάτᾱς*, as Pontrandolfo states, are certainly Greek; for the latter see, for example, *LSAG* 261. 28 = *DGE* 436. 1 (Petelia, also an Achaian colony; c.475?), the former is remarkable because it shows the non-Doric form of Apollon's name. *Ξύλλᾱ* she interprets as *Σκύλλα*, probably rightly (see §112; there do not seem to be names with *Ξυλ-*). *Φόλχᾱς* she takes for Etruscan, comparing it with *velcha-* (see *ET* i, pp. 103 f.), which seems reasonable too. The rest according to her may be Italic names transposed into Greek. Yet, *Ὡβριχος* is certainly Greek too, namely a hypocoristic name from *Ὑβρίδημος*, *Ὡβριλᾶς vel sim.* (Bechtel, pp. 433 f.) with the suffix *-(ι)χο-* (see §234). And so may be *Πάρμυις*, for which we could compare *Παρμονίδης* (Bechtel, p. 360; Thessaly). Since the latter may be an ablaut form of *Παρμενίδης*, we may have a situation similar to that in *ὄνυμα / ὄνομα* (Schwyzer, p. 352) with its hard-to-explain [u], where [m] and [n] are also present. For *Νιξί̄ς* I could not find any close parallel. Should we perhaps compare *Νικᾶσώ* (Bechtel, p. 330; see also IOD 4 below)? We would have to assume that the writer first decided not to write the alpha after the kappa (applying A.W. as in (d) below) and then remembered that a sequence 'kappa-sigma' was wrong and had to be rendered by a xi.

The verb in (d) poses two problems. (1) It is written with *H*, which (as in *Ὡβριχος* of the same inscription) is supposed to be used as an aspiration sign in this local script. (2) It is different from the two other occurrences of this verb in (a) and (c). Pontrandolfo (pp. 58 f.), writing *ῥαται*, argues in favour of a perfect form, translating 'ha amato'. This does not help to solve the problem. First, we would still expect a spelling with E in a local script that—at least originally—only had one sign E both for short and long *e*-sounds.<sup>612</sup> Secondly, there seems to be no reason for not having a present form here. Thirdly, a perfect form *ῥαται* is very dubious for formal reasons; the perfect, which has a durative meaning 'to be in love', is hardly ever attested (I could only find *ῥασμένος*, Parth. 2. 3; 1st cent.), and we would expect it—as in the form just cited—to be *\*ῥασται*, with the analogous sigma that is present throughout the past stems of this verb.<sup>613</sup> The only reasonable conclusion, therefore, seems to be that *<hραται>* is a mistake. This mistake, however, is justifiable, since in the dialect of the Achaian colonies initial [h] had become

<sup>607</sup> That the letters are 'perfettamente allineate . . . in senso verticale' (Pontrandolfo, p. 57), which would mean *stoichedon*, is not true and was hardly intended.

<sup>608</sup> Where the particular dot in Pontrandolfo's drawing is, the vase shows no original surface (compare her pl. 20 top-r. with pl. 21 bottom-l.).

<sup>609</sup> It should also be mentioned that reading upside-down script was more often required in those days ('false *boustrophedon*', 'Schlangenschrift' etc.), so that people were more used to it than we are now. Reto, a nephew of mine, at the age of six wrote a short text upside-down, and when asked by his grandmother why he did that, innocently replied: So that *you* can read it.

<sup>610</sup> One wonders whether we therefore ought to read *Ὡ δὲ γράσας τὸν ἀννέμο(ν)τ' ἀ(μ)πυγιζεῖ* instead of *ἀννέμο(ν)τα πυγ-* also in the famous graffito from Montagna di Marzo (*IGDS* 167 = *ZPE* 59 (1985), 140, with ph. and bibl.; c.500–480).

<sup>611</sup> The only other fem. inflection type with a gen. in *<-ος>*, viz. *\*Παρμυνίω* of the type *Σαπφώ*, seems unlikely.

<sup>612</sup> For the short sound see *ἐραται*, for one of the long sounds see *ἀ(μ)πυγιζε̄*. Inherited [ē] and [ē̄] from compensatory lengthening or contraction of [ēē] are not attested in this inscr.

<sup>613</sup> See *ῥάσθην* (in this respect the aorist and the perfect normally behave in the same way; see e.g. Chantraine (1961), 324 f.), *ἐραστός*, and derivatives *ἐράσμιος*, *ἐραστής* (the form *ἐρατός* is mainly poetic).



very weak or inaudible by the time of our inscription.<sup>614</sup> Therefore heta, or rather eta, before being reserved for the long sound through East Ionic influence, could be used for initial [ē] just like epsilon.<sup>615</sup> This may have been encouraged by the cases of initial aspiration, where this spelling had been possible already earlier, namely by means of A.W. (see above, and §III below).<sup>616</sup> It is therefore irrelevant whether we write ἥραται or ῥ(ῥ)ραται; I prefer the latter, since ῥeta is still written for [h-] in *Ἡύβριχος* of the same sentence (there too it may not have been pronounced, but proper names have a tendency to archaizing spelling).

ACC 4 MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUNG  
SH 834 (INV. 6009)

Bf. belly-amphora from Nola (ex Torrusio; 1829?). *Bibliography*: Heydemann (1869), 146, no. 3; mentioned by P. Friedländer, *RE* vii (1912), 749. 1 ff.; Sieveking–Hackl (1912), 95 f., no. 834 (with dr.), ph. pl. 33; Beazley (1947), 295 (add. ad p. 4); Sichtermann (1949), 22, 75, no. 10, ph. pl. 1. 3; Caskey–Beazley (1954), 53; *LIMC* iv, ‘Ganymedes’ 73\*, ph. pl. 81, ‘Hebe’ i. 32. *Photographs*: Sieveking–Hackl sm. but quite cl.; Sichtermann and *LIMC* cl. *Scene*: A man to r. (unnamed) greeting a naked youth to l. (named), between them a cock to r. The youth is being crowned by one of two women to l. (both unnamed and variously

identified). On the other side Herakles is chasing Nessos, who is carrying Deianeira (no labels). *Date*: c. 500–480 (*LIMC*).

(←) CANVMEDEM

Γαννυμεδες

Γαννυμεδῆς.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Zeus and Ganymedes (label).

In Simon–Hirmer there is the remark that the alphabet of this inscription is closest to the Corinthian. This is not correct; gamma and san *could* be Corinthian, but not delta and epsilon. Beazley considers, ‘with Greek (or Latinian?) inscription’. In Caskey–Beazley we read, ‘with Greek inscription, or inscription in an alphabet that may be Greek’; as regards the vase itself, they say that ‘it may be Campanian’.

Two points are clear. (1) The inscription is not ‘Latinian’ (if this means Italic of some kind); for Latin, Faliscan, Oscan and Umbrian, South Picene, Messapian, etc. do not use the san sign. (2) Etruscan, which *does* use it, is out of the question because of the occurrence of gamma and delta. The inscription is therefore Greek.<sup>617</sup> Now, the combination of letter-forms occurring on our vase leaves only one reasonable possibility of a local alphabet, namely that of the Achaian colonies.<sup>618</sup> This makes good sense; if the vase is indeed ‘Campanian’, we would have to attribute it to the northernmost Achaian colony, i.e. Poseidonia (Paestum), or at least assume that the painter came from there. We could then tentatively call it an early forerunner of Paestan vases. As far as the dialect is concerned, the name is entirely unspecific.

<sup>614</sup> See *LSAG* 418, 456. 1a (from Francavilla Marittima, Calabria; late 6th cent.; ph. pl. 77. 1) with the article ῶ, and *ibid.*, no. 1b (found in Olympia; 530–510?, ph. pl. 77. 2), with ῶρμoxθεν and a few cases of the unaspirated article. A recently found Achaian inscr., *BABesch* 54 (1979), 77–90, no. 4 (also from Francavilla Marittima, with σ = M, ι = S), shows [. . . θ]εās ἐγῶ ἱαρά.

<sup>615</sup> See Wachter (1991a), 74–9 (Appendix), for a similar situation in the local Attic script before the introduction of the East Ionic alphabet in 403/2; only the case of the omega, however, is fully comparable, since heta was much more reluctantly used for short [e] (which means that initial aspiration was still pronounced fairly clearly).

<sup>616</sup> An example for the present case is *CEG* 403 *h(ε)κηβόλοι*.

<sup>617</sup> Of course in ‘Latinian’ the form of the name would be exactly the same, as Faliscan *Canumede[s]* (with [g] ) in *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 454, early 4th cent. (Beazley (1947), 73 f.). See Wachter (1987), 367 ff., §166; the Etruscan form, on the other hand, is entirely different, see *ibid.* 156 f., §63g.

<sup>618</sup> See the tables in Jeffery (1961) at the end, and *ibid.*, p. 248 (Aitolia, Epeiros, Ithaka, and Kephallenia will not have to be taken into consideration).

# 16. Doric Colonies

*Introduction:* Seven vases from different Doric places in southern Italy and Sicily are grouped here. Only the first shows a labelled scene.

## DOC 1 COPENHAGEN, NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEKET 3417

Messapian trozzella from near Grottaglie (Taranto) (shortly before 8 Aug. 1969). *Bibliography:* Johansen (1972); Santoro (1976), with phs. pls. 77–86; Tiverios (1980), with ph. (p. 515); Forti (1980), with phs. pls. 26 f.; *LIMC* i, ‘Aineias’ 42\*, ph. pl. 299; *LIMC* v, ‘Kapaneus’ 31\*, ph. pl. 608. *Photographs:* Santoro esp. pls. 78. 2, 79. 1–2, and 80. 2 quite cl.; Tiverios quite cl.; Forti uncl.; *LIMC* i only (a) and (b), uncl.; *LIMC* v invis. *Scene:* Athena (unnamed or at least no name preserved) seconding a warrior (Diomedes, unnamed or at least no name preserved) in an attack with his spear on an opponent (a), behind whom a woman (b) is approaching. In an independent scene Zeus (unnamed) is slaying a man (c) with his thunderbolt. *Date:* 1st h. 5th cent. (Tiverios, p. 520 with n. 46); c. 460 (*LIMC* i); c. mid-5th cent. (*LIMC* v).

(a) ΑΙΝΙΑΣ (b) ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑ (c) ΚΑΠΑΝ  
(a) *Ainias* (b) *Aphrodita* (c) *Καπαν* . υς  
(a) *Ainíās*, (b) *Ἀφροδίτᾱ*. (c) *Καπαν*[ε]ύς.

*Epigraphy:* (a) and (b) are still fairly clear, but (c) has disappeared. This stage was reached before the vase arrived at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (J. Christiansen, *per litt.*). (c) Wrongly read *Καφαν* by Santoro (p. 222). Even on his published pl. (79. 2) one can see no less than *Καπαν* . υς, after which there is no more space for any letters. *Interpretation:* Diomedes and Aineias (labels). Punishment of Kapaneus (label).

These inscriptions are Greek not Messapian (in Messapian Aphrodite is written *aprodita*, and in the Messapian alphabet upsilon is not used). For the myth of Kapaneus see §430. For the fight between Diomedes (unnamed) and Aineias see §443. For Aineias’ name in general and the second -ι- of our form in particular see §245.

## DOC 2 SYRACUSE, MUS. ARCH. REGIONALE ‘P. ORSI’ (?)

‘Siculan’ hydria from Montagna di Marzo (*Ἐρβησσος*) (shortly before 1968). *Bibliography:* Manganaro (1968/9), 196 f., phs. pl.

15. 1 our inscr. (a), pl. 16 our (b), pl. 17. 1 our (c); L. Dubois (1989), no. 166 (bibl.); Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 461U. *Photographs:* Manganaro quite cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* late 6th to early 5th cent. (Manganaro); c. 500 (Johnston).

(a) CEΛOIO AKAΞERATAI (b) CEΛOIO (←) ΞAKAΞ (→)  
RAT (c) ΥΜΑΥΟΞΔΕ (←) ΜΙΞΦΟΤ

(a) Γελοιοσακασεραται (b) Γελοιοσακασεραται  
(c) [E]υμαχοσδεμισφοτ[. . .]

(a) Γελῖος Ἀκᾱς ἔραται, (b) Γελῖος Ἀκᾱς ἔραται,  
(c) [E]ὔμαχος δὲ μισθῷ τ[. . .].

*Epigraphy:* (a) and (b) Γελῖος Ἀκας ἔραται, Manganaro. (c) *Εὔμαχος δ’ ἐμὶ Σφο(δ)[ρίου?]*, Manganaro. *Interpretation:* Love statements (with added specification).

The segmentation of (a) and (b) given above is the easiest, but it is also possible to read Γελῖο Σάκᾱς ἔραται ‘Sakas (a man) is in love with Geloios (a youth)’, or even γελοῖος Ἀκᾱς ἔραται ‘Akas the ridiculous is in love’ or γελοῖος Ἀκᾱς ἔραται ‘Akas loves in a ridiculous way’. We can hardly decide, although the last two solutions seem less likely than the others.<sup>619</sup>

Inscription (c), with its δέ, seems to be the continuation of the identical statements (a) and (b). But *Εὔμαχος δὲ μισφο* . . . makes no sense. Dubois plausibly takes the phi for a miswritten theta (see §109) and restores *μισθῷτ[αι]*, translating ‘Géloios a beau être amoureux d’Aka, c’est Eumachos qui paie ses charmes.’ Other possibilities would be to separate after *μισθῷ* ‘for money’ (i.e. since he has money) and to supply a suitable verb (e.g. *τέτευχε* or *τέρψει*). We cannot be sure here either (see ACC 3), as the overall meaning of the inscriptions is not clear (see §§308, 310).

## DOC 3 MEGARA HYBLAIA, ANTIQUARIUM 7014

Fr. of a local plate in Corinthian style, from Megara Hyblaia, colony of Megara (1949–61). *Bibliography:* Vallet–Villard (1964), 174–8, with dr. fig. 22, ph. pl. 196. 1; Manni Piraino (1975), 137 f., no. 1, with ph. pl. 29. 1 (opp. p. 144); Lazzarini, *FDV* (1976), no. 731; *SEG* 26 (1976/77), no. 1098; Gallavotti (1977), 106 f.; Cordano (1984), 290, no. 5; L. Dubois (1989), no. 18; Johnston,

<sup>619</sup> For parallels of the name Geloios see *IGDS* 121 (= *LSAG* 276. 18), 123, 124, and perhaps 131 (= *LSAG* 278. 56).

*LSAG* (1990), 459. 25a. *Photographs*: Vallet–Villard quite cl.; Manni Piraino uncl. *Scene*: Dogs chasing a hare (see PCO 1). The inscr. (on the rim) is not related. *Date*: 625–600 (Manni Piraino; Cordano; *SEG*; Johnston).

ΑΓΜΑΒΟΦΟΡΥΝΘΙΟΣ

[...]αλμαβοφορυνθιος . . . . [...?]

[...]ἄγ]αλμα βο Κορύνθιος . . . . [...?].

*Epigraphy*: Vallet–Villard only read φορύνθιος, Manni Piraino [...]αγμα βο φορύνθιος (whence *SEG* 26), Lazzarini [...]αλμα βο φορύνθιος, rightly. The last omicron is not clear, but visible, the sigma quite clear. After that there may be traces of about four more letters before the break. *Interpretation*: Probably a dedication (metrical?).

Lazzarini was the first to notice that the second letter preserved can only be a lambda in this local alphabet (see Jeffery, p. 262). The theta seems to have a small cross; we would not expect it with a dot as early as this anyway.

Manni Piraino interprets Κορύνθιος as the genitive of unattested Κορυνθις, which is possible. Vallet–Villard and Lazzarini assume an ethnic in the nominative. Gallavotti's suggestion that φορύνθιος may be the name of the vessel, with reference to Hesychian glosses (the closest is κορυνθεύς 'basket', see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v. κόρυς), is implausible.<sup>620</sup> In view of the epithet of Apollon at archaic Asine, Κόρυ(ν)θος, which looks like a non-Greek name (an eponym taken from a place-name?), and in view of the many non-Greek names in -υνθος and -υθος, our -υνθιος derivative is most likely to be an ethnic.<sup>621</sup> Of course the place need not actually be Corinth (as Lazzarini, p. 341, assumes), but a settlement of possibly the same name, formed with the same suffix, whose vowel fluctuates between [u] and [i] (see e.g. Schwyzler, p. 510).

Despite Gallavotti, who doubts the dedicatory character of this inscription, the word [ἄγ]αλμα strongly supports such an interpretation.<sup>622</sup> And although Gallavotti for once does not offer a metrical analysis, it would seem justifiable precisely here on account of the frequency of ἄγαλμα in metrical dedications.<sup>623</sup> The remains would easily fit into a hexameter (with the final vowel of ἄγαλμα elided in speech but not in writing, see §224), for example [—≡— τὸδ' ἄγ]αλμ' βο Κορύνθιος [—≡—], or else [—≡—≡— τὸδ' ἄγ]αλμ' βο Κορύνθιος [—]. The ethnic would

<sup>620</sup> What would the inscr. mean? What should we supply before and after it?

<sup>621</sup> Its formation is of the 1st millennium, see e.g. Lejeune, §50.

<sup>622</sup> Whether it can be taken as a 'painted signature' (Johnston), which—in our terms—would mean a dedication by a potter (see §302), is less certain.

<sup>623</sup> See *CEG*, Index, with over 50 entries, mostly in dactylic inscs.; only *CEG* 302 is in iambic trimeters, perhaps also *LSAG* 74 (with n. 2), 78. 33. Non-metrical occurrences of ἄγαλμα in dedications are harder to find, e.g. (all 6th cent.; mostly pl. ἀγάλματα): *LSAG* 342. 22 = *DGE* 723. 1, *LSAG* 343. 29 = *DGE* 723. 3, and *LSAG* 343. 30 (all three from Didyma); *LSAG* 341. 4 = *DGE* 715. 3 (the same person has also dedicated two metrical inscs., see *LSAG* 341. 7 and *CEG* 422 f.); *LSAG* 357. 33; *LSAG* 358. 50 = *DGE* 749. See also *Introd.* to ch. 6 (COP), n. 399.

be separated from the name by the direct object (and perhaps by the lost verb too); see §227.

#### DOC 4 PALERMO, MUS. ARCH. REG. N. I. 1693

Frs. of a 'Melian' (Parian?), or rather local, amphora from Selinus, colony of Megara Hyblaia (probably 1874–1915: see Gàbrici, pp. 8–12). *Bibliography*: Gàbrici (1927), 304–7, ph. pl. 79; Vallet–Villard (1958), 21 f., ph. 23 fig. 6; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 270 n. 3. *Photographs*: Gàbrici quite cl.; Vallet–Villard less cl. *Scene*: Two women walking to r. (not related to the inscr.). *Date*: 7th/6th cent. (Gàbrici, taking the vase for Melian); 7th cent.? (Jeffery); corresponding in style to MPC II (down to c.650), with a possible 'attardement provincial' (Vallet–Villard, p. 21, who consider the clay and fabric to be Sicilian rather than Cycladic Melian; see also Amyx (1988), 408 f., 418); therefore probably 2nd h. 7th cent.

(←) :ΜΕΕΓΟΙΞΕ

[. . .] : μεεποιεσε

[. . .]ς : με εποίησε.

*Epigraphy*: The end is complete. At the beginning, Gàbrici hesitates between -ας and -ις, but neither can be correct, since what he interpreted as a sigma is a colon, and the only tiny trace of a letter before that may be anything (of course a sigma is most likely). *Interpretation*: Potter's signature.

Jeffery observes, as already Rumpf (1953: 31) had done, that the alphabet is not Melian, but could be Selinuntine.<sup>624</sup> Yet the Ionic Kyklades (Jeffery, p. 289) would be possible too from an epigraphical point of view. For the formula see §§224, 226.

#### DOC 5 PALERMO, BANCO DI SICILIA, 'COLLEZIONE MORMINO' 2239

Local lekanis from Selinus, Manicalunga, tomba 138 ('negli anni sessanta' according to Heldring, p. 29). *Bibliography*: Ferri (1968), 267, ph. and dr. figs. 7 f. (after p. 268); Heldring (1979), with ph. pl. 15; *SEG* 29 (1979), no. 939; Arena (1987), 15 f.; *SEG* 37 (1987), no. 330. *Photographs*: Ferri uncl.; Heldring quite cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: early 5th cent. (to be concluded from Heldring, p. 31); 2nd q. 5th cent. (*SEG*).

ΑΡΧΕ ΟΕΙΜΙΤΟΕΥ(←)ΚΛΕΟΣ

Αρχε . . (?) οειμιτοευκλεος

Ἀρχέκλῶ (?) εἰμὶ τὸ Εὐκλέος.

<sup>624</sup> It should be noted that the alphabets of Melos and Selinus share the freak beta β and therefore must be closely related.

*Epigraphy:* The inscr. is written in a circle. The first three letters are dark, then the brush gradually yielded less and less paint. In the gap there is room for one very broad or two narrow letters. The bottom end of a slightly oblique (vertical?) hasta (/), to the r. of which there are traces of paint, which may or may not be part of a letter, and further to the r. another bottom trace belonging to a letter are preserved. Ferri had read *APXETIO*, which was accepted by Arena. Heldring, on the other hand, suggested *-βι-*. This is unlikely, since we expect not a ‘normal’ B (in this case the paint smears would have to belong) but ‘Selinuntine’ Β, which does not fit the traces. Heldring also considers *-λα-*, but for the expected ΓΑ the space in the gap seems too small. After the upsilon the writer could not continue, because he had already gone right round to the initial alpha. So he stopped and added the remaining letters underneath, continuing retrograde. Above the sequence *-κε-* there is—in faint paint like the whole of the second part of the inscr.—a letter squeezed in, very probably a lambda, which makes perfect sense (and was already assumed as missing by Ferri and Heldring). *Interpretation:* Owner’s inscription or dedication to a human.

Heldring (who was helped by M. Guarducci) translates ‘io sono Arche(. . .)os, il figlio di Euk(l)es’. This was duly corrected by *SEG* 29 (owner’s inscription with gen.), although with a slightly odd transcription, *Ἀρχε[. . .]ο[υ] εἰμὶ τοῦ[υ] Εὐκ[λ]έος*. Next, Arena (n. 71) pointed out that there are no gaps for the two upsilons and that we cannot even claim that they are missing.<sup>625</sup> Heldring’s suggestions Archelaos, Archebios are not satisfactory for epigraphical reasons (see above), and the first also makes difficulties because we would expect a genitive *Ἀρχέλαῷ*.<sup>626</sup> We may assume a hypocoristic name, for example \**Ἀρχενος* taken from *Ἀρχέναιος* *-νικος* *-νοθος* *-νομος* *-νους* (see Pape–Benseler and Fraser–Matthews), or, since the father has *-κλῆς* in his name, \**Ἀρχεκλος* (there is an Attic potter *Ἀρχεκλῆς*, also written *Ἀρχι-* and *Ἀρχ(ι?)*;<sup>627</sup> the formations *Ἀρχε-* according to Bechtel’s lists (pp. 78–80) are slightly more frequent and on the whole more archaic than those with *Ἀρχι-*, and they obviously were more or less interchangeable at the time. For the genitive form and the diphthong spelling in the verb see §219; see also §227 for the position of the father’s name.

<sup>625</sup> The main purpose of Arena’s article seems now obsolete; he adduced parallels, mostly from Attica (Threatte, p. 481) but rarely also from other places, for a loss of an [l] in a cluster [kl]. But the lambda—although, it is true, it was first forgotten—is there, and this may be due to a simple omission by someone who seems not to have been a very experienced writer anyway.

<sup>626</sup> The long form *-λαῷ*, known from the epic language, could always be used. But since our writer cannot claim to have been particularly well-educated, it seems more likely that he would have used the normal Doric form; see e.g. the fathers’ genitives *IG* v/1. 65. 15 *Ἀγαθόλα*, 211. 18 *Ἀριστόλα*, 278. 4 *Νεόλα* (all Sparta), *IG* xii/3. 1194 *Ἐρασίλα* (Melos), *IC* i, p. 254, no. 9. 1, *Ἥριλα* (Olus), etc.

<sup>627</sup> *ABV* 160, bottom, nos. 3 and 1 (the latter with A.W., see §111); Bechtel, p. 79.

## DOC 6 POLICORO, MUS. INV. ?

Fr. of a ? from the sanctuary of Demeter at Heraclea Lucana (Oct. 1966). *Bibliography:* Sartori (1980), 402 f., ph. pl. 73; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 463B. *Photographs:* Sartori quite cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* c.425 (Johnston).

ΕΥΧΟΓΑΜΑΜΕΘΕΚ ΜΕΔΑΜ

[. . .]. . εὐχολανανέθεκε[.]μεδαμα[. . .]

[. . .]. . εὐχολᾶν ἀνέθεκε[έ] με Δᾶμα[τρι . . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* The surface is badly worn. Sartori’s (tentative) reading is [. . .] α μ’ εὐχολᾶν ἀνέθεκε, *Τελλέων* ε[γ]ραφε. This is unsatisfactory. First, the ε[γ]ραφε formula on an undecorated vase is worrying, secondly, the addition of this formula after the dedicatory one seems odd, thirdly, the name is unusual, and fourthly, on all other inscs. from the sanctuary (as far as we can judge them) the name of Demeter is carefully recorded,<sup>628</sup> so we may expect it here too. On pl. 73. 4, after the alleged two lambdas—which are awkwardly different from each other—I can see not an epsilon but a clear mu. The sign before that has a horizontal bar and is therefore not a lambda but an alpha, the one after it is hardly an omicron but seems to have a point on top. This leads to a reading Δᾶμα[τρι] (the ground line of the delta is worn off, as is the surface after Δαμα, where two more letters would fit in before the break. Before the delta, an epsilon was correctly read, yet it is preceded not by a tau but by a very likely mu of which the zigzag top is visible. I cannot see the final epsilon of the verb. With με as suggested, no μ’ is possible at the beginning, where I cannot see anything of the alleged JAM anyway. The noun *εὐχολαν* seems clear. Sartori does not provide a photograph of his [γ]ραφε part, about which I have strong doubts (was it the beginning of the inscr.?). *Interpretation:* Dedication (probably metrical).

The noun *εὐχολή* occurs both in prosaic and metrical inscriptions (see e.g. the Indexes of *DGE* and *CEG*). In two of the three metrical instances it opens a line (*CEG* 195 and 275; not in *CEG* 341). The position of the unaccented pronoun not in second position but later in the line is frequent in metrical inscriptions, and also its position after the verb is well paralleled.<sup>629</sup> For these reasons we should probably read the text as a second hexameter: εὐχολᾶν ἀνέθεκε[έ] με Δᾶμα[τρι ≈-?]

<sup>628</sup> These are either incised (Sartori, p. 403, no. 2) or later (ibid. 403 ff., no. 3–12, 4th/3rd cent.) and are not dealt with here (two late painted inscs. are by one and the same person, *Ζωπυρίσκος*; was he a potter?).

<sup>629</sup> e.g. *CEG* 333 *Μάρφσων* δεῦρ’ ἀνέθεκε μ’ Ἀπέλλωνι Πτοίετι, similarly *CEG* 302, 334, 389. After a verb in first position *CEG* 115 *θέκε με* τεῖδε ἐπὶ σοι, similarly *CEG* 119, 171, 251, 407, 424. At the end of iambic lines *CEG* 209 *Κρίτων* . . . ἀνέθεκε με, similarly *CEG* 436 f. (see also 448).

## DOC 7 GIOIA DEL COLLE, MUS. ARCH.

Krater of local fabric from Monte Sannace (1957). *Bibliography*: Scarfi (1960), 325, ph. 323 fig. 146. *Photographs*: Scarfi cl. *Scene*: Back of a deer; above it the inscr. *Date*: similar to a krater in tomb 5, which is mid-4th cent. (Scarfi, p. 255); therefore early 4th cent.?

(←) ΓΝΟΘΙ

Γνοθι

Γνôθι.

*Epigraphy*: —. *Interpretation*: Address to the reader (?).

This seems to be the imperative γνôθι. The fact that omicron is used suggests that the alphabet is still the (Lakonian) local one of the South Italian Doric colonies (see Jeffery, pp. 183, 279). Whether our Greek was thinking of the 'Centre of the World' remains uncertain. At any rate, 'γνôθι σαυτόν' on a vase which was found in a grave makes sense. But since no σαυτόν was added, other interpretations cannot be excluded.

# 17. Ionic Islands

*Introduction:* A few painted inscriptions have been found on vases of local production on Ionic Aegean islands. Grouped with these is a vase of probably Attic fabric but with non-Attic inscriptions, which point to an Aegean-Ionic provenance of the painter (IOI 2). I have not included the nonsense inscr. on a vase from Paros, Johnston, p. 465. 25a (Jeffery, p. 126 n. 1); see also n. 10 above.

## IOI 1 DELOS, ARCH. MUS. B. 7585

Fr. of a ring-aryballos of undetermined origin, from Delos (1911). *Bibliography:* Dugas (1935), 121, 124, no. 6, ph. pl. 65; Plassart (1950), 15, no. 32b; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 291 f., 304. 4, ph. pl. 55. *Photographs:* Dugas and Jeffery quite cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* 7th cent. (Jeffery).

(a) ΙΟΜΙ (b) (←) ΓΘΜΕΔΟΚΕΝ  
(a) [. . .]ΙΟΝΙ . . . ? (b) [. . .]λημεδοκεν[. . . ?]  
(a) [. . .]ΙΟΝΙ . . . (?) (b) [. . .]λη μ' εδοκεν[. . . ?].

*Epigraphy:* (a) Jeffery is right to observe that the first letter is certainly not a lambda (as in Plassart's suggestion, Ἀπόλλωνι?). Since the hasta is exactly vertical, iota is the only possibility. There are traces of letters after the second iota (as observed by Jeffery, p. 292 n. 1), which, in view of the undamaged surface, seem to have been smudged before firing. (b) For the last letter see below. *Interpretation:* (a) Not clear. (b) Dedication (to a human?).

That the last letter preserved in (b) is a nu rather than a mu is likely for two reasons. (1) There is no obvious interpretation for [. . .]λη μ' εδοκεν μ[. . . ?]. (2) A nu ephelkystikon is plausible in what in view of -λη must be an Ionic inscription (see §202). Jeffery argues for Naxian or Parian. But since the distinctive letters are absent, many places in insular Ionia, even Delos itself, seem possible.

Jeffery takes the inscription as *boustrophedon* in two lines, running from the lower to the upper line. We do not know how much is lacking on either side, although part of the rim was uninscribed (painted patterns). As it seems odd that the writer should have begun with the lower line, we either have to assume two separate inscriptions or assume that (a) continued after -νι. A possible reading of both what is preserved and what seems to be wiped out is [. . .]ΙΟΝΙ ρο[. . . ?], which could be either the genitive of a winner's title in -νικης (e.g. [πυθ]ΙΟΝΙ ρο) or a case-form of a name in -νι ρος. If this is correct, we may argue for (a) being a potter's

signature and (b) a dedication (to a human?).<sup>630</sup> For the pronoun, elision, and augment see §224.

## °IOI 2 PARIS, LOUVRE E 732

Bf. neck-amphora from Caere (ex Campana inv. Cp 105; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography:* *CatCamp* ii. 39; de Witte, *Notice sur les vases peints du musée Napoléon III*, p. 20, no. 39 (non vidi); Jahn (1863b), esp. 248 f., with dr. *MonIned* 6/7, pl. 78; Sittl (1884), 11 f. with nn. 32 and 35; E. Pottier in Dumont-Chaplain (1888), 285–7; Kretschmer (1894), 59 ff. (bibl.), 228 f.; Pottier (1899a), 545; Pottier (1901), 68 f., ph. pl. 54; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5783; A. B. Cook (1925), 712 f. (bibl. p. 712 n. 4); Hanfmann (1937), 479 f.; Vian (1951), 36 f., no. 96; Vian (1952), 94 f. and *passim* (see Index, p. 298); Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 297, 306. 44; mentioned by Moore (1979), 85 n. 57; Moore (1985), 30, 38 f., with ph. fig. 21; *LIMC* ii, 'Athena' 381\*, ph. pl. 747; *LIMC* iii, 'Enkelados' (no no.), 'Ephialtes' ii. 3; *LIMC* iv, 'Gigantes' 170\*, 'Hera' 377, phs. pl. 125; *LIMC* v, 'Hermes' 826, 'Hyperbios' 1. *Photographs:* Pottier sm., mostly uncl.; *LIMC* ii only (j)–(j), not very cl.; Moore (1985) only (b)–(f), quite cl.; *LIMC* iv quite cl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene:* Two warriors (a) and (b) fighting Zeus (d), while their companion (c) is already lying on the ground. To the r. a woman, labelled (e) in front of her mouth, is stabbing a warrior; his label (f) is far away from him, above (e)'s helmet. On the other side a warrior (g) is being stabbed by Hermes (h), a woman (i) is slaying a warrior (j), and Poseidon (no name preserved) is stabbing another warrior (k). *Date:* c. mid-6th cent. (Hanfmann); c. 570 (Jeffery); late 6th cent. (*LIMC* ii); 2nd q. 6th cent. (*LIMC* iii, 'Ephialtes'; iv, 'Gigantes'); c. 550 (*LIMC* iv, 'Hera'); c. 540 (*LIMC* v, 'Hermes'); c. 560–550 (*LIMC* v, 'Hyperbios').

(a) (←) vac. VΓHPBIOΞ (b) ΗΓΙΑΓΤΕΞ  
(c) (←) ΔΓΔΞΘΕΥ (d) (←) ΙΗΥΞ (e) ΗΕ (f) vac. ΔΡΓΟ  
(g) ΒΙΟΞ (h) (←) ΗΕΡΜΕΗΞ (i) ΑΘΕΛΛΑΗ  
(j) (←) ΗΕΚΗΕΛΛΑΔΟΞ (k) (←) ΡΟΛΥΒΟΤΕΞ  
(a) ΥπΗρβιος (b) Ηιπιαλτες (c) Αγασθευ[. . .]  
(d) ΖΗΥς (e) Ηε[. . .] (f) Αρπο[. . .] (g) [. . .]βιος  
(h) ΗερμεΗΣ (i) ΑθεναΗ (j) ΗεκΗελαδος  
(k) Πολυβοτες.

<sup>630</sup> The metrical interpretation by Gallavotti (1979: 74) as a Sapphic hendecasyllable, on the grounds of his own restoration [Δεξι]λη μ' εδοκεν [Αρι|στ]ιωνι is ingenious, but improbable.



- (a) Ὑπῆρβιος, (b) Ἡ<sup>(ε)</sup>πιλάτῃς, (c) Ἀγασθεύ[ς], (d) Ζῆϋς,  
 (e) Ἡ<sup>(ε)</sup>ρ[η], (f) Ἀρρο[. . .], (g) [. . .]βιος, (h) Ἡ<sup>(ε)</sup>ρμέης,  
 (i) Ἀθῆνά, (j) Ἡ<sup>(ε)</sup>(ν)κῆ<sup>(ε)</sup>λαδος, (k) Πολυβότῃς.

*Epigraphy:* The vase was cleaned not long before 1951, according to Vian (1951). (b) Between the second and the third letter there is a break, but the iota seems quite cl. on the ph. (I failed to check this detail on the original) and was unanimously read as such (Kretschmer conjectured an epsilon). (c) Rendered Ἀγασθεύ[ς] by Jahn, and although one more letter clearly shows on the ph. (already in Pottier), F. Vian and M. B. Moore (*LIMC* iv) still read ΑΓΑΣΘΕ[. . .]. The last letter is an upsilon; the surface is undamaged. (e) Normally interpreted as Hera, which is perfectly possible; see the rho in (f) and the dr. (f) The normal restoration is Ἀρόλυ[κος]. But not only is nothing preserved after the fifth letter, but this letter could also have been a mu or nu. (g) Jahn read (Πολυ?)βιος. Vian (1951) offers Ὑ . . . ΒΙΟΣ or Ν . . . ΒΙΟΣ; he is right to reject a pi as the first letter, but nu seems equally unlikely (see dr.). Could it be another ὙΓΗΡΒΙΟΣ? (j) Jahn was not sure whether the third letter was perhaps a nu, but ‘H. B.’ (i.e. H. Brunn), *ibid.* 240 n. 1, who must have seen the vase, added that he read ΗΕΚΗΕΛΑΔΟΣ. This is correct (Bechtel’s suggestion to read ΗΕΚΝΕ- for ΗΕΝΚΕ- is out of the question). (k) The last letter is faint, but cl. on the original. *Interpretation:* Gigantomachy (labels).

As the origin of this vase is highly debated, a general discussion regarding style, alphabet, and dialect seems useful (for the scene see §404). Jahn (p. 248) saw in -άη and -έης ‘una certa predilezione per forme ioniche, cioè attiche antiche’. Although we would no longer say that Ionic equals old-Attic, the two components, Ionic and Attic, are indeed both present. As for the stylistic side, Kretschmer gives an account of the earlier discussion of the origin of this vase. He reports that Jahn took it for basically Attic, others took it for pseudo-Attic, Chalcidian, or an Etruscan imitation. Hanfmann notices strong Attic influence in the painting, although some features differ from the usual Attic way in which this scene is rendered.<sup>631</sup> Vian (1952) pleads for Caeretan origin. Today the vase is again believed to be of Attic fabric (Jeffery, Moore (1979)); it is, however, not included in *ABV*.

The inscriptions, on the other hand, were attributed by Kretschmer to the Ionic islands and in particular to Keos because of the wild use of H/E. Even now they are characterized as being in ‘Keian (?) script’ (Jeffery). As the writing system is not exactly paralleled, apart from Keos, Delos seems a possible candidate, and it may also be some form of Naxian or Parian, two scripts very similar to Keian and Delian (Jeffery, p. 296). Surely the writer was not ‘passablement illettré’, because ‘certaines graphies ne relèvent d’aucun dialecte et sont de simples fautes

d’orthographe’ (Vian (1952)). There is—if we disregard the H/E problem—a maximum of one mistake, viz. the first iota in (b); all other forms are explicable. Hence we have to try to explain also the writer’s use of the two signs for [e].

I can see two possibilities. (1) The system is consistent and is either due to the writer’s idiosyncrasy or to the place where he learnt to write. (2) The system is inconsistent and may be due to confusion of the systems of different places or individuals which influenced the writer. The fact that stylistically, too, one feels uneasy about this vase, but cannot deny strong Attic influence, would support the second possibility, namely either of a foreigner working in Athens, having acquired some skill in vase-painting and writing already back home, or an Athenian working abroad in isolation from his former fellow-painters and slowly adapting to the foreign dialect and writing system. The second place of influence apart from Athens would have to be one of the above-mentioned Ionic islands.

Jahn carefully listed the different uses of *H*. (1) It seems to indicate [h] in (b), (e), (h), and (j), but [h] is not written in (a) Ὑπ- and (f) Ἀρπ- (if from ἀρπ-, which is likely). (2) It indicates [ē] in the endings of (h) (masc.) and (i) (fem.), but E is used for this in (b) and (k) (both masc.). (3) It strangely indicates [ě] in (d) (first element of a diphthong) and in (a) (vowel between consonants).

Kretschmer contributed the first linguistic analysis. Both secondary [ē] < \*[ā] in the endings of (b), (h), (i), (k), and inherited [e], short or long, in (a), (d), (e), are written partly with E, partly with H, hence his attribution of the vase to the Ionic Kyklades. He considered the group *HE* as a dittography for [e], i.e. without [h]. This would account for the unexpected ‘aspirations’ in (j) *HεκHελαδος*, leading to an interpretation *Ἡ(ν)κέλαδος*, i.e. exactly what we want (for the non-writing of the nasal see n. 635, and §201 below). In favour of this explanation we could adduce the fact that in (a) and (f) initial aspiration is not expressed<sup>632</sup> (there is no reason to assume that it had only been lost before [a] and [u], but not before [e]). The same dittography would be acceptable for (e) and (h) too.

But we also have to ask ourselves why in some circumstances a writer should have taken the trouble to write a single sound with two signs, whereas in the majority of occurrences of [e], namely in (a), (b), (c), (d), (h), (i), (k), he did not. The only reason for such a procedure that seems conceivable to me is to avoid confusion with other uses familiar to him of one of the two signs in question, which is another argument for believing that he was influenced by two different writing systems. Only one of the two signs had uses sufficiently different to suggest such measures, and this was of course *H*. But since one of its uses, namely for [h], occurs almost exclusively at the beginning of words, it was only in this position that one had to be particularly careful. It is no wonder, therefore, that most cases of *HE* are in word-initial position: (e) *Hε* [. . .], (h) *Hερμ*εHς, (j) *HεκHε*λαδος, and

<sup>631</sup> Zeus is not in a chariot; he is not near Athena; he not only fights with his thunderbolt but has other weapons too; Hera takes an active part in the battle; Herakles is missing.

<sup>632</sup> Kretschmer did not mention this argument, but was certainly aware of it.

similarly (*b*) *Ηπιιαλτες*. Now, labels (*a*) with *Υπ-* and (*f*) with *Αρπ-* show that the writer did not want to express [h]. Nor did he, in view of (*j*), want H to be read [h]. (We cannot tell with certainty whether in his dialect he actually pronounced the [h] or not; see below.) By adding an *E* he must therefore have meant to stress the vocalic value of the word-initial *H*.

Here it becomes impossible to assume that the writer was an Athenian working, for example, on Keos. In that case he would not have had to bother about adding *E* to *H*, since his *H* would have been automatically understood as a vowel sign. Also he himself would have been perfectly happy with an adapted spelling *Ηρα* and *Ηρμες*, i.e. *H(ε)ρα* and *H(ε)ρμες* with A.W. (see §111), frequent in Attic; on the other hand, he would never have written Enkelados and Ephialtes with an initial heta. The opposite assumption works much better, i.e. a writer from Keos, accustomed to using eta (*H*) for any kind of *e*-vowel, suddenly found himself in surroundings where *H* was used for [h] only. It seems natural that he tried to find an individual solution. And indeed his solution of adding an extra vowel-sign *E* to his vowel sign *H*, which we may transcribe *H<sup>ε</sup>*- (with ' or ' and *H* or *Ḥ*, respectively) was not a bad one, inasmuch as it was compatible with the Attic system for a number of mythological names (not only Hera and Hermes, but also e.g. Hebe, Hekabe, Hekate, Hektor, Helene, Hephaistos, Herakles, Hestia), since it could be interpreted as *hē*-.

(*j*) One case of this dittography occurs in word-interior position, namely in the second group HE in Enkelados' name, which we would expect to be written *HEKHAΔOΣ* rather than *HEKHE*-. Perhaps the writer just repeated after the kappa the grapheme which he had used for the similar sound immediately before it. At least it did no harm to be over-explicit.<sup>633</sup>

As for the quantity of the *e*-sounds on this vase, despite the confusion of E and H we have no reason to doubt that most of them were as we would expect them. Only in the case of the middle [e] of (*h*) may we have some doubts. The original form of this name (see §253) must have been *\*Hermāūs*, which developed into *\*(H)ermēēs* in Ionic, from which by shortening of the first [e] (see gen. *Ἑρμῆω* in Hdt.) and finally by contraction the form *Ἑρμῆς* was obtained. We have no reason to assume that in some Ionic dialects this development was fundamentally different, although the final stage may not have been reached everywhere at the same time (in Attic *Ἑρμῆς* is attested already in the early sixth century, in East Ionic the situation is less clear; see §253). Kretschmer assumed that EH of *Ἑρμῆς* is the same kind of dittography, only reversed. This assumption is in itself unsatisfactory, and in view of the development of Hermes' name it is unnecessary too. Also our *Ἑρμῆς* is not an 'Unform' (Kretschmer, from Sittl), but simply the intermediate stage. The middle [e] seems likely to represent the already shortened version;

<sup>633</sup> As we cannot argue for a use of H for [h], there is no reason to consider popular etymology with *ἔγχος* or *ἐχε-* in the first part of the name; also, in both writing systems in question [k<sup>h</sup>] was expressed by <χ>, not by <κh>.

for in the name (*i*) *Ἀθηνάη*<sup>634</sup> the [i] of the original form *Ἀθηναίη* (with [äi]) is lost (see §247), which had the same effect prosodically as a shortening of a prevocalic long vowel. The uncontracted form of Hermes' name on our vase can therefore claim to show non-Attic dialect, and the same is of course true for Athena's name which is regularly *Ἀθηνάϊα* on Attic vases.

The third indication of a non-Attic dialect in our inscription, namely in the name of Ephialtes, written (*b*) *Ηπιιαλτες*, is more complicated. In our form of the giant's name there are three problems, the initial *H*, the following *I*, and the *Π* (not *Φ*). The name was *Ἐφιάλτης* in Attic,<sup>635</sup> but *Ἐπιάλτης* in East Ionia (e.g. Hdt.). We have seen above that, in view of the non-writing of the initial aspiration in (*a*) *Υπ-* and (*f*) *Αρπ-*, the sign *H* cannot be said to express an aspiration but must have a vocalic value. This makes Jahn's assumption unlikely that the writer was thinking of the stem *Ἰπ(π)-* when he wrote this giant's name. Therefore we cannot use this popular etymology to explain the [p] instead of [p<sup>h</sup>], and we can be certain that it is the Ionic variant which hides behind our form. On our vase we would expect the dittography *HE*-, i.e. *Ἡ<sup>ε</sup>πιάλτης*. Why an iota is written as the second letter, we cannot say (anticipation of the iota after the pi?). The name Ep(h)ialtes is likely to be a compound and was certainly felt to be one.<sup>636</sup> If our form should reflect the writer's speech, the [p] would suggest psilosis in his dialect. But Keos was not psilotic, as Kretschmer observed,<sup>637</sup> or at least not from an early period, and since this island (or generally the Ionic Kyklades) is the most likely place of origin of our painter, we must try to find a different explanation for this [p] instead of [p<sup>h</sup>]. Considering the Keian form *ἐφί[στυα]* (*DGE* 766A. 17/18; 5th cent.), we may not assume that our [p] is due to a transposition of the aspiration to the beginning of the word<sup>638</sup> (i.e. [hepi-] with omission of the aspiration in writing). It seems therefore more likely that the giant's name does not reflect everyday speech of the painter's surroundings, whether in Athens or the Kyklades, but that it shows influence of the epic language, i.e. East Ionic dialect (see §503).<sup>639</sup> Epic poetry is of course a likely context from where the giant may have been known.

<sup>634</sup> This form was also called an 'Unform' by Sittl, unnecessarily in view of the parallels from Delos (*DGE* 783 *Ἀθηνάης Ὀργάνης*, a century later) and Chios (our IOD 5C).

<sup>635</sup> e.g. on the fr. of a bf. dinos, Moore (1985) = Immerwahr, no. 183, with the giants *Ἐφιάλτης*, *Πανκράτης*, *Πολυβότης*, *Ὀρανίον*, [...]. *Ἐφρορβος* (not necessarily *Εν-*; *Βον-* or *Πολυ-* would be equally possible), *Ἐββοίος*, as well as some fragmentary names and names of gods; or *ARV* 1318 f., no. 1, with *Ἐ(ν)κέλαδος*, *Ἐφιάλτης*, *Πολυβότης* etc. (Immerwahr, no. 1124, without text).

<sup>636</sup> Kretschmer (p. 61) analyses the name as *Ἐπ-* or *Ἐφ-ιαλ-της* from the verb *ἰάλλω* (for Attic attested as *ἰάλλω*, see *ibid.* n. 4). But *ibid.* 228 f. he adduces evidence which would also justify the explanation current in antiquity, viz. *ἐπί* + *ἄλλομαι*. We cannot decide.

<sup>637</sup> That on some Keian inscs. aspiration is partly missing (e.g. *DGE* 765 *Ἰστίη*, and *DGE* 766 *passim*) may have to do with an understandable and probably increasing reluctance to use H for [h]. It is also possible that initial aspiration got lost gradually.

<sup>638</sup> For this phenomenon see Lejeune, §§85 and 114.

<sup>639</sup> It is true that in the *Iliad* we find *Ἐφιάλτης* (5. 385 only), but in *Od.* 11. 308 (only) there is an ancient *varia lectio* *Ἐπι-* which, I think, we should take very seriously.



(c) Autopsy confirmed that the old reading  $-\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu[\eta\varsigma]$  is not possible. Correct is  $\mathcal{A}\gamma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}[\varsigma]$ . This name is understandable through the following equation:  $M\epsilon\nu\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma : E\upsilon\rho\nu\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma : \mathcal{A}\gamma\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma = M\epsilon\nu\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma : E\upsilon\rho\nu\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma : \chi$  (Bechtel, pp. 308, 180, and 7; *Il.* 2. 552 etc., 8. 363 etc.).

## IOI 3 NAXOS, MUS. INV. ?

Fr. of a krater from Naxos (1972?). *Bibliography*: Orlandos (1972), 96, ph. 93 fig. 89; Guarducci (1987), 49, with ph. fig. 18; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 466B (bibl.). *Photographs*: Orlandos and Guarducci cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 1st h. 7th cent. (Guarducci); c.650 (Johnston).

(←)  $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{A}\square\chi\mathcal{T}\mathcal{E}$

[. . .]  $\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ [. . .]

[. . . ?  $\mathcal{A}$ ]  $\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}[\varsigma \dots ?]$  (or rather [. . .  $-\alpha$ ]  $\nu\alpha\sigma\theta \acute{\epsilon}[\varsigma \dots ?]$ ).

*Epigraphy*: The sigma is smaller than the other letters; yet it looks as if a fourth stroke were intended at the bottom which would bring it to normal size. *Interpretation*: Not clear.

For the spelling of [ks] with a special sign plus sigma see Jeffery, pp. 289, 291.<sup>640</sup> It seems difficult to reconcile the name of the island of Naxos, where the vase was made and found, with our string of letters. Guarducci thinks of a proper name [ $\mathcal{A}$ ]  $\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}[\varsigma]$ , referring to  $\mathcal{E}\pi\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ ; but the latter is a Persian (Plut. *Them.* 30. 1), and since  $\mathcal{E}\pi\iota$ - of his name was hardly felt to be the Greek prefix, it could not easily be replaced by  $\mathcal{A}\nu\alpha$ -. We may also try to take  $-\nu\alpha\acute{\epsilon}$ - as part of the second element of a compound name in  $-\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\epsilon}$  (Bechtel, pp. 45–7), and the continuation as the start of a new word, for instance as part of a form of  $\nu\acute{\iota}\upsilon\varsigma$ .

## IOI 4 NAXOS, MUS. INV. ?

Frs. of an amphora from Naxos (1936). *Bibliography*: Karusos (1937), with phs. 170 fig. 3 and 175 fig. 10; Rumpf (1953), 31, ph. pl. 6. 6; Schefold (1964), 28, and (1966), 31, ph. [pl.] 9 top; Guarducci (1974), 458 f., with ph. fig. 178; ph. Bianchi Bandinelli–Paribeni (1976), no. 68; *LIMC* ii, ‘Aphrodite’ 1285\*, ‘Ares’ 45, ph. pl. 128; Schefold (1993), 62, ph. 61 fig. 40. *Photographs*: all cl. *Scene*: Man (no name preserved) and woman

<sup>640</sup> The fact that the Naxians, who did not use a single letter for [ks], did not write  $\chi\sigma$  as many other Greeks, may point to a particular pronunciation, e.g. [xs] instead of normal [ks]. It seems likely that the Naxians created the special letter  $\square$  for two reasons. (1) It was important as part of their own island’s name. (2) The use of normal  $\theta$ , which was used both for open [θ] and [h] in the local script (see *CEG* 150 = *DGE* 761; *CEG* 403; *LSAG* 304. 3 = *DGE* 757, c.620–600?), was likely to be felt inadequate. For its quality of [h] was probably too weak for the purpose (*pace* Jeffery, p. 291, who assumes a pronunciation [hs], for which there is no evidence), and in word-internal position there was the constant danger of reading a vowel sign, e.g. [naēsos] instead of proper [naχsos].

(named) in a chariot. *Date*: mid-7th cent. (*LIMC*); c.660 (Schefold).

$\mathcal{A}\Phi\rho\sigma \mathcal{I}\mathcal{H}$

$\mathcal{A}\phi\rho\sigma[\cdot]\iota\tau\eta$

$\mathcal{A}\phi\rho\sigma[\delta]\iota\tau\eta$ .

*Epigraphy*: As for the name of the male figure, Karusos (p. 172) plausibly argues that only  $\mathcal{A}\rho\eta\varsigma$  is short enough for the gap (it would have been spelled  $\mathcal{A}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  in the Naxian script). *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene with Ares and Aphrodite in a chariot.

The rho has a triangular loop; the phi has the ‘modern’ form  $\Phi$  (see §102 and IOI 5). For a possible mythical context see §406.

## IOI 5 NAXOS, MUS. (?)

Frs. of a polychrome krater from Naxos (1960?). *Bibliography*: Orlandos (1960), 185 f., ph. 187 fig. 210; Jeffery (1964), 48; Guarducci (1974), 473, with ph. fig. 186. *Photographs*: Orlandos and Guarducci cl. *Scene*: Chariot-race, not related to the inscr. *Date*: mid-7th cent. (Orlandos, Jeffery, Guarducci).

$\mathcal{A}\Phi\varsigma\mathcal{E}\mathcal{N}$

[. . .]  $\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon\nu$

[. . .  $\epsilon\gamma\rho$ ]  $\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

*Epigraphy*: The end is complete. *Interpretation*: Painter’s signature.

Jeffery says that this inscription seems to be by the same hand as IOI 4. It also shows the  $\Phi$ -type phi (see §102). For the nu ephelkystikon, plausible in an inscription from an Ionic context, see §202.

## °IOI 6 DELOS, ARCH. MUS. B. 7605

Frs. of a Parian ‘cheminée mobile’ (but see Plassart with bibl.), from Delos (1911). *Bibliography*: Dugas (1935), 17, no. 4, ph. pl. 10; Plassart (1950), 14 f., no. 32a; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 294, 305. 25 (bibl.); Guarducci (1967), 159 f., with ph. *Photographs*: Dugas uncl. *Scene*: A Satyr (?) running to the r.; inscr. (a) comes down along his back, (b) starts at his heel. *Date*: 7th cent. (Jeffery).

(a) (←)  $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}\mathcal{E}\mathcal{E}\mathcal{I}$  (b) (←) ?  $\Omega\mathcal{V}\mathcal{B}$

(a) [. . .]  $\nu\alpha\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota$  [. . .] (b)  $\omega\nu\mathcal{H}$ [. . . ?] (or [. . . ?]  $\mathcal{H}\nu\omega$  ?)

*Epigraphy*: (a) Of the first letter only a small dot is visible. The third letter shows a faint trace of the sloping middle bar; Guarducci reads a gamma. The penultimate letter must be an

iota because of the narrow space to the last letter. The latter can be  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$ , perhaps  $\rho$ . (*b*) The omega is turned through  $90^\circ$ . Of the eta no middle bar is visible, probably because the surface is chipped. *Interpretation*: Not clear, probably nonsense inscriptions.

It seems unlikely that (*a*) and (*b*) are part of the same inscription. Dugas and Plassart's reading and interpretation of (*b*) as  $\eta\gamma\omega$  (i.e.  $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$ ) is hardly possible. First, it would require the object (and the painted human figure) to be held upside-down. Secondly,

inscription (*b*) seems to start next to the heel of the figure, which would make it run towards (*a*), recommending a reading  $\omega\nu H$  [. . .]. Thirdly, the alphabets that use *H* for [ē] (Syros, Keos, Delos; see Jeffery, p. 289) do not know  $\Omega$  at such an early date (ibid. 290). Therefore Jeffery classifies the inscription as Parian, takes the omega to stand for [ō] and rejects the interpretation as  $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$  (although she reads [. . .] $\eta\gamma\omega$ , followed by Guarducci). It is hard to find an interpretation for [. . .] $h\nu o$  or [. . .] $\eta\nu o$ , or  $ov\eta$ [. . .] or  $ovh$ [. . .]. We may have to consider (*b*) a nonsense inscription, and probably (*a*) too.

## 18. Doric Islands

*Introduction:* A single piece with painted inscriptions is from a Doric Aegean island. It is not even a vase proper.

DOI I THERA, MUS. INV. ?

Megaron naiskos from Thera (1982?). *Bibliography:* Mylonas (1982), 46 f., phs. pls. 108–10; Catling (1984), 54 f., with phs. figs. 98–100; Winter (1984), 55 f., phs. pl. 19. 7–8; Guarducci (1987), 393 f. with, ph. fig. 123*a*; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 470*A* (bibl.). *Photographs:* Mylonas and Catling cl.; Winter sm.; Guarducci quite cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* 2nd h. 7th cent. (Guarducci); c.650–625 (Johnston).

(*a*) (←) ΑΝΔΡΖΑΜΜΕΙΕΓΟΖΕ (*b*) ΑΡΚΗ ΣΔΣΚΑΜ ΘΜΣ ΕΓΟ  
(*a*) Ἀνδρῖας με:εποιε (*b*) Ἀρκη ιδίκας ἡμι εγο  
(*a*) Ἀνδρίās με : ἐποίη. (*b*) Ἀρκη ιδίκās ἡμὶ ἐγὼ.

*Epigraphy:* —. *Interpretation:* Potter's signature. Owner's inscription or dedication to a human.

The two iotas in (*a*) are written in the same way as in (*b*), which shows that the direction l. to r. was normal at the time and the place in question.

(*a*) As there are only two accented elements in this short sentence, the presence of only one word-divider, here a vertical bar, is plausible. But it must be noted that it is put after rather than before με, which is therefore considered enclitic to the preceding name not proclitic to the verb (see ARG 1 and §226). This analysis may have suggested itself to the painter when he slowly recited the sentence before he wrote it down. Thereby he also restored the hiatus (see *ibid.*).

(*b*) shows a different kind of word division. There are little ornamental spots spread irregularly between the letters. Only where we separate words, i.e. first between -ας and ἡμ- and secondly between -μ and εγ-, and in addition between -κη and ιδ-, are there no such spots and the white ground shows up much more clearly than elsewhere. This looks like signalling space and, I think, must be intentional.

Both forms of division in (*a*) and in (*b*) offer a striking coincidence with the usual rules of accentuation: με (unlike ἐμε) is normally treated as enclitic and is therefore not treated as a word on its own. The verb ἐμί, on the other hand, is accented if it follows a paroxytone word; therefore it is preceded and followed by a word-divider. The word-divider in the compound name Ἀρκη-ιδίκās, however, is difficult. Either we accept the same function as between the words. In that case we would have to assume that a compound could still be pronounced—perhaps in slow speech—with two accents.<sup>641</sup> But it would seem odd that the division should be in the middle of the syllable [kʰi], and before, instead of after, the compositional vowel. Or we have to look for an entirely different function.<sup>642</sup> Should we consider it a simple mistake? (One single dot would have been sufficient to bridge the narrow gap.)

For the name Ἀνδρίās (of the potter), which is a hypocoristic, see §230. The name of the recipient, Ἀρκη ιδίκās, is a full-blown compound name and sounds more 'upper-class' (for the masc. equivalent see Bechtel, p. 80). The imperfect tense is relatively rarely used on such objects; aorist is much more frequent. It may here be due to a certain predilection of the dialect, see the Theraian inscriptions *LSAG* 323. 4 = *DGE* 215. 2 (end of 7th cent.?) and *DGE* 215. 3, both with ἐποίη; *CEG* 419 = *DGE* 209 ἐποίη (Melos, c.525–500?); *IG* xii/3. 451 μὴ θίγγανε 'do not touch' (Thera; see §114 n. 727) as opposed to *IGDS* 148 μεθ' ἑγες (Gela); *CEG* 418 = *DGE* 207 ἐπευκηόμενος 'having promised' (Melos, late 6th cent.?) as opposed to (ἐπ)εὑξάμενος (*CEG*, *passim*). Elsewhere our material for a particular dialect is usually too scarce to decide (see ad *ITH* 2 with n. 516, and §209).

<sup>641</sup> Although compounds form accent units in Greek, as far as we can judge from our written documents (see e.g. Schwyzler, p. 386; Lejeune, §354), it can be observed in living languages that they have a principal and a (weaker) secondary accent.

<sup>642</sup> The only alternative that I can think of would be to tell the reader to take this heta with the preceding kappa and to read Ἀρκηι- rather than Ἀρκημ-. The dialect of Thera (unlike the Cretan one) was obviously non-psilotic, as can be observed in inscs. (e.g. *CEG* 456 = *DGE* 217; *CEG* 457) and, indirectly, inferred from the fact that heta could be used as the second sign for the aspirates in this prototype alphabet). Therefore the double function of H in this script, probably prompted by surrounding writing systems, must have been felt to be a great nuisance.

# 19. Ionic Dodekapolis

*Introduction:* A good number of pieces from the Ionic cities in Asia Minor or their colonies bear painted inscriptions. They are partly taken together under one number. See also the next chapter (Naukratis).

## IOD 1 IZMIR, ARCH. MUS. INV. ?

Fr. of a dinos from Old Smyrna (1948–51). *Bibliography:* Cook–Akurgal (1953), 329; J. M. Cook (1958/9), 16; Akurgal (1961), 229 (wrongly speaking of a graffito), dr. 308 fig. 23; Jeffery (1964), 45 no. 1, 47 ff., ph. pl. 5a; Guarducci (1967), 271 f., with ph. fig. 123; ph. Boardman (1980), 249 fig. 289; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 473. 68a (bibl.), ph. pl. 79. 8. *Photographs:* Jeffery quite cl.; Guarducci quite cl.; Boardman cl.; Johnston cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* 1st h. 7th cent. (Akurgal); mid-7th or 3rd q. 7th cent. (Jeffery); c. mid-7th cent. (Guarducci); c. 650 (Johnston).

ΙΞΤΡΟΚΛΕΘΜΕ

Ιστροκλεθμε [. . .]

Ἰστροκλέης με [. . .] (or μ'ε [. . .], or Με [. . .]).

*Epigraphy:* Jeffery is probably right to interpret the last vertical stroke, which does not touch the dark space below, as the hasta of a letter, assuming μ'επ[οίησεν] or μ'εγ[ραψεν]. Yet, it could also e.g. be an epsilon (i.e. με ε[γγραψεν]), or an alpha of the ϝ-type (i.e. με α[νέθηκεν]). The beginning of the inscr. is complete. *Interpretation:* Probably a potter's or painter's signature, perhaps with a dedication.

Note the 'elaborate' six-stroke sigmas, echoed by the epsilons with four sloping bars, both attested elsewhere in East Ionia (Jeffery, with a good discussion). The rho is not of the proper Ρ-, nor of the D-type, but Ϝ, which comes close to Ρ (see §101). The last three letters may represent με or μ' plus the beginning of εγγραψεν, ἐποίησεν, or even με ἀνέθηκεν (for the unelided pronoun see §224). Also the beginning of a father's name would be possible, for example Μεγ[ακλέως . . .]. The character of the inscription is therefore uncertain. As the inscription is painted and the vase was found in a temple temenos, a dedication or a potter's signature (or indeed a dedication by a potter) seems most likely.

Jeffery remarks that the uncontracted form -κλέης is unusual (see §§208, 223) and therefore thinks of a metrical inscription. But

this is, as far as I know, the earliest -κλ(ε)ης name that we have from East Ionia. Therefore we cannot judge the acceptance of an uncontracted form at that time.<sup>643</sup>

## IOD 2 IZMIR, ARCH. MUS. INV. ?

Fr. of a large vase from Old Smyrna (1948–51). *Bibliography:* Jeffery (1964), 46, no. 5; J. M. Cook (1965), 117, no. 8, ph. pl. 24. 8. *Photographs:* Cook quite cl. *Scene:* Figure painted white (female?) fighting to l. *Date:* 6th cent.

ΑΙ

Αι . . . [. . .]

Αἰνίη[π]η or Αἰνίη.

*Epigraphy:* The third letter could be a lambda, a nu, or, together with the following stroke, a mu. The remains of the last letter seems too close to vertical to be an alpha (for Aineias' name) when compared with the first letter. *Interpretation:* Unidentified scene, perhaps with Amazons (label).

Jeffery restores one of the two Amazon-names Αἰνίηππη or Αἰνίη, attested in inscriptions (she refers to von Bothmer (1957), 3, no. 3, and 7, no. 8; see also *LIMC* i, 'Amazones' 7, 9, and 169). Since the readings Αἰλ- and Αἰμ- seem not to lead anywhere, the interpretation of the figure as one of these Amazons seems reasonable (§465).

<sup>643</sup> The (historical) name Histrokles has caused some discussion. Cook–Akurgal write 'Istrokles . . . can hardly have been born much later than 670 BC' and 'affords an unexpected proof that Ionian sailors had already penetrated far into the Black Sea in the early years of the seventh century BC.' This sounds like a (wise!) compromise if we regard later statements of both scholars. Akurgal (1961) holds that the name proves the existence of colonies at the mouth of the Danube in the first half of the seventh century, which is certainly not the case. Cook (1958/9) writes of 'a connexion with the Pontus in the middle years of the seventh century'. The original statement seems soundest to me. Boardman (1980: 240 with n. 78) gives a good account of the evidence for contacts between the Greeks and the Black Sea in the eighth and early seventh centuries ('Ἰστρος' is mentioned in Hes. *Th.* 339, *Φᾶσις* in Hes. fr. 241 M–W in connection with the Argonauts, Paphlagonians at *Il.* 2. 851–5). Successful commerce would have been sufficient to yield a name like Histrokles. The assumptions by Cook, that this vase was not made in Smyrna because this city did not found any colonies, and that Histrokles was not a local man, need not be right. Cook himself cites a number of commercial imports to archaic Smyrna; the lack of colonization is therefore irrelevant.

## IOD 3 IZMIR, ARCH. MUS. INV. ?

Fr. of a neck-amphora from Old Smyrna (1948–51). *Bibliography*: mentioned by J. M. Cook (1958/9), 29 f.; Jeffery (1964), 46, no. 4, ph. pl. 8a; J. M. Cook (1965), 136 f., no. 137, phs. pl. 40. *Photographs*: Jeffery cl.; Cook (1965) cl. *Scene*: Two men's heads to r., both wearing hair bands and wreaths, one looking down (a), the other looking straight on, with arms stretched out (b) (charioteer, Cook; charioteer or athlete swinging *halteres*?, Jeffery). *Date*: late 6th cent. (Cook).

- (a)  $\xi\eta\zeta$  (b)  $\Gamma\epsilon$   
 (a) [. . .]  $\sigma\eta\varsigma$  (b)  $\Pi\epsilon$  [. . .]  
 (a) [. . .] $\nu\sigma\eta\varsigma$ , (b)  $\Pi\epsilon$  [. . .].

*Epigraphy*: (a) The first letter could also be an A-type alpha or a nu. (b) The last letter can be  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\rho$  (among others). *Interpretation*: Unidentified scene (labels).

Cook (1958/9) interpreted the scene as Kambyses climbing into his chariot, with his charioteer named 'the Persian'. He wonders (1965) whether it is the scene where the king wounds himself accidentally with his sword (while climbing into his chariot instead of mounting his horse as in Hdt. 3. 64). Although it is true that no obvious other solution suggests itself (Chryses and ?), I share the doubts of Jeffery, who prefers to imagine two youngsters, perhaps with Persian-sounding names, which were fashionable at the time. The two labels are in different script, probably written by different hands and with different brushes.

## IOD 4A–C CHIOS, MUS. INV. ?

Frs. of kylikes from Emporio on Chios, all by the same hand (1954). *Bibliography*: (A) Hood–Boardman (1955), 22, ph. pl. 2e; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 338, 343. 42e, 377, ph. pl. 65; Boardman (1967), 243 f., no. 614, ph. pl. 97. (B) Boardman (1967), 243 f., no. 615, ph. pl. 98. (C) Boardman (1967), 243 f., no. 616, ph. pl. 99. *Photographs*: (A) Hood–Boardman, Jeffery, Boardman quite cl.; (B) and (C) Boardman quite cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: 6th cent. (Hood–Boardman); 600–550? (Jeffery); late 7th cent. (Boardman *apud* Jeffery, p. 377); c.630–600 (Boardman (1967), 62).

- (A) ΝΙΚΗΞΕΡΜΟΞΤΗ ΗΛΥΝΓΙΚΑΕΓΟΙΗΞΕ  
 (B) ΡΜ (←) ΝΑΡ Ε (→) ΗΙΚΑΙΡΗ (C) (←) ΔΙΜ (→) ΜΟΞΕΓΟΙ

- (A) *Νίκησερμoστη* . [. . .]*την γύλικάεποιήσεν* [. . . ?]  
 (B) [. . .]*ρμ* [. . . | . . .]*ναρτεμ* [. . . | . . .]*ηικαιρητ* [. . .]  
 (C) [. . .]*ιαμ* [. . . | . . .]*μοσεποι* [. . .]

- (A) *Νίκησερμος* *την*[δὲ ?]*την γύλικάεποιήσεν*.  
 (B) [*Νίκησε*]*ρμ*[ος *ἐποιήσεν* . . . | . . . *ἀνέθηκεν*]*ν Ἀρτέμ*[ιδι  
 . . . | . . .]*ηικαιρητ* [. . .]. (C) [. . .]*ιαμ* [. . . | . . . *Νίκησερ*]*μος*  
*ἐποί*[ησεν . . .].

*Epigraphy*: (A) The final letter before the gap could also be a lambda (or a mu). Of the final nu a small trace is visible. (B) The last tau is not very cl. from the ph. and of a letter after that I cannot see anything. *Interpretation*: (A) Potter's signature (perhaps metrical). (B) Potter's signature and dedication. (C) Potter's signature.

Inscription (A) gives an almost complete text, (B) and (C) are less clear. The reversed three-stroke sigmas in (A) and (C) are typical of this writer. This harmless error is understandable from the fact that sigma lacks symmetry and does not indicate the direction of script. It is particularly frequent in retrograde inscriptions (see e.g. EUC 1 and 3, BOI 8, IOI 3, or with iota of similar shape DOI 1).<sup>644</sup> For the use of the qoppa see §225. For the name of the potter see Bechtel, pp. 330 and 165 f.

Apart from the received restoration of (A), *τήν[δε] τήν γύλικά*, others are possible. In particular we could try to restore a hexameter line, for in view of the slightly superfluous information *την γύλικά ἐποίησεν* instead of the usual *μ' ἐποίησεν*,<sup>645</sup> a poetic character of this potter's signature would seem plausible. The only difficulty is the hiatus before the verb. If we allow the slight oddity of a synizesis, *γύλικάἐποίησεν*, or the lengthening after an elision, *γύλικ' ἐποίησεν*, the rest is easy: instead of *τήνδε* we restore *τηνδὲ*. Or we could try to restore the name of Nikesermos' father, reading the last letter before the gap, of which  $\wedge$  is preserved, as a lambda.<sup>646</sup> This name could be *Τηλέας* (i.e. *-έης*), *Τηλεύς*, or *Τήλυσ* (all in Bechtel, p. 425), and their East Ionic genitives *Τηλέω*, *Τηλέος*, or *Τήλεος*, respectively, which would all fit into the gap, would yield: *Νίκησερμος Τηλ[έος ?] τήν γύλικά ἐποίησεν*. But in view of (C) the pronoun version seems more likely.

If the alleged tau of (B) were an iota, we might read *καὶ ῥηι*, with which we could compare an archaic graffito *Ἡρη* [. . .] (written with θ).<sup>647</sup> Here too, a metrical structure is conceivable (the second line beginning with *Ἀρτέμει*), but we have too little of the text. The same is true for (C).

## IOD 5A–L CHIOS, MUS. INV. ?

Frs. from Emporio on Chios (1954). *Bibliography*: Boardman (1967), 244 f., nos. 617 and 621–31, phs. pl. 98 except of (K), dr. of (B) p. 160. *Photographs*: Boardman mostly cl. *Scene*: None. *Date*: (A) c.630–600 (Boardman, p. 62); (B), (C), and (K) after mid-6th cent. (Boardman, p. 17); (D)–(J) 1st h. 6th cent. (Boardman, p. 62); (L) 5th cent.?

<sup>644</sup> See Wachter (1989b), 22 n. 10.

<sup>645</sup> Only in owner's inscs. is precise information about the object of some importance, to distinguish it from, e.g., the piece of furniture on which it stands or other objects nearby; see e.g. *Δηρίππῳ ἐμὶ λήγυθος* (SEG 33. 995), *Δολίωνός ἐμὶ κυλίχνη* (Jeffery (1964), 42, no. 20), both from Smyrna.

<sup>646</sup> It is true that the certain lambda is  $\Gamma$ , but the nu is also sometimes upright, N, and sometimes leaning forward, *N*.

<sup>647</sup> Boardman, pp. 243 f., no. 613, ph. pl. 97.

(A) P (B) KVΔP (C) ΔΘΗΛΔΗ (D) ΕΘ (E) ΗΚΕ  
(F) ΘΚΕ (G) ΓV (H) ΜΟΞ (I) ΞΔ (J) ΓΓ (K) ?  
(L) ΓV

(A) [...]ρ[...] (B) [...]κνδρρ (C) Αθηνάη[...]  
(D) [...]εθ[...] (E) [...]ηκε[...] (F) [...]θκε[...]  
(G) [...]πυ[...] (H) [...]μοσ[...] (I) [...]σα[...]  
(J) [...]ππ[...] (K) μν[...] (L) [...]πυ[...]

(A) [...]ρ[...]. (B) [...]κνδρρ. (C) Αθηνάη[...].  
(D) [...]ανέθ[ηκεν...]. (E) [...]ανέθ[ηκεν...].  
(F) [...]ανέθ[ηκεν...]. (G) [...]πυ[...]. (H) [...]μοσ[...].  
(I) [...]ς[ανέθ[ηκεν...]. (J) [...]ε[ππ[...]. (K) μν[...].  
(L) [...]πυ[...].

*Epigraphy:* (B) After the last letter there seems to be a space (word-end). (I) The third letter could also be μ, α, or λ. *Interpretation:* Probably mostly dedications.

(B) seems to be a genitive (for names built on κνδρός see Bechtel, p. 271). For (C) see §247. (F) shows A.W. (see §111). The other fragments present no interesting features.

#### IOD 6A–L CHIOS, MUS. INV. ?

Frs. of East Greek vases, from Phana on Chios (1915, 1934). *Bibliography:* (A) and (B) Kourouniotis (1916/17), 199, with ph. fig. 16. (C)–(H) Lamb (1934/5), with ph. (p. 161 fig. 12). (A)–(H) Cook–Woodhead (1952), cat. nos. 35–43; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 338, 343. 42a–b. (I)–(L) Lamb (1934/5), with ph. (p. 162 fig. 13). *Photographs:* Lamb cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* (A)–(H) 1st h. (mainly 2nd q.) 6th cent. (Cook–Woodhead, Jeffery); (I)–(L) later (5th cent.?).

(A) ΗΔΤΕΜΙΔ ΙΑ (B) ΝΙ (C) ΔΗΜ (D) ΝΕΘΗ ΚΕΝ  
(E) ΚΕΤΩ (F) ΤΩΓΩΓΩΝ (G) ΕΝΕΚΑΤ (H) ΓΑΙΔ  
(I) ΑΝΑΙΟ (J) Φ (K) Ψ (L) ΑΙΟ

(A) [...]ηρτεμιδ[...] | [...]ια (B) [...]νι (C) Δημ[...]  
(D) [...]νεθηκεν[...] (E) [...]κετω[...]  
(F) [...]τωπολων[...] (G) [...]μενεκατ[...]  
(H) [...]παιδ[...] (I) [...]αναιο[...]  
(J) [...]φ[...] (K) [...]ν[...] (L) [...]αιο[...]

(A) [...]τῆρτέμιδ[...] | [...]ια. (B) [...]Ἀπόλλωνι.  
(C) Δημ[ο-...]. (D) [...]ἄνεθηκεν[...]. (E) [...]ἄνεθηκε  
τῶ[...]. (F) [...]τῶπόλλ(λ)ων[ι or -ος...].  
(G) [...]Μενεκά(ρ)τῆς[...]. (H) [...]παιδ[...].  
(I) [...]Φαναῖδ[...]. (J) [...]Φ[αναῖδ?].  
(K) [...]Φ[αν[αῖδ?]. (L) [...]Φαν[αῖδ[...].

*Epigraphy:* (A) Cook–Woodhead (p. 160) interpret the two letters <ια> set under the rho as a correction in order to get

[...]τῆρτέμιδ[...]. (B), (D), and (F), if combined, yield what seems to have been a standard text: ἄνεθηκεν τῶπόλλ(λ)ωνι. (D) consists of Cook–Woodhead nos. 38 + 42, joined by Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5. (I)–(L) Four frs. of coarser ware with probably the same text; (K) fits better if read upside-down. *Interpretation:* Probably all dedications.

(A) The reading by Cook–Woodhead as a correction is plausible, but the fact remains that the scribe first wrote with crasis τῆρτέμιδι. Cook–Woodhead think that he could be identical with scribe E of the Naukratis fragments NAU 1C (see ad loc.). (C) Here they are reminded of scribe D of the Naukratis fragments NAU 1B. (E) There is no nu ephelkystikon (see §202). (F) Cook–Woodhead (pp. 159 f.) remark that there is crasis (NAU 1Gc from Naukratis, which they compare as a case without crasis, is uncertain). Instead of a dative the form may also be restored as a genitive. (G) Cook–Woodhead (p. 162) suggest that the name is misspelled for Μενεκράτης, or to be read ]κεν Έκατ[ηβόλωι or έκατ[όμβην. The first interpretation seems perfectly possible, and we need not even assume a real mistake, in view of the loss of such [r] in Naukratis (Ἀφροδίτη etc., see §§203, 205). If, however, the first letter is a kappa, we have the end of ἄνεθηκεν, and Έκατ[... is likely to be the beginning of a father's name, for example Έκαταῖδ.<sup>648</sup> (I)–(L) This is the epithet, here probably in the genitive, of Apollon at Phanai.

#### IOD 7 BERLIN, ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, SAMOS 476X

Fr. of a cup or kantharos (rim), from Samos (found ?). *Bibliography:* Diehl (1964b), 538, no. 30, ph. fig. 19; Johnston, *LSAG* (1990), 471. 1c. *Photographs:* Diehl cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* 7th cent. (Diehl, Johnston).

ΕΒΜ ΑΜ vac.?  
[...]εημ[...] | [...]αμ[...]?  
[...]θ]έη μ' [ἄνεθηκεν ? ... | ... Σ?] ἄμω[...].

*Epigraphy:* Diehl thinks of the rest of a dedicatory inscr. The first line could then be resolved as suggested above. As for the second line, we would not expect the inscr. or a word to end in a mu, so what looks like a space will be the plain area above a small letter for which omicron or omega seems to be the only possibilities. The two mus slightly differ from each other, but they are certain. *Interpretation:* Dedication (?).

The text may have been something like [Πασιθ]έη μ' [ἄνεθηκε τῇι Ἡρῇ τῇι ἐν Σ] ἄμω[ι].

<sup>648</sup> As in a graffito at Naukratis [...]σοεκατ[...]. (Bernand (1970), 708, no. 663, ph. pl. 26).



IOD 8 BONN, AKADEMISCHES KUNSTMUS.  
DER UNIV. 2042

Fr. of a miniature dinos from Urla (Klazomenai) (1898 or earlier).<sup>649</sup> *Bibliography*: Zahn (1898), 62–5, with dr.; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5608; R. M. Cook (1952), 139, no. 12; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 340, 345. 63, dr. pl. 66. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Sirens, not related to the inscr. *Date*: ‘latish’ (Cook, i.e. c.3rd q. 6th cent.); c.540–525 (Jeffery).

AΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΗ Ε Ι:

[. . .]αθηναγορη : ε . . . . ι . ρ[. . .]

[. . . ?]Αθηναγόρη ε . . . . ι . ρ[. . . ?].

*Epigraphy*: AΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΗ:ΕΡΜΗ:ΗC, Zahn. On the excellent ph. from the museum, the following details of the second part (after Αθηναγόρη) are visible and may be put in relation to Zahn’s reading: (1) parts of the first letter, which could be an epsilon; (2) after a break a straight falling oblique stroke, which cannot be part of a rho and cannot belong to a mu after a rho either (maybe it is a narrow X-type chi); (3) a narrow gap, where there could have been a letter; (4) a dot and a rounded blur underneath; (5) a wide gap maybe containing a small trace of a letter in its centre; (6) a vertical stroke (no doubt Zahn’s iota), followed by a dot and perhaps another one underneath (Zahn’s punctuation mark); (7) remains of an equivocal letter and (8) those of a rounded one (Zahn’s final omicron or theta). Zahn’s reading and restoration ‘E[ρ]μῆι seems impossible, first, because of (2) above, and secondly, because it is probably too short. Therefore what comes after Αθηναγόρη is totally uncertain.<sup>650</sup> *Interpretation*: Not clear.

\*IOD 9 MOSCOW, STATE HISTORICAL MUS. 97998. 167

Spherical lekythos from Kepoi, colony of Miletos, from grave no. 131/9 (or 131/69?) (1961). *Bibliography*: Sokolsky (1965),

<sup>649</sup> W. Geominy kindly informs me that the vase was acquired in 1917 (see *AA* 23: 18) and has a diameter of 11 cm.

<sup>650</sup> Zahn took the last two letters as the article and the beginning of the father’s name: ἡ’Ο[. . .], but this must remain uncertain, since the preceding six letters are unclear. The last letter could be a theta, so we could also venture ἡθ[ηνοκρίτω] *vel sim*. The interpretation of the last word by G. Woodhead *apud*

181–6, with ph. (p. 182). *Photographs*: Sokolsky καλή cl., rest invis. *Scene*: None. *Date*: late 6th cent. (Sokolsky; N. Sorokina, *per litt.*).

ΚΑΛΗΕΙΜΙ

Καληεῖμι

Καλή εἰμι.

*Epigraphy*: Sokolsky only reported the first word: ‘Samian jug of sixth century BC, inscribed καλή, “beautiful”.’ The full inscr. is visible on the photographs that N. Sorokina sent me; according to her the second iota is not missing; yet, its outlines are just visible on the ph. It seems as if the writer, after having written the inscr., decided that his brush had not yielded enough paint at the end, dipped it in again and reinforced the second half of the mu, but did not bother about the final iota. *Interpretation*: Object praising itself.

The lekythos praises itself (for a possible parallel see *AIG* 3.4). The name of the vase may have been λήκυθος, ἀρυβαλλίς, ὄλπη, etc. (see ad *COR* 17). For the <εῖ> see §219.

\*IOD 10 SOZOPOL, ARCH. MUS. INV. —

Frs. of a coarse vase from Apollonia Pontica, colony of Miletos (found ?; excavations by G. Bojadžiev). *Bibliography*: —. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: None. *Date*: c.350–325 (M. Reho, *per litt.*).

ΚΟΤΥΛ

Κοτυλ. . . .

Κοτυλ. . . .

*Epigraphy*: On the original ph. after the lambda there are further traces of perhaps a nu and an alpha.<sup>651</sup> *Interpretation*: Not clear (name of the vase?).

Cook as ηθ[εκε] is impossible. Confusion of ε and η (Jeffery, pp. 296 f., about the Delian examples cited by Cook) is a phenomenon of the Ionic Islands. Moreover, our name Αθηναγόρη shows no such confusion.

<sup>651</sup> Unfortunately, M. Reho could not obtain further information for me from Sozopol Museum after the death of its director, Mrs. Caneva.

## 20. Naukratis

*Introduction:* Very many fragments, prevailingly of modest stylistic quality but very often with painted dedicatory inscriptions, have been found in the trading settlement of Naukratis in Egypt. Their dialect and local script is East Ionic (see the preceding chapter). On the function of these inscriptions see below.

\*NAU 1A–O BERLIN, BOSTON, CAMBRIDGE, DUBLIN,  
LONDON (MAJORITY), OXFORD, READING

Frs. of East Greek vases, from Naukratis (c.1885/86). *Bibliography:* Cook–Woodhead (1952), cat. nos. 16–34, 44–231 (with earlier bibl.); Boardman (1956); Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 338, 343. 42c–d; Bernand (1970), with some additional phs.;<sup>652</sup> Bailey (1970), with ph. pl. 1; ph. of (*Na*) Boardman (1980), 123 fig. 140; Boardman (1986), esp. 257, ph. fig. 5. One more fr.—if of the same fabric—is published in Hogarth–Lorimer–Edgar (1905), 116 f., no. 28, with dr. (below, *Lg*); one is in Reading (below, *Lb*), A. D. Ure, *CVA* Great Britain, 12 (1954), 37, ph. pl. 23. 1; one in Dublin (below, n. 660), Vickers (1971), 115, no. 4, ph. pl. 13D; one in University College London (below, ad *Oa*), Johnston (1982), 40 f., with dr. *Photographs:* mostly cl. *Scene:* None, except (*Eb*) (woman), (*Ec*) (?), (*Ma*) (man with spear), (*Mb*) ('set vertically behind a woman's skirt', Cook–Woodhead, p. 161), (*Na*) ('soldiers', Cook–Woodhead, p. 166). *Date:* 1st h. (mainly 2nd q.) 6th cent. (Cook–Woodhead, Jeffery).

<sup>652</sup> Bernand does not provide concordances of cat. numbers and numbers of the photographs of his pl. 24. In (A) I give the concordance of his pl. 24 with Cook–Woodhead. In (B) follows the reverse, which replaces his list on p. 1121 (where five numbers are missing). (A) The following Cook–Woodhead numbers are shown in Bernand pl. 24, arranged in lines 1–5 and numbered from l. to r. (I put an asterisk '\*' if no previous ph. is known to me): 45 = 5. 1 + 1. 16; 47 = 5. 2; 49 = 5. 3\*; 54 = 5. 4; 56 = 5. 5; 57 = 5. 6 (only London); 58 = 5. 7\* (only London); 60 = 4. 1 (uncl.); 61 = 4. 3; 62 = 1. 13 (only inv. 848); 63 = 4. 4; 64 = 4. 5 + 3. 3 + 1. 11; 65 = 4. 6\*; 79 = 4. 7; 82 = 4. 8\*; 82a = 4. 9\*; 83 = 4. 10 + 3. 2; 85 = 3. 1; 90 = 3. 4; 90a = 3. 5\*; 92 = 3. 6\*; 98 = 3. 7; 101 = 3. 8; 102 = 3. 9; 106 = 3. 10; inv. 758 = 3. 11 (below n. 664); 116 = 3. 12\*; 122 = 3. 13\*; 128 = 3. 14\*; 131 = 3. 15\*; 132 = 2. 1\*; 135a = 2. 2\*; 137 = 2. 3; 141 = 2. 4; 142 = 2. 5\*; 144 = 2. 6\*; 147 = 2. 7\*; 152 = 2. 8\*; 157 = 2. 9; 158 = 2. 10; 159 = 2. 11; 160 = 2. 12; 164 = 2. 13; 167 = 2. 14\*; 170 = 2. 15 + 1. 9; 173 = 2. 16; 174 = 1. 1; 175 = 1. 2\*; 176 = 1. 3; 177 = 1. 4; 178 = 1. 5; 179 = 1. 6; 180 = 1. 7; 188 = 1. 10 (only London); 191 = 1. 17; 194 = 1. 12; 196 = 4. 2; 197 = 1. 14; 200 = 1. 15; ? = 1. 8. (B) The frs. shown in Bernand's pl. (from l. to r.) are in Cook–Woodhead (line 1:) 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, ?, 170, 188, 64, 194, 62, 197, 200, 45, 191; (line 2:) 132, 135a, 137, 141, 142, 144, 147, 152, 157, 158, 159, 160, 164, 167, 170, 173; (line 3:) 85, 83, 64, 90, 90a, 92, 98, 101, 102, 106, inv. 758, 116, 122, 128, 131; (line 4:) 60, 196, 61, 63, 64, 65, 79, 82, 82a, 83; (line 5:) 45, 47, 49, 54, 56, 57, 58.

- (A)<sup>653</sup> Aigyptis<sup>654</sup> (Aig.<sup>655</sup>): (a) *Αιγυπτισαν*[. . .] *ροδιτη*[. . .]<sup>656</sup>  
(B) Demoph[a]ne[s] (D):  
(a) *Δημοφ[.]νη[.]θηκενοχο[.]τηια[.]*<sup>657</sup>  
(C) [ . . . ]ethes (E): (a) [ . . . ] *ηθησαν*[. . .] *κεντηια*[. . .]<sup>658</sup>  
(D) Hermomandros (H):  
(a) [ . . . ? ] *ερμονανδροσ[.]εγρα[.]εντη[.]ροδ[.]*<sup>659</sup>  
(E) Mikis (M):  
(a) [ . . . ? ] *μικισ(μ)ανεθηκεν[.]τωιζηνιτωιεληνιω[.]*<sup>660</sup>  
(b) [ . . . ] *ις* 25 (c) [ . . . ] *ς* 182  
(F) [ . . . ]nes (N): (a) [ . . . ] *νησμ[.]ντ[.]αφρο[.]*<sup>661</sup>  
(b) [ . . . ] *ων[.]* 86?  
(G) Zoilos 1 (Z. 1):  
(a) *Ζωιλος(ς)(μ(ε))αν(ε)θηκεν(ς)τηιαφ[.]οδιτηι* and *-τηε[.]* . . . ?<sup>662</sup>  
(b) [ . . . ] *σοχο[.]* 168 (c) [ . . . ] *τωι[.]* 28  
(d) [ . . . ] *μ(ε)θη[.]* 104  
(H) Zoilos 2 (Z. 2): (a) *Ζωι(ι)λοσ(μ(ε))α(ν)εθηκενα[.]*<sup>663</sup>  
(b) [ . . . ] *ωιλοσεαν[.]ηι[.]* 24, 62

<sup>653</sup> What follows is not a full edition. I only try to establish the complete texts, grouped by donors, i.e. hands (A), (B) etc. A small letter like (a) therefore groups texts that are taken from different frs. but can be linked with one another and are therefore said to be by the same hand. Round brackets ( ) in the unaccented text (and mostly also in the accented one) of (A)–(I) mean that the signs in question may or may not be present in any particular text. A question mark after a number (mainly occurring in the notes) means that the attribution has been or can be doubted (see also below). Individual frs. are specified by their respective Cook–Woodhead numbers.

<sup>654</sup> Name established by D. Williams (1983), 185 with n. 59; see Boardman (1986), 255, ph. p. 257 fig. 5.

<sup>655</sup> Cook–Woodhead's abbreviations of the scribes are: (A. 1 and A. 2 = 'Aristophanes writers', i.e. Aristophantos, as we now know from the new Aigina evidence; see AIG 3E), Aig. = 'Aigyptios writer' (i.e. Aigyptis; see preceding n.), D = 'Demophon wr.' (or rather Demophanes; see below), E = 'ηθης wr.', H = 'Hermomandros wr.', M = 'Mikis wr.', N = 'νης wr.', Z. 1 and Z. 2 = 'Zoilos writers'.

<sup>656</sup> Frs. no. 82, 102, 157, 176; 132?; 29, 152?; plus perhaps 222 (Williams (1983), 185).

<sup>657</sup> Frs. no. 56, 57, 141, 175, 191; 135a?; 49?, 60a?, 92?, 142, 225? (]θηκενο[, Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5); 131; plus perhaps fr. IOD 6C from Chios.

<sup>658</sup> Frs. no. 79, 98; 65, 122; plus perhaps IOD 6A from Chios.

<sup>659</sup> Frs. no. 83, 204; 54 (the gamma seems uncertain to me, therefore I dot it); 219?; 151.

<sup>660</sup> Frs. no. 18, 26, 90, 106 (]σανε[, Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5), 112, 116, 159, 173, 174, 178 (read: ]ισα[, 222?, Dublin, Univ. College, Classical Mus. V 4008 (Vickers; mentioned by Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5); 17, 31?, 82a, 188, 221.

<sup>661</sup> Frs. no. 66 (]νησμ[, Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5), 81, 147a (in view of 66 probably to be read ]σμ[, 148; 205; 53 (]αφρο[, Boardman, *ibid.*), 74.

<sup>662</sup> Frs. no. 19, 23, 48, 68, 71, 84, 91 + unnumbered (Bailey, no. 7), 100, 105, 111 (]θηκε[, Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5), 115, 120, 123, 135, 140, 146, 155, 156, 161, 163, 165 (]μ(ε)α[, Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5; or—by a different hand—K]λεα[ρχος, see below, ad *ƒc*), 169, 183, 184, 185, 190, 206, 215, 216, 224, 229; 72, 76, 78, 130.

<sup>663</sup> Frs. no. 45, 60, 64, 144, 212, 213, 231.



- (I) (unattributed): (a) [. . .]μ(ε)ανεθηκεν(·) (τη)αφροδίτη<sup>664</sup>  
 (b) [. . .]φορ[. . .]<sup>665</sup> 88 (c) [. . .]ενταφ[. . .] 100a  
 (d) [. . .]ηιαφοδ[. . .] 167 (e) [. . .]ν Αφοδίτη[. . .] 16  
 (J) Various donors: (a) Αντ[. . .] 103  
 (b) Θυμογ[η]ης:μαυ[. . .] 58  
 (c) [. . .]κλεαρχοσ[. . .] 147 + 172 + 180 (Bailey, no. 10)  
 (d) [. . .]αικ[. . .] 177 (e) [. . .]ημ[. . .] 90a  
 (f) [. . .]ησμαν[. . .] 67, 145 (g) [. . .]ιδης:μ[. . .] 58a  
 (h) [. . .]ιδωρη[. . .] 200 (i) [. . .]λευπ[. . .] 101  
 (j) [. . .]λοσαν[. . .] 162 (k) [. . .]μολω[. . .] | ε[. . .] 85  
 (l) [. . .]μοσα[. . .] 186 (m) [. . .]νησισα[. . .] 89a  
 (n) [. . .]οσα[. . .] 149 and similarly 170, second part (see Oc)  
 (o) [. . .]οστρα[. . .] 137 (p) [. . .]υπισαν[. . .] 158  
 (K) The ethnic *Xios*: (a) [. . .]ορχιο[. . .] 171  
 (b) [. . .]νοχη[. . .] 46 (c) [. . .]κενρο[. . .] 127 + unnumbered  
 (Bailey, no. 8) (d) [. . .]νοχη[. . .] 187 (e) [. . .]νο[. . .] 227  
 (L) Gods: (a) [. . .]ημιτω[. . .] 47 (b) [. . .]ων[. . .] Reading  
 26. ii. 59 (Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5) (c) [. . .]νων 181a  
 (d) [. . .]ηιφα[. . .] 201 and [. . .]θηκεν[. . .] 198  
 (e) [. . .]λη[. . .] 210 (f) [. . .]ην[. . .] 228  
 (g) [. . .]ερμο· ε[. . .] (Hogarth–Lorimer–Edgar, no. 28)  
 (h) [. . .]τισθοισι[. . .] 160 (i) [. . .]σι[. . .] 166  
 (j) [. . .]σι[. . .] British Mus. 1924. 12–1. 793  
 (Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5)  
 (M) Labels: (a) Ποδανικος 30 (b) [. . .]μοσα[. . .] 61  
 (N) Varia: (a) [. . .]εθου 59 (b) [. . .]ημι[. . .] 114  
 (c) [. . .]αλις[. . .] 196 (d) [. . .]δωκε[. . .] 197  
 (O) By one of the Aiginetan writers (Cook–Woodhead (?):  
 (a) [. . .]τηα[. . .] 128 (b) [. . .]οισι[. . .] 164  
 (c) Άρισ[. . .] 170, first part (see Jn); [. . .]ριστο[. . .] 179  
 (A)<sup>666</sup> (a) Αἴγυπτις ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .] Ἀφ[ροδίτη]ι.  
 (B) (a) Δημοφ[ά]νη[ς] (μ᾽) ἀνέ[θηκεν ὁ Χίος] τῇ Ἀ[φροδίτη]ι.  
 (C) (a) [. . .]γ?ήθης ἀνέ[θηκεν τῇ Ἀ[φροδίτη]ι].  
 (D) (a) Ἐρμόμανδρος[. . .] ἔγρα[ψεν ?] ἀνέ[θηκεν]εν  
 τῇ Ἀ[φ]ροδ[ίτη]ι.  
 (E) (a) Μίκ(κ)ις (μ᾽) ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .] τῶι Ζηνὶ τῶι  
 Ἑλ(λ)ηνίωι[. . .]. (b) [. . .] ις. (c) [. . .]ς.  
 (F) (a) [. . .]νης μ᾽ ἀνέ[θηκεν] τῇ Ἀφρο[δίτη]ι.  
 (b) [. . .]ων[. . .].  
 (G) (a) Ζώιλος(·) (μ(ε) ) ἀνέ[θηκεν(·)] τῇ Ἀφ[ρ]οδ[ίτη]ι  
 and -τηε[. . .]. (b) [Ζώιλος] ὁ Χίος[. . .].  
 (c) [. . .]τωι[. . .]. (d) [. . .]μ᾽ ἔθ[ηκεν . . .].

<sup>664</sup> (‘~’ means: ‘the same scribe as in’) Frs. no. 16 + 22, 20, 20a, 21, 27, 32, 33, 34, 44, 50, 51, 52, 55 ~ 214, 63, 69, 70, 73, 75 ~ 95, 77, 80, 93, 94 ~ 138, 96, 97, 107, 108, 109 + 199 (Bailey, no. 6), 110, 113 + unnumbered (Bailey, no. 9), 118 + 153 (Bailey, no. 5), 119, 121 ~ 124 ~ 126, 125, 129, 133, 134 ([αυτ] for [διτ], Cook–Woodhead, p. 162; ~ 172, see ad Jc), 136, 139, 143, 150, 154, 192, 194, 203, 205, 207, 208, 209?, 211, 214a, 223, 226 (see n. 671), 230; probably also the frs. British Mus. 1924. 12–1. 707 [διτλ], 732 [θηκεν], 758 [ηκε] (ph. Bernand, pl. 24, line 3, no. 11), 779 [τιαφ] (listed by Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5); furthermore the fr. in Dublin (Vickers).

<sup>665</sup> Cook–Woodhead write ]φορ[?].

<sup>666</sup> I do not repeat the Cook–Woodhead numbers here; see above.

- (H) (a) Ζώιλος (μ(ε) ) ἀνέ[θηκεν Ἀ[φροδίτη]ι].  
 (b) [Ζ]ώιλος (μ) ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .] η[. . .].  
 (I) (a) [. . .]μ(ε) ἀνέ[θηκεν(·)] (τῇ) Ἀφροδίτηι.  
 (b) [. . .]φορ[. . .]. (c) [. . .]εν τὰφ[. . .].  
 (d) [. . .]τῇ Ἀφο(ρ)δ[ίτη]ι. (e) [. . .]ἀνέ[θηκεν]ν Ἀφο(ρ)δ[ίτη]ι.  
 (J) (a) Αντ[. . .]. (b) Θυμογ[ή]θης: μ᾽ ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .].  
 (c) Κλέαρχος[. . .]. (d) [. . .]αικ[. . .]. (e) [. . .]δ[ημ]ι[. . .].  
 (f) [. . .]ης μ᾽ ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .]. (g) [. . .]ιδης: μ᾽ ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .].  
 (h) [. . .]ιδώρη[. . .]. (i) [Κ]λευπ[. . .].  
 (j) [. . .]λος ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .]. (k) [Ερ?] μολ[ω]ς[. . .].  
 (l) [. . .]μος ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .]. (m) [. . .]νησις ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .].  
 (n) [. . .]ος ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .]. (o) [. . .]όστρα[τος . . .].  
 (p) [. . .]υπισ ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .].  
 (K) (a) [. . .]δ Χίος[. . .]. (b) [. . .]ἀνέ[θηκεν]ν ὁ Χί[ος . . .].  
 (c) [. . .]ἀνέ[θηκεν]ν ὁ Χίος[. . .].  
 (d) [. . .]ἀνέ[θηκεν]ν ὁ Χί[ος . . .] (?).  
 (e) [. . .]ἀνέ[θηκεν]ν ὁ Χίος[. . .].  
 (L) (a) [. . .]ῆμι τῶν[. . .]. (b) [. . .]τῶν[. . .].  
 (c) [. . .]Ἑλλή[νων]. (d) [. . .]τῇ φ[αί]η ? . . . and  
 [. . .]ἀνέ[θηκεν . . .]. (e) [. . .]Ἑλ[λην]ι[. . .].  
 (f) [. . .]Ἑλλ[λην]ι[. . .]. (g) Ἐρμ[ογέ]νης[. . .] (?), see below.  
 (h) [. . .]τις θε[ο]οἰσι[. . .]. (i) [. . .]θεοἰ[σι] [. . .].  
 (j) [. . .]θεοἰ[σι] [. . .].  
 (M) (a) Ποδάνικος. (b) Μόσα[ι?].  
 (N) (a) [. . .]έη θε[ο]οἰ[σιν . . .] (?). (b) [. . .]καλ[?]ή εἰμ[ι . . .].  
 (c) [. . .]κ/Κ]αλ(λ)ιστ[. . .]. (d) [. . .]ἔδωκε[ν . . .].  
 (O) (a) [. . .]τῇ Α[φ] [. . .]. (b) [. . .]θε[ο]οἰσι[. . .].  
 (c) Άρισ[το- . . .]; [. . .] Άριστο[. . .].

*Epigraphy:* (Ba) If 135a is correctly attributed, its two letters ]νη[ are likely to belong to the name, which would then be Δημοφ[ά]νη[ς], not Δημοφ[ών]. (Ea) 222 is read ]κίς by Cook–Woodhead, but the first letter could also be λ, μ, or σ (see nn. 147 above). (Gc) ]τωα[, Cook–Woodhead, but the last letter could be almost anything. (Jb) Cook–Woodhead read Θυμοκ[ή]δης, yet of the delta nothing seems to be preserved, and the letter after the omicron is not a kappa, but lunate gamma.<sup>667</sup> (Jd) The delta (Cook–Woodhead) is not clear, the letter looks rather like an alpha to me; the first letter can be κ, λ, μ, σ. (Jh) The last letter could also be an alpha, although we would not expect this. (Ji) The first preserved letter could also be κ, μ, σ. (Jp) The first letter could also be η, ι, ν. (La) The first letter could also be π. (Lb) The fr. is usually read ]ον[, which is possible too. (Lg) The reading of the sign after the omicron is uncertain (punctuation mark or letter?) and the same is true for the last letter. *Interpretation:* (A)–(L) / (O) Mostly dedications, (B) and (Gd) perhaps metrical. (Eb), (Ec?) / (M) Labels. (N) Not clear.

The Naukratis sherds form about 71% of what is often called ‘Chian Pottery’, found at Naukratis, on Chios (3%), and on Aigina (26%). The fact that most fragments bear inscriptions has two

<sup>667</sup> Bernand, p. 720, no. 781, although providing a ph., adopts the old reading.

different reasons, first, the cups were obviously made for dedicatory purposes in the first instance (they were found in sanctuaries), secondly, the excavators in the case of plain ware tended to keep only the fragments which are inscribed. In view of the thoroughness of Cook's and Woodhead's (1952) article mainly dedicated to the Naukratite sherds, Boardman's considerations (1956; 1986), and D. Williams's edition of the new fragments from Aigina (1982; 1983), I have considered a full-scale new edition inappropriate here. Also the material, being widely dispersed, is still not fully studied by archaeologists. What I thought useful, was (1) to check the readings with photographs available and solve a few problems with the help of the originals; (2) to reconcile the results of Cook–Woodhead with the new Aigina material; (3) to regroup the Naukratite material according to the scribes (as established by Cook–Woodhead) in order to see what texts were written by whom (only a full treatment of the material will show whether all attributions made by Cook–Woodhead are correct and further attributions can be made). At the end, it seemed advisable to keep the three provenances apart, for this makes it easier to point out the details recurring at more than one of them—of which there are few (see below, n. 680). For Chios see IOD 4 and 5, for Aigina see AIG 3.

First, some remarks concerning the interpretation of particular pieces:

(Aa) Williams (1983: 185) also takes 222 (attributed to the Mikis writer by Cook–Woodhead) to read [. . .] *τῆς ἀν* [. . .], which seems more plausible from the dr. than the old reading [. . .] *κῆς ἀν* [. . .]; 158, our (Jp), does probably not belong. (Ba) For examples of the name *Δημοφάνης* see Bechtel (p. 126), Fraser–Matthews, Pape–Benseler. For the syntax one may compare the graffito E. A. Gardner (1888), 65, no. 780 = *SGDI* 5765 *Φίλις μ' ἀνέθηκε ὁπικὰ[(ρ)τε]ος τῆ[ι] Ἀφοροδί[τη]ς* (most probably also Gardner, p. 63, no. 722), where instead of the ethnic a patronymic is placed between the verb and the goddess's name (see §227). The addition of the ethnic is exceptional. May we therefore assume that Demophanes meant his dedications to be a hexameter (without shortening of *τῆς*)? (Ca) The Chian fr. attributed to this scribe (IOD 6A) is for Artemis, the Naukratite ones seem to be for Aphrodite as usual. For the name see also (Jb) (the same individual?). (Da) If the gamma is correct, a text with *ἐγγραφεν κἀνέθηκεν* would be the most natural assumption. Cook–Woodhead (p. 161 n. 15) note that we do not know whether there were figures on the vase of 54 (their contemplating a donor's name seems pointless if they are sure of their attribution of the fr. to H). (Ea) For the question of whether the beginning of this name is complete or not, see below. (Eb) A vase of better quality (Boardman (1956), 57 n. 3). (Fb) These letters do not fit a dedicatory formula to Aphrodite, nor very easily in the first element of a man's name ending in [. . .] *νῆς*. (Ga) For the mistakes by this scribe see n. 672 below, and §112. The variant [. . .] *ιτῆρ* [. . .] of 72 (as opposed to the normal spelling in 130) is explained by

Cook–Woodhead (p. 160) as 'erratic' (but see §225). For the name *Ζωίλος* Cook–Woodhead (p. 161 n. 18) give many parallels. (Gb) This ethnic was certainly not included on frs. 156 *Ζωίλος* a [. . .] and 224 [. . . ?] *Ζωίλο . . . μανέθηκε* [. . .];<sup>668</sup> for all the other pieces by this scribe we cannot tell. (Gd) The simple verb is very unusual in prose (e.g. *LSAG* 159, 169. 16; for verse see *CEG*, Index, s.v. *τ(θημι)*); we may therefore assume a metrical dedication as in (B). (Ha) This scribe too frequently commits mistakes (see §112). (Hb) The mu seems to be forgotten on both vases (24 and 62); the text is basically the same as in (Ha). (Ia) See (Ib) just below. (Ib) [. . .] *φορ* [. . .] is probably part of Aphrodite's name; Cook–Woodhead (pp. 160 n. 9 and 162) assume a mistake, but it could be due to metathesis of the liquid (see §205). Similarly 167, our (Id), and 16, our (Ie), the latter with *Φ* (see §102), need not contain simple mistakes (also p. 160, both unattributed), since [r] often had a weak pronunciation in this position (see §203). (Ic) With nu ephelkystikon (see §202), but non-Ionic article (*in crasi*); see below. (Id) and (Ie) See (Ib) above. (J) For more names see (Oc) and (Nc) (?). (Jb) For rare lunate gamma in East Ionia, see Jeffery, pp. 325, 329, 341. 7 (c. 550–540); our example may also be an accidental variant of the normal letter-form drawn in one stroke. For names in *-γῆθης* see Bechtel, p. 108, e.g. a Milesian in the fifth century. For the name see also (Ca). (Jc) Bailey's interpretation (as adopted above) of his fine join is better than 'Archostratos dedicated' of the display in the museum (vidi 13 June 1988). For if we were to read [. . .] *κἄρχοσ[τρατο-]* *vel sim.*, (1) the second letter, which is more likely to be a lambda than a kappa, would not fit; (2) we would lack a nu ephelkystikon in the prevocalic position (see §202); (3) the donor's name would not be at the beginning of the sentence as it normally is (if it were a father's name, which would be unusual too, we would expect *ὠρχ-*); (4) it would be a name with *Ἄρχο-* as its first element, which is very rare and seems to be more or less a Rhodian speciality (Bechtel, p. 80; Fraser–Matthews). 165, attributed to Z. 1 by Cook–Woodhead and therefore part of our (Ga), may contain the same name (see n. 662). (Jd) We may read [. . .] *καὶ K* [. . .] and would have a possible 'partner' as in AIG 3E. (Je) Not by the scribe D (Cook–Woodhead, p. 162); but it could nevertheless be the name Demophanes (Zoilos' name too is written by different hands, and the same is true for AIG 3E). (Jf) The two frs. are by the same hand. (Jh) Cook–Woodhead (p. 162) take this for a masculine name in *-ης* (instead of *-εως*) which is hardly probable; one wonders why it has not been adduced as evidence of female donors, as Aigyptis and Mikis were thought to be (see below); the rho has a form similar to P or P (see §101 and my ph.). (Ji) A name with *Κλεο-π-*, occasionally written *Κλευ-* in various dialects (see Bechtel, pp. 240 f.; and see COR 82d above) seems possible; Bailey's join has shown that it is not the same name as in (Jc). (Jk) The comparison with fr. 12 (our AIG 3E,

<sup>668</sup> Cook–Woodhead's ' . . . ' will stand for two illegible signs, probably 's:'. Yet Boardman (1956: 56 n. 5) doubts that the two pieces of 224 are from the same vase.

Williams (1983: 174 f., no. 112) by Cook–Woodhead is made impossible by the new finds from Aigina, and the identification of the scribes is therefore to be rejected. I would suggest that the epsilon put underneath between the lambda and omega is a correction (similar to the one in IOD 64) and the whole fr. to be read [. . .]μολέω[. . .], e.g. *Ἐρμόλεως, Τιμόλεως vel sim.* (for Ionic [eō] < [āo] at contemporary Naukratis see the graffito E. A. Gardner (1888), 65, no. 779 with genitive [. . .]χίδεω). (*Jl*) Curiously, the same letters form a label in (*Mb*). (*Jp*) Cook–Woodhead (p. 162) restore a name [. . .]όστρα[τος], which is very plausible. (*Jp*) Cook–Woodhead suspect a connection with (*Ji*), which would yield a short name in -ις from e.g. *Κλεόπατρος*, but the upsilon is uncertain. (*Kc*) I did not see this piece on 22 Aug. 1990. (*Kd*) A mistake for ]νόΧι[. . .] according to Boardman (1956), 56 n. 5; this seems doubtful, since the second ‘chi’ would be wrong, whereas the first one probably shows a correction (see my ph.). (*La*) The beginning shows crasis, for which see (*Nb*); the end may be part of *τῶπόλλωνος* or *τῶν Διοσκόρων* (Cook–Woodhead, p. 161 n. 13), or *τῶν θεῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων vel sim.* (*Lb*) It is easier to find a context for omega than for omicron; (*La*) and (*Fb*) may have the same text. (*Lc*) The end of an inscr., hence the restoration. (*Ld*) 201 and 198 are by the same scribe (Cook–Woodhead); 201 is on a phiale, with the back of an animal (?), 198 on a chalice. Cook–Woodhead (pp. 160 n. 9 and 162) suggest that *φα* stands for transposed *αφ*. But transposed letters are very rare (see §110).<sup>669</sup> Therefore I wonder whether we should not compare these two cases (see my ph.) with the similar cases, also by one scribe, of AIG 3B1 [. . . ἀ]νέθ[ηκε . . .] and AIG 3C [. . .]τῆμφαίη[ι], respectively (a chalice and a kantharos). (*Le*) Interpretation by Cook–Woodhead (p. 161). (*Lg*) *Ἐρμ(ο)υ ἐμ[ε] ἀνέθηκεν* (Hogarth–Lorimer–Edgar) is hardly right; it makes little sense, and the gen. of Hermes should be *Ἐρμέω* as in Hdt. (see §253). If what was read as a punctuation mark is the remains of a letter, readings like *Ἐρμολέγ[ης . . .]* would be possible. (*Lh*) Not ‘certainly’ a nonsense inscr. as claimed by Cook–Woodhead (p. 161), but—as suggested by Boardman (1956), 58 n. 7—to be interpreted as *θεοῖς*. We shall have to read [. . .]τῆς θε(ο)οῖσιν[. . .] with A.W. (see §111), as in one or two graffiti from the Hellenion at Naukratis.<sup>670</sup> For the nu see (*Ob*), (*Li*), (*Lj*). (*Li*) Cook–Woodhead (p. 161) think of the Dioskouroi, which seems less likely. (*Ma*) This name, unattested elsewhere, seems to be formed by analogy with *ποδά-νιπτρον* and *Ποδα-λείριος* (for these see Risch, p. 220) and to mean something like ‘winner on foot (as a racer or fighter)’. (*Mb*) A vase of better quality (Boardman (1956), 57 n. 3). I suggest reading *Μόσα* or *Μόσαι*. At least not ‘possibly’ a nonsense inscr. (Cook–Woodhead). (*Na*)

‘probably’ a nonsense inscr. (Cook–Woodhead, p. 161). A vase of better quality (Boardman (1956), 57 n. 3), in another language? (Boardman (1956), 60). The inscr. could have continued beyond the warrior’s head, hence my tentative restoration (with A.W., see §111). (*Nb*) may be compared with AIG 3A *καλή εἰμ[ι]* and our (*La*). (*Nc*) [. . . κ]αλ(λ)ιστ[. . .] (Cook–Woodhead) seems plausible; it could be part of a proper name (see Bechtel, p. 233). (*Oa*) The reading seems certain (see my ph.). It is not a mistake as supposed by Cook–Woodhead (p. 160), but an incomplete crasis as in the Naukratite graffito, Bailey (1970), no. 3 (bibl.), *Ἀρχαῖος ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ[ι]* (Bailey took this for the oldest example of loss of -ι in the dat., but before a vowel this is a special case; even in Homer the shortening of the preceding vowel in this position implies the loss of the second element of the diphthong; see §221). It could be to Aphrodite or Aphaia, although the former is more likely. I am grateful to A. W. Johnston for a last-minute reference to his publication (Johnston (1982)) of a ‘Chiot sherd’ with the same three letters in the University College London, inv. 742. (*Ob*) The omicron is certain, the nu almost (see my ph.). Surely of the same kind as (*Lh-j*), so I am sceptical about the identification with the Aiginetan scribe (Cook–Woodhead). (*Oc*) Considering the frequency of names with Aristo- (Bechtel, pp. 69–72), it does not seem a priori likely that these fragments are by Aristophantos who dedicated on Aigina (AIG 3E). The two frs. of 170, inv. 821 and 832 (see my ph.), are not from the same pot as indicated by Cook–Woodhead (832 is much thicker), therefore the name of the donor is not necessarily *Ἀρισ[. . .]ος*.

Epigraphical features, as Cook–Woodhead (pp. 159 f.) point out, are distinguishable more on an individual than a chronological or geographic level.<sup>671</sup> Also there are simple mistakes,<sup>672</sup> curiously enough by both ‘Zoilos writers’. (Were they nevertheless the same person?) Two phenomena which are probably not mistakes are the spelling *Ζωιλος* on fragments 45, 64, 231 (Cook–Woodhead, n. 8, refer to Buck (§56), speaking of a glide; see also §257 below), and *Ἀφροδίτηι*, for which see (*Ib*) above. There is no certain instance of crasis on the Naukratis sherds:<sup>673</sup> *τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ* is the standard spelling. The only exceptions seem to be (*Ic*) [. . .] *ενταφ[. . .]* (100a), mentioned above, with non-Ionic article but nu ephelkystikon (see also n. 680 below), the uncertain case (*La*), and (*Oa*), which is said to be by a writer who recurs on Aiginetan sherds. On the other hand, there is much crasis in painted inscriptions from Chios and Aigina (see ad locc.).

<sup>669</sup> All cases compared by Cook–Woodhead are doubtful or wrong; for 88 [. . .]φορ[. . .], our (*Ib*), see above; for 172 [. . .]εαρ[. . .], which is not -κ]εΑρ[φοδίτηι, as Cook–Woodhead (pp. 160 n. 9 and 162) suggest, see above, ad (*Jc*).

<sup>670</sup> Hogarth–Lorimer–Edgar (1905), 116, no. 1, which will be *boustrophedon*: *τοῖς θε(ο)οῖς τῶν | Ἑλλήνων | με ἀνέθηκεν ὁ δεῖνα*; perhaps also Hogarth–Lorimer–Edgar (1905), 116 f., no. 19, [. . .]θε(ο)οῖς[. . .], if the inscr. is retrograde.

<sup>671</sup> There is consistent l.-to-r. writing. Word-division (always with three dots) is comparatively rare; so is reversed sigma (67 and 160, not by the same scribe) and confusion of theta and phi (110, and less certain 226; see §109).

<sup>672</sup> Z. 1: *ανθηκε* in 48, part of our (*Ga*). Z. 2: *αεθηκε* in 45, part of (*Ha*); ε for με in 62, part of (*Hb*). Probably also (*Kd*).

<sup>673</sup> The same is not true for the graffiti (Cook–Woodhead, p. 160 n. 7), e.g. British Mus. 1888. 6–1. 456 *Σώστρατος μ’ ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ* (ph. Lane (1971), pl. 17b).

Boardman (1986) re-examined the problem of where the pottery was produced and has come to the following conclusions (slightly modifying his views of (1956)). (1) The clay of the ware found at Naukratis and on Chios is of very similar quality (p. 252). (2) Transport of clay *is* attested for antiquity, makes particularly good sense in the case of Naukratis in view of the poor quality of Egyptian clay, is an easy thing to do, and is clearly advantageous when compared with the transport of fragile ready-made pottery (*ibid.*). (3) The Aigina cups are exactly like those at Naukratis (p. 253); the name of one of their donors, Aristophantos, is also found at Naukratis (*ibid.*; but see above, *Oc*). (4) This makes it more likely that Naukratis, not Chios was the place of production of the Aiginetan finds (also no Naukratis scribe has so far been securely identified on Chios; *ibid.*). (5) No fine Chian ware at Naukratis bears painted dedications, only cheap ware does, therefore production of the latter at Naukratis is more likely (p. 254). (6) Mikis is 'likely to be' and Aigyptis 'certainly' is a woman, both probably local hetairai; yet it is hard to believe that any Naukratite women would have ordered cheap ware at Chios to dedicate at Naukratis.

The last point is probably not a very strong one; it is true that hetairai are often named by means of an ethnic (see ad DOH 3), and \**Αἰγυπτίς* would be perfectly acceptable. But, first, it seems slightly odd that it was a hetaira, Mikis, who exclusively dedicated to Zeus Hellenios rather than to Aphrodite, who in turn was honoured by several male donors (e.g. [ . . . ]ethes, Hermomandros, Zoilos) and indeed by Aigyptis, as well as by one Philis, son of Epikrates: *Φίλις . . . ἑπικράτ[ (ρ)τε]ος*.<sup>674</sup> Secondly, names in *-is* need not be feminine (already in the *Iliad*, apart from *Πάρις*, we get *Θάμυρις* 2. 595, *Μάρις* 16. 319, *Πρύτανις* 5. 678, *Πύρις* 16. 416, *Χρόμις* 2. 858; these are all unimportant characters, i.e. they bear hypocoristic, almost 'throwaway' names of unpretentious, popular kind; see §231).<sup>675</sup> And thirdly in Hellenic Egypt masculine names in *-is* must have been perfectly acceptable if not popular in view of kings like *Ἀμασις*. Also Williams's argument (1983: 185), 'Aiguptis must have been a woman, since Aiguptios would surely have been the natural masculine form', is not decisive. For not only are hypocoristic names derived from ethnics very common (see e.g. *Αἰγυπτᾶς*; Bechtel, p. 536), but also there was no danger of confusion between such a short name *Αἰγυπτίς* and the feminine version which would normally have been accented *Αἰγυπτίς*. So considering the fact that Mikis' and Aigyptis' dedications are so similar to the many that are *not* by hetairai, I am inclined to reject the hetaira theory altogether and prefer to take these two names as masculine too.<sup>676</sup>

<sup>674</sup> A graffito; see above, ad (*Ba*), and §205. Williams (1983: 185 n. 57) is wrong to adduce this name as evidence of a hetaira. And the sex of his 'Phyllis', taken from a graffito which reads [ . . . ]λλίς (E. A. Gardner (1888), 66, no. 808), is unknown.

<sup>675</sup> More masc. names in *-is* are listed in Pape-Benseler, pp. xviii f.

<sup>676</sup> Another male representative of the trade who bears an Egyptian sounding name in *-is* is of course the Attic potter *Ἀμασις*. (The name of the younger painter Douris, spelled *Δούρις*, is Greek; Bechtel, p. 140.)

The most important of Boardman's points,<sup>677</sup> however, is the unsophisticated and cheap character of the ware, which indeed makes local production the most likely solution. (If we believe this for Naukratis, we ought to claim the same for Aigina; see ad AIG 3E.)

Now, Demophanes and Zoilos and possibly some more donors—see (*Ba*), (*Gb*), and (*K*)—call themselves Chians. This addition seems to make particularly good sense if they produced and inscribed the vases at a place far from their home. The same origin in Ionic Asia Minor can be seen from the donors' names. Particularly revealing is Hermomandros (he was working in the first half of the sixth century, and therefore may have been born around 600). It is a striking fact that the element *-μανδρο-* in proper names is almost entirely restricted to the East Greek area and was indeed very fashionable at the time. See, for example, the philosopher Anaximander, born at Miletos c.610, one [*Ἀν*]αξίμανδρο[s] at Miletos c.560 (foot of a stone kore),<sup>678</sup> and Mandrokles, a Samian architect who built the bridge over the Bosphoros for Dareios I in 513 BC, so probably born in the first half of the sixth century; see also Bechtel, pp. 293 f. Striking in this connection is the genealogy of one Heropythos on the Chian gravestone *LSAG* 344. 47 = *DGE* 690 (c.475?). If we count 30 years per generation and assume that Heropythos died at the age of 50, we get the following approximate chronology of his ancestors: *Ἡρόπυθος* born c.525, father *Φίλαιος* c.555, grandfather *Μίκκυλος* c.585, great-grandfather *Μανδροκλῆς* c.615, gr.-gr.-grandfather *Ἀυτοσθένης* c.645, gr.-gr.-gr.-grandfather *Μανδραγόρης* c.675;<sup>679</sup> here again we have a *-μανδρο-*, born slightly before 600. Moreover there is a name with *Μικκ-*, a bit younger, which reminds us of our *Μικίς* (I therefore prefer *Μικ(κ)ίς*). A contemporary of the latter is *Μικκιᾶδης*, the Chian artist (*CEG* 424 f.). That at least the majority of our donors were East Greeks, which is to be expected at Naukratis, is therefore fully confirmed.

The question is what kind of people these East Greek donors at Naukratis were. Most instructive seems to be the following passage by Boardman (1956: 57): 'An aid to attribution is the apparent "correspondence between the names of the dedicators and the hands that wrote the dedications". Why the dedicators should be so selective in laying their orders for votives or the Chian Kerameikos so complex seems hard to fathom. But when we note that the same "writer" tends to write not only the same formula in the same style for the same dedicator, but also on vases of the same type and for the same deity, we may suspect that the votives were ordered, made, and inscribed in *batches* for the same man, whose offering would then be of several vases at once and not just one. It may well be then that we are dealing with far fewer "writers", whose style might differ in details in different batches

<sup>677</sup> Already emphasized by Boardman (1956), 57.

<sup>678</sup> *JDAI* 69 (1954), 101–17 with ph.

<sup>679</sup> Etc. How far back this is reliable is a difficult question, but as far back as Heropythos' great-great-grandfather, whom his grandfather may have known personally, we may have confidence.

of inscriptions made at different times, on different shapes, and with different brushes.' One feels slightly uneasy imagining worshippers offering whole sets of similar and similarly inscribed, but cheap pots to a deity on one and the same occasion. But Boardman's observations allow a completely different, in my view more likely interpretation, namely a routine of successive offerings in gratitude for a regular little success in one's trade. And would it not be much easier to assume that the writer and the donor for whom he keeps writing the same formula over and over again, are in fact one and the same person?

I have the strong feeling that we are dealing not with tradesmen but with potters (i.e. owners of potters' workshops), who keep dedicating humble routine gifts (see §302). The occasion for these gifts may have been the successful firing of a kiln-full of pottery, as in the case of the equally cheap and unpretentious Corinthian pinakes, our COP, of very much the same period (see *ibid.*). If the potters and the donors are identical, the addition of the ethnic *Xίος* of course remains unaffected as an argument for the place of production being Naukratis. For such an ethnic would have been pointless if people at the time could be sure that all this type of pottery was coming from Chios.

We may safely assume that the very workshops, indeed the same potters and painters, also produced 'better' ware for sale. Occasionally the fragments are of better quality; see above, (*Eb*), (*Mb*), (*Na*). Here the fine 'Grand Style' vases so typical of Naukratis (Boardman (1956), 59 f., *id.* (1986), 252) come to mind. Were these the successful product for sale, while the humble 'samples' were for internal use? The logical implication of the fact that the Grand Style is still not represented on Chios is that it was produced elsewhere. Naukratis was an ideal place of production because of its trading connections with the whole Greek world which allowed transportation of these fragile goods to their destination by the shortest possible route and without much transshipment.<sup>680</sup>

<sup>680</sup> The evidence for possible personal links between the donations at Naukratis and similar ones at Chios or Aigina is very scarce. One link with Chios could be provided by NAU 1*Ca* and IOD 6*A*, which are claimed to be by the

NAU 2 LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1888. 6-1. 531

Frs. of a large bowl from Naukratis (c.1885/86). *Bibliography*: E. A. Gardner (1888), 64 f., no. 768, dr. pl. 21; F. Bechtel, *SGDI* (1905), no. 5767; Cook-Woodhead (1952), 161 n. 12. *Photographs*: —. *Scene*: Wild goats (not related to the inscr.). *Date*: Late Wild Goat style (Cook-Woodhead).

○ THI:THIENAVKPATI

[. . .]ο [. . .]τηι:τηιενανκρατι

[. . .]ο [. . .]Ἀφροδίτῃ: τηι: τηι ἐν (N)αύκρατι.

*Epigraphy*: Painted in white inside the rim before firing (Cook-Woodhead). The second letter could be upsilon, chi or psi.

*Interpretation*: Dedication.

The function of this piece will be similar to that of the NAU 1 fragments of better quality.

As for the spelling ἐν (N)av-, also the geminates found at morphemic junctures are occasionally written with a single sign only (see §113). For the place of the word-divider see §226.

same hand; the same is asserted for NAU 1*B* and IOD 6*C* (there are, however, many bearers of names starting with Δημ-). Links with Aigina could be seen in four cases. (1) NAU 1*Ic*, which shows a nu ephelkystikon but a non-Ionic article (*in crasi*) and could be a dedication to Aphaia (but also to Aphrodite). On the same grounds, however, one could claim a link between Chios and Aigina, for IOD 6*E* also lacks a nu ephelkystikon. (2) The case of NAU 1*Ld*, which is similar to AIG 3*C* (and *B1*). (3) NAU 1*Ob*, which is asserted to be by one of the Aiginetan scribes; but this seems doubtful. (4) NAU 1*Oc*, which is claimed to be by Aristophantos, a donor at Aigina; this is possible but not particularly likely.—I should not think this evidence is sufficient to claim identity of scribes or donors at more than one of the three places. On the other hand, the following link of a completely different kind between Chios and Naukratis, although unprovable too, may be considered (it is diachronic not synchronic, so to speak). Very often in Greek a son was given a name which contained one of the elements of his father's name (see Bechtel, *passim*). It is therefore tempting to see in our Ἐρμόμανδρος (NAU 1*Da*, active at Naukratis in the 1st h. 6th cent.) the son of the Chian potter Νικήσερμος (IOD 4, productive in the late 7th cent.), who so proudly signed his cup, as if he was the founder of a large enterprise and family tradition.

## 21. ‘Caeretan’

*Introduction:* A single piece among the fifty or so figure-decorated vases which are thought to be of a local fabric of Caere in Etruria bears inscriptions. Their dialect is probably East Greek.

°CAE I PARIS, LOUVRE CP 10226 (FGMT CP 321)

Caeretan hydria probably from Caere (ex Campana inv. —; 1857 or earlier). *Bibliography:* not in *CatCamp*; Pottier (1933), with drs. pls. 7 f.; N. Plaoutine, *CVA* France, 14 (1938), 10 f. (bibl.), phs. pls. 11 f.; Friis Johansen (1967), 55 and 164 f., cat. p. 275, no. C. 5; Schefold (1978), 220 f., with ph. fig. 299; *LIMC* i, ‘Achilleus’ 438\*, ph. pl. 103; Hemelrijk (1984), 46 f., no. 30, phs. pls. 106–8; *LIMC* iv, ‘Eurybates’ ii. 2; *LIMC* vii, ‘Nestor’ 15\*, ph. pl. 753. *Photographs:* *CVA* (a) and (b) quite cl., (c) cl.; Schefold not very cl.; *LIMC* i (c) cl., rest uncl. or invis.; Hemelrijk (a) (pl. 107a) and (b) (pl. 107b and c) quite cl., (c) (pl. 108f) cl.; *LIMC* vii sm. but quite cl. Vidi 6 Aug. 1990. *Scene:* A procession of four men to r., viz. a messenger with *petasos* (a), a warrior (b), a boy (no name preserved), and their (badly damaged) leader (c), meeting two (or more?) men to l. (no names preserved). *Date:* c.520–510 (Friis Johansen); c.520 (Schefold; *LIMC* i); c.515 (Hemelrijk, pp. 153, 157–9).

(a) οΔΙΟΞ (b) ΑΙΑ (c) ΝΕΞΤΩΡ  
(a) Οδῖος (b) Αἶας (c) Νέστωρ  
(a) °Οδῖος, (b) Αἶας, (c) Νέστωρ.

*Epigraphy:* (a) There is nothing in front of the first omicron. The sigma is not ϝ (Pottier) but ξ (reflection in direct sunlight revealed the inscr. clearly, see dr.). (b) Pottier reports the top stroke of a ξ or ϝ at the end; I thought I could also see it. *Interpretation:* Embassy to Achilleus (labels).

For the scene and the literary implications see §445. The position of the so-called Caeretan vases is debated, not so much with regard to the place of production, which is normally located in Etruria, but to the stylistic dependence. It was suggested in the last century, well before the publication of this vase, which is the only one with inscriptions, that the style is East Greek. Therefore Pottier considered the four-barred sigma and the omega to be the final proof for this assumption (see also A. G. Woodhead *apud* Hemelrijk, p. 172; and Schefold). In fact, these two factors are not decisive, because they could as well be Attic at the time in question (for the omega as part of the Attic alphabet, see §106). Hemelrijk (p. 160) states that the artist’s ‘background was not a pottery tradition—connections with East Greek pottery are not very close nor convincing’, but finds more general stylistic features (pp. 172 ff.) that he can connect with East Greek art. See now Marangou (1995), 120–33, on Phokaia as a possible place of origin of the artists.

The inscriptions contribute an additional argument for East Greek origin at least of the writer (and painter), namely the fact that name (a) does not have initial aspiration. For this name—particularly as the name of a messenger—was easily intelligible, and if the writer had spoken a non-psilotic dialect (which more or less equals ‘non-East-Greek’) he should have written \**Hódios*. Of course we could argue that Odios, who is a very minor figure in the myth, may have been known to our writer exclusively from epics in its psilotic form, but even so, the name, which occurs also for historical persons (Bechtel, p. 532), was transparent and should have been ‘translated’.<sup>681</sup>

<sup>681</sup> I can see no linguistic reason for the traditional accentuation °Οδῖος in the *Iliad*.



## 22. Doric Hexapolis

*Introduction:* The Doric south-west of Asia Minor with Rhodes and some other islands provides three pieces with painted inscriptions, one of them figure-decorated and labelled.

DOH 1 LONDON, BRITISH MUS. 1860. 4-4. 1

Plate from Kamiros on Rhodes (1860 or earlier). *Bibliography:* Conze (1864b), 37 ff. (non vidi) with col. dr. (vidi); col. dr. Salzmann (1875), pl. 53; Schneider (1886), 11 f. (more literary bibl.); Kirchhoff (1887), 48; Cauer (1888), 753 f.; Kekulé (1888); Dümmler (1891); *BM Cat.* A (unpublished), no. 749; Kretschmer (1894), 7 ff.; Robert (1919), 201 f., with dr. fig. 156; Ducati (1922), 151, dr. 150; Pfuhl (1923), 139, ph. fig. 117; ph. Merlin [n.d.], pl. 20; Richter (1949), 49, ph. fig. 76; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 153 f., 354, 358. 47, ph. pl. 69; Arias-Hirmer-Shefton (1962), 280, ph. pl. 27; Schefold (1964), 84, and (1966), 90, ph. [pl.] 75; Friis Johansen (1967), 77-80, with ph. fig. 18, cat. p. 279, no. C. 10; Buschor (1969), 54 and 56, with ph. fig. 62; ph. Lane (1971), pl. 20a; col. ph. Charbonneau-Martin-Villard (1971), 37 fig. 38; Mühlestein (1972); Schefold (1975), 33 f.; ph. Bianchi Bandinelli-Paribeni (1976), no. 78; Simon-Hirmer (1981), 54 f. (more archaeological bibl.), ph. pl. 31; ph. B. F. Cook (1987), 59; *LIMC* iv, 'Euphorbos' i. 1\*, ph. pl. 29, 'Hektor' 35; Schefold (1993), 17 f., with ph. fig. 4. *Photographs:* Pfuhl quite cl.; Merlin quite cl.; Richter uncl.; Schefold, Friis Johansen, Buschor, Lane, Charbonneau-Martin-Villard, Bianchi Bandinelli-Paribeni, Cook quite cl.; Arias-Hirmer-Shefton and Simon-Hirmer cl.; *LIMC* sm. *Scene:* Two warriors (a) and (c) fighting over a fully armed third one (b), who is lying dead on the ground, head to the l. *Date:* 7th cent. (most earlier authors); c.600? (Jeffery); c.610 (Schefold); c.630-610 (Simon-Hirmer; *LIMC*).

(a) ΜΕΜΕΤΑΜ (b) ΕΥΦΟΡΒΟΜ (c) (←) ΕΚΤΟΡ  
(a) Μεμελας (b) Ευφορβος (c) Εκτορ  
(a) Μεμέλας, (b) Εϋφορβος, (c) Ἑκτορ.

*Epigraphy:* —. *Interpretation:* Menelaos and Hektor fighting over the dead Euphorbos (labels).

Kirchhoff and Cauer's theory, accepted by Kretschmer, that Argos is the origin of this plate, was rejected by Jeffery because of the letter-form of beta, which is not Argive. Also the style of the so-called Rhodian ware is normally attributed to Rhodes (Jeffery,

p. 154), which suits the provenance of the plate.<sup>682</sup> But the alphabet of our inscription is not Rhodian either, because of lambda and san. Jeffery tentatively—and ingeniously—attributes the alphabet to Kalymna, where some vase fragments have been found with 'Argive' lambdas (our DOH 2) and with san (an unintelligible graffito). The other inscriptions from Kalymna cannot tell us more (see Jeffery, p. 354). At any rate, the writer of our inscription will have been a foreigner, who had moved to famous Rhodes and worked there. He may have come from Kalymna. But he may also have come from Argos; for it is obvious that he would have immediately given up the peculiar 'Argive' letter-form of beta (β) in favour of the local—and widespread—standard form (Β), whereas his lambda (λ) was sufficiently similar to the normal East Greek shape of the time (Λ) not to cause any confusion, and the san too was widely used and certainly read without difficulty by any Greek who could read.

For the scene, which seems to reflect the *Iliad*, see §449. The names offer few problems; (a) is not the epic but the normal Doric form; (b) is as expected (it is also a historical name; Bechtel, p. 456); for (c) see §250.

DOH 2 KALYMNOS, MUS. INV. ?

Frs. of a bf. krater (Jeffery) from Kalydna (-mna) 'ad templum Apollinis' (probably 1934-8: see Segre, pp. x and 218). *Bibliography:* Segre (1952), 218, no. 247, phs. pl. 126 (opp. p. 217), no. 247, 247a; Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961), 154, 353 f., 358. 45, ph. pl. 69. *Photographs:* Segre fig. 247 uncl., 247a cl.; Jeffery quite cl. (only the part Segre 247a, but a different ph.); I have a print of TAP Service, Rhodes, neg. 11902, mostly uncl. *Scene:* On a series of joining frs. there is a horse walking to l., probably not related to the inscr. On a non-contiguous fr. (247a) there are two hooves and underneath the inscr., probably not related. Two other frs. show a bottom-r. corner of a decorated field. *Date:* 6th cent. (Segre); early 7th cent. (Jeffery).

(a) Γ ΑΒ (b) ΓΚΙΔΑ

(a) [...] γ . . . . . | α λ κ ι . . . [ . . . ] (b) [ . . . ? ] α λ κ ι δ α μ [ . . . ]  
(a) [ . . . ] γ ε ν α ι ο . . . | Α λ κ ι δ α μ [ . . . ]. (b) [ . . . ? ] Α λ κ ι δ α μ [ . . . ].  
(Segre's reading)

<sup>682</sup> Schefold calls our plate 'Cnidian'. Surely the alphabet is not that of Knidos, where omicron is C.

*Epigraphy:* The parallel lines below the reserved and decorated zones show that the non-contiguous parts are from three different such zones of the krater. On the part with (a) the inscr. probably started in the top-l. corner of the field and having crossed it, continued retrograde from the bottom-r. corner towards the l. It seems very likely that exactly the same arrangement existed on a second field, of which one fr., bearing (b), is preserved. The first part of (a) was read as 'ΑΕΝΑΙΩ . . .' by Segre, but the first letter has the junction of the two strokes at its top and is therefore likely to be a gamma. The other letters of the top line, as well as the traces after Segre's omicron (he even had doubts whether they were letters), are unfortunately out of focus on the original ph. I have received. The same is true for most of the bottom line, of which the α and λ are certain, κ and ι plausible, the rest possible. (b) The initial alpha and the final mu are only partly preserved, the delta is small and inserted high above. *Interpretation:* Not clear (almost certainly twice the same name).

A name Ἀλκιδάμωσ is attested on Siphnos (late 6th cent.) and later on Crete and Euboia (see Fraser–Matthews), but also –δᾶμωσ is possible (see Ἀλκιδήμωσ IG xii/8. 277. 74; Bechtel, p. 37, and Fraser–Matthews). The first part in (a) may be a form of γενναῖος (Il. 5. 253 and later).

DOH 3 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUS.  
OF ART 06. 1116

Pattern-decorated jar, said to have come from Rhodes (Siana, according to Hiller) (1906 or earlier). *Bibliography:* Shear (1908), with ph. opp. p. 461; Tarbell (1917); Hiller von Gaertringen (1917), 174; Schwyzer, DGE (1923), no. 276a; Robinson–Fluck (1937), 31 f. n. 73, 114, no. 106; Richter (1953), 104 n. 110 (p. 307), ph. pl. 84i; Jeffery, LSAG (1961), 350, 357. 30, ph. pl. 68; Guarducci (1967), 333 f., with ph.; Gallavotti (1975/6), 84 f.; Hansen, CEG (1983), no. 461. *Photographs:* Shear (a) cl., (b) uncl.; Richter only (b), uncl.; Jeffery cl.; Guarducci quite cl. *Scene:* None. *Date:* no later than 450 (Jeffery, p. 350).

(a) ΚΑΓΓΙΞΤΑΓΔΞΗΑΒΡΑΞΙΑ Η ΟΞΕΜΙΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ  
(b) ΔΕΥΞ ΗΕΡΜΑΞ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΞ ΔΘΑΝΑΙΑ

(a) Καλλισταγασθαβρασια | ἡωσεμιν δοκει  
(b) Δεὺς Ηερμας | Αρταμις Αθαναια

(a) Καλλίστα γᾶς ἡᾶ Βρασία (or ἡαβρὰ (Α)σία), ἡως ἐμὶν δοκεῖ. (b) Δεύς, Ηερμάς, Ἄρταμις, Ἀθαναῖα.

*Epigraphy:* Inscr. (a) and (b) are written in two lines each, with a gap in (a) before δοκεῖ, and a small gap in (b) between the

two names of each line. *Interpretation:* (a) Kalos-inscription, approximately 'Brasia / Asia is the most beautiful on earth, I think' (metrical). (b) Not clear (list of gods).

(a) is very close to an iambic trimeter (Gallavotti), but contains a metrical fault (Hansen, καλλίστᾱ). The passage ἡαβρασια makes difficulties. Shear, referring to an ethnic adjective Βράσιος on Rhodes,<sup>683</sup> interpreted it as ἡᾶ Βρᾶσιᾶ, i.e. 'the region of a village \*Βράσος' (Βρασίᾱ cannot be itself the place-name at the root of the ethnic Βράσιος).<sup>684</sup> But I cannot believe that an unprejudiced reader would ever have understood ἡα Βρασία as ἡα Βρασία (χώρα) in our inscription, as Shear suggested. Also it seems improbable that apart from the ethnic and the name of the deme or village itself such a name of the region was also in common usage; other examples are lacking and the island seems too small (30 × 70 km.). Hiller thought of a praise of the actual 'Töpfererde' from \*Brasos, which is no better a suggestion ('clay' is κέραμος, πηλός; γῆ σημαντρὶς in Hdt. 2. 38. 3 is functionally different); and surely Βρασία cannot directly refer to γᾶς of the inscription (this would have to be καλλίστα γᾶ).

The quantity of the [a] of Βρα- is an additional problem. We have the Spartan Βρᾶσιδᾶς (Ar. Pax 640), and, on the other hand, one Βρᾶσίλᾱ (gen.) in Theocr. 7. 11; but these will have to be separated from the Rhodian place-name.<sup>685</sup> Of Πρασιαί or Βρασιαί on the east coast of the Peloponnese, which may or may not be related to our \*Βράσος, we do not know the quantity of the first syllable. From a metrical point of view we cannot decide on the quantity of the [a] either, since we can read with hiatus and shortening, Καλλίστα γᾶς ἡᾶ Βρᾶσιᾶ ἡως ἐμὶν δοκεῖ (Gallavotti), as well as with elision, Καλλίστα γᾶς ἡᾶ Βρᾶσί' ἡως ἐμὶν δοκεῖ (the writing of the elided [a] would be excusable; see §224).

Now, Tarbell rightly objected that καλός, κάλλιστος etc. on vases always describe humans or gods, never lands. He therefore tried to read a personal name, namely Ηαβρ-ασία, which would

<sup>683</sup> IG xii/1. 764. 65 etc. (see Index, p. 229).

<sup>684</sup> The adjective/ethnic derived from Βρασίᾱ would be something like \*Βρασι-αῖος, -εύς, -ᾶτᾶς, -ώτᾶς, etc. (see LSAG 104. 15 = DGE 11 for a list of examples), as in the ethnic of the Peloponnesian place-name Πρασιαί or Βρασιαί, which is Πρασιεύς or Βρασιάτης (both Steph. Byz.).

<sup>685</sup> Heubeck (1973) took the name in Theocritus for a περιήμβροτος-compound, connecting the first element with the \*brad root of βράζω 'boil' (mentioning that we would expect \*βραστι- and separating it from the Spartan name. But Βρᾶσίλᾶς, if this was intended, did not fit the hexameter and the short [a] could therefore be due to metrical adaptation (see §222). Starting from Βρᾶσι- and adopting Heubeck's analysis, we could not only connect the two Doric names (the Spartan one showing -ιδᾶς instead of -ι-ᾶδᾶς, like Bechtel, p. 27 Ἀνησιδᾶς, p. 34 Ἀλεξιδᾶς, p. 119 Δεξιδᾶς, p. 185 Ζευξιδᾶς etc.), but also evoke a more suitable root, namely PIE \*grh 'praise' (which would then have a laryngeal no. 2). This root is well attested in many IE languages but not so far in Greek (only its variant \*grh, in γᾶρυς 'voice'; see e.g. Mayrhofer (1986), 104). Βρᾶσι- would be morphologically parallel to names with Γησι- (Bechtel, p. 109), Πησι- (p. 394), Τησι- (< Τλᾶ-, p. 431), Στρωσι- (p. 411), Γνωσι- (p. 110) etc., and semantically, we may recall Ἀνῆσιλᾶς (p. 281).—Bechtel, p. 101, Βρησίκλης from Assos has probably nothing to do with our names but will be related to Βρήση on nearby Lesbos (see Pape–Benseler).



make good sense, given the proverbial luxuriousness associated with the peoples of Asia (see Sappho fr. 44. 7 ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν; Hdt. 1. 71. 4). But here we would have to accept an unattested name of a very rare type,<sup>686</sup> with an unattested second element<sup>687</sup> and a rare first one.<sup>688</sup>

Gallavotti, rejecting the interpretation as territory or clay, also favoured that of a woman, reading *hā Brasía* ‘the woman from Brasos’ (also considered by Tarbell). This is a good solution, and the lady in question is indeed likely to have been ‘un’etera viaggiante’ (considered but rejected by Gallavotti).<sup>689</sup> In support we may adduce the following points. (1) An ancient Greek woman recorded on a jar for pouring liquid, for instance wine, in a fervent statement of her beauty is a priori likely to be a hetaira.<sup>690</sup> (2) If a woman on Rhodes is called after a local place in the countryside, this name is likely to be a nickname and the person fairly well known, which supports the interpretation as a hetaira. (3) Hetairai are often named after their origin, for example Δελφίς,

<sup>686</sup> In Bechtel I could only find very few compound personal names with a place-name as their second element: 5 with -ρ(ρ)οδος -η (p. 395), 8 with -κύπρος -ᾱ (pp. 271 f.), one with -λοκρος (p. 287), and 4 isolated ones with Φιλο- as their first element (Φιλαιγίρης, p. 23; Φίλαργος, p. 65; Φιλόαρνος, p. 76; Φιλάχαιος (?), p. 90). The latter type will be the starting-point for the former, see the characteristic case of son and father: Ἀριστόκυπρος Φιλοκύπρου. Place-names used as first elements occur more frequently.

<sup>687</sup> Ἀσία is unattested in this position; and there is no suffix -ᾱσιος for derivatives from adjectives either (see Schwyzler, p. 466; Risch (1981), 134, 150).

<sup>688</sup> For names with *Haβp(o)-* see Bechtel, pp. 6 f.

<sup>689</sup> I do not agree with Gallavotti’s linking (b) to (a) (‘e invoca il nome di quattro dei’) and reading them in the order (b)–(a). For this would require νῆ τὸν . . . or at least voc. (His metrical explanations of (b), moreover, by their very absurdity prove that (b) and (a) are not syntactically linked.) His attempt to cure the line, reading κάλλιστᾱ ‘le cose più belle del mondo’, i.e. ntr. pl., was rejected by Hansen.

<sup>690</sup> We may also remember the speaking names on two cups with Rhodian graffiti, CEG 460 Φιλτὸς ἡμι τὰς καλὰς ἀ κύλιξ ἀ ποικίλα and CVA Germany, 15 (1959), 46 f., phs. pl. 46. 3 and 5 (= Würzburg inv. 84): Καλλιστὸς ἡμι.

Θεττάλη, Λεσβία, Κυπρία (?).<sup>691</sup> (4) The use of the definite article with the subject of the sentence makes good sense if the name is an ethnic adjective used as a nickname, and if the individual in question is well known.

Starting from Tarbell’s analysis, we can, however, reach a slightly different interpretation if we read *haβpᾱ́σία*. This could be a graphical rendering for *haβpᾱ́ Ἀσία* (with exceptional ‘crasis’, see §224, last paragraph). At the end, we would have to elide, i.e. to scan Ἀσί’ (see above). This reading would produce a woman called “pretty Ἀσία” (for the name see Bechtel, p. 551).

The main oddity is the metrical mistake. Unless we are prepared to accept it, we may perhaps take κάλλιστα as an adverb, although the verb, which should explain what in the eyes of the writer the woman was doing or saying more beautifully (καλῶς) than any other woman on earth, would then be lacking. Should we therefore prefer our second analysis above? For κάλλιστα γὰς could be taken as an adverbial to the adjective *haβpᾱ́*, which would then be predicative. The result, it is true, is *very* enthusiastic and grammatically rather extravagant: ‘pretty in the most beautiful manner on earth (is) Asia’.

For ἐμὴν Shear adduced the parallel Epich. fr. 148 CGF χαρίεν, ὥς γ’ ἐμὴν δοκεῖ (where the manuscripts, however, have ἐμοί).

(b) For Δεύς see, for instance, Lejeune, §106; from Rhodes we also have CEG 459B (= DGE 272) Ζευ- (c.600–575?), and vice versa—if correctly read—from Phokaia DGE 705 Ζιονύ(σιος) (see LSAG 345. 67). For *Heρμᾶς* see §253; for Ἄρταμυς see §216; for Ἀθᾱναίᾱ see §247. There is no painted scene, and the function of this list of gods’ names remains obscure.

<sup>691</sup> See also the slaves Δαρδανίς Ar. Vesp. 1371 as well as Θράττα at Ach. 273 and Ραχ 1138, who promise similar pleasures (all from Bechtel (1902), 57 f.; see also Bechtel, pp. 544–6, with many other such names, often of slaves).



PART II

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ANALYSIS



## CHAPTER 1

# Epigraphy and Spelling

### SOME LETTER-FORMS

#### §101. Tailed rho

It is well known that the letter rho in Greek can be written both with a tail (R or Q)<sup>692</sup> and without (P, D). P is the original form. The invention of the tailed form must have occurred in a region which used the D-type delta, for instance Euboia or Boiotia. On vases the rho of P- or D-shape is often such that the loop does not meet the vertical stroke at a (virtual) right angle, but at an acute angle P<sup>693</sup> or even asymptotically,<sup>694</sup> sometimes with a slight turn back P.<sup>695</sup>

A speciality of the potter Menaidas (BOI 2A–D) is a rho whose loop is the height of a full-size letter and whose vertical is then extended below the line as a continuation of the loop: P.<sup>696</sup> It is hard to say whether this should be called a tailed rho or not. But it seems very likely, particularly since Menaidas is a Boiotian, that this is a prototype of the tailed form. The asymptotic form, on the other hand, may be a non-deliberate prototype of the deliberate Menaidas variant.

The Chalcidian Inscription painter (see §259) is an interesting case in that he uses both the properly tailed and the untailed rho (see above all CHA 11).

In discussing the time of the invention of tailed rho, Maffre (1975: 423/5, referring to Jeffery, p. 89) claims that the presence of this letter-form on our BOI 3 would suggest a date after 525 for the vase, though this seems too late to him from the point of view of its style, which would suggest the third quarter of the sixth century.<sup>697</sup> But as there are examples of tailed rho from the first half of the sixth century, mentioned by Guarducci (1973:

<sup>692</sup> The first form occurs e.g. in BOI 8 and 10, and EUB 2; the second e.g. in ETR 1 and 4 (but the first in ETR 2 and 3 by the same painter). Both variants occur in BOI 3 (see below).

<sup>693</sup> e.g. IOD 1 (mid-7th cent.), COR 55 and 87.

<sup>694</sup> INC 1 (mid-7th cent.), NAU 17h, frequently in Corinthian inscs. (e.g. COR 14, 56, 66, 79A (implausibly declared a fake), 95, 96A, 105, 112).

<sup>695</sup> e.g. in some of the Corinthian examples just cited (and COR Gr 15b), and most of the inscs. by the Chalcidian Inscription P. (CHA 1 ff.), see below.

<sup>696</sup> In similar cases, e.g. in COR 660, the continuation below the vertical line is not so 'deliberate' as with Menaidas, as is shown by the form P in label (I) of the same vase; this variant also occurs on a Corinthian nonsense inscr. (Payne (1931), cat. no. 1399 = Lorber, no. 105 = Amyx, p. 601, no. 3), as well as in CHA 15b by the Inscription P. Very similar to Menaidas' form, however, is the rho on CHA 19 (Cambridge P.).

<sup>697</sup> The vase is class I, c.570–540, see Maffre's p. 420.

p. 382 with nn. 4–8),<sup>698</sup> a date of c.550 is perfectly plausible for BOI 3, and the vase would be contemporary with the other Boiotian pieces that bear potters' signatures (see also Johnston (1979: 209 f.) for early examples of tailed rho).

It seems particularly remarkable that an isolated Corinthian example (COR 28Ak), apparently no later than 570, is used (for the sake of clarity?) in a letter which had been miswritten first.

#### §102. D-type phi

The oldest form of phi is Φ. But there is a widespread form Θ. It seems to start life in the East (Aegean islands or Asia Minor), more precisely, perhaps, on the island of Naxos; at least there are three Naxian examples of the mid-seventh century (see Jeffery, pp. 37, 290), viz. the Nikandre inscription (*LSAG* 303. 2 (ph. pl. 55) = *CEG* 403), and our IOI 4 and 5. Around the turn of the century it occurs in an inscription to be attributed to Kolophon.<sup>699</sup> The form is used in a Chian inscription of c.575–550,<sup>700</sup> on many sherds from Naukratis (2nd q. 6th cent.),<sup>701</sup> and on the contemporary 'Chian' sherds with Ionic inscriptions from Aigina (AIG 3C), but not on the Doric ones (AIG 3E). This letter-form may therefore give a clue as to the origin of INC 1 (mid-7th cent.). In Mainland Greece it can be observed after the mid-sixth century (LAK 3, c.560, is an early example), for instance on Attic vases (see Immerwahr, p. 162) and our BOI 10 (4th q. 6th cent.).

#### §103. Corinthian gamma and iota

Gamma is a straight vertical line instead of C in some Corinthian inscriptions (notably COR 50A, COR 57d and m), and may have been common in careless Corinthian writing. Jeffery, p. 114, calls this the Achaian letter-form. But for the users of an alphabet that does not have straight iota, it was of course tempting to write the only one-stroke letter in this simple manner.<sup>702</sup> Moreover, the

<sup>698</sup> In the context of the archaic *rex* inscr. from Rome. See also Wachter (1987), 95.

<sup>699</sup> *LSAG* 344. 56, a Kolophonian mercenary's inscr. from Abou Simbel (591 BC).

<sup>700</sup> *LSAG* 343. 41.

<sup>701</sup> e.g. NAU 11e (no. 16); see also my ph.

<sup>702</sup> That the Γ with an angle and a vertical lower stroke is the normal form of gamma in Corinth, as Lorber (n. 340) claims, is not correct, for it is less frequent (COR 23f, 27h, 68j) than the non-angular C or the more-or-less angular < with an oblique lower stroke (COR 33a, 51b, 74i, 82h, 85c, 88d, 92c, 106b, 131c, COP 1, 38A–B, 41, 91); some examples are hard to classify (COR 116c, COP 49, 67).

Achaian and Corinthian writing systems were cognate (see §107) and remained close.

As for iota, there are no clear examples of the straight letter-form on Corinthian vases (as long as there are the slightest bends, as e.g. on COR 38 and COR 85, we should speak of the crooked form). The only exception is the vase COR 103, but this shows so many non-Corinthian features that we must assume that a foreigner painted and inscribed it (see §260). See also ad COR 124A–B.

## TWO PRINCIPLES OF LABELLING

### §104. *Starting-point principle*

It has been long observed, and it is natural too, that labels start as close as possible to the relevant figures (if possible next to the head), and lead away from them. I call this the starting-point principle. At a time when writing from left to right and from right to left was equally current, this principle was almost uniformly observed, since it could be easily applied wherever a small free space around the figure was available. This was no longer so when the left-to-right direction prevailed.

Typical examples of vases on which this principle is consistently observed are COR 12, 101, 113, 114, BOI 15. Sometimes this principle helps to establish the script direction of a label or its attribution to a figure (see COR 1b, 4f, 6, 40, and 70e, LAK 4, CHA 10 and 12a; also COR 104e/f (n. 356) and COR 105a).

On a few vases the principle is not consistently observed, the relevant labels being written from left to right: COR 10a (illiterate writer), 20, 45b (nonsense graffito), CHA 27 f. (both by the same painter), and BOI 18. There is no certain retrograde label that contradicts the principle: COR 102a and CHA 13d are likely to have been secondarily attributed to the figures they designate, and ETR 3a is probably not a label at all (see ad locc.). CHA 2d (left to right) is not a germane case, since the figure is horizontal.

### §105. *Direction principle*

The direction principle is partly a consequence of the starting-point principle (see §104). Labels are written either more or less horizontally or more or less vertically downwards (they can only rarely be written upwards, since they have to start from the head of the figure if possible, and this is normally near the upper edge of the picture). Now, it can be observed that a label written downwards beside a figure is retrograde if it is to the left and vice versa. The reason for this distribution is obvious: the writer would naturally want to start horizontally, from the left or right of the head (alphabetic script is supposed to be horizontal), but if there was not enough free space for a horizontal label, could only continue in the downward direction.

This principle can be used to decide the attribution of a label put in vertically between two upright figures (see COR 22, 24h, 66c, 71e, 93a, 110b, 122, 124, LAK 1, and CHA 10); sometimes

it can help to establish the direction of a damaged label (e.g. COR 24Bd, CHA 16b). The direction principle is very generally observed. A rare exception is COR 76, where three labels, all retrograde, do not obey it, viz. (c), (e), and (f). In inscriptions which do not obey the starting-point principle, the direction principle is not valid either (e.g. in CHA 27a).

## WRITING SYSTEMS

### §106. *The sequence of letters in the alphabet*

In a recent article (Wachter (1989b), hereafter in this section: Wa.) I have examined the Greek abecedaria, and tried to show their importance for the genealogy of the local scripts of archaic Greece. Four of the abecedaria are preserved among our vase inscriptions. For their function see §315.

Some general points may be mentioned. (1) Most local scripts have signs for [k<sup>h</sup>] and [p<sup>h</sup>], i.e. a chi (X+, or Υ) and phi (Φ), which are additions to the so-called prototype alphabet (used on Thera, Crete, etc.). But only a few (East Ionic and Corinthian) also have signs for [ks] and [ps], i.e. a xi (Ξ) and a psi (Ψ). This is an innovation common to both East Ionia and Corinth, and it is likely that the latter took it over in a secondary reform from the former (Wa., pp. 46–9; see also §107).<sup>703</sup> Some scripts have a sign for [ks] (X+) but none for [ps], for instance Boiotian and Euboian (see CHA 1f, 3d/h, and 14b/f vs. CHA 10b and 23b). The others use <χσ> and <φσ> for [ks] and [ps] (only rarely <κσ> and <πσ><sup>704</sup>). (2) Most scripts use epsilon and omicron for long [ē] and [ō] (here transcribed ē and ō) and H for [h] (calling it heta). They do not have the omega sign, which was invented in one of the Greek cities of Asia Minor to signify [ō] by analogy with the existing H for long [ē] (called eta in the psilotic dialects). Omega was not taken over when the Corinthian script reform took place. The reason for this—assuming that the sign existed at all at the time—will have been that in Corinth H was needed for [h]; this did not allow the East Greek solution for [ē] and consequently did not suggest the introduction of a sign for [ō]. Later on, however, it can be observed that omega was added, at the end of the sequence of letters, to certain local alphabets, for instance that of Athens.<sup>705</sup> (3) Some local scripts use the letter M for [s]. It is usually called san, which is likely to have been its normal letter-name in archaic times (see Wa., p. 50); there is further complication, however, since this sign in the Corinthian and Achaian abecedaria occupies the place normally taken in other alphabets by the letter ξ, named sigma (for this problem see Wa., pp. 51–5). (4) In most of the alphabets we are dealing with, digamma (or, more correctly, wau) was still used (for the origin of the letters wau and upsilon see Wa., pp. 37 f.). Even in the oldest East Ionic abecedarium (from Samos, c.660; see Guarducci

<sup>703</sup> For the notion 'East Ionic' and 'East Ionia' in this context see also §508.

<sup>704</sup> An example is cited n. 610.

<sup>705</sup> See Wa., n. 54, and Wachter (1991a), 75, 77 f.

(1967), 265 f.; Wa., p. 31) it is still present, although it was obviously not needed in those dialects.

BOI 14 (painted twice) represents the Boiotian local script of the late fifth century. The letter-forms ('Attic' gamma Λ, and E, Γ, Η, Θ, Φ, Ψ) also show the advanced state of this alphabet. It is interesting to note that in a much older Boiotian inscription, viz. BOI 30 (with Ε and Θ, but also Θ), probably from the sixth century, the letter Ϝ is present. This is only possible because this is a nonsense inscription, whereas in real Boiotian script (Jeffery, p. 89) this letter is not used. Its presence means that it was still part of the Boiotian local alphabet as it was learnt and recited at the time, though it was a 'dead' letter, and that it was only afterwards abolished (for this phenomenon, which I call 'reduction reform' see Wa., pp. 25, 62). The letter—Ϟ in its developed form—is attested in the Euboian-type abecedarium from Marsiliana d'Albegna (*LSAG* 240. 18; Wa., pp. 29–31), which represents the same writing system as Boiotian. The same fate befell qoppa (see §108): it, too, has disappeared from the abecedarium on BOI 14, whereas in more archaic Boiotian inscriptions (see e.g. BOI 10*h*) it was in frequent use. We may assume that they were both given up in one and the same script reform.

ACC 2 shows the Achaian alphabet as used in the colonies. The reason for the doubling of the xi (+) at the end is not clear (see ad loc.), but there is no reason to assume that the second + should represent a different value from the first. See also §112.

COR 51*b* reflects the Corinthian script as used on the Corinthian vases. It is interesting to note that the peculiar sign β (ε) is a secondary addition to the local alphabet,<sup>706</sup> whereas the sign Ε, used mainly for an earlier diphthong [ei] (see §219), is at its original place (no. 5) in the alphabet (this letter is here transcribed ε̄, whereas other authorities use the small capital Ε; the earlier transcription ει should no longer be used).

The second Corinthian abecedarium is COP 86, unfortunately incomplete. For its relation to COR 51*b* (it shows -νοπξρστ-, the latter -νοπρστ-) see Wa., *passim*.

#### §107. *The writing system of Ithaka and Kephallenia*

Jeffery (p. 230, as already Lejeune (1945) in connection with our ITH 2), stresses the fact that Ithaka and Kephallenia do not show the Corinthian alphabet. They have san like Corinthian, but normal epsilon (Ε, attested e.g. on our vases ITH 1 f.) and 'red' chi (Υ, not attested on vases so far). For our ITH 1 Jeffery observes exaggerated iota ξ and 'Euboian' lambda λ. Later, the alphabet of Ithaka, according to Jeffery, is exactly like the Achaian one, still preserving san. This is indeed already the case with ITH 2,

<sup>706</sup> It is not certain whether it was added at the same time or later, or earlier than the Corinthian script reform mentioned above; see Wa., p. 57. Jeffery's statement (p. 115) about its development from a rounded to an angular form seems doubtful to me. At least in the case of the vases no such development can be observed; on the contrary, the rounded form becomes more and more usual. As to the stone inscrs., Jeffery herself has given the explanation for the angular form: 'perhaps because it was easier to cut'. See also §210 with nn. 753 f., and n. 791.

which shows iota ξ (normally ϝ in Achaian), lambda λ, etc. The difference in the alphabet is in contrast to the fact that a large amount of archaic Corinthian pottery has been found on these islands, but no Achaian material. It would therefore be satisfying if we could reconcile the alphabet of the two islands with the Corinthian one.

As stressed elsewhere<sup>707</sup> we have to make a clear distinction between differences in letter-forms and differences in writing systems. As far as the letter-forms are concerned, the λ-type lambda, which is the most archaic form and the closest to Phoenician, is acceptable in the earliest inscription from any Greek region, and its being replaced by λ on Ithaka is most probably just a matter of 'fashion' and need not be linked to any particular outside influence, such as Achaian. As for the exaggerated iota, it is true that it is a rare form, but as in the parallel case of the five-and-more-stroke sigma,<sup>708</sup> we again need not draw any genealogical conclusions from its occurrence here and there, since this too must have been merely a matter of fashion.

More important, on the other hand, are the differences between the Corinthian and Ithakan writing systems: epsilon β did not exist in the latter, and Υ was used differently. In view of such differences it is quite clear that we cannot call the Ithakan and Kephallenian writing system Corinthian. However, as far as we can see, the Ithakan and Kephallenian system does correspond to the Achaian system, for the existing differences from the normal Achaian script are seen only in the letter-forms, not in the writing system. I have tried to show (in Wachter (1989*b*), 46 f., 65) that the Corinthian writing system is likely to have emerged from a secondary reform (see also §106). This occurred under East Ionic influence, conceivably at the same time as the β-type epsilon was added. Before this script reform, the Corinthian system appears to have been identical with the Achaian system, a circumstance that is also geographically plausible. The conclusion is obvious: it is possible that Corinthians taught the Ithakans and Kephallenians to write, but if so this must have taken place before the Corinthian script reform. Our Ithakan inscription ITH 1 shows that the transmission of the skill of writing to the island took place before 700 (but this does not say much about the date of the Corinthian reform). The writing system of both Ithaka and Kephallenia, as well as the Achaian one of course, could therefore be called pre-Corinthian. (Yet if the writing system can be reconciled with the Corinthian one, this is not the case with the dialect of ITH 2 with its form *πολύσε*; see §218.)

Kerkyra, on the other hand, uses the Corinthian alphabet (see Jeffery, pp. 232 f.). But this may have been introduced in a secondary step (as it was in a way at Corinth), namely in the seventh century when Corinth and Kerkyra, though fierce rivals, shared a close relationship (see also §505).

We cannot go into the problem of the writing system of Syracuse and her colonies here. The question of scripts in Sicily

<sup>707</sup> Wachter (1989*b*), 20 ff.

<sup>708</sup> Ibid. nn. 9 and 11. See in particular our oldest East Ionic inscr., IOD 1.

is confusing (see e.g. Jeffery, pp. 264 f.), and our present knowledge, as far as I can see, still does not allow any new conclusions either on the Corinthian writing system and the time of its reform, or on the early history of writing on Sicily.<sup>709</sup>

### §108. *Development of scripts*

In 403/2 the East Ionic alphabet, still used in Greece today, was officially introduced to Athens. But the influence of this successful alphabet can be observed much earlier, with some of its characters being adopted on an 'optional' basis, as it were. It is interesting to note various kinds of incomplete appropriations of the new alphabet. Examples are the addition of omega to the local Attic alphabet in the sixth century (see §106) and the gradual intrusion of the Ionic letter-forms of lambda (Λ instead of λ) and gamma (Γ instead of λ) in the fifth century.<sup>710</sup>

A similar development can be observed on BOI 18, which shows the new letter-form Λ instead of λ, but still prefers the local R to the East Ionic P<sup>711</sup>—although we cannot be sure whether the writing system of this inscription is the old Boiotian or the new Ionic one (no long [ē] and [ō], no [h], [ks], [k<sup>h</sup>], or [ps] occur). Likewise, an example of Λ- or Γ-type lambda where we would not expect it from the local script can be observed on a vase of 'Chalcidian' style, namely the late cup CHA 28 (no Ionic dialect feature preserved) attributed to the same painter as CHA 27 (Ἀδρεῖστος and -μαχος with 'Chalcidian' Ψ, no lambda preserved).

Most (if not all) local scripts seem to have abandoned the use of qoppa in the course of the archaic period. This is a common innovation which can only be due to the mutual influence of these local scripts (we may compare the changes in letter-forms, which developed according to changes in fashion; see §107). But for many regions where qoppa was no longer used after, say, 500, it is uncertain whether it was thrown out of the alphabet at a stroke, or still learnt as a 'dead' letter for some time. The latter must have been the case at Metapontion, since the inscription CEG 396 = LSAG 261. 16 (c.525–500?) no longer contains this letter (Νικόμαχος), whereas in our abecedarium ACC 2 (475–450?) it is still there. On the other hand, in the abecedarium BOI 14 qoppa (for which see BOI 10h) is no longer included, which means that there must have been a script reform in Boiotia while the local alphabet was still in use (see §106). Other relevant inscriptions on our vases which no longer show qoppa are LAK 3g and NAU 1Ma (mid-6th cent.), ETR 3b, IOD 5B, IOD 10 (later). In the Corinthian inscriptions qoppa is almost always used before <o> or <u> (the one exception, COP 31 Δόρκον, may be due to forms like δορκάς, δέδορκε, δρακεῖν, Δόρκις, as in CHA 1g, etc.). It is only in the cases where another consonant stands in between the velar stop and the back vowel that kappa is fairly frequent too.

The name of Hektor is written with qoppa in COR 44e, 60b, 70c, but with kappa in COR 24b, 30b, 57j (COR 10b, 68h, and Gr 6 are unclear in this respect). The name of Patroklos is written with qoppa in COR 3, but with kappa in COR 46Ab and COR 57e (like Hektor). The name Κλύτιος occurs with kappa in COR 12b, whereas we have Qλύτιος in the later inscription COR 113a. An example of inconsistency in one and the same writer is given by the Chalcidian Inscription P. (CHA 1d Κλυτῶ but CHA 3e Qλυτῶ, etc.). See also nn. 522, 784–7.

## MISTAKES

### §109. *Mistakes in letter-forms*

These are mistakes which do not require a phonological explanation. A frequent error is the confusion of Φ phi and Θ theta.<sup>712</sup> Particularly in painted vase inscriptions it is more likely that phi stands for theta than vice versa, since drawing a stroke too many is less understandable than forgetting one (for similar mistakes attributable to oversight, see §112). Examples of a Θ/Φ confusion on our vases are NAU 1 (one example of each mistake; see ad loc., n. 671) and DOC 2; uncertain cases are INC 1 (see also §102) and COR 24Ad.

### §110. *Interchange of letters*

This is a mistake which has been often assumed, but is rarely demonstrable, although we may perhaps expect it when illiterates copy texts which they cannot read. There is no certain instance in our vase inscriptions (see COR 96B and NAU 1Ld), which seem on the whole to have been written spontaneously (with varying degrees of competence), not copied; therefore we should in general avoid basing any interpretations and restorations on this kind of mistake (see COR 70e and 90b; also §457 n. 1153).

Only one special case is acceptable, namely where a frequent consonant cluster, written with a single letter in some local scripts, occurs in inverted order. This is frequent in Attic, where <σφ> and <σχ> often occur instead of <φσ> and <χσ>. Threatte (p. 21, followed by Immerwahr, p. 62), is right not to attribute any phonological reality to such inverted spellings.<sup>713</sup> On our documents we have only one likely case, namely ACC 3a Ξύλλας, which has been plausibly interpreted as the genitive of the name Σκύλλα (even here, where the local script allowed [ks]—but not [sk]—to be written 'economically' with a single letter, which may

<sup>712</sup> See e.g. Schwyzler (p. 205 n. 3), who also prefers the graphical reason. An example on stone: CEG 136 ἀεφλοφόρον (Argos, 525–500?, alongside correct Φ).

<sup>713</sup> See the Attic painter Epiktetos, who wrote ἔγρασφεν about as often as he did ἔγραφε and surely did not pronounce the word in two different ways; see also e.g. the Attic bf. hydria ABV 97. 27 (LIMC i, 'Aias' ii. 8\*) with Πολυσχένη but Φοῖνιχσ{ι} (for the latter form see §111, end) and CEG 76 = LSAG 88. 14 = DGE 801 (and p. 463) from Eretria with ἐκάλυσφεν but φσῦχέι (c.500–480?). Threatte (p. 21) notes two instructive cases in stone inscs. of corrections showing that the inverted spellings were considered wrong and therefore represented different pronunciations.

<sup>709</sup> The use of F instead of B and of Ψ-type chi instead of X, can be explained in various ways in a melting-pot like the archaic Sicilian east coast (they were e.g. characteristics of the writing system of the Euboian colony of Zankle).

<sup>710</sup> See e.g. Wachter (1991a), 74–9.

<sup>711</sup> R is very exceptional in East Ionia; see Jeffery, p. 325.



have been the very reason for the ‘inverted’ spelling, we should not rush to assume an inverted pronunciation too).<sup>714</sup>

### §111. *A.W. (Abbreviated writing)*

In a recent article<sup>715</sup> I have tried to analyse the underlying cause of a frequent mistake that occurs as a result of the writing technique. Apart from the basic unit, the ‘letter’, a slightly more complex one was used in writing, viz. the ‘minimal syllable’ composed of ‘consonant + vowel’ (see also §§112, 224, and 506, penultimate paragraph). In the case of consonant signs this unit had the advantage of being better audible than the sound of the letter on its own. Now, all letter-names given to the consonant signs consist of, or start with, a combination of consonant + vowel, for example  $\nu\upsilon$  or  $\theta\eta(\tau\alpha)$ . If therefore a word contained a group comprising a consonant and the vowel of its letter-name, one could easily ‘forget’ the vowel sign. This was probably never a received means of spelling, but it occurs so frequently that it may well have been at least tolerated. It seems therefore justified to give the phenomenon a name: ‘abbreviated writing’. To give a clear example: COR 66*k*  $\mathcal{A}\kappa\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  instead of  $\mathcal{A}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , which I transcribe as  $\mathcal{A}\kappa(a)\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .<sup>716</sup>

Definite examples on our vases are COR 66*h* and *k*, 74*i*, 92*e*, and 107*b*; COP 3*b*, and 9 (also 27*b*?); CHA 4*e* and 14*a* (both by the same painter who is a competent though somewhat sloppy writer); NAU 1*Lh*; IOD 5*F*. Likely cases are COR 25*b*, 39, 68*i*, and 121*a*; LAK 3*f*. Possible cases are COR 24*Bd* ( $-\delta(\epsilon)-$ ), 48, 68*b*, 79*a* ( $-\delta(a)-$ ); we do not know the letter-name of  $\Delta$  in Corinth,<sup>717</sup>

<sup>714</sup> An interesting new case occurs in a Satyr-name, attested as  $\Sigma\phi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\Sigma\phi\omicron$  [ . . . ], and  $\Phi\sigma\omicron\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  on Attic vases. Not only do these forms contain the same root (as G. Neumann *apud* Kossatz-Deißmann (1991: 172) has already stressed), i.e.  $\Sigma\phi-$  and  $\Phi\sigma-$  are just graphic variants, but they also represent the same formation,  $\Psi\omega\lambda\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ . The difference between  $-\lambda\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  and  $-\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  is explicable by the phonological change, typical of Attic and so far attested only for the other liquid, /r/, by which  $B\omicron\rho\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  became  $B\omicron\rho\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , probably via [Borjās] (see e.g. Lejeune, §263);  $B\omicron\rho\rho(\rho)\alpha\varsigma$  is attested on two Attic vases by the Oreithyia P., *ARV* 496. 1 and 2 (Kretschmer, p. 177; Threatte, p. 523 top). There is no reason why this change should not have affected /l/ too, and the shortened form may therefore be transcribed  $\Phi\sigma\omicron\lambda(\lambda)\alpha\varsigma$ . The basic form  $\Psi\omega\lambda\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  is derived from  $\psi\omega\lambda\eta$  as  $K\rho\iota\theta\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  (Bechtel, p. 482) is from  $\kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta$  (in its obscene sense, of course). Immerwahr (p. 27, no. 97; *ABV* 83. 4) wrote  $\Phi\sigma\omicron\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  with a circumflex; did he anticipate the explanation given here (the geminate is not indicated, though), or is his contraction just a superficial means of getting around a non-Ionic [ā]?

<sup>715</sup> Wachter (1991*a*); mentioned also in Wachter (1992), 25 f. (no. 8).

<sup>716</sup> Further examples not in my vase corpus may be added here. Two examples are cited in nn. 352 and 508, respectively. A new example from an Attic vase is  $H(\epsilon)\rho\mu\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$  (J. Paul Getty Museum, L. 87. AE. 120. 2) in Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), 155. A likely one from a South Italian vase, indeed the Darius krater (Naples 3253, inv. 81947), is  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda(a)\nu|\tau\alpha$  on the paymaster’s wax-tablet (ph. e.g. Trendall–Cambitoglou (1982), 495, no. 18. 38, esp. ph. pl. 176 mid-left). In looking through *IGDS*, I find: no. 47  $H(\epsilon)\rho\mu\iota\acute{\omicron}$  (Selinus, c.450); 90  $H(\epsilon)\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota$  (Syracuse, 480–400; with Corinthian  $\beta$  but straight iota); 144*c*  $E\upsilon\chi(\epsilon\iota)\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  (Gela, early 5th cent.; not  $E\upsilon\chi(a)\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  nor  $E\upsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ ; for the basic name see Bechtel, p. 470). Also *CEG* 839*a* (= 410*a*, c.525–500?)  $\theta\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , though metrically difficult, could be a case.

<sup>717</sup> The letter-name was  $d\acute{\alpha}leth$  (vel *sim.*) in Phoenician; and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (f.) ‘writing-tablet’, a loan-word in Greek from the same Phoenician word, was  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in the Cyprian dialect (see *ICS* 217. 26). It may well be, therefore, that in some local scripts of archaic Greece the letter-name was  $*\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\alpha$ , as the third one, according to Democr. fr. 19, was  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha$  (e.g.) in Ionic (see Wachter (1987), 17 f.; (1991*a*),

at any rate one of COR 79*a* and COR 24*Bd* has to be discarded), and COR 113*d*; COP 44*b* (if we accept  $\mathcal{A}\theta(\epsilon)\nu\alpha[\acute{\iota}]\bar{\alpha}$  instead of expected  $\mathcal{A}\theta\bar{\alpha}\nu-$ ; see ad loc.); EUC 2; NAU 1*Na*. See also the special cases ACC 3*c*  $N\iota\xi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  ( $N\iota\kappa\bar{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ?) and (d)  ${}^h(\epsilon'')\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ .

A.W. also yields satisfactory explanations in COR 46*Ae* and COR 109*b*. These, however, would be exceptional cases, since here the vowel sign (omicron) is omitted after a sign for a vowel not a consonant, viz.  $\iota$  (named  $\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\alpha$ ).<sup>718</sup> A similar case may be the omission of a lambda after alpha.<sup>719</sup>

For the reversed phenomenon see ad INC 1 and §205; also n. 713 and ad CHA 20*b*.

### §112. *Other mistakes*

Letters can be omitted by mistake, for example INC 1  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}(\bar{\epsilon})\sigma\epsilon\nu$ ; COR 24*Ab*  $\mathcal{A}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda(o)\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , 24*Bd*  $\Pi\omicron''\lambda\nu\delta(\epsilon)\acute{\upsilon}\kappa(\bar{\epsilon})\varsigma$  (at least the second epsilon; see §111), 32*a*  $H\bar{\epsilon}\rho\alpha(\kappa)\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ ,<sup>720</sup> 64*d*  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\bar{\omicron}(\nu)$ , 68*j*  $\Gamma(\lambda)\alpha\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , 79*a* [ $\mathcal{A}\alpha F$ ?] $\omicron\delta(\acute{\alpha})\mu\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$  (?) (see also §111), 79*Ac*  $Z\epsilon(\nu)\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\bar{\alpha}$ , and 99*c*  $\Delta(\acute{\iota})\bar{\omicron}\nu$ ; COP 5  $\mathcal{A}(\mu)\phi\iota(\tau)\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\bar{\alpha}$  (the tau; for the mu see §201) and 29*c*  $\Pi\omicron\tau(\bar{\epsilon})\delta\acute{\alpha}(\nu)$ ; NAU 1*Ga*  $\acute{\alpha}(\acute{\epsilon})\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$  (no. 48), 1*Ha*  $\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$  (no. 45), and 1*Hb*  $(\mu)\epsilon$  (no. 62).<sup>721</sup> The technique of thinking in minimal syllables (see §111) may sometimes have been responsible for the omission of a vowel sign, a fault that was likely to occur, for instance, when the writer had to ‘jump over’ an already existing portion of the decoration and then continue writing beyond it (see e.g. COR 79*a*). But often the writer in question made several mistakes and may have been illiterate.

There are other mistakes which are due to a barely literate writer who copied without properly understanding what he wrote, for example COR 10*b* (but not 10*a*; see §250), COR 88*b*–*d*, and probably LAK 3*i*. Also COR 14 may in part contain such mistakes. We might even argue that nonsense inscriptions, in particular nonsense labels (see §403), are an extreme form of copying error, written from memory and without understanding.

Sometimes the shape of the letter may indicate the cause of a mistake. Oddly formed letters can be purely copying errors due to the incompetence of the writer (as can often be observed in official inscriptions on stone). In the case of painted vase inscriptions, we may expect unfinished letters, owing to the fact that the unfired ‘paint’ could not easily be distinguished from the colour

51); the two may even have influenced each other, e.g. *alpha-beta-gemma-delta* > *alpha-beta-gamma-delta*.

<sup>718</sup> Similar examples seem to be  $\mathcal{A}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota(o)\varsigma$  in the inscrs. *IGDS* 134*b*. 1 (Gela, early 5th cent.), *DGE* 733. 19  $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\iota(o)\varsigma$  (Zeleeia, c.334), *DGE* 389  $\Sigma\alpha\tau\nu\rho\acute{\iota}(\omega)\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (Naupaktos, 195; correction by Dittenberger, *IG* ix/1. 359).

<sup>719</sup> This occurred to me in view of a fr. by Exekias (H. A. Cahn coll., Basle, HC 300), published by Boss (1992*a*: 537), with an inscr.  $[\kappa]\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (ph. p. 535). As Boss observes, the painter first wrote  $\kappa\alpha\omicron$ , then, after wiping out the omicron, overpainted it with  $\iota$ , and completed the word with  $\omicron\varsigma$ . The mistake may have happened as follows: he started to write *ka*, perhaps speaking aloud: ‘kappa alpha’ (and writing KA), but after pronouncing the two letter-names thought he had already dealt with the [l] and proceeded directly to [o], when he noticed his error.

<sup>720</sup> Cited in Wachter (1992), 23 (no. 3).

<sup>721</sup> BOI 17*d*  $\mathcal{A}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu(\bar{\alpha})$  is perhaps a special case of crasis (see §224).

of the clay on which it was applied (see §109).<sup>722</sup> Such cases seem to be BOI 14*b* and COR 64*Ba* (omicron instead of phi), COR 83*ter.d* (lambda instead of delta), COR 86*a* (lambda instead of mu), COR 99*a/f* (lambdas instead of deltas).<sup>723</sup>

The same problem with paint will be partly responsible for the mistake on CHA 19 *Hēpa{ρα}κλ[ε]s*,<sup>724</sup> where a single acoustic writing-unit, viz. a minimal syllable (see §111), is doubled. Other examples, not from vases (and therefore not attributable to the paint problem), are CEG 58 *καταφθιμέ|{με}νō* and CEG 859 *Στασα{σα}γόραν*.<sup>725</sup> The writers may have spoken aloud, made a short pause, and resumed their work a syllable too early.<sup>726</sup> A particularly strange case may be COR 92*h* *Λαδαμα-Φο-s*, where the minimal syllable seems to be transposed to the wrong place in the name (that is, if we are intended to read *Λα-Φο-δάμας*).

On COR 68, a vase with an exceptional number of mistakes (of which some were corrected—one of them, (*h*), wrongly, see ad loc.), the writer was probably confused by the similarity of the letter-forms  $\wedge$  and A in the name (*j*) *Γ(λ)αῦρος* and dropped the lambda.

Sometimes the writer perhaps just forgot to finish an inscription, as in COR 58*b* *Ἀντι(. . .)* and COP 92 *Ἀριστ(. . .)*.

#### OTHER ORTHOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS

##### §113. Writing of geminates

Geminate consonants are mostly written with a single letter, but even as early as the eighth century could be written with two (e.g. on 'Nestor's cup', CEG 454 *καλλι-*, see §507 n. 1310). On several vases both spellings occur together, for example COR 7*a* *Ηιπποβάτας*, but (*b*) *Ηιπ(π)οστρόφος*; COR 24*h* *Ηιππῶι*, but (*i*) *Ηιπ(π)όλυτος*; COR 66*b* *Αἰνίππᾱ*, (*i*) *Ηιπποτίδων*, (*u*) *Ηίππαλφος*, but (*s*) *Ηίπ(π)αφος*, (*c*) *Δᾱμοφάνας(σ)α*; COR 68*c* *ήπ(π)ος*, but (*l*) *Ηιππόλυτ[ος]*; COR 88*c* *Ἀχιλλεύς*, but (*a*) *Ὀλισ(σ)εύς*, etc.

[kk] is probably meant in NAU 1*Ea* *Μίκ(κ)ις*.

[ll] is written with a geminate: in the element *καλλι-* (EUB 3; COR 28*Ac*, 105*f*; also in the superlative DOH 3*a* *καλλίστα*), in the names of Apollon (COR 20, 28*Ad*; COR Gr 23; COP App. 1*D*; ACC 3*a-b*) and Achilles (COR 30*c* (as in (*b*), but see (*h*)), 57*g*, 72, 80*c*, 88*c*, 93*b*; CHA 4*c* (see also (*i*)), 5*d*, 7, 8*b* (but see (*f*)); ETR 1*b*). Other occurrences are ACC 3*a* *Ἐύλλας* (as ibid. *Ἀπολλο-*), COR 87*b/e* *Ὀύλλαρος*, and COR Gr 2 *ῥοτύλλα*, as well as the unexpected geminate COP 25 *Αἰσιμέλλῆς* (for which

see §215). For the unusual spelling *περικαλδεῖα* (i.e. *-καλλέα*) on BOI 3 see §212. [ll] is represented by a single letter in *καλ(λ)ι-* (COR 26*a* (as in (*c*)); ITH 2; NAU 1*Nc* (?)) and in the names of Apollon (BOI 2*D*; IOD 6*F*) and Achilles (PCO 4*a*; COR 24*Ac*; COR 27*i*; PCH 1*d*). Also to be noted is NAU 1*Ea* *Ἐλ(λ)ηνίωι*, as well as COR 50 *Ὀυλ(λ)ῖας* and probably COP 10 *Ὀύλ(λ)ῖς*. COR 18*h*, 36*b*, and 114*Aa*, COP 8*a*, and IOD 6*B* are uncertain.

[nn] only occurs in an irregular spelling COP 51*B* *ἀννέ[θεκε]* (see §215). A special case is NAU 2 *ἐν (N)αύκρατι*, where the geminate includes the word-end between preposition and noun (see §226). It is not certain whether in COR 100*b* *Σθεν(ν?)όι* and COR 124*Aa* *[Σθ]εν(ν?)όι* we should expect a geminate or not, and the same is true for COR 18*b*.

[pp] is contained in the frequent word or compound-element *ἵππος*. It is written with a geminate in COR 7*a* (but see (*b*)), 24*h* (but see (*i*)), 42*b*, 61, 64*b*, 66*b/i/u* (but see (*s*) and (*c*)), 68*l* (but see (*c*) and (*h*)), 70*g* (but see (*l*)), 79*Ac*, 104*e*, 116*a*; CHA 1*e*, 3*b*, 4*i* (see also (*c*)). It is written with a single sign in COR 7*b* (but see (*a*)), 14*e*, 16*b*, 24*i* (but see (*h*)), 30*h* (but see (*b*) and (*c*)), 44*b*, 66*s* (as in (*c*), but see (*b*), (*i*), (*u*)), 68*c* (as in (*h*), but see (*l*)), 71*d*, 81*Ah*, 91*b*, 92*j*, 94; COP 78*b*; CHA 8*f* (but see (*b*)), 14*c*. COR 26*c* (see also (*a*)) and IOD 2 are uncertain.

[rr] is to be expected in EUC 3 *Πύρ(ρ)ος* and probably in COR 96*A* *[. . .]ἀνερ(ρ)α* (see §433).

[ss] occurs in the name of Odysseus (except perhaps in CHA 3*Ac* and 8*k*; see §254), which is never written with two signs in the documents treated here; it also occurs in the above-mentioned COR 66*c* *Δᾱμοφάνας(σ)α*, COR 70*l* *Κεσ(σ)άνδρᾱ* (but see (*g*)), and the likely exclamation COR 52 *ἴσ(σ)α!*

Sometimes etymological arguments can be used to judge whether there really was a geminate, for instance in the Corinthian form of Odysseus' name (see §254) or in COP 1*A-C* *χαρίε(σ)αν*. Often metrical structure is of help too, but the few metrical inscriptions on our vases include only one example where this aspect yields a valuable additional argument for a geminate, namely for [tt] in COP 2*A* *Φανατι* (likewise, we have to assume a geminate in the non-metrical label COR 68*h* *Κετδρ*, which is wrongly corrected from *Ετορ*, i.e. *Ἐτ(τ)δρ*, and in COR Gr 6*b* *Ἐτ(τ)ρδρ*; see §212).

For the geminate spelling in COP 1*A* *[ε]παγγείλας* see §114; for that in COR 30*b* *Ἐκκτδρ*, COR 37*a* *Κάσστδρ*, and BOI 26 *[Εῦ?ν]οσστίδᾱς*, see §115.

##### §114. Rendering of the velar and labial allophones of /n/

In the rendering of the velar nasal, there is a fundamental difference between the archaic scripts of Asia Minor, on the one hand, and those of Mainland Greece and the colonies in the West on the other: in the East, gamma is used, in the West nu. On our vases we have only two cases of the Western sort, namely BOI 9 *πάνχv* (twice) and ACC 1*A* *[. . .]ανκ* *[. . .]*. In a Corinthian graffito (LSAG 130. 1; Amyx, no. Gr 5), not treated here, there is *Ἀργάριος*. As this difference does not yet seem to have been

<sup>722</sup> See Wachter (1991*b*), 101 f. with n. 71, and similarly Wachter (1992), 20 with n. 5.

<sup>723</sup> These cases are cited in Wachter (1992), 22 (no. 2).

<sup>724</sup> Cited in Wachter (1992), 26 (no. 9).

<sup>725</sup> Similar examples occur in archaic Latin inscriptions, also painted on vases, viz. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 440 'Aisclapi pococolom' and 444 'Iunonenes pococolom' (see Wachter (1987), 465 f.). Later Latin examples in Wachter (1992), 26, no. 9.

<sup>726</sup> A good example of the importance of these minimal syllables is CEG 272 (Athens), written *stoichedon*, where, at the end of the first line, the writer stopped after *ἀνέθε*, leaving one space empty and continuing with *κε* on the next line.

given the attention it calls for, I add a representative series of examples.<sup>727</sup> Awareness of this difference is important if we want to assess the spelling of [ἐ]παγγελίας with <γγ> in the metrical dedication COP 1A; for together with other features it points to

<sup>727</sup> Mainland Greece: CEG 2 ἀνχίαλομ (Athens, c.480?, official), CEG 16 ἐνγύς (Athens, c.550?), CEG 39 ἐνγύς (Athens, c.530–520?), CEG 260 Ἀνγέλιτος (Athens, c.490–480?), DGE 451B. 4 Πυθάνγγελος (Tanagra, soon after 424, see LSAG 95. 19b; DGE 451C. 13 Μεγγίδας will have an expressive geminate, as also A. 17, B. 1, C. 4), LSAG 95. 21 = DGE 468A. 16 Πύνχον (Thebes, c.425–400?), CEG 362 = GD 97 πανκράτιον (Kleonai–Nemea, c.560?), LSAG 168. 8 = GD 83 [ἐπ]α[ν]κασσάτο (Argos, c.575–550?), LSAG 170. 39 = DGE 83B. 13 συννοῖεν (Argos, c.460–450?), DGE 13A. 12 f. [ἐ]τρακινχελῖος (Sparta, c.425?), CEG 142 ἐνγύς (partly Corinthian letters; from Akarnania, c.475–450?), LSAG 220. 13 = DGE 416 Σφύγγας (Olympia, c.475–450?), LSAG 108. 3 = GD 57 = DGE 362 λανχάνειν, ἀνχῶρεῖν, ἀνάνκας, etc. (Chaleion, 1st h. 5th cent.), LSAG 108. 2 = GD 59 ἀνχιστέδαν, ἀναναζομένοις (Ozolian Lokris, c.525–500?). The West: SEG 34. 1019 ἀνκλε(π)τέτο (Pontecagnano, soon after 520–510), IGDS 2 Δανκλαῖοι (Zankle, 500–494; similarly, ibid. 3), IGDS 31 Ἀγγελίλιος (gen., Selinus, late 6th cent.), IGDS 37 ἐνγράφῳ (Selinus, 5th cent.), IGDS 38 ἐνκαταγράφῳ (Selinus, 475–450), IGDS 85 = Amyx, no. Gr 1 = LSAG 131. 3 [ . . . ]ανκλας (Syracuse, c.700), IGDS 134 ἐνγυάσασθαι (Gela, early 5th cent.), IGDS 178 Ἀνχεμάχῳ (Akragas, early 5th cent.), IGDS 200 Δοιγέναῖος (Longane, c.450); IGDS 147 = ZPE 63 (1986), pp. 181 f., is uncertain. The Aegean: IG xii/3. 451 μὴ θάγγανε (Thera, with Θ, i.e. 6th/5th cent.?, not in LSAG; see DOI 1), CEG 416 ἀγγελίας (Thasos, c.525–500?), CEG 159 παρ[ε]τήνχαν' (Thasos, c.500?), LSAG 306. 47 = DGE 764 Ἐνκαῖρος (Karthiaia on Keos, c.475–450?). Only from the 2nd h. 5th cent. onwards are there spellings with gamma, always combined with other features of the East Ionic alphabet (e.g. from Athens CEG 83, 97, IG i<sup>2</sup>. 118 = IG i<sup>3</sup>. 110 = DGE App. i. 13; from Keos, written in plain East Ionic alphabet with some peculiar spellings, DGE 766 = GD 8, last q. 5th cent., not in LSAG). In the 4th cent. gamma becomes normal. Occasionally, however, the old spelling with nu occurs still later, e.g. DGE 462A. 24 etc. ἐπανγελιάων (Tanagra, 2nd h. 3rd cent.), and it becomes frequent again in the Roman Empire. I have not recorded the cases of final [n] written <ν> before initial velar of the next word, since this may anyway be due to the tendency to isolate words, e.g. in LSAG 169. 20 = GD 84 = DGE 78 τὸν γρασμάτων (Argos, c.480?), DGE 727 τῶν [χρημ]άτων and ποιῆν κατὰ in contrast to τούτω κατ[α-] (Miletos, c.450).—Asia Minor: LSAG 324. 26 = DGE 238 Ἀγγυλῖον (Anaphe, early 7th cent.), EA 11 (1988), 171 ff., . . . χρύσεον καὶ . . . (near Priene, 2nd h. 7th cent.), LSAG 343. 33 = DGE 725 ἔγκυαρ (Miletos, c.525–500?), LSAG 344. 52 = DGE 701 συγγρ[άφην], [τ]ὸν κύκλον, ἐ(π)[α]γγελάτων, ἀναγκαίων (Erythrai, c.465?), LSAG 344. 48 = GD 4 = DGE 688 τὰν Καμνήνῃ (Chios, c.475–450?), DGE 692 σπλάγχνα (Chios, 5th cent.; the same again in DGE 694, 4th cent.), DGE 726 (προ)λαγχάνει, φαλαγκτηρίων, etc. (Miletos, 450), LSAG 358. 42 = DGE 744 τήν γήν, συγχάει (Halikarnassos, c.475–454?), DGE 278 ἀγγράβαι (Naukratis, late 5th cent.), CEG 172 ἀστὼν κ- (Apollonia, c.490), DGE 798 Σαγγαρίῳ (Amphipolis, end of 5th cent.?), CEG 171 ἐγ χερσί (Egypt, mostly Ionic, late 5th cent.?).

a written epic text as the model for this inscription (see §503). Uncertain examples are COP App. 1Ac, COR 88d.

Very often [m] is likewise written <ν> before a labial stop. This must be considered primarily an orthographic convention parallel to the case of the velar nasal (this is also the opinion of Threatte, pp. 592 ff.). It is understandable that from etymologically clear cases of [mp] < [np] etc., as in Attic Ἐνπεδίωνος, ἐμ πόλει (Threatte, pp. 593 f.), the graphic uncertainty could extend to non-analysable cases such as [ḁ]νφοτέρωσι (8th cent.?, CEG 433 = LSAG 76. 2; Threatte, p. 594), which no doubt had an [m]-pronunciation already in PIE. Amphitrite's name is written with <ν> in COP 2C, 44, 68, and on an Attic vase (ARV 459. 3, see §246), whereas COP 20 and 69 show <μ>, like the Nymphs' name in COP App. 1C; an uncertain case is INC 1 (see ad loc.). Examples of <ν> from other regions are LSAG 252, 260. 5bis τὰς Νύνφας (i.e. 'of Persephone') from Paestum,<sup>728</sup> CEG 367 = GD 68 = DGE 7 Ὀλύνπιε from Olympia (Lakonian), DGE 478D Ἀνφικράτης from Thespiiai (soon after 424, see LSAG 95. 19a; compare DGE 478H Ἀμφι-).

#### §115. Doubling of pre- and postconsonantal consonants

Only three instances of a pseudo-geminate before another consonant occur: BOI 26 [Εὐ?]οσστιδᾶς, COR 30b Ἐκκτῶρ (alongside (c) Ἀχιλλεούς, but (h) Ἡποκλῆς), and COR 37a Κάσστῶρ. These spellings are frequent, but remain optional throughout antiquity (see e.g. Kretschmer, p. 175; Schwyzler, p. 238; and above all Hermann (1923), 110 ff.). A similar case may be COR 1A Ἀμασζόν (see ad loc.).

The opposite case, with the second consonant doubled, may be suspected in such spellings as COR 57h Ξσάνθος, COR 70f Qόραξς (COR 121a is uncertain). These, too, remain optional: see, on the same vases, COR 57m ἔγραιψε, COR 70i Ξάνθος and (k) Πολυξένᾶ. As this doubling does not occur in writing systems that are without a single sign for [ks] (e.g. Attic \*Χσάνθος vel sim.; see Threatte, p. 555), it will be purely a graphical slip and due to the anomalous writing of two phonemes with one sign.

<sup>728</sup> Examples from Sicily: IGDS 3, 4, 15, 28f. 7, 127, 134.

## CHAPTER 2

# Philological Analysis

### PROBLEMS OF PHONOLOGY (AND SPELLING)

#### Consonants

##### §201. Omission of nasals in preconsonantal position

In writing, a nasal is often dropped before a consonant (see Schwyzler, pp. 213 f.; for Attic: Kretschmer, pp. 161 ff., Threatte, pp. 485–8).<sup>729</sup> On the other hand, we should emphasize that it is more often written than omitted. In our inscriptions we have several examples of omitted nasal: COR 66*f* Ἀ(μ)φιάρῃος (alongside (r) Ἀμφιάρῃος);<sup>730</sup> on the Corinthian pinakes there are a few cases in Amphitrite's name (see §246); and in addition we have IOI 2*j* Ἡ(ν)κῆ(ν)λαδος, ACC 3*b* ἁ(μ)πῶγίζῃ (see also ad loc., n. 610). Uncertain cases are COR 6*e*, COR 27*d*, COR 121*a*, and COP 94. An additional case has been proposed in order to get a better interpretation of the end of COP 18*b* (see ad loc.). We cannot decide how widespread this phenomenon was, nor whether it was due to weak pronunciation or, occasionally, to a total assimilation or loss of the nasal.

##### §202. Nu ephelkystikon

Nu ephelkystikon is added to various forms, often verbs, in the Ionic–Attic dialects. We find the following examples in our vase inscriptions: EUC 3 ἐποιῖσεν, INC 1 ἐποι(ῖ)σεν (because of this nu, it is argued that the inscription is Ionic), probably IOI 1*b* ἔδδκεν, IOI 5 [. . . ἔγρ]αφσεν, IOD 4*A* ἐποίησεν, IOD 4*B* [ἀνέθηκε]ν, NAU 1 (several examples, see especially ad (I*c*) and (J*c*)); it is omitted in IOD 6*E* (but written 6*D*).

On non-Ionic vases this nu does not appear: BOI 1–7 ἐποίῃσε (vel sim., several examples), BOI 4*C* δδκε (perhaps also BOI 10*b*), BOI 20 ἀνέθεκε, COR 27*h* ἔγραψε, COR 31*d* ἀνέθεκε, COR 57*m* ἔγραψε, COP *passim* ἀνέθεκε (COP 41 also ἔγραψε), ITH 2 ποίῃσε, DOC 4 ἐποιῖσε.

##### §203. Omission of [r] in preconsonantal position

Liquids are not only shifted about by metathesis (see §205), but can also be dropped occasionally in writing. In our inscriptions

<sup>729</sup> Heubeck (1980: 286) argues that it was up to the writer to decide whether he found the nasal worth while writing or too weak to bother about. See also n. 317 and Wachter (1991*b*: 93 (no. 24)) on the François Vase, *ABV* 76. 1.

<sup>730</sup> Cited in Wachter (1992), 24 (among the cases of no. 5).

we have a case of loss between a vowel and a consonant, viz. COR 28*Ak* Ἐρμῶς which was first written Ἐμ-. This case may be compared with a few cases in which we may assume there was, first, metathesis (for examples of this stage see §205) and, subsequently, complete loss of the liquid: IOD 6*G* [. . .] Μενεκά(ρ)τ[ης], NAU 1*Id* Ἀφο(ρ)δ[ίτηι] (no. 167) and (e) Ἀφο(ρ)δίτηι (no. 16); for another possible case see §205 with n. 736. However, direct loss of the liquid in the position between a stop and a vowel cannot be excluded. An uncertain case is LAK 3*f* (see ad loc. with n. 501).

##### §204. Omission of final [s]

Loss of final consonants is not a typical phenomenon of ancient Greek at the time of our vases (as it is in archaic and popular Latin, Umbrian, etc.). Nevertheless, on vases we come across a considerable number of cases where final [s] is not written. Whether this loss was a more or less regular phenomenon in some dialects and at some periods (e.g. in popular or rapid speech), and how and when exactly it was reversed in the different dialects, we cannot properly observe because of the normalizing effect of orthography (Koine must have been at least partly responsible for the restitution, and modern Greek preserves final [s]).<sup>731</sup>

Three of our examples are on Boiotian vases. (1) In BOI 3 θειοῖς the sigma was first forgotten, then inserted (for BOI 3 Ἐπίχε see §235). (2) BOI 9*b* shows [κα]λό(ς) before a colon (though on the same vase καλός appears three times). (3) A particularly interesting case is Mnasalkes who writes on BOI 4*A* and *C* Μνασάλκες ποίῖσε, but on BOI 4*B* Μνασάλκεποιῖσε (see §224).<sup>732</sup> This loss of final [s] may also be behind Boiotian hypocoristics in -ε/-ει (see §235) and masculine names in -ᾱ.<sup>733</sup>

<sup>731</sup> See Morpurgo Davies (1988: 113 ff.) on the occasional loss of final [s] in the Cyprian dialect.

<sup>732</sup> On a ph. of a Boiotian vase (5th cent.?, still unpublished?), shown by A. Andreiomenou at a lecture in Zurich in summer 1987, I was able to read *hóde páei kalós*.

<sup>733</sup> See e.g. Schwyzler, p. 560, with bibl.; most recently Méndez Dosuna (1982). Examples: *DGE* 452. 20 *Εὐγινονίδα* (c. mid-6th cent.?, see Bechtel (1921), 268; -ιδας with [s] occurs e.g. in our BOI 9, and on *DGE* 456. 38, 479. 15 and 19, 451 *passim* (see *LSAG* 95. 19*b*), 478 *passim* (see *LSAG* 95. 19*a*), 494, etc.; but see below, §224 with n. 817 on *CEG* 334), *CEG* 446 *Μογέα* (c. 450–430?; graffito on a vase), *DGE* 478*B*. 9 *Πυθιονίκα*, Venencie (1960), 596, no. 20, *Πασέα* (see ibid. 601; probably the same as *Πασέα*s in Bechtel, p. 362); see also Buck, §105. 1*a*, and E. Schwyzler ad *DGE* 143.

Examples on non-Boiotian vases are COR 23*b* [Ὀλι(σ)]ρεύ(ς) (there is no reason to assume vocative), COR 58*b* Ἀντι (unless the writer forgot to write even more than an [s]), COR 71*b* Εὐρύβα(ς), LAK 3*e* ὈρυΧο(ς), ETR 2 Ἐρῶτο(ς). In view of the character of the labels on the relevant vase, COR 83*ter.b* is a slightly dubious example.

Examples on Attic vases are cited ad CHA 11*b* with n. 556, §448 n. 1123, §457 n. 1146. Threatte (pp. 639 f.) lists over forty cases from Attic inscriptions,<sup>734</sup> many of them in pausa position. I cannot possibly accept his view (p. 640) that there is no underlying phonetic reality, and that the omissions are merely mistakes by the writers. In some cases we may think of assimilation of the final [s] to the initial sound of the following word. But in view of the pausa forms, a phonetic loss of [s] seems easier.

### §205. Metathesis of liquids

Metathesis of liquids is not infrequent in Greek inscriptions (see e.g. Schwyzler, p. 267).<sup>735</sup> Likely examples on vases are: a Naukratite graffito (cited ad NAU 1*Ba*) with not only ὀπι-κά[(ρ)τε]ος (i.e. ὁ Ἐπικράτους)<sup>736</sup> but also τῆ[ι] Ἀφοροδί[τηι]. In the latter case the second omicron is easier than the first to explain as introduced by a simple mistake, namely as a ‘reversed’ case of A.W. (see §111 at the end). If this is true, the form Ἀφορ{ο}δί[τηι] is the same as NAU 1*B* [Ἀ]φορ[δίτηι], well attested also in Crete and Pamphylia<sup>737</sup> (see also §203). It seems not impossible, however, that Ἀφοροδί[τηι] reflects a pronunciation [Ap<sup>h</sup>oro-] with an epenthetic vowel, either the first or the second, in view of the spellings in one and the same inscription, IGDS 134*b* (Gela, early 5th cent.), ἀπογράφῶ (twice), γάρφῶ (once), and ἀπογαράφῶ (twice).<sup>738</sup> A further possible case of metathesis is LAK 3*f* Σλιφ(ι)ό- (but see ad loc.).

The same phenomenon with nasals seems not to exist (see §433 on COR 96*B*).

### §206. Initial [w]

In many of the dialects in use in the period covered by our vase inscriptions, initial [w] was a regular and consistently written sound. For a rich collection of written digammas (in all positions) see Arena (1971). In the case of certain dialects (e.g. Boiotian;

see Thumb–Scherer, p. 29) the limited corpus of vase inscriptions yields no examples of [w] in this position.

There is a frequent and consistent appearance of initial digamma on our Corinthian pottery. One of the two exceptions is the mythical name COR 24*d* and 76*c* Ηελένᾱ (see §§251, 503), the other occurs on the pinax COP 42 where (c) Ὀρθο[. . .] (see both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. ὀρθός) is the name of the donor, who was probably a foreigner in Corinth (see ad loc. and §209).<sup>739</sup> It was only around 500 that [w] was lost in this position (see CEG 131 = DGE 126 ἐναίομες ἄστν Κορίνθῶ, c.480).

In Lakonian we have LAK 6 Φιόλᾱς, which is as expected (Thumb–Kieckers, p. 84).

The word ἐταῖρος is a difficult case. Traditionally, it was thought to be derived from ἔτης (Elean Φέτᾱς, LSAG 220. 6 = DGE 413, c.500?), i.e. to go back to \*hwe- < \*swe- (see §211). But nowhere in inscriptions written in dialects which regularly preserve the initial [w]-sound is there a digamma. The early attestations are all metrical: our ITH 1 Ηὸς[ω-ξ]ένφος τε φίλος καὶ π[ι]σ[τ]ὸς ἐταῖρος, CEG 335 (Boiotia, c.550–500?), and CEG 139 = DGE 101 (Troizen, c.500?). Chantraine (1942: 150) notes that even in Homer there is no trace of a digamma in this word (and often there is preceding elision), whereas in the case of ἔτης—an archaic, high-style noun of slightly vague meaning—a digamma is frequently reflected. The prosodic use of ἐταῖρος in Homer continues in later poets and in the metrical inscriptions just cited. As the same lack of digamma can be observed in ἔταρος, from which ἐταῖρος is derived (see Risch, p. 167), Chantraine concludes that the cases of unchanged hiatus (he cites *Od.* 12. 335 . . . ἡλυξᾱ ἐταίρους and *Il.* 11. 113 νῆι τε καὶ ἐτάροις . . .) are insufficient for the restoration of a digamma in these two nouns. Thus there have been various attempts to disconnect ἐταῖρος and ἔταρος from ἔτης (Elean Φέτᾱς). Chantraine’s own solution (see also e.g. Frisk, s.v.; Chantraine, s.v.; Risch, p. 92; *Lfgre* s.v.), that in the two longer forms the reflexive first morpheme is \*se- not \*swe-, is an unsatisfying compromise. If the longer forms are etymologically connected with ἔτης (from which they would have the -t-), they should surely have the same initial consonants. Peters (1980: 185 n. 140) even tries to explain the longer forms with an entirely different root (\*set, also perhaps the root of ὄσιος and ἐτέος). Yet we should not disregard the difference in prosodic use between ἐταῖρος and ἔταρος in Homer. Whereas with ἐταῖρος there are indeed only two instances in Homer where a digamma would improve the reading (*Od.* 12. 335 just cited, and *Od.* 10. 320 . . . λέξῃ ἐταίρων), I have counted twenty-two with ἔταρος, eleven each in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>740</sup> This reminds us of the fact that ἔταρος—apart from its occurrence in epic (also Hes. *Op.* 716; *h. Bacch.* 16)—is entirely alien to the Ionic–Attic dialect (it

<sup>734</sup> See also the Attic bf. amphora (c.520), LIMC i, ‘Alkyoneus’ 3\* (not in *ABV*) with Ηερακλέο(ς) and Ἀλκυονεύ(ς); and from ostraka: e.g. *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 239, no. A. O. 7 Θεμισθοκλῆ(ς) Φρεάριος, and *ibid.* 240, no. A. O. 100 Θεμισθοκλῆ(ς) Νεοκλέος (c.480).

<sup>735</sup> We may compare DGE 784 Κλεομόρτου (Syros, 3rd cent.; for the name Κλεόμβροτος see Bechtel, pp. 240, 299, and CEG 394 Κλεόμορτος).

<sup>736</sup> As the gap seems too short for ὀπικά[ρτε]ος, the liquid may have been lost (see §203). See also Εὐθυκαρτίδης, Μενεκάρτης (Bechtel, pp. 257 f.). The same metathesis may be suspected in the Naukratite graffito of E. A. Gardner (1888), 63, no. 755, if we read [Πο]λυκά[ρτης] instead of -καρ[πος], which is rare (see Bechtel, p. 234).

<sup>737</sup> See Schwyzler, p. 267; Lejeune, §138; Brixhe (1976), 61, with 23 attestations.

<sup>738</sup> Insertion of the alpha by ‘reversed’ A.W. (because of the letter-name *gamma*) is less likely here in view of its triple occurrence, once even combined with omission of the alpha after the rho.

<sup>739</sup> Thumb–Kieckers (p. 130) assume an earlier loss of initial [w] before [o]. But this explanation cannot explain the several aberrant forms on our pinax.

<sup>740</sup> The preceding word mostly ends in a long vowel or diphthong, sometimes, though rarely, in a short vowel + consonant (as indicated by italics): *Il.* 5. 325, 10. 235, 242, 11. 91, 16. 269, 581, 19. 345, 23. 137, 748, 24. 4, 416; *Od.* 3. 432, 10. 225, 436, 11. 113 = 12. 140 ~ 11. 161, 12. 53, 378, 15. 496, 529, 21. 216.

occurs only in a lyrical passage of Aesch. *Pers.* 989), but seems to have been more widespread in other dialects, such as Doric (prose letter attributed to Cleobul. of Rhodes, *apud* Diog. Laert. 1. 93), the dialect of choral lyric (Pind. *Isth.* 7. 11, Aesch. loc. cit.), and the Lesbian dialect of Sappho (fr. 126 L–P, non-dactylic).<sup>741</sup> In the Homeric language it will have to be recognized as the Aiolic counterpart and welcome metrical variant of *ἑταῖρος*, with which it was of course felt to be closely related. We should therefore, I think, reconsider the old etymology and attribute the lack of digamma, both in the case of *ἑταῖρος* and—analogically—of *ἑταρος*, to the Ionic layer in the epic language. The meaning ‘friend’ of *ἑταῖρος* can easily be derived from the reflexive as ‘associated to oneself’ (the fact that *ἑτης* does not—at least not primarily—mean ‘friend’, as is stressed in *Lfgre* s.v., is of little importance for the meaning of *ἑταῖρος*). The epigraphical evidence for *ἑταῖρος* is clearly due to the influence from East Greek epic language, since in the dialects which preserve initial aspiration (see §210) not even this part of the expected initial sound cluster is written (see the Ithakan, Boiotian, and Troizenian examples cited above, and *CEG* 164 from Kyrene, 600–550?<sup>742</sup>). For East Greek epic influence on non-Ionic inscriptions with poetic background see §503.

On the Chalcidian vases initial digamma, where we would expect it, is almost always written (CHA 11 *Fió*, CHA 6a *Fió*, CHA 13d *Fâxus*, CHA 14d *Fió*, CHA 17b *Foueús*, CHA 18b *Fíōv*), though again with the exception of Helene’s name (CHA 15a *Heλένē*; see §§251, 503). All these forms occur on vases by the Inscription P., except CHA 18 which is by the Cambridge P. These forms are not only ‘Fremdnamen’ (Thumb–Scherer, p. 261), but the writers themselves were probably both foreigners, maybe Corinthians (see §259). Since inherited [w] is not attested in any Ionic dialect, and digamma in the interior position is indeed omitted by the Inscription P. in CHA 4d *Aʹas* (where—being a Corinthian—he might be expected to have written it), we may conclude that the initial cases are due to these individual writers and not a dialect feature of the place(s) where Chalcidian vases were made.

In ACC 3b *Fóλχās* a digamma is written. This is in accordance with the Achaian dialects (see Thumb–Kieckers, pp. 231 f.), and the name may ultimately come from Etruscan, where [w] was stable.

#### §207. *Glide [w]*

A glide [w] is represented by a digamma inserted after upsilon in prevocalic position (see e.g. Schwyzler, pp. 197, 314 f.). Its occurrence does not necessarily mean that intervocalic or any other inherited [w] was preserved in the living dialect of the time. For as long as the letter digamma was contained in the alphabet (see §106) it could be used where one thought one needed it.

In BOI 10 we have *Eῦῖάρχα* twice in (c) and (g).

<sup>741</sup> In all of these examples of *ἑταρος* the initial [w] is prosodically irrelevant.

<sup>742</sup> For the aspiration in Kyrenaian dialect see the inscs. *LSAG* 320, 324. 20. Initial digamma was lost early in the dialects of Thera and Kyrene.

In Corinthian, where digamma was of course in frequent use, only one example of glide [w] can be observed: COR 101d *Eῦῖάρχος*; another example may be [. . .] *αῦῖος* on a graffito (*LSAG* 130. 1; Amyx, no. Gr 5).

In CHA 2c *Γᾱρῖόνῃς* the Inscription P. writes a glide; in CHA 9c *Γᾱρῖόνῃς* he does not.

Kretschmer (pp. 37 f.) saw the reason for such spellings as *Eῦῖ-* etc. in the fact that the phonetic fronting of [u] had associated the letter <v> with a [y] pronunciation, thus displacing the diphthong [eu]. Digamma would then have been introduced to render this [eu] pronunciation. This explanation, however, is unsatisfactory for several reasons. (1) We know for a certainty that in Boiotia, where this spelling was particularly frequent (see Thumb–Scherer, pp. 29 f.), the sound [u], represented by upsilon during the period when the local script was in use, remained unchanged until much later, and the upsilon was only used for the sound [y] (<oi>) after 400, when the new Ionic script had been introduced. (2) It seems odd that this spelling occurred in many different places, but nowhere with any degree of longer-lasting success that might have had sufficient influence to ensure widespread adoption of the new spelling. (3) Every local script contained several signs, in particular vowel signs, which had several phonemic and phonetic values (e.g. Corinthian Δ, β, ξ, ο, υ for the respective long and short vowels, though some of them must also have shown differences in quality). (4) It does not explain why -vῖ- spellings occur only before vowels (on COR 101, for instance, in view of *Eῦῖάρχος*, we should also expect \**Πᾱρσεύς*).

We may therefore assert (1) that this spelling must have something to do with the prevocalic position of the [u], and (2) that it has nothing to do with the [y] pronunciation of <v>. On the contrary, the spelling may be used as an argument against the pronunciation of earlier [u] as plain [y] in the dialect of the painter who wrote CHA 2c *Γᾱρῖόνῃς* (see §259).<sup>743</sup>

#### §208. *Digamma in intervocalic position*

In most of the dialects and periods with which we are dealing here, intervocalic [w] is lost (see in particular the archaic inscription IOD 1, where -κλέης is not yet contracted). It is preserved in LAK 7 *Ἀῖε[λ]λόι*, which conforms to what we know about the Lakonian dialect in the sixth century (see Thumb–Kieckers, p. 84). On the other hand, for occasional occurrences in dialects where intervocalic [w] is normally lost, we have to look for special reasons. EUC 3 *Ἀγασιλέφο* is surprising, for instance, and we may assume that the father of Pyrrhos the potter was not an Ionian (see ad loc.).

Particularly interesting is the situation at Corinth, where written intervocalic digamma seems to point to a poetic background (see §506). The same reason may be responsible for the writing of the digamma in CHA 11 *᾽Οῖατῖς*. For it seems justifiable to assume that in a sixth-century Ionic dialect this name should be

<sup>743</sup> Lejeune, §163, seems to imagine such a glide [w] also after [y] which is hardly plausible phonetically.



\* $\bar{\Omega}\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$  (see ad loc.). A difficult case is PCO 5a  $\bar{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\varsigma$ , since this vase, although Corinthian in style, bears inscriptions in a non-Corinthian alphabet (see ad loc. and §249).

### §209. Digamma after consonant and diphthong

Most examples on vases are from Corinth.

After nasal and liquid: digamma is written after nasal in COR 18i  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (a human in a non-heroic context), COP 43  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (the donor of a pinax), and perhaps also COR 92b  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (a human in a banquet scene); it is written after liquid in COR 17b  $\Pi\nu\rho\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (non-heroic metrical inscription), COP 79a  $\Pi\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (a horse in a non-heroic scene), COR 29  $[\dots]\Pi\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (context unclear), and in  $\Pi\nu\rho\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  on an unpublished vase (non-heroic; see §231 and introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR)); see also COR Gr 25  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  and  $LSAG$  132. 39 (c.400?)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ . From the character of these examples we must conclude that in this position [w] was still pronounced in Corinth at the time of our documents.

Digamma is not written after nasal in COR 70k  $\Pi\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (the daughter of Priamos), which must be considered a non-Corinthian form (see §503). Other attestations are not relevant to our period, since they are all later, for example the graffito  $LSAG$  132. 31  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (c.500–475?),<sup>744</sup> or the gravestone  $LSAG$  132. 30 with  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (c.480?).<sup>745</sup> It is not written after liquid in COR 33c and 114e  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , which must also be considered non-Corinthian (see ad COR 33c). Apart from these there is only  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  on the problematic vase COR 121 (date?), which I have not seen.

Digamma after a stop is not attested in our vase documents. In Corinth we may compare  $CEG$  132 =  $GD$  91 =  $DGE$  124  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (gen.; c.650?) and  $CEG$  355  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (c.600–550?), whereas on a pinax we have COP 42c  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (the name of the donor). It seems as if the preservation of [w] in this position could have been typical of metrical texts, but as the writer of the pinax may have been a foreigner in Corinth (see ad loc. and §206), we should be cautious.

A special case of [w] in postconsonantal position seems to be after an *i*-diphthong. It seems justifiable to separate these cases from the normal intervocalic ones in view of the fact that the frequent label  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  always has digamma at Corinth, whereas on the same vases intervocalic [w] is often lost. These are the certain examples: COR 10a  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ ; otherwise  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , as at COR 12i, 14a–b in contrast to  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , at 23d/h in contrast to  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , at 30e–f in contrast to  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , at 38a in contrast to  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , at 46Af in contrast to  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , at 60a, 82c in contrast to  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , at 99b in contrast to  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  and  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , at 117a and COR Gr 6a, 9. At Corinth, apart from Aias' name, we get only  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  in a metrical inscription on a pinax (COP 1A, see ad loc.). If we want to treat this position of [w] as an ordinary

intervocalic case, we shall have to accept the fact that each of these occurrences is a reflection of poetic language (see §506).

Outside Corinth our vase inscriptions have shown the following cases involving postconsonantal digamma. (1) ITH 1  $[\xi]\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (metrical). (2) In EUC 3 (see below and §208), the name  $\Pi\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  shows loss of [w] (see COR 17b and 29, above). (3) In the name Aias, digamma is not written in CHA 4d  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  and CAE 1b  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ . (4) In the occurrences of the verb  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , of which we have many examples from Boiotia, digamma is written in  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  in BOI 1A–B, 2A–D, 5A–B. On the other hand, we have  $(\epsilon)\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  in BOI 4A–B and 6C–E; and in BOI 3  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  is counted  $\sim\sim$  like  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  of BOI 6B and 7A–B. No digamma is written in ITH 2  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (prose), which is only slightly younger than ITH 1 with  $[\xi]\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (see (1) just above). For DOC 4  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  we cannot say much for lack of relevant evidence from Selinus (if the vase is of local manufacture at all). DOI 1a  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  is in accordance with other examples from Thera in which the [w] is also lost (see ad loc., and see Thumb–Kieckers, p. 176). No sign of [w] in this verb is left in the Ionic inscriptions: EUC 1  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 3  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , IOD 4A  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , INC 1  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (see ad loc.). INC 2 with  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  is of uncertain origin. Apart from the occurrences on our vases, the [w] in this verb is also attested in Boiotia in  $CEG$  334 =  $DGE$  538 (c.550–525?) and  $LSAG$  94. 4 =  $DGE$  539. 1 (c.650–625?, prose); elsewhere it occurs, for example, in  $CEG$  137 =  $DGE$  105 (Methana),  $CEG$  139 =  $DGE$  101 (Troizen),  $CEG$  366 (Mykenai?, prose),  $CEG$  380. iii =  $DGE$  80. 3 (Argive, prose).<sup>746</sup> Its frequency in hexametrical inscriptions is obvious. In the case of  $CEG$  334, just cited, its use is clearly archaizing and its purpose must have been to make clear to the reader the (Homeric) scansion of the verb with a long syllable  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ ; in this connection, our BOI 3, which is dated to the same time (nearer 550 than 525), not only shows  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  without digamma, but also has a (non-Homeric) reduced prevocalic diphthong, showing that the loss of [w] must have happened well before. Yet the archaizing spelling with digamma seems to have been fashionable in prose inscriptions too, for the writer of BOI 2A first wrote  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , then corrected the last epsilon into a digamma, and completed the form  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , which he also used in BOI 2B–D (see ad loc.).

### §210. Initial aspiration

In Corinthian, initial aspiration is normally written where we expect it: COR 28Af  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 28Al and 122  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 4d, 6c, 12g, 13a, 19a/c, 28Ae, 32a, and 73  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 66j  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 74h  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , probably 77d  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (see ad loc.; < \**sam*-?), and in the article 71e *ho* (?); note also the graffiti COR Gr 2  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 15b  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ . On the other hand, on the vases just listed no aspiration is written where we would not expect it: COR 28Ad  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , (g)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , (h)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 4b  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  and (c)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 6b  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 12d  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , 66a  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , (b)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , (d)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , (e)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , (f/r)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , (k)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , (l)  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ .

<sup>744</sup> Kretschmer, p. 17, no. 4; *SGDI* 3155; *IG* iv. 353 (with  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ -type epsilon and  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  not  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$ , but straight iota, i.e. clearly later). Still later is  $LSAG$  132. 32 (*IG* iv. 352) with  $\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\delta}\nu$  (also c.500–475?, according to Jeffery).

<sup>745</sup> Already mentioned by E. Schwyzler, n. ad *DGE* 123. 11.

<sup>746</sup> See also the prose inscr. of the shield-band in the Getty Museum mentioned ad COR 123.

(n) *Εὐφῶμος*, (p) *Ἀδμᾶτο[s]*, (q) *Ἀλάστορ*; 74b *Ὀλισ(σ)εύς*, (j) *Ε(ὐ)ρύμαχος*; 71b *Εὐρύβα(s)*. The name COR 113d *Ηυσμεῖνᾱ* also has an aspiration in Boiotian (see ad loc.). We can therefore assert that in Corinthian, initial aspiration was fully preserved<sup>747</sup> and that exceptions ought to be accounted for.

Some apparent exceptions belong to forms where the etymology does not require an aspiration. The first instance is that of the word *ἵππος* (< \**ek'wos*), for whose aspiration—omnipresent in those Greek dialects of the first millennium that preserve the phoneme /h/—Ruijgh (1979: 214) has given an interesting explanation (assuming analogy in expressions like *Il.* 8. 438 *ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους*). Most occurrences in Corinth have the aspiration (COR 7a–b, 24b–i, 30h, 44b, 61, 66i/s/u, 68c/l, 70g, 71d, 81Ah, 92j, 116a), but there are a few cases where it is not written. The clearest example is COR 16b *Ἰπ(π)ομαχίδᾱς*; a likely case is 94 *[Ἰ]π(π)αίμῶν* if this restoration is correct (see ad loc.; only one narrow letter can be missing at the beginning); and a possible case is 91b.<sup>748</sup> In both COR 16b and 94, initial [i] may be suspected to preserve the original form, but it may also be explained by dissimilation at a distance, prompted in the one instance by the [k<sup>h</sup>] of *-μαχίδᾱς* and in the other (somewhat more improbably) by the underlying [h] of *-(h)αίμῶν*.<sup>749</sup> No support for an unaspirated stem \**ἵππο-* comes (as claimed by Lejeune, §320 n. 1; Plath (1994), 278 f.) from compound names like COR 104e *Πάντιππος* and 14e *Νίκιπ(π)ος*. There is indeed an almost total absence of names in *-ἵππος* having aspiration of an otherwise unaspirated stop at the end of their first element, whereas examples retaining unaspirated voiceless stop are very common (Bechtel, pp. 221–5); but Schwyzler (pp. 218 f. n. 2, with bibl.) plausibly interprets the suppression of the aspiration in these cases as due to the desire to mark the juncture in the compound, and gives a number of examples with second elements other than *ἵππος*.<sup>750</sup> There are indeed cases, however rare, where the aspiration is expressed, for example *Ἐφᾱλος* (Bechtel, p. 35), *Πισθέταιρος* (p. 168), and *Ἀνθίππος* (p. 221), *Πάνθιππος* (p. 224), *Ἐφιππος* (p. 222). These show that aspiration was acceptable—though perhaps not compulsory—in this position, particularly where there was external support, such as that provided by common nouns and adjectives like *ἔφᾱλος*, *ἔφιππος*, or similar-sounding names like *Ξάνθιππος*, *-ίππη*. It therefore seems likely that this kind of aspiration was more often actually pronounced than the spelling of the names would indicate. Hence lack of aspiration in a stop preceding *ἵππος* in a compound name does not provide reliable evidence for lack of

aspiration in the simple noun. On the whole, we should conclude that there is no good evidence for [ippos] in non-psilotic dialects.

In COR 89b *Ἄνιοχίδᾱς* and LAK 4a *Ἄνιοχίδᾱς* (as well as *LSAG* 201. 52 = *DGE* 12 = *GD* 71 *ἄνιοχίδων*) the etymology of the first element is not clear, although the probable lack of aspiration in Mycenaean (see ad COR 89b) would argue in favour of an unaspirated origin.<sup>751</sup> It is conceivable that the compound *ἄνιοχος* and its derivatives were responsible for the aspiration of *ἡνίαι* in the first instance. For if this compound was originally \**āni-hok'os*, ‘holding the reins’, the first [h] may have been transposed to the beginning of the word (see e.g. Lejeune, §85, and see below, §§249, 253). Whether our Corinthian and Lakonian forms reflect the original stage or a later stage when the [k<sup>h</sup>] of *-οχος* had in turn exercised a dissimilatory effect on the initial [h]<sup>752</sup> we cannot know.

The spelling of the name *Hermes* (see §253) varies all over Greece, not least in the presence or absence of aspiration. Hence our Corinthian examples (COR 28Ak *Ἑρμᾱς*, 92e *H(ε)ρμαῖος*, COR Gr 26(1) *Ἑρμᾱν*) cannot be discussed in purely Corinthian terms. Their spellings consequently give no support to Arena’s suggestion (p. 108) that there was an ‘ambiguità implicita nel valore di β’ between [e] and [he], which would then justify the spelling without a β.<sup>753</sup> There is only one more clear example of β where we would expect [he],<sup>754</sup> namely in the dedication from Olympia *LSAG* 129 f., 131. 13 (= Arena, no. 96) *Ὀυβελίδαι ἀνέθεν ἐξ Ἑρακλέᾱς*, and this is adduced as further evidence for his theory by Arena (p. 62). Yet this inscription, though written in

<sup>751</sup> Fluctuation of initial aspiration is rare in Mycenaean: *a-ne-u-te* and *a<sub>2</sub>-ne-u-te*, *a-ta* and *a<sub>2</sub>-ta*.

<sup>752</sup> This was the opinion of Kretschmer, p. 49.

<sup>753</sup> One may claim some probability for Arena’s suggestion if β (ε) is derived from θ as suggested e.g. by Jeffery, pp. 114 f. But first, there is no ambiguity in θ either (its vocalized use for [he-] is due to A.W.; see §111), and secondly, the connection of the two letters in question is all but certain. It seems much more likely to me that β is ‘derived’ from the beta of other alphabets, for its position at the end of the Corinthian alphabet shows that it is a secondary borrowing (see §106). Such borrowings, however, could be random signs and need by no means have the same or even a similar function as in the script from which they are borrowed. If a Corinthian was looking for an additional sign and found that as the second character in their alphabet the Ionians used a sign which he did not know, why should he not have taken it and given it a new function and a new place at the end of the series? Some examples: (1) I have argued elsewhere (see Wachter (1989b), 42 f.) that the sign Υ was first invented for [k<sup>h</sup>], and, in a second step (but surely not independently), adopted for [ps] in East Ionia, where a sign for [k<sup>h</sup>] already existed (X). (2) The Oscan letter for [d], viz. R, which was introduced into the Oscan alphabet in a secondary reform and can only be the tailed form of the Greek (or Latin) letter for [r], was adopted for a completely different function, since D, a possible candidate, was already in use for [r] in Campania. (3) In the script of the Gothic bible, which is based on the Greek alphabet, the sixth letter (also used for ‘6’), i.e. the Greek digamma (written u), is used for [k<sup>h</sup>]. The sign ϑ, which can hardly be anything else than the Greek theta, is transferred to the end of the alphabet (as the numeral ‘700’) and used for [h<sup>h</sup>], whereas at the place of theta (no. 9) there is indeed the sign for [θ], yet not the Greek but the Germanic one.

<sup>754</sup> Amyx (1988) is inconsistent in his treatment of the question. In COR 66h he writes *Ἀhov-ίς* and (with Heubeck (1980), 286) assumes <h> to be a mistake for <ε>, whereas in COR 92e he writes *h<ε>ρμαῖος*, i.e. assuming that <h> stands for [he].

<sup>747</sup> The interpretation of COR 1b–c *H[. . .]θoas* (?), COR 11 *hυλα[. . .]* (?), and COR 124b *Hε[. . .]* is uncertain.

<sup>748</sup> COR 26c and 42b cannot be determined.

<sup>749</sup> Admittedly, [h-] does not often appear in the second element of compounds, but it is likely to have been still pronounced and therefore its absence in writing will be merely graphical; see also, on the one hand, Myc. *a-pi-a-ro* /Amphi-halos/, and on the other, e.g. *παρθέξω* and *ἀντίσταμαι* on two South Italian vases (cited, e.g., in Wachter (1996), 258 n. 15), *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 836 (Latin *Panhormi*), and Schwyzler, p. 219.

<sup>750</sup> See e.g. *Ἰππαίων* (Bechtel, p. 25), *Ἰππαριος* (p. 75), *Κράτ-, Μεγίστ-, and Φώκ-ερμος* (p. 165), *Ἀρεταγέτας* (p. 189), *Λυκόρμας* (p. 352), etc.



Corinthian,<sup>755</sup> was in all likelihood inscribed at Olympia by a local scribe who may have shared the psilotic features of Elean (Thumb–Kieckers, p. 244).<sup>756</sup> It proves nothing about the value of β.<sup>757</sup>

The name of Hektor is almost always written without an aspiration on our vases, though a [h] would be expected if the name is connected, as it is thought to be, with the \**seg<sup>h</sup>*- root of *ἔχω*. This root only loses its initial aspiration by dissimilation if the aspirate [k<sup>h</sup>] is intact (*ἔχω*, similarly *τριχός*), but retains it if the aspirate loses its aspiration (*ἐχω*, similarly *θρίξ*; see e.g. Lejeune, §45). Since an aspirate also loses its aspiration if it precedes a voiceless stop (*ἀνεκτος*, *ἄμειπτος*; see e.g. Lejeune, §56), we should at any rate expect [hektōr],<sup>758</sup> which is well attested as the normal Attic form (see n. 271 ad COR 60b). It is, however, not the form of the Corinthian vases COR 10b, 24b, 30b, 44e, 57j, 68h, 70c, and COR Gr 6b, which all lack a heta, and therefore need an explanation. To appeal once again to the use of β in Corinth is a circular argument, and in any case it would not explain the two non-Corinthian instances of missing aspiration in CHA 15d *Ἑκτῶρ* and DOH 1c *Ἑκτῶρ* (for the latter see DOH 3 with *ἡως*). Moreover, in one and the same text the unaspirated form of Hektor's name may occur together with names which begin in [he-]: COR 24b *Ἑκτῶρ* together with (d) *Ἡελένᾱ*, CHA 15d *Ἑκτῶρ* (written with Ε) together with (a) *Ἡελένᾱ*.<sup>759</sup> It is interesting to note that in Etruscan also, Hektor's name has no initial [h]: *Eχtur*, *Ectur*.<sup>760</sup> See also §§250 and 503, as well as ad COR 60b *Ἡεῖτῶρ* for the only Corinthian example with heta.

A similar case seems to be the poetic word COP 6 *ἄροίτις*; see ad loc. and §503.

<sup>755</sup> This was done for the benefit of future Corinthian visitors to the sanctuary, I would think.

<sup>756</sup> There is another clear trace of Elean dialect on one of these East Peloponnesian dedications at Olympia, namely the form *Θᾶσεύς* on a so-called Argive shield-band (Kunze (1950), 129, 213, no. xxixbis. a; Scheffold (1964), 64 f., (1966), 68 f., with dr. fig. 24). This form is surely not a 'hyperdorism' (as Webster (1960), 255 f., holds), nor is it just 'die dorische Namensform' (Kunze, op. cit. 129); Theseus' name contains an original [ē] (see Myc. *te-se-u*), and the [ā] is a typical feature of the Elean dialect (see Thumb–Kieckers, p. 239 top). The combination of the form and the provenance of the object only allow the conclusion that the artist was an Olympian who probably worked at Olympia too. If we combine these conclusions it follows that at least some of the famous shield-bands, of which some are inscribed in Corinthian (see e.g. the example cited in §251), others in Argive, were in fact made at Olympia by local artists and inscribed in 'foreign' alphabets. The newly found piece now in the Getty Museum (see ad COR 123) mentions, it is true, an Argive artist. However, he too may have worked at Olympia.

<sup>757</sup> Moreover, in a phrase consisting of *ἐκ* or *ἐξ* + noun, the proclitic preposition formed such a close unit with the following word that we may claim interior position for the [h], i.e. [ekshēraklēās]. It seems not unlikely that in such a position an aspiration, which was a phoneme restricted to the initial position, could be dropped.

<sup>758</sup> Kretschmer (p. 9) assumes the influence of *ἔχω* for the lack of aspiration. But even within the paradigm of *ἔχω* aspirated and unaspirated forms seem to have coexisted according to the rule just mentioned.

<sup>759</sup> Initial [h] is also written in the following names or nouns on vases with Hektor's name: COR 24 (apart from (d) *Ἡελένᾱ*) also has (k) *Ἡιπῶνι* and (i) *Ἡιπ(π)όλυτος*; COR 30h *Ἡιπ(π)οκλῆς*; COR 44b *Ἡιπ(π)υχος*; COR 68c *Ἡιπ(π)ος* and (l) *Ἡιππόλυτος*; COR 70g *Ἡιππόμαχος*.

<sup>760</sup> See de Simone (1968), 53 f. (4th cent. and later); its source is not clear (Corinthian trade? Euboian colonies?). Helene is *Elina* (ibid. 58–60; 5th cent. and later), an isolated case of *Helene* (ibid. 69) is unusual and late (2nd cent.).

For the name Eos, for which we have no certain Corinthian attestation, see §249.

A special case of initial [h] in Corinthian is the name *Ἡελένᾱ* (COR 24d and 76c), since we would expect a digamma (see §§251, 503).

I add a few words on the non-Corinthian cases, which are on the whole less problematic. The forms of Hera's name (BOI 17c and 21a, IOI 2e) and most of the forms of Herakles' (LAK 2, CHA 2b, 9b, 19, 20a) present no problems.<sup>761</sup> On the lack of aspiration in the word *ἑταῖρος* in dactylic inscriptions see §206. As for Chalcidian, the aspiration is always written in the element *Ἡιπ(π)-* (CHA 1e, 3b, 8f, 14c). A rare case is CHA 28d *Ἡῶρα* [. . .?]. CHA 15a *Ἡελένᾱ* is no problem, since in an Ionic context initial digamma cannot a priori be expected (see §§206, 259). But CHA 5a *Ἡῶς* may be a non-epichoric form because of its lack of initial [h] (see §§249, 503). On LAK 4a *Ἄνιοχιδᾶς*, see above; on Hermes' name, see §253. Other occurrences of initial [h] are in the article, *ἡο* (BOI 4C and 27, DOC 3, INC 2), perhaps *ἡᾱ* (DOH 3a), in the likely relative pronoun *ἡός* of ITH 1, and in the conjunction *ἡως* of DOH 3a. BOI 27 *ἡ[α]ρεύς* . . . ?] is doubtful. In East Greek inscriptions, [h] is never written, of course. On the special cases of IOI 2 and CAE 1, see ad locc. Some confusion in the writing of the aspiration can be observed in ACC 3, where, apart from *ἑραται* in (a) and (c), and a seemingly regular case of aspiration in (d) *Ἡύβριχος*, there is also (d) *ἡ(ἑ)ραται*, where the (h)eta cannot possibly indicate aspiration, nor a long [ē]; the dialect in question seems no longer to have known initial aspiration (see ad loc.).

#### §211. Liquids, nasals, and digamma followed by <h>

We have come across a few cases of this archaic spelling of initial resonants.

Liquid: COR 66h *Ἀh(ε)ον[τ]ίς* (a case of A.W.; see ad loc. and §111). Our material contains not a single word or name beginning with a rho, and so we have no instance of <rh>.

Nasal: CHA 10b *Μῆόφσος* (for a parallel see ad loc.), 16b *Μῆῆδ[ε]σκιάστῃ*; COR 123 *Νῆσ[σ]ος* (for a parallel see ad loc.)

Digamma (see also §206 on *ἑταῖρος*): COR 19f *Φαδέσιος*, 76f *Φεκάβ[ᾱ]*, but 70b *Φεκάβᾱ*.

In the two instances of Fh- there are etymological reasons for the aspiration. This is particularly clear for *Φαδέσιος* which contains the root of *ἀνδάνω* < \**swa-n-d-* (Sanskrit *svādu-* etc.; see Frisk, as well as Chantraine, s.vv. *ἀνδάνω* and *ἡδομαι*, the former also s.v. *ῆδύς*). More difficult is *Ἐκάβη*. This name is very plausibly a normal hypocoristic (see §228) of \**ἑκᾱβόλος* which presumably was a by-form or a pre-form of *ἑκῆβόλος*.<sup>762</sup> For the first element of this compound two comparisons have been proposed (see Frisk, s.vv.; Chantraine, s.vv.): (1) with *ἐκάς*, 'far' (in antiquity the compound was understood to mean 'far-shooting');

<sup>761</sup> Only BOI 15c *Ἡερακλῆς* is not necessarily what we should expect (see §503).

<sup>762</sup> If the lengthening is due to rhythmic factors (one of the explanations advocated; see Lejeune, §226, on *σοφώτατος* etc.), the hypocoristic name *Ἐκάβη* must be very old.

(2) with *έκων* (originally, ‘who hits his aim’). In the case of (1) *έκας*, we know that it started with a [w] and we assume that it was built on the stem of the pronoun *έ* < \**smē*. The second possibility, however, leads us back to the well-known IE root \**nek*-, which did not contain an [s]. On the other hand, the attestation in Corinth of Hekabe’s name with *Fhē*- supports the first etymology of \**έκᾱ*- in *έκηβόλος*, since only \**smē* could yield *Fhē*-, and \**nek*-, could not. For a full discussion see de Simone (1970b), who favours the first connection (the lack of digamma in Helene’s name on the same vase is no problem, see §§251, 504).

When we come to look at the sequence of liquids and nasals + <h> (Corinthian *Λh(ε)ον[τ]ίς* and *Nhέσ[(σ)ος]*; Chalcidian *Mhēδ[εσικάστῃ]* and *Mhόφσος*), there are clear cases where the <h> is due to an earlier [s], which changed the character of the resonant (see Lejeune, §140), for example CEG 451 *λhαβδόν* (Aigina, c.475–450?), CEG 145 *ρhοFάισι* (Kerkyra, c.600?);<sup>763</sup> but this spelling occurs also in cases where there never was an [s] (see Schwyzer, p. 311, Lejeune, §112), for example CEG 146 *Mhείξιος* (Kerkyra, c.575–550?; gen., root \**mik*-), late sixth/early fifth-century Attic *μhεγάλῳ* (CEG 190, 215, 248)<sup>764</sup> and *μhέσ(σ)ῶι* (CEG 304).<sup>765</sup> The instances on our vases are difficult. (1) The etymology of *λέων* is obscure (we simply know that the word already existed in Mycenaean). (2) Also, Nessos’ name is not clear (in Attic it is *Νέττος*; see §213). Theoretically it could be a derivative in -*jō*- of the root \**nek*- of *νεκρός* etc. (after all he brought death to Herakles), but this is by no means certain (this root did not contain an initial [s]). (3) The name *Μηδεσικάστη* is normally grouped with *μήδομαι*, *μήδος*, -*μήδης*, etc., where no initial [s] ever existed (cf. also *μεδ*-). Should we therefore interpret our name as *Μειδεσικάστη* (i.e. with the \**smi*- root of ‘smile’, whose original [s] is visible in Greek, for example in *φιλομμειδής*) with early monophthongization of the original [ei] diphthong (see §219 at the end)? This could be a secondary popular etymology (see §510), or it could be the true origin of the name, misinterpreted by Homer or later. We cannot know for certain. (4) The name *Μόφσος* is etymologically unclear (see Chantraine, s.v.; Myc. *mo-qo-so* has been compared).

For the possible link between literary texts and liquids/nasals + <h>, which occur almost exclusively in the word-initial position,<sup>766</sup> see §507.

<sup>763</sup> This case, in which the preceding syllable is short, seems to suggest that the aspirated spelling has no direct relation to the frequent lengthening of short syllables in front of a liquid or nasal in the epic language (see Chantraine (1942), 176 f.; Schwyzer, pp. 310 f.). Yet one could of course claim that we may simply no longer be able to recognize the original state, since matters are confused in both directions.

<sup>764</sup> Also DGE 686 *passim* *Mhειάλῃ vel sim.* (Pamphylian, see Brixhe (1976), 69).

<sup>765</sup> Etymologically unclear examples are ‘Megarian’ in DGE 152 *Mhεγαρεύς* (a Megarian, c.400?), LSAG 207 with n. 1, 306. 43a *Mhῆγαρίς* (Delos, c.525), IGDS 28b. 12 *Mhεγα[ρ- . .]* (Megara Hyblaea, late 6th cent.; see IGDS, p. 36); it seems as if the two cities somehow insisted on this spelling. Moreover, we have Immerwahr, no. 152, *μhόνος* (Attic, c.540; the etymology of *μόνος* is unclear), and LSAG 138. 11 = DGE 151 *Mhειολ[ . .]* (Megara, 5th cent.).

<sup>766</sup> The examples of *Φρεάρηος* cited by Hansen ad CEG 180 are a different matter since here the heta is added to the geminate [rr]—or even serves to mark it.

## §212. Assimilation and dissimilation

An interesting case of assimilation occurs in two forms of the name of Hektor.<sup>767</sup> On COR 68, by a very careless writer, (e) was first written *Ετορ*, and only afterwards was a kappa added, unfortunately in the wrong place: *Κετορ*. The original form shows assimilation of [kt] > [tt], i.e. it may be transcribed \**Ετ(τ)ῶρ*. The same phenomenon occurs on another, very carefully inscribed Corinthian vase, COR Gr 6, where the hero’s name is spelled (b) \**Ετρῶρ*. We may first of all compare this form with \**Εκτρωρ* on an Attic bf. hydria of c.510–500,<sup>768</sup> where the additional ρ is due to assimilatory duplication of the liquid.<sup>769</sup> Secondly, we can compare it with the cases showing a cluster of two different stops spelled with only one of them; there is a second Corinthian example, viz. *Φανατι* (for -κτι) on the pinax COP 2A,<sup>770</sup> where the metre requires a geminate, i.e. *Φάνατ(τ)ι*.<sup>771</sup> For Hektor’s name see also §250.<sup>772</sup>

A likely case of assimilation [mn] > [mm], which is rare in Greek, is COR 114c *Μίμδν*, for which *Μίμ(ν)δν* seems to be the best interpretation (see ad loc. for parallels; Schwyzer, p. 256 with bibl.; Lejeune, §153 n. 3, is not aware of the whole evidence). For two possible cases of vowel assimilation, viz. *Κεσσάνδρᾱ* > *Κασσάνδρᾱ* and *Κέλαις* > *Κάλαις*, see ad COR 70l n. 306 and §425 n. 1068, respectively.

As for dissimilation, there is a special case in BOI 3 *περικαλδεία*. For reasons of metre and content this form clearly represents *περικαλλέα* (with *ει* for original [ē], as *ibid.* *θειοίς*; see §221). The cluster [ld] instead of [ll] is puzzling, but a second occurrence

<sup>767</sup> Cited already in Wachter (1992), 24 f. (no. 6).

<sup>768</sup> Para. 164. 31bis; Boardman (1974), 110 (c.520–500), with ph. fig. 203; ph. Schefold (1978), 233 (c.510); Immerwahr, no. 443, ph. pl. 24. The Ω in this name and the one in *Πατρόκλω* (i.e. -ου) on the same vase are remarkably early examples of this letter in Athens (see below and Threatte, p. 38). As the λ in *Πατροκλω* is the local Attic one, we should not speak of (East) Ionic script, since we know from other sources that omega was already part of the local Attic alphabet in the 6th cent. (see §106). Yet the form of Hektor’s name is still not the normal Attic one, which would have aspiration; this again need not be (direct) East Ionic influence upon script or dialect, since elsewhere too, e.g. in Corinthian, the name has no initial [h] (see §§210, 250).

<sup>769</sup> Called ‘fernassimilatorischer Zuwachs’ by Leumann (1977: 233; it is a frequent phenomenon in Latin and Romance, e.g. inscr. *Octobres*, French *trésor*). Attic examples such as *Χραιρέδημος* are cited by Threatte, pp. 478 f.; see also e.g. *Καβρίρ[οι]* IG vii. 3644 (= Wolters–Bruns (1940), 50, no. 111). Maybe *Ηέτλῶρ* on an Attic bf. band-cup (ABV 675, ‘Stroibos’, no. 4; see Gerhard (1847), 88, dr. pl. 190/1. 4) belongs here, and—if the reading is correct—shows the additional [r] dissimilated.

<sup>770</sup> Arena (p. 73, ad no. 9) has already compared the two cases, thinking of ‘difficoltà di pronuncia’ of [kt]. His comparison is less justified in view of his reading of COR Gr 6b (assuming an inversion: \**Ετῶρ*), but turns out to be fully justified if our reading is substituted.

<sup>771</sup> Assimilation (see Schwyzer, pp. 316 f.) and single spelling of the resulting geminate (p. 318) is generally the better interpretation for these cases, rather than assumption of the loss of one component of the cluster, which would have changed the prosodic shape of the word. The phenomenon is widely attested, e.g. in Thessalian and Cretan (e.g. *νυττί*); see also in Cyprian ICS 121 *Ἀριστοφάνατ(τ)ος*; Masson–Mitford (1986), 28 f. *te-mi-si-to-na-to* *Θεμιστόνατ(τ)ος*), 37 *ta-si-wa-na-to* *Τασ(σ)ιφάνατ(τ)ος*).

<sup>772</sup> There are no cases of the analogous development [pt] > [tt] on our vases. An Attic example is cited at n. 1146 below; for another see Threatte, p. 570; a non-Attic example is *ἀγκλετέτῳ* (for -κλεττ-) in a local graffito on an Attic kylix from Pontecagnano (Campania), for which see Lazzarini (1984) (and SEG 34. 1019; Guarducci (1987), 364, ph. p. 365).

of [ld] in this very word in contemporary Boiotia (*CEG* 335 *περικαλδὲς ἄγ[αλμα]*, c.550–500?),<sup>773</sup> also in a hexameter, shows that it cannot be just a mistake. The reason for the persistent presence of a geminate in *κάλλος*, *καλλι-* is unknown.<sup>774</sup> There are thus two possible ways of explaining the [ld] form. (1) It could be the actual origin of *-λλ-*: [ld] > [ll]; or (2) it could be a secondary development from *-λλ-*: [ld] < [ll]. The first explanation leaves us with the difficulty that a suffix *\*-dos/-des-* is unfamiliar in Greek and IE,<sup>775</sup> and a sound-change [ld] > [ll] does not seem to be attested elsewhere in Greek.<sup>776</sup> The second hypothesis may be easier, though the only comparable sound-change that I can find in ancient Greek is *κρόμβιον* instead of *κρόμμιον*.<sup>777</sup> On the other hand, in modern Greek there are examples of [ld] (<λτ>) instead of [ll],<sup>778</sup> for example *ἄλτος*, *βασιλόπουλο*, *ἡμελε*, also in borrowings such as *καβαλάρης*, *καστέλι* (on *Astypalaia* and *Karpathos*). The same change (though now reversed in speech) has been fixed in Danish spelling: *told* ‘toll’, *balde* ‘ball’, *falde* ‘fall’, etc., and can be observed in Spanish learned borrowings,<sup>779</sup> for example *celda* from *cella*.

Other likely cases of dissimilation are *COR* 74*j* *E(ῶ)ρύμαχος* and *COP* 36 *μ' ἀδέθεκε* (see ad locc.). For dissimilation of aspiration, see §210.

#### §213. -ττ- and -σσ-

Of forms which have [tt] in some dialects and [ss] in others, there are only four cases among our vase inscriptions; they are mostly Corinthian, where [ss] is expected (see Thumb–Kieckers, p. 130). The geminate is often represented by a single letter (see §113).

(1) *COR* 66*c* *ΔᾱμοFάνασ(σ)α* probably reflects a literary form (otherwise we would not expect the digamma, and the name would be contracted; see §506). Therefore the second element *-Fάνασα* should be taken as [–wanassa] not [–wanasa] which would not fit a dactylic metre.

(2) For the name *Odysseus*, see §254. On a vase from Boiotia, where we would expect [tt] as in Attic (see Thumb–Scherer, p. 32), we have *-(σ)-*: *BOI* 18*a* *Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς* (see §503). Other examples of the name are as we would expect in the respective dialects (see also Schwyzler, pp. 320 f.).

(3) The third example is *COR* 123 *Nhέσ[(σ)ος]* (Attic has *Nέτ(τ)ος*, attested in the 7th cent.: *ABV* 4 f., no. 1; Immerwahr, no. 55, with *Hερακλῆς*).<sup>780</sup> The etymology of this name is unknown (see §211).

<sup>773</sup> Cited by Maffre (1975), 422 n. 47; Ducat (1971), 386, no. 238, with dr. fig. 37 (from a ph.), *boustrophedon*.

<sup>774</sup> See Schwyzler, p. 447 n. 6; Lejeune, §139 with n. 5; Plath (1994), 165 n. 8. This element is not infrequently attested on our vases, e.g. *EUB* 3*a* *Καλλίμ[ε]*. . .], *COR* 28*Ac* *Καλλιόπᾱ*, *DOH* 3*a* *καλλίστα*.

<sup>775</sup> See Schwyzler, pp. 508 f.

<sup>776</sup> Threatte (p. 558) records a few cases of fluctuation between [ll] and [ld] in Karian names.

<sup>777</sup> Schwyzler, p. 231; also to be observed are e.g. (obsolete) English ‘humble-bee’ and Zurich German dialect ‘Humbeli’ for German ‘Hummel’.

<sup>778</sup> See Schwyzler (1934), 226.

<sup>779</sup> See Grammont (1956), 234 f.

<sup>780</sup> On this ‘Nettos Vase’ see Stoessel (1987), 127 (incomprehensible: ‘Beischrift *Hρακλῆς*, linksläufig, H=H, E=H’).

(4) In *COR* 70*l* *Κεσ(σ)άνδρᾱ*, where the first vowel is a problem, it is slightly less certain that we have a geminate (see ad loc.). The epic form has *-σσ-*, and in Attic there are the clear examples *Κατ(τ)άνδρᾱ* and *Καττάνδρᾱ*, the first on *ABV* 136. 54, the second on a recently published vase—for which see n. 1097.

The [tt]-type Attic equivalents of (2), (3), and (4) above are taken by Schwyzler (p. 317) to be cases of hyperatticism,<sup>781</sup> by which he must mean wrong adaptation of the epic form to the Attic dialect. However, in view of the fact that the forms with [tt] are earlier in Attic than those with [ss], this is implausible, particularly so in the case of *Odysseus*’ name, which is frequently attested with [tt] and whose almost consistent [l] instead of the epic [d] is not a hypercorrection, but quite the reverse (see §254). Be that as it may, the very existence of Attic equivalents with a dental stop shows that the *s*-forms normally had a geminate.

#### §214. -ρσ- and -ρρ-

We have examples of the cluster *-ρσ-* on Boiotian, Corinthian, and Chalcidian vases. In Boiotian [rs] is normally preserved, [rr] occurs only rarely (see Thumb–Scherer (p. 33), who assume foreign—i.e. Euboian or Attic—influence). *BOI* 8 *Περσεύς* therefore shows the expected form (Attic has *Περ(ρ)εύς*<sup>782</sup>). In Corinthian too [rs] seems to be the normal form (see also Thumb–Kieckers, p. 130), as attested in *COR* 33*h* *Θέρσανδρος*, *COR* 55 and 101*b* *Περσεύς*. A difficult case on a later vase is *COR* 124*B* *Φερ(ρ)ι[φ- . .]* or *Φερσ[εφ- . .]* (see ad loc.).

On the other hand, we would expect [rr] in West Ionic dialects, as, for example, in *SGDI* 5272. 12 *ἀγάρρει* (see also 16) from Neapolis, and, from Eretria, *IG* xii/9. 450 *Ὀρριπιος*, 245*A*. 176 *Θαρρίας* *Θαρρυμάχον*, 246*A*. 170 *Θαρρίππον*, and *ibid.* *B*. 17 *Θαρρύνοντος* (for more examples see *IG* xii/9, index, p. 191; and see Thumb–Scherer, p. 265; Buck, §80). This development seems to be older than the migration of Euboians to the West (which also means that it is of no assistance in identifying the place of production of Chalcidian pottery). We may therefore conclude that *CHA* 9*e* *Περσεύς* is a non-Chalcidian form, and probably due to the Inscription P.’s non-Ionic origin (see §259).

#### §215. Doubling of intervocalic liquid or nasal

There are two early examples on Corinthian pinakes of what seems to have been a more or less spontaneous doubling mainly of liquids and nasals in the intervocalic position (for the phenomenon see Kretschmer, p. 50; Schwyzler, pp. 237 f., viz. *COP* 51*B* [ . . ] *ς μ' ἀννέ[θῆκε]* and 25 *Αἰσιμῆλλῆς μ' ἀν[έθῆκε . . ?]* (for names in *-μέλης* see Bechtel, p. 305).

<sup>781</sup> This view is repeated by Garcia-Ramón (1988–90), 54.

<sup>782</sup> *ABV* 5. 4 by the Nettos P. (Immerwahr, no. 57; ph. e.g. Schefold (1964 and 1966), pl. 44*a*, (1993), fig. 68). The same form appears on a fr. by Kleitias, *ABV* 77. 2 (not in Immerwahr; ph. Schefold (1993), fig. 243).

## Vowels

## §216. [ǣ] &lt; [ē]

Only two examples of a short [a] instead of [e] occur in our documents, viz. DOH 3b *Ἀρταμῖς* and BOI 10f *Εὐφάρια*, which is probably equivalent to *Εὐφέρεια*. The former is the usual form of the goddess's name in all West Greek dialects, the latter is due to the tendency of mainly North-west Greek dialects to lower [e] before an [r]. In Boiotia this change is only very rarely found, and then mainly in proper names (see ad BOI 10f). It is most frequently encountered in Phokian and Lokrian (see e.g. Thumb–Kieckers, pp. 262 f., 287).<sup>783</sup>

## §217. The pronunciation of \*/u/

It is very difficult to establish the exact pronunciation of any vowel in a certain dialect at a certain time. In the case of <v> (see e.g. Schwyzer, pp. 182, 197 with n. 2), we know that it was pronounced [y] in Attica and in the Koine, but remained [u] in Boiotia for much longer (see §207).

As far as Corinthian is concerned, we have two contrasting pieces of evidence (see the earlier remarks of Kretschmer, pp. 31 f.). On the one hand, there is COR 113d *Ηυσμῆνᾶ* (see ad loc.), whose first syllable, for which we expect *Ηισ-*, may point to an [y] pronunciation of earlier [u], but the same cannot as safely be argued for *Ὀλισ(σ)εύς* (see §254). On the other hand, the consistent use of qoppa instead of kappa immediately<sup>784</sup> before upsilon<sup>785</sup> in just the same way as it is used before a back vowel

<sup>783</sup> In this context it may be worth mentioning that in the Gigantomachy friezes of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (dated shortly before 525; see F. Vian and M. B. Moore, *LIMC* iv. 197 f., 'Gigantes' 2\*, and ibid. 268 f.), whose inscs. have been newly checked and the readings much improved by Brinkmann (1985) and (1994), one of the names (Brinkmann (1994), 170 f.) has a clearly Phokian form, viz. *Ἀσταρίᾱς*, a dead giant. This is important for the question of the artist's origin. Brinkmann plausibly prefers a restoration of the beginning of the signature to read *Ἀριστῶν Πάριος*. This restoration had been suggested by Jeffery (see Brinkmann (1994), 75 with n. 229), no doubt also with regard to the dactylic structure of the rest (the name would have to be scanned — — — or — — —, see §222; the inscr. is *CEG* 449, not cited by Brinkmann). If the attribution to Aristion is correct, we have the choice between two conclusions. (1) Unlike for his signature, which seems to be in Attic, for the labels the artist employed both the local alphabet (recognized by Jeffery (1961), 102; see Brinkmann (1985), 108 with n. 86, (1994), 96 bottom) and the local dialect. (2) The labels were added by a local mason who specialized in Phokian stone inscriptions. I prefer the second possibility. As to the name of the giant, Brinkmann (1985: 128 n. 194), referring to Vian (1952: 262 ff.), briefly mentions two scholia citing Aristotle (fr. 637 Rose), which connect the foundation of the Panathenaic games with the slaying by Athena of a giant with a similar name. In one scholion we read the dat. *Ἀστέρη*, in the other one the gen. *Ἀστερίου*. In view of the name on the Treasury frieze, which is the earliest attestation of this giant's name, the nom. of the gen. just cited is *Ἀστερίας*, not *Ἀστερίου* as hitherto assumed (the alleged \**Ἀστῆρ* of the other scholion may be a mistake). On the frieze Astarias may well belong to the group of giants fought by Athena (the warrior facing r., stepping over him, is probably also a giant).

<sup>784</sup> In mediate sequence writers were free to use either sign. Before <o>: COR 3 *Πάτρολος* (but kappa in 46*Ab* and 57*e*), 23*g* *Τεόρορος*, 44*e*, 60*b*, 70*c* *Ἐφτῶρ* vel *sim.* (but kappa in 24*b*, 30*b*, 57*j*, 68*h*, CHA 15*d*, DOH 1*c*), COR 46*Ba* *Χαρίολοι*, 66*u* *Ἡππαλῆμος*, 107*e* *Κροτύσιος* (also CHA 3*i* *Κρόσιος*). Before <v>: COR 113*a* *Κλύσιος* and (b) *Περιγλύμενος* (on the same vase is (d) *Ηυσμῆνᾶ*); perhaps also 81*Ad*, but with kappa 12*b* *Κλύσιος* (for Chalcidian see n. 787).

[o]<sup>786</sup> does not support the idea of a front pronunciation [y]. It has often been argued that the very rare use of the letter qoppa before an upsilon in Attic is due to the pronunciation [y] of earlier [u] in this dialect; yet the use of qoppa before [u] is by no means natural either. For its primary use, soon given up as superfluous all over the Greek world, is entirely due to the [o] in its letter-name qoppa, and any region or school was free to decide that it should be used before [o] vowels only, leaving for the position before upsilon the universal sign kappa no matter what the exact pronunciation of <v> was. Therefore we may argue that in a dialect where qoppa is used before upsilon, the pronunciation of upsilon is particularly likely to have been [u] not [y], at least at the time when writing was first introduced. The consistent spelling <ϙv>, in my view, discredits the isolated *Ηυσμῆνᾶ*, and we should accept a back pronunciation [u] of <v> in Corinth (for non-phonological ways of explaining *Ηυσμῆνᾶ* see ad loc.). See also §225 on the spelling of the diphthong in COR 23*g* *Τεόρορος* and COR 30*c* *Ἀχιλλεύς*.

In Chalcidian, too, qoppa can be used before <v>.<sup>787</sup> The spelling in CHA 20*b* *Κύρυνς* has been compared with *IG* xiv. 871 *ἡνυ* (instead of *ἡνυο*) from Kyme, a Euboian colony (see, however, ad loc.). Another form from a Euboian context was compared by Rumpf (1927), 51: *IG* xii/9. 56. 276 *Μέντικος* (5th cent.?). These forms with their <v> instead of <o> make it more likely that <v> was not pronounced [y] but [u] in the dialect and period in question (see Kretschmer, p. 68; Schwyzer, p. 182; Thumb–Scherer, p. 251; Lejeune, §252).

For East Ionic (from which we have IOD 4*A* *Ῥύλικα*), see §225.

## §218. [ā] &lt; [ē]

We have only one certain case of [ā] from an earlier [ē], viz. ITH 2 *ποῖᾱσε* (for ibid. -*κλέᾱς* see ad loc.). This occurrence in Ithaka of an otherwise exclusively Elean dialect feature (see Thumb–Kieckers, p. 239) has long since been noticed (see Buck, §15).<sup>788</sup> We know extremely little about the dialect of Ithaka, but one inscription (*LSAG* 234. 3) of c. 550 shows [τ]ᾱς *Ἡέρᾱς* (not \**Ἡάρᾱς*) and με *ἔ[πο]ῖ[ε]σ[αν]*. There are two possible explanations.

<sup>785</sup> COR 47 (and probably COP 26) *Ἀεσουλῖνος*, COR 50 *Κυλ(λ)ῖας*, 69 *Κύρῖος*, 77*e* *Κυματοθᾶ*, 87*b/e* (and probably 90*c*) *Κύλλαρος*; COP 10 *Κύλ(λ)ᾱς*, 11*b* *Κυλοῖδᾱς*. Uncertain are COP 46 and 87.

<sup>786</sup> COR 18*e* *Ἐδῖφος*, 19*h* (and probably COP 44*a*) *Κόμιος*, COR 26*c* [*H*] *ἱπ(π)όδορος*, 33*f* *Λάρον*, 40*b* *Ὀμριος*, 58*a* *Νίρον*, 68*j*, 74*i*, 82*h* *Γλαύρος* vel *sim.*, 70*f* and 102*i* *Κόρα(ξ)ς*, 79*Aa* (and 68*i*) *Λεῦρος*, 81*Ba* [...]. *Ἰᾱδορος*, 114*b* *Μιροθῖον*, probably 106*a* *Πόρρος*; COP 6 *ᾱροιτις*, 45 *Κό[.]ρις*, 62*a* *Φύσρον*, 85 *νιρόμις*; COR Gr 2 *Ῥοτύλλα*, 25 *Κόρᾱ[ς]*. Less certain COR 105*a* *Σ. Ῥος*.

<sup>787</sup> The Inscription P. twice shows qoppa, CHA 3*e* *Κλυτό* and 10*d* *Κλύτιος*, and once kappa, 1*d* *Κλυτό* (together with the non-Ionic 'throwaway name' (I) *Ῥό*; see §§237, 259). A different painter writes CHA 20*b* *Κύρυνς*. For the spelling before [o] see nn. 522 and 784.

<sup>788</sup> I do not understand why Heubeck (1980: 282) interprets -*κλέᾱς* as due to the local North-west Greek dialect (referring to Bechtel (1921), 170, (1923), 117), but then states: 'schwer erklärbar (ist) *ποῖᾱσε* mit unetymologischem *ā* (Hyperdorisismus?); vgl. Schwyzer GG I 828'. A hyperdorisism in an inscr. of the early 7th cent., written by a (North-)west Greek potter, seems very unlikely to me; and if one takes -*κλέᾱς* for the same formation as -*κλέης*, one ought to explain both forms in the same way.

(1) The ‘candlestick’ ITH 2 with its inscription is an imported piece. (2) The tendency to open long [ē] existed in Ithaka too, but was eventually reversed. The former explanation does not solve the problem; the only place to which we could attribute our dialect form, namely Elis, has an alphabet which uses sigma, whereas ITH 2 shows san. Therefore the second possibility is more likely.<sup>789</sup> Should we assume that the later Corinthian colonists superseded an earlier population of North-west Greeks on the island? The local script may still be due to the first Corinthians to arrive in Ithaka (see §107), but the form *ποῖᾱσε* is certainly not Corinthian.

### §219. Secondary [ē]

In many dialects the result of the compensatory lengthening of [ē] was treated as identical to the long vowel arising from contracted [ēē] but was kept apart from the inherited [ē] (for the *o*-vowels see §220). The result was often an asymmetric system in which two long *e*-vowels, [ē] and [ē̄], corresponded to one short vowel [ē]. The writing systems did not always distinguish the two long *e*-sounds. In the local Attic script, for instance, epsilon was used both for the short vowel and for the two long vowels. The situation only became clearer when the secondary [ē̄] from contraction or compensatory lengthening came to be written with a digraph <ει><sup>790</sup> and when (later) the primary [ē] (both the inherited one and that from \*[ā]) was represented by East Ionic <η>. The use of the digraph <ει> for [ē̄], i.e. the practice of writing a ‘spurious diphthong’, had become possible because of the merging of [ei] with [ē] owing to the general Greek tendency towards the monophthongization of *i*-diphthongs. Yet the new spelling, while more accurately reflecting the nature of the phonemic system, concealed the etymological distinction between the original diphthong (written <ει> in the local script) and secondary [ē̄] (written <ε> in the local script).

The local script of Corinth, in contrast to most other local scripts but in conformity with East Ionic, shows two separate signs for *e*-vowels, viz. Ε and Β. In general terms the former is used for an inherited [ei] diphthong (and possibly for a secondary [ē̄], but see below). Β, which is much more frequent, is used for the short [ē] and for the inherited long [ē]. Typical examples are COR 66l *Ἀργεός*, 97 *Ποτῆδᾶν*, and 131c *φεύγε* (all with Ε for an earlier diphthong [ei]); but see 66m *Φέρεις* (with Β for both inherited [ē] and [ē̄]).<sup>791</sup>

<sup>789</sup> I do not consider the (third) possibility of a mistake; the inscr. is very carefully written.

<sup>790</sup> For the time and a possible reason for the introduction of the new spelling see Wachter (1991b), 108–12.

<sup>791</sup> It is important to note that the Corinthian Β-type epsilon stands at the end of the alphabet. This shows that the letter is a secondary addition, and provides a further indication that the Corinthian writing system is a secondary adaptation of an older system (see §§106 and 210 with n. 753). That Β was chosen for the primary and Ε for the secondary long *e*-sound is surprising. Ε is the old sign which must have been in use for all *e*-sounds in the earlier writing system of the region, and therefore we might have expected the opposite solution. But in principle it is unimportant which sign is used for which sound; signs are only symbols, and it was up to the authors of the reform to define the new orthographic rules. The solution is therefore likely to be due to mere chance.

The most thorough discussion of the Corinthian evidence is still that by Kretschmer (pp. 33–6),<sup>792</sup> which need not be repeated here. We may, however, make a few general points. (1) As is normal in Greece, the spelling seems to concentrate on distinctions of quality rather than quantity. It should follow therefore that [ē̄] written Β was nearer in quality to inherited long [ē], also written Β, than to the sound(s) written Ε. (2) The distinction between the two long vowels was presumably that between a closed and a more open vowel, and it seems likely that Ε indicated the more closed vowel. There are two reasons for this assumption. First, Ε represents an original [ei] diphthong which we should normally expect to monophthongize into a closed long vowel. That this was so is shown by e.g. COR 49 *Φιδίᾱς* (see ad loc.) and COP 2A *Ποτῆδᾶν* (see §255), where the etymological [ei] is represented by an iota (ξ), i.e. the closure of [ei] seems to have gone even further than [ē̄];<sup>793</sup> an indirect further proof of a closed pronunciation is the (very early) exceptional spelling in COP 37a *Ἀ(μ)φιτρῆτᾶν*, where a long [ī] is written with an Ε (see §246). Secondly, Ε is occasionally used instead of normal iota for an earlier [ī]: in COR 27a *Πρέαμος* (if correctly read; see §256)<sup>794</sup> and—as the second element of an *i*-diphthong—in COR 10a *Ἀῖφας*, 47 *Ἀῖσφυλῖνος*, etc. (see §225). The latter cases, where Ε represents a short vowel, prove that its special feature was of quality not quantity.<sup>795</sup> An alleged third use of Ε, namely for normal short [ē] in COP 29 *ἔμέ*, is an isolated case and probably attributable to a foreigner in Corinth (a Boiotian?; see ad loc.).

As for the secondary long [ē̄], in view of the statement made at (1) in the paragraph above, it seems a priori likely that it should be expressed by the sign Β, which was used for the short vowel from which the secondary [ē̄] originated by contraction or compensatory lengthening. On the other hand, the situation in Attic, where the secondary [ē̄] was more closed than inherited [ē] and eventually merged with the monophthongized [ei], may lead us to expect the same for Corinthian, i.e. a system that used the sign for a more closed *e*-vowel, viz. Ε. There are, however, two points which should make us sceptical about the second possibility. First, we cannot necessarily extrapolate from Attic to Corinthian. For the qualitative distinction in Attic may be due to the specific Ionic-Attic merging of inherited [ē̄] with [ē̄] <\*[ā] to produce an *e*-vowel which was more open than [ē] and its lengthened variants. Secondly, even if inherited [ē̄] was more open than [ē] in Corinth too, Ε, the sign for the original [ei], may have been felt to represent too closed a vowel to be used for secondary [ē̄].

<sup>792</sup> A short account is given by Thumb–Kieckers, p. 128.

<sup>793</sup> See Lejeune (1945), 110; COR 18g *Χαρικλῖδᾱς*, which he also considers to have a long second [i], contains a different sound and is earlier too, hence I prefer Kretschmer’s explanation (see ad loc.).

<sup>794</sup> But *Πρίαμος* in COR 70a and COR 79Ad. Was the [i] slightly opened because of the [r] or the following [a]?

<sup>795</sup> Indeed, no archaic Greek writing system contained two different signs for two vowels which differed only in quantity, and even in the case of East Greek eta and omega (which were not adopted by the Corinthians when they reformed their alphabet; see §106) the difference was not only of quantity but also of quality.

At this stage we should look at the evidence, but unfortunately there is probably no case of secondary [ē] in any extant Corinthian document for which we may claim that it shows a ‘normal’ spelling. There is no certain instance of contraction [ē] + [ē] (for the gen. *Ἡερακλεος* see §221).<sup>796</sup> Therefore we have to concentrate on the one certain and two possible cases of compensatory lengthening of an [ē], viz. the aorist participle in COP 1A [ē]παγγείλας, the first person singular of the verb ‘to be’, which should be [ēmi] < \**esmi*, and the name label COR 70k Πολυξένᾱ.

The form of COP 1A shows not only a digraph, <ει>, which is a secondary spelling everywhere in Greece (see above, as well as §§220, 505), but also <γγ>, which is unusual in mainland Greece (see ad loc., as well as §§114, 503). In view of this we cannot speak of a proper, epichoric Corinthian form. The same spelling occurs in Iason’s name, COR 24Ba Εἰάσων, which has a short [i] in literature and is of uncertain etymology (see ad loc.), but the label (d) Πο<sup>ν</sup>λυδ(ε)ύκ(ε)ς of the same vase (see §220) may help to suggest a reason for the <ει> spelling (see §505).

The situation with ‘I am’ at Corinth is the following: in our documents, ἐμί (with Ε) is obviously the ‘normal’ form (attested on COP 5a, 24, 59, 61, 83, COR 128, and probably 121d), but there is also COR Gr 23 ἱμί (with Ξ),<sup>797</sup> and ἐμί (with Β) in COR 18a and probably in COR Gr 2 (7th cent.). The situation is therefore similar to that in Poseidon’s name (see §255). A text like COP 83 Ποτῆδᾱν δ’ ἐμί suggests that the writer heard the same vowel twice, whereas in COR 121d a difference must have been audible between the different long [ē]s in . . . ἐμί τὸ ποτῆριον. That the vowel in ἐμί was more closed than the original long [ē] is shown by the unique spelling ἱμί of COR Gr 23, exactly comparable to the cases, mentioned above, of Poseidon’s and a certain Pheidias’ names. Yet these two examples contained original real diphthongs, monophthongized in Corinthian, and it is important to note in this connection that in Attic, ‘I am’ clearly did not have a spurious diphthong (i.e. a secondary [ē]) but a real diphthong from the earliest examples onwards, whatever the reason for it was.<sup>798</sup> It seems equally likely to me—if not, indeed, more likely—that the Corinthian ‘normal’ form too represents just such a monophthongized real diphthong, rather than a product of compensatory lengthening—especially if we look at the remaining evidence on our vases, which gives the impression that the real-diphthong version was far more widespread than has been believed hitherto:<sup>799</sup> we have DOC 5 ἐμί (Sicily, 2nd q. 5th cent., alongside <o> in the article τὸ),<sup>800</sup> IOD 9 ἐμί (Milesian Black

Sea colony, late 6th cent.), NAU 1La -ιμι (*in crasi*), NAU 1Nb ἐμί[ι], AIG 3A ἐμί[ι] (all three in an East Ionic trading context, 1st h. 6th cent.), and one non-diphthong version, DOI 1b ἡμί (Thera, 2nd h. 7th cent.). It may be tempting to connect the two Corinthian forms with Β with the final, Doric, example and call them archaisms, but we should be cautious. The graffito COR Gr 2, it is true, is said to be slightly earlier than the other Corinthian attestations of our verb form. But it cannot be called earlier than COP 3, whose (a) Ποτῆδᾱ[ν] shows that, by that time, the Corinthian writing system as we know it was already in existence and that the monophthongization of a former [ei] was an accomplished fact. Now, if we wanted to take COR Gr 2 ἐμί as an archaism, we should have to declare ‘normal’ ἐμί to be the result of a modern intrusion of [eimi] with a real diphthong into the Corinthian dialect no earlier than, say, 650. This is hardly possible, however, since it first had to be monophthongized, together with the [ei] in Poseidon’s name, and this must have happened well before such documents as our COP 3, and needed time. Moreover, the genitive Χοιράσου of the same graffito (COR Gr 2) shows a modern spelling (see §220). It is more reasonable, therefore, to take its ἐμί as an isolated slip. Or we may consider the explanation suggested for the analogous spellings with Β in Poseidon’s name (see §255), namely the influence of a foreigner; this idea seems plausible in the case of COR 18a (to be dated after 600), where we may suspect (j) Φρύξ, whose name comes last in the list, to have been the author.

The last possible case of secondary [ē] as a result of compensatory lengthening, COR 70k Πολυξένᾱ, must be a non-epichoric form (see §§209, 503). Its spelling with Β cannot therefore be used as a strong piece of evidence for the Corinthian dialect.

A case similar to the spellings of Poseidon’s name with Β instead of Ε (see §255) seems to be the fragmentary name of a woman (a Nereid?) in COR 96A [ . . . ]ανερα, i.e. probably a name in -άνειρα (with a secondary, but real, diphthong in Ionic and Attic). There is, however, another possible interpretation of the spelling in this case, namely to take it as -ἐρ(ρ)- (see §433).

What seems certain about the Corinthian writing system in general is that at the time when the sign Β was added (at the end of the alphabet, see §106), two different qualities of long [e] must have existed, one for the inherited [ē] and one for the monophthongized diphthong [ei], which made it worth while to create an additional sign.

Outside Corinth, we have come across some hints of an early monophthongization [ei] > [ē] in Boiotia (see §221), in Poseidonia, in view of ACC 3b ἀ(μ)πῶνίξ (c.480–470), and in Lakonia, with LAK 4c Δένόμαχος. Uncertain cases are CHA 14f Μῆξᾱς (uncertain reading; see ad loc.) and CHA 16b Μῆδ[ευσικόςτῆ] (uncertain root; see §211).

## §220. Secondary [ō]

The position of secondary long [ō] is normally comparable with that of secondary [ē] (see §219). In Corinthian, however, no spe-

<sup>796</sup> The only case possibly due to contraction is IG iv. 415 Κλετολάς, written with Ε (< \*Κλεφετο-, according to Bechtel, pp. 250 f.). But as this form occurs as an isolated name on a gravestone, is not from the city of Corinth, and is of uncertain date, we must remain sceptical as to its representing the proper Corinthian writing system with the Β/Ε distinction. The result of [ē] + [ē] (see §223) as in *Ἡερακλῆς* is of course irrelevant to our question.

<sup>797</sup> The same form occurs in LSAG 131. 23 (6th cent.; see below, n. 809).

<sup>798</sup> See e.g. Threatte, pp. 176 f.

<sup>799</sup> If at some stage we get a new and exhaustive collection of Greek dialect inscriptions, this impression will have to be verified against the complete material.

<sup>800</sup> See also the graffito from Gela, IGDS 147 = ZPE 63 (1986), 181 f. (early 5th cent.).

cial sign corresponding to  $\text{E}$  exists, and we may therefore expect the same spelling as in other dialects. Yet it has long been noted that in Corinthian there are examples of an  $\langle\text{ou}\rangle$  spelling for the secondary  $[\bar{o}]$  dating from as early as the seventh century, which shows that the inherited diphthong  $[\text{ou}]$ —just like  $[\text{ei}]$ —had been monophthongized very early. The oldest example seems to be COR Gr 2 *Χοιράσου* (gen., dated to the 7th cent., together with  $\epsilon\acute{\mu}\iota$ ).<sup>801</sup> Probably the earliest example of the spelling with  $\langle\text{o}\rangle$  is *Μαλέϙο* (gen., also 7th cent., in the graffito *LSAG* 130. 1; Amyx, no. Gr 5). There are several other instances of secondary  $[\bar{o}]$ , both from compensatory lengthening and from contraction, which clearly show that both spellings were acceptable: COR 17*b* *αὐτό* (gen.), 24*e* *Αὐτομέδουσα*, 24*Bd* *Ποῦλυδ(ε)ύκ(ε)ς* alongside (a) *Εἰάσων* (§219), 28*Aa* *Μόσαι* as well as (b) *Μούσαι*, 50*A* *Ἀγρᾶνῶ* (gen.), 82*d* *[Κ]λέβρυλος*, 121*d* *καλὸ* (gen.); COP 61 [. . .] *ἴμῶ εἴμι* (gen.).<sup>802</sup>

There are only two examples where we seem to have a genuine old diphthong, namely COR 107*e* *Qρούπιος* (but written as a monophthong in CHA 3*i* *Qρόπιος*; see ad COR 107*e*) and COR 96*B* *Πνδοτομέδοισα* (see §§433, 505).

It seems worth noting that all instances of a spelling  $\langle\text{ou}\rangle$  are likely to be connected with the poetic sphere, viz. COR Gr 2; COR 24*e*, 24*Bd*, 28*Ab*, 82*d*. However, in view of several  $\langle\text{o}\rangle$  spellings on our vases in forms that are equally connected with poetry, this spelling can hardly have been ‘compulsory’ in poetic texts. See §505.<sup>803</sup>

For the attestations on two Corinthian vases and one pinax of  $\langle\text{oi}\rangle$  instead of expected  $[\bar{o}]$ , see §508.

### §221. Shortening of prevocalic vowels and diphthongs

The quantity of vowels is often impossible to check. If, however, different graphemes are used for different quantities, or if the inscription is metrical, we have a better chance. A case of the latter sort is BOI 3, where the verb *ἐποίεσε* is counted  $\sim\sim\sim$  and therefore contains a diphthong (i.e. a long vocalic sound) that is shortened in prevocalic position. Roughly contemporary Boiotian inscriptions with *ἐπόεσε* confirm this development, showing that the shortening was achieved by dropping the second element of the diphthong.<sup>804</sup>

There are more examples from Boiotia of a short  $[\text{e}]$  spelled with a digraph (see Thumb–Scherer, pp. 19 f.), for example *περικαλδεία* (acc. ntr. pl.;  $\langle-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rangle$ , scanned as  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$ , and *θειοῖς*

$\langle-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rangle$ , both in the same inscription BOI 3; also *DGE* 475 *ἀνέθειαν* (c.500). This spelling seems to be due to the early monophthongization of  $[\text{ei}]$  in Boiotian; this led first to  $[\bar{e}]$  and later to  $[\text{I}]$ , whence any  $[\text{e}]$ - and  $[\text{i}]$ -sound could be rendered with  $\langle\text{ει}\rangle$  and  $\langle\text{ι}\rangle$  (a distinction of quantity was not made in writing). Alternatively, this practice may be due to those cases (analogous to the development in *ἐπόεσε*) where a real diphthong  $[\text{ei}]$  preceded a vowel and was reduced to a short vowel.<sup>805</sup> Thirdly, the confusion was further promoted because original  $[\bar{e}]$  was raised towards  $[\text{i}]$  in the prevocalic position.<sup>806</sup> These three tendencies seem to have acted at the same time, and, indeed, can be observed as early as our vase inscriptions (this yields the easiest explanation of BOI 10*f* *Εὐφάρια*:  $\langle-\acute{\phi}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\rangle$ ; a later example on a vase is BOI 18*b* *Βορίας*). We may also remember that the prevocalic spellings  $\langle\text{oi}\rangle$  and  $\langle\text{ει}\rangle$ , for example in BOI 3 *ἐποίεσε* ( $\sim\sim\sim$ ) and *θειοῖς* ( $\sim$ ), had a considerable advantage, particularly in metrical inscriptions, for they prevented the reader from wrongly pronouncing monosyllabic diphthongs, which were often rendered  $\langle\text{oe}\rangle$ ,  $\langle\text{eo}\rangle$ , etc. (i.e.  $\dagger\text{ἐποέσε}$   $\sim\sim$ ,  $\dagger\text{θεοῖς}$   $\sim$ ), not least in Boiotia (see §225); for a similar reading-aid see §506.

The same reduction of a diphthong in the prevocalic position by weakening or dropping the second element (as in Boiotian *ἐπόεσε*) can be observed in vase inscriptions in other dialects, for example in our form IOI 2*i* *Ἀθηνάη* and IOD 5*C* *Ἀθηνάη* [*ι*] (see §247), as well as in the name of Aineias (see §245) and the similar formation COR 18*b* *Μενέας* (see ad loc.). A similar effect also occurs in the sandhi (word boundary) position (see ad NAU 1*Oa*).

A difficult case is COR 19*a* *Ηἱρακλέος* (gen.): first, by reason of its  $\langle\text{o}\rangle$ , secondly for its  $\langle\text{e}\rangle$  before the  $\langle\text{o}\rangle$ . In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the relevant forms are written *Ἡρακλῆος*  $-\acute{\eta}\alpha$   $-\acute{\eta}\iota$ , reflecting—without exception, as is stressed by Chantraine<sup>807</sup>—earlier *Ἡρακλεος* etc. When the  $[\text{s}]$  and the  $[\text{w}]$  of  $*\text{-klewesos}$  etc. were lost, the latter much earlier than the former, contraction could theoretically have occurred, first of  $[\text{e}] + [\text{o}]$ , later of the first  $[\text{e}] +$  what was left of the first contraction. Now, in Corinthian, intervocalic  $[\text{w}]$  had normally disappeared by the time of our vases (see §506), in particular between similar vowels, for instance in the frequent nominative *Ηἱρακλῆς* (notably on COR 19 itself). On the other hand,  $[\text{e}] + [\text{o}]$  was not contracted to a single vowel as in Attic.<sup>808</sup> Our form *Ηἱρακλέος* cannot therefore represent the same as Attic *Ἡρακλέους*, and its  $[\text{o}]$  must be short. As for the  $[\text{e}]$  in question, it could either be the result of a contraction  $[\bar{e}] + [\bar{e}]$ , or one of the two  $[\text{e}]$ -sounds could have been dropped (hyphaeresis or ‘Vokalausstossung’) and the remaining  $[\text{e}]$  have

<sup>801</sup> PCO 1 *ἀπλοῦν* (?) may be of about the same period (3rd q. 7th cent.), but is perhaps not in Corinthian script (see ad loc.).

<sup>802</sup> Uncertain cases of secondary  $[\bar{o}]$  are COR 40*a* *Εὐνος* (*Εδνος* or *Εὐνός*?; see ad loc.), COR 67*d* and CHA 6*b* *Πόλυβος* (*Πόλυβος* or *Πολύβος*?; see §237), COR 64*Bb* *Φιωνος* (*Φῖφινός* or *Φῖφινός*?; see §228), COR 115*A* *Μελαμπος* (see ad loc.).

<sup>803</sup> Later examples can be disregarded here—e.g. *CEG* 131 = *LSAG* 132. 29 (with ph. pl. 21; c.480) *Qορίνθῶ* (there does not seem to be enough space for an additional *v*), *CEG* 142 = *GD* 95 (c.475–450?) *αὐτό* (gen.), *LSAG* 143. 8 = *GD* 96 (Sikyon; c.500) *Φοικέουσιν* and *φέρουσιν*, *LSAG* 132. 38 (from Olympia, no longer in the traditional Corinthian alphabet; c.458) *τοῦ πρ[ό]λου*.

<sup>804</sup> Other—as far as we can see, contemporary—inscrs. show even more conservative *ἐποίεσε* (see §209).

<sup>805</sup> This process is known from *τελέω*  $\langle *telejā$ , *ύός*  $\langle υῖός$ , etc. See Lejeune, §§127, 260; Schwyzler, pp. 313, 713, 724.

<sup>806</sup> See Thumb–Scherer, pp. 19 f.; e.g. *DGE* 452. 23 *Θιομνάστα*, 548*A*. 2 *Θιογιτῶ*, 452. 29 *Χσενόκλια*, all in the epichoric alphabet and therefore 5th cent. or earlier (see also *DGE* 505*A*. 2 *ἐπεῖ* instead of *ἐπι*).

<sup>807</sup> See Chantraine (1942), 30 f.

<sup>808</sup> See Thumb–Kieckers, p. 129; e.g. *Θενγένες* from Potidaia (see ad COR 82*d*), as opposed to Attic *Θου-κυδίδης* etc.

been short (see also ad COR 18b).<sup>809</sup> In the first case, the result may have been a secondary long [ē] and a form similar to the epic one (we do not know how such a secondary [ē] should be written, see §219). But since there is no cause to assume that the painter expressed the notion ‘of Herakles’ with an epic rather than an epichoric genitive form, we have reason to believe that even without hyphaeresis the [e] would have been short—by virtue of the commonly occurring process described in the phrase, ‘vocalis ante vocalem corripitur’.

### §222. Metrical adaptation

Metrical lengthening is particularly frequent in proper names which would not otherwise fit the metre, especially when they occur at the beginning of the line, which is their normal place in metrical inscriptions. Typical examples are BOI 3 Ἐπίχῃ (see §235), COR 17b Πυρῖᾱς, and COP 3b Στιμῶν, all of whose middle syllables would normally be short. When we come to look at the *first* syllables of Ἐπίχῃ and COP 11b Κυλοῖδᾱς, we cannot be sure that they were long, since hexameters can start with a short syllable.<sup>810</sup>

On the other hand, metrical shortening can also be necessary. A possible case is AIG 3E, where only Δᾱμόνιδᾱς would allow us to read an iambic trimeter (see ad loc.).<sup>811</sup>

### §223. Contraction

For contraction of vowels we have a number of examples on our vases. Often this phenomenon is linked to the problem of intervocalic digamma (see §506). A special case is Hermes’ name, for which see §253. Sometimes we have reason to argue that one sign may stand for two sounds through *diektasis* (see ad COP 1D and §416 with n. 1039 on COR 12f Φιολᾱ). At any rate, the spelling *Hēρακλῆς* in Corinthian occurs so frequently (eight times), while there is not a single instance of \*-κλέεζς, that we are bound to accept complete contraction—and of course loss of the [w]—at Corinth in the period that concerns us. The uncontracted nominative form of this famous hero’s name, incidentally, would not fit dactylic metre, and was therefore particularly prone to early contraction all over the Greek world; see §504, in particular on contracted BOI 15b *Hēρακλῆς*, where we would expect an uncontracted form.

No surviving Corinthian vases show any certain examples of the contraction to a secondary [ē] of [ē] + [ē] (see §219), but there are examples of [ō] + [ō] contracted to [ō], written <ο> or <ου> (see §220).

<sup>809</sup> See also *LSAG* 131. 23 (6th cent.) Πατροκλέος ἡμί. See e.g. Schwyzler, pp. 252 f.; Bechtel (1923), 228, on later Corinthian; Thumb–Kieckers, pp. 83 f., on Lakonian.

<sup>810</sup> See Chantraine (1942), 103. See also §246 on Amphitrite’s name, §469 with n. 1188 on COR 100b Σθεν(ν?)οῖ, and ad COR 24Bd (with §505).

<sup>811</sup> Examples of metrical lengthening and shortening of names can be found *passim* in *CEG*, e.g. *CEG* 138 = *DGE* 102 Δᾱμοτίμωι, or *CEG* 380. ii Ἀθανοδόρο and Ἀσσοπόδορο which can be squeezed into the line in more ways than one. See also n. 783. For a case of even more substantial adaptation of a name to metre see ad COR 57c.

We may list the other examples of contraction thus:

[a] + [a]: COR 12f Φιολᾱ (see above), COR 28Ak Ἐρμᾱς, DOH 3b *Hερμᾱς* (§253) (<[ā] + [ā]>).

[a] + [e]: COR 39 Ἀλκ(ᾱ)θλᾱ (§506) (<[ā] + [ē]>).<sup>812</sup>

[a] + [o]: Λᾱ-/λᾱς *passim* (§506) (<[ā] + [ō]>), Ποτῆδᾱν COP *passim* (§255), COR 131b πύκτᾱ (<[ā] + [ō]>).

[e] + [e]: *Hēρακλῆς passim*, also in Corinthian (see above and §506) (<[ē] + [ē]>).

[o] + [a]: COR 77e Κυματοθᾱ (§457) (<[ō] + [ā]>), COR 57i Ὀρίφων (<[ō] + [ā]>; see ad loc.).

For uncontracted Corinthian forms with digamma—which is sometimes etymologically unjustified—see §506, including COR 66c ΔᾱμοΦάνας(σ)α. For CHA 1i ὈΦατίεζς see ad loc.

No contraction has taken place in BOI 16c Πρᾱτόλαος, which thus conforms to the established rules of the Boiotian dialect (see ad loc. with n. 88, and §504). The word παῖς, attested in BOI 16d, 26, and 28, is uncontracted παῖς in Boiotian even later (see e.g. Thumb–Scherer, p. 28; see also ad COR 19g); however, this scansion cannot be demonstrated in our vase inscriptions, which show not a single example of a monophthongized real diphthong.<sup>813</sup>

In the name IOD 1 Ἰστροκλέης, which is by far the oldest direct attestation of this type of name in Ionic, the lack of contraction may represent the original stage of the language (see ad loc.), but the second part of the compound may have been pronounced monosyllabically, as for instance in Herakles’ name in Hesiod (see above and §504 with n. 1268). ITH 2 Καλ(λ)ικλέᾱς shows no contraction either, but it could be a different formation (see ad loc.; for the lack of contraction see Buck, §42. 2).

COR 82d [K]λεῖβουλος (see §225) shows a shift from [eo] (<[e] + [o] after the loss of a [w]>) to a diphthong [eu]. This result is well known from the Homeric poems, where it is considered a secondary spelling (see Chantraine (1942), 58 ff.).

### §224. Crasis, elision, etc.

The question of crasis and elision mostly concerns the frequent phrase ‘made me’, as ‘spoken’ by a vase in its potter’s or painter’s signature.

Often the final vowel of the pronoun is written, even though we would expect it to be elided before the augment of the verb, for example in BOI 2B Μεναιδᾱς ἐμὲ ἐποίῃσε Χάροπι—but note ἐμ’ in 2A by the same man. In other instances we can conclude from metrical evidence that elision was observed in the pronunciation despite the plene spelling: *CEG* 436 Ἐχσῆκίᾱς ἐγραψε καπόεσε ἐμὲ (Attic vase, c. 550; see *CEG* 437 . . . καποῖεσ’ ἐμὲ), *CEG* 363 Χαλφῶδάμανς με ἀνέθεκε θιούιν . . . (end of 7th cent.), *CEG* 227 Φαρθένε, ἐν ἀκροπόλει . . . διδοῖς ἄλλ(ο) ἀναθῆναι

<sup>812</sup> There is no reason to doubt that this contraction had occurred in Corinth by the time.

<sup>813</sup> A good example is the inscr. Schmaltz (1980), 89, no. 354 (pl. 20, invis.), Σκύρων Καβίρν κῆ παιδί. A special attempt at rendering the hiatus may be seen in the spelling παει of the Boiotian inscr. cited above, n. 732 (see §221 for the reversed spelling <ει> + vowel).



(c.500–480?), CEG 137 ποιέσανς καταέθηκε φίλῳ μνάμα huiós ἐμιν (c.600?).<sup>814</sup> DOC 3 contains such a case too, if it is metrical, and maybe also DOH 3 (see ad locc.). For elision see Lejeune, §364.

Particularly difficult are the potters' signatures BOI 2–7 (BOI 6C and E, whose authenticity may be doubted, are here subsumed under 6D, which has the same text). Here are the relevant (parts of the) texts:

- BOI 1A Γρύτων ἐποίῃσε.  
 BOI 1B Γρύτων ἐποίῃσε.  
 BOI 2A Μεναιδᾶς ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε (or ἐμὲ ποίῃσε) Χάροπι.  
 BOI 2B Μεναιδᾶς ἐμὲ ἐποίῃσε Χάροπι.  
 BOI 2C Μεναιδᾶς ἐμὲ ἐποίῃσε Χάροπι.  
 BOI 2D Χάροπι ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε (or ἐμὲ ποίῃσε) Μεναιδᾶς.  
 BOI 3 Ἐπίχῃμ' ἐποίῃσε (or Ἐπίχῃ μ- and -με ποί-) etc.  
 BOI 4A Μνασάλκῃς ποίῃσε.  
 BOI 4B Μνασάλκῃς ἐποίῃσε (or Μνασάλκῃ ποίῃσε).  
 BOI 4C Μνασάλκῃς π[οίῃσε vac.] etc.  
 BOI 5A Φιθάδᾶς ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε (or ἐμὲ ποίῃσε).  
 BOI 5B Φιθῃμ' ἐποίῃσε (or Φιθῃ μ- and -με ποί-).  
 BOI 6A Πόλῳν ἐμ[. . .] (or ἐμ' εἰ[. . .]).  
 BOI 6B Πόλῳν ἐπόῃσε.  
 BOI 6D Πόλῳν ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε (or ἐμὲ ποίῃσε) (= BOI 6C and 6E).  
 BOI 7A (a–b) Γᾰμῃδῃς ἐπόῃσε.  
 BOI 7B Γᾰμῃδῃς ἐπόῃσε.

Let us first examine the augment. Seven inscriptions show it clearly: BOI 1A, 1B, 2B, 2C, 6B, 7A, 7B. Amongst them are the oldest inscriptions. In BOI 4A and C, on the other hand, the augment is not written. But from BOI 4B by the same potter we may conclude that the final [s] of the name was not pronounced, a phenomenon for which there is more evidence (see §204). Therefore we may read 4B as Μνασάλκῃς ἐποίῃσε, i.e. with augment hidden in *crasi* (see Lejeune, §372), or—amounting to about the same thing—Μνασάλκῃς ποίῃσε, i.e. with inverted elision (see Lejeune, §369), but not Μνασάλκ' ἐποίῃσε, as we shall see below. The formulation of BOI 4A and 4C may therefore have to be explained as follows. Μnasalkes knew that he should add a –s to a nominative form. But when speaking the text aloud he could only hear as many syllables as in Μνασάλκῃς ἐποίῃσε (BOI 4B) and therefore did not bother to write a second ε. I favour the rendering Μνασάλκῃς ποίῃσε, since this expresses more clearly that something special happened at the juncture of the words (namely the loss of the final [s]).<sup>815</sup> These texts (BOI 4A and 4C) do not offer conclusive proof for the use of a—slightly embarrassing<sup>816</sup>—unaugmented verb, and all the other texts of the group

may also contain the augment (moreover, the augment in BOI 2A and 2D is directly supported by 2B and 2C by the same writer, and the one in BOI 6D by 6B). It seems that we should accept the augment as the best solution in all cases. This agrees with the fact that in BOI 3 the metrical shape of the verb –ποιῃσε is modern –ν–, and not traditional –ν– as in Homer (see §221).<sup>817</sup> It is interesting to note that the writer of BOI 3 stopped after με to dip his brush into the pot again, but this may not be used as an argument in favour of με ποιῃσε. It is more likely that it has to do with the writing technique and the practice of dividing text into minimal syllables (see §§111 f.) while at the same time ignoring word-ends, particularly in accent units like this (see §226).<sup>818</sup>

After the augment, the next question concerns the final [e] of the pronoun. Here we have to accept elision (ἐμ' ἐποί-) rather than crasis (ἐμἐποί-) in view of the testimony presented by BOI 3, where the syllable in question must be short. This corresponds with what we know about this pattern from ancient Greek in general.

The third question concerns the form of the pronoun (accented ἐμέ or enclitic με?). It has the strong form with ἐ- in BOI 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D, 5A, 6A, 6D, among which 2D Χάροπι ἐμ- with its postvocalic position of the pronoun is especially noticeable. So it is only in BOI 3 and 5B (the rest do not show the pronoun at all) that we seem to have the weak form με. BOI 5B was once interpreted as starting with an abbreviated form of the name in 5A, namely Φιθ(άδᾶς) ἐμ-. This, however, has been shown to be impossible by the new evidence of BOI 3, where for metrical reasons we cannot read Ἐπίχ(. . .) ἐμ-. Therefore these two inscriptions must both contain names in –ε (see §§204, 235). And if this is so, the easiest solution is to interpret them as still containing the strong pronoun, like all the others, namely by assuming crasis of the final [-ε] of the name with the initial [ἐ-] of the pronoun: Ἐπίχῃμ' ἐποίῃσε and Φιθῃμ' ἐποίῃσε, respectively. This in turn fits our interpretation of BOI 4B as Μνασάλκῃς ποίῃσε (see above).

We have examples of the first-person pronoun from other regions too. There are examples of με on ARG 1 [. . . α]νδρός : με ἀν[έθεκε] and DOC 4 [. . .]ς : με ἐποίῃσε, and also (with different punctuation) on DOI 1a Ἀνδρίᾶς με : ἐποίῃ (for these see §226); a few cases occur on the fragments NAU 1 (Ga, Ha–b, Ia), as well as on COP 9 Πολίτᾶς με ἀνέθ(ε)κε . . . (see also DOC 6 with με postponed). There is unexpected ἐμέ on COP 29a (by a Boiotian?; see ad loc.). Elided μ' is the normal form on the Corinthian pinakes (21–23 attestations) and vases (COR 27h, 31d,

<sup>814</sup> For more examples see P. A. Hansen's n. ad CEG 103, and the hexameter line on a cup painted by Douris (see §508).

<sup>815</sup> Lejeune (§369 n. 2) notes that crasis and inverted elision are very often indistinguishable. It is conventional to speak of crasis where a short word joins with a longer one.

<sup>816</sup> E. Schwyzler ad DGE 440. 6 (= our BOI 4A) states, 'augmentum omisum in prosa oratione inaudium'.

<sup>817</sup> There is only one other seemingly unaugmented Boiotian occurrence of this verb (in LSAG 87. 10, a participle ποι[έσας] is plausibly restored), namely in CEG 334 (c.550–525?) [–]ορίδᾶς ποίῃσε μ' . . . Yet although here –οι– is scanned in the Homeric way, the preceding word is a name (a patronymic) and we may reasonably argue that we have here a case like our BOI 4A and C, i.e. that the text reflects a pronunciation [–]ορίδᾶποιῃσε μ' . . . with the augment in *crasi* (for Boiotian names in nom. –ᾶ instead of –ᾱς see §204 with n. 733).

<sup>818</sup> See Morpurgo Davies (1987: 277 n. 19) on LSAG 304. 3 μᾶνέθεκε (c.620–600?). A similar example is the fr. of an Attic kantharos, ABV 82. 1 (c.560) Νέαρχος μὲ | γραφσεν κα[τ]ῖ . . .; this fr. is also interesting because of its sketch of the inscr., clearly visible on the phs., e.g. Simon–Hirmer (1981), pl. 64 (has this ever been noticed?). More examples of division according to syllabic rather than morphological structure are cited by Schulze (1896), 712 n. 3.

57*m*), as well as on the Ionic vases (e.g. EUC 3, IOI 1, and *passim* NAU 1*E*–*f*).

As far as the augment is concerned, the earliest examples allow no certainty on whether it was used or not (EUC 1 might be either [. . .] *ινος μ' ἐποιέσεν* or *με ποίεσεν*); IOD 1 *Ἰστροκλέης ΜΕ*. [. . .] is even less certain), but three seventh-century inscriptions from different regions, INC 1, DOC 4, DOI 1 (see above), clearly show it; therefore later cases such as IOI 1*b* [. . .] *λη μ' ἔδοκεν* [. . . ?] will contain it too.

A very special case is AIG 3*C* [. . .] *τῆι φαίγηι* [. . . ?]. On the one hand, we might speak of crasis, i.e. [. . .] *τῆι φαίγηι* [. . .], because we have the combination of a 'small' word (i.e. the article) with a longer one (see Lejeune, cited above with n. 815), as in the similar case of IOD 6*B* [. . . ?] *τῆι ῥτέμιδι* [. . .] (before the writer added the 'missing' letters <ια> in order to complete *τῆι ῥτέμιδι* [ι]). On the other hand, the fact that the iota of the dative ending in the article survived after the crasis (*τῆι ῥφ* -> *τῆι φ* -) is surprising and may suggest inverted elision [. . .] *τῆι φαίγηι* [. . .].<sup>819</sup> Should we try to choose, or is our distinction artificial?<sup>820</sup>

I should also mention here BOI 17*d*–*e*, where the lack of the end of the first name (*d*) *Ἀθάν(α)* may be due to an exceptional 'crasis' with the beginning of the next name to be written, viz. (*e*) *Ἀφρο[δίτᾱ]* (see also ad DOH 3).

## Diphthongs

### §225. The spelling of diphthongs [ai], [oi], and [eu]

The spelling of diphthongs often gives us a clue to their pronunciation and development.

In view of sixteen occurrences of *Až*- at Corinth, COR 10*a* *Ἀῖφας* must be called an unusual spelling. But it is probably not a mistake, for the writer, who, to judge by the impossible *Ἐαδρ* of the same vase, must have been illiterate, can hardly have invented this form of the diphthong, which is both plausible and well paralleled. Again from Corinth we have COR 47 *Ἀεζοῦλῖνος*<sup>821</sup> and, in the prevocalic position, COP 77*c* *Ἀθᾶναεᾶ* and COP 85 *Περαεόθεν νῖρ' ὄμες* [. . . ?]. A different spelling, namely with *β*-shape epsilon, is adopted in COR 57*l* *Ἀῖθδον* (if correctly read). Another likely case is Troilos' name (see §257).

<sup>819</sup> E. A. Gardner (1888: 62) claims to have come across examples of *τῆι ῥροδίτηι*, but I could not find them in his texts (his no. 819 (p. 66) shows no iota in the dr. on pl. 21).

<sup>820</sup> This phenomenon may perhaps offer a solution to the problem at the end of the treaty between the Sybarites and the Serdaians (Giacomelli (1988), 20; *LSAG* 456. 1*b*), where the article of *πόλις* seems to be lacking. For instead of *πρόξενου ὁ Ζεὺς κῶπόλ(λ)ον κῶλλοι θεοὶ καὶ πόλις Ποσειδανίᾱ*, we could read . . . *καὶ πόλις Ποσειδανίᾱ* (< καὶ ᾱ πόλις). Here the spelling with iota was the more acceptable since the 'delayed' iota did not get into the interior of a word as it would have done in the other cases (*\*κῶπλόλ(λ)ον* and *\*κῶλλοι*). This slight inconsistency at any rate seems less odd than the lack of an article.

<sup>821</sup> It is interesting to note that this vase was actually found in Thebes, since in Boiotia, especially at Tanagra, the spelling of [ai] and [oi] with *ε* as their second letter was particularly frequent (see Thumb–Scherer, pp. 24 f.). For a possible case of a Boiotian at Corinth see ad COP 29. Such workers may have produced for export to their homelands.

Since *ε* (*e*) must have indicated a closed sound [ē] at a very early stage in Corinthian (see §219), and the diphthong [ai] could easily be pronounced [a] + [e] rather than [a] + [i] in rapid speech, this spelling will often be more accurate than <αι>. The spelling with an *e*-sign may be interpreted as a first step towards monophthongization, the final stage being [ē], which was reached in Boiotia particularly early (for an example see n. 813). Among the Corinthian examples, COR 57*l* may represent a particularly advanced stage in view of the sign used (see §219).

On non-Corinthian vases we have BOI 9 *τοε* and *ναέ*, and probably also BOI 12*a* *Κοενης* (?) and (*b*) *Κοεης* (?). More Boiotian examples are found, for instance, at Tanagra (*DGE* 451 ff.). An East Greek example in a long diphthong is our NAU 1*Ga* (fr. no. 72) [. . .] *Ἀφροδ[ίτηε]* [. . .] (see ad loc.). See also—not on vases—*LSAG* 342. 13 = *DGE* 714 *Ἀέακης* (Samos, mid-6th cent.), *LSAG* 473. 68*b* *Ἀθηναέη* (Smyrna, c.600; reflecting a—very plausible—pronunciation [-naeēi]?). In Athens we have, for example, *ARV* 239. 16 *Ἀῖθρᾱ* and *ARV* 238. 1 *Κροέσος*, both by Myson (early 5th cent.; an East Greek from Mysia?).

Exactly analogous to <οε> for [oi] is <εο>/<εου> for [eu] in COR 23*g* *Τεὸρρος* (with [Ῥολι(σ)]σεύ(ς) on the same vase) and COR 30*c* *Ἀχιλλεούς*. It has been argued that the motivation for such spellings in East Ionia, the only region where they are frequent (being attested from the sixth century onwards), was the feeling that upsilon was unsuitable in the diphthong because of its use for the increasingly frontal sound [y] (<[u]>) (see Schwyzer, pp. 182, 197 with n. 2). Though here I should add that, as far as I know, there is in fact no other argument for an East Greek pronunciation [y]. And since the use of qoppa before upsilon should not be taken for granted (see §217) and is more plausible before a back vowel [u] (similar to [o]) than before a front vowel [y], IOD 4*A* *Ῥύλικα* rather argues against [y]. We may also stress that it is precisely in Attic (and Koine), where the [y] pronunciation of upsilon is certain, that the spellings <εο> and <αο> are extremely rare.<sup>822</sup> For Corinthian and Chalcidian the pronunciation of original [u] is equally difficult to establish, but as there is no conclusive evidence for [y] and, conversely, a good argument for [u] (see §217), we must favour the latter. The argument on the grounds of pronunciation cannot therefore explain these two aberrant spellings of the diphthong [eu]. In view of the parallelism with the spelling <αε> (*vel sim.*) for [ai], it is more likely that the pronunciation of [eu] was altered to [eo], written <εο> or <εου>. Had we only COR 23*g* *Τεὸρρος*, we might be justified in thinking it an example of an East Ionic spelling (see §503), but as we also have COR 30*c* *Ἀχιλλεούς*, an 'indigenous' Corinthian explanation is probably to be preferred. An East Ionic example, not from a vase, is *LSAG* 344. 48 = *GD* 4*C*. 8 = *DGE* 688*C*. 8 *βασιλεός* (Chios, c.475–450?).

The opposite phenomenon is the spelling <ευ> and <αυ> of original [eo] and [ao]. This may be regarded as a special case of

<sup>822</sup> For <αο> see Threaght, p. 344; there is apparently no example of <εο>, see *ibid.* 345–8.

contraction (see §223). We have only one example, viz. COR 82d [K]λεῦβουλος, which finds a close parallel in a Corinthian colony (see ad loc.); one may compare the frequent names with Σαυ- instead of Σαο- in Boiotia (see Thumb–Scherer, p. 27). It seems that the distinction between earlier [eo] (with hiatus) and the diphthong [eu] was neutralized in Corinthian at the time.

As for the monophthongization of [ei] and [ou], see §219 and §220, respectively; for the long diphthongs and the problem with ‘iota adscriptum’ and its loss, see §226.

## TWO PROBLEMS CONCERNING SYNTAX

### Accent Units

#### §226. *Some cases of proclitics and enclitics*

The accusative pronoun *με* is frequent (in potters’ or painters’ signatures where the vase is the ‘speaker’). Yet because of possible elision or crasis it is sometimes hard to decide whether the unaccented form or the stronger form *ἐμέ* is meant (see §224).

Enclitics or proclitics can only be shown to be so through word division, which is rarely practised in Greek inscriptions.<sup>823</sup> However, we have three cases of divided-off pronoun *με*, ARG 1, DOC 4, and DOI 1 (see ad loc.). Syntactically we would expect the pronoun to be proclitic to the verb rather than enclitic to a preceding word or name. This is what we seem to have in ARG 1 [. . . -α]νδρός : *με* ἀν[έθεκε] and DOC 4 [. . .]ς : *με* ἐποίεσε. We should notice, however, that the indication of a closer link between *με* and ἀνέθεκε did not prevent the full spelling *με* instead of the more frequent elided form *μ*’ (see §224). In DOI 1a Ἀνδρίᾱς *με* : ἐποίε we have the opposite case. Should we argue that here it was the restored hiatus which suggested that the word-divider belonged between the pronoun and the verb? Another case where the punctuation provides some information is NAU 2 [. . .] ο.[. . .] Ἀφροδίτη : τῇ ἐν (N)αύκρατι. Here a (last?) separation mark is added after the goddess’s name leaving the article, the preposition, and the place-name as one syntactical and intonational unit (the last two words being particularly closely linked by the single nu).

On COP 7 and 9 the article is spelled without the ‘iota adscriptum’ in what is likely to be the dative singular case (but COP 18a, roughly contemporary, has τῶι). Such an early loss may have to be seen in connection with the weak proclitic position of the article.<sup>824</sup>

Occasional cases of enclitics or proclitics in inscriptions without word division are τοι in BOI 9 πάνχv τοε καλός, the pronoun οἱ in COR 17b αὐτὸ δέ Φοι ὄλλπα, and the conjunction τε in ITH 1 [ξ]ένφος τε; there are also a few cases of the article and the verb εἰμί. For none of these we can demonstrate its unaccented character.

<sup>823</sup> See Morpurgo Davies (1987) for the relevant documents.

<sup>824</sup> Many apparent cases of the loss of iota, not in the article, are better interpreted as genitives (see ad COR 17b).

## Word Order

#### §227. *Hyperbaton position of patronymics and ethnics*

The hyperbaton position of the father’s name or the ethnic, separated from the name by a verb (which is in the enclitic position),<sup>825</sup> is frequently observed. Clear examples on our vases are DOC 5 Ἀρχέκλῳ (?) εἰμὶ τῷ Εὐκλέος, and NAU 1Ba Δημοφ[ά]νῃς (μ’) ἀνέ]θηκεν ὁ Χίο[ς] τῇ Ἀ[φροδίτῃ]; a possible one is DOC 3 (see ad loc.). Some more examples: from East Ionia, SEG 37. 994 Πηδῶμ μ’ ἀνέθηκεν ὠμφίνεω (near Priene, 2nd h. 7th cent.); SEG 37. 729 (see LSAG 471. 2a) Βρύχωμ μ’ ἀνέθηκε ὁ Τιμόλεω (Samos, 1st h. 6th cent.); E. A. Gardner (1888), 63, no. 722, Μῦσός μ’ ἀνέθηκεν ὀνομακρίτῳ [τῇφρο]δίτῃ (Naukratis, 6th cent.); and from Attica, e.g. IG i<sup>2</sup>. 508 = IG i<sup>3</sup>. 777 = DGE app. i. 5. 2 Φίλων *με* ἐποίησεν ἡδονορίωνος; IG i<sup>2</sup>. 671 = IG i<sup>3</sup>. 690 = DGE app. i. 5. Χσενοκλέες : ἀνέθεκεν : Σῶσινεῶ; von Bothmer (1985), 230 f. Κλεοφράδης ἐποίησεν Ἀμάσιδος; ARV 28. 11 (Immerwahr, no. 377) Εὐθυμίδης ἔγραψεν ἡ Πολιῶ, εἶγε ναίχι; ARV 864. 13 Γλαύκων καλὸς Λεάγρῳ (καλὸς in sentence-interior position got a comparatively low and weak intonation: καλός); ARV 995 f. Δίφίλος καλὸς Μελανόπῳ (more examples ibid. 995 ff.). Our COP 18b should be interpreted differently, see ad loc.

The same position is given to professional titles, for example IG i<sup>2</sup>. 436 = IG i<sup>3</sup>. 554 Πολυκλῆς : ἀνέθεκεν | ἡ κναφεὺς : τᾶθῆναίαι (a good ph. in FDV, pl. 1).

For a series of further examples of various kinds see Merkelbach (1991).

## ONOMASTICS

### Hypocoristic Names

#### §228. *Hypocoristics in -ος and -ᾱ*

Hypocoristics are short forms of proper names, mostly used in the sphere of family and friendship (see e.g. Locker (1933), (1934)). Probably the most typical ones (masculine are more frequent than feminine) are the shortened compound names, i.e. derivatives (in -ος or -ᾱ) from a stem which consists of the first element of a full-blown compound name plus the first consonant or consonant cluster of its second element (see e.g. Maass (1888), also Schwyzler, pp. 636 f., Risch, pp. 229 f., and von Kamptz (1982), *passim*, for the Homeric cases, and Neumann (1971), who traces the principle back to Mycenaean).<sup>826</sup>

Occasionally the hypocoristic name is used alongside the full name for the same character. Well-known examples of such pairs are Ἀλκιμος (COR 82e) and Ἀλκιμέδων, both used in the *Iliad*

<sup>825</sup> See Wackernagel (1892: 430 ff.), with a list of such cases.

<sup>826</sup> In its turn the hypocoristic can then be used as the first element of a new compound name (see Neumann (1971), 67 f. n. 6), e.g. Θεοδαγόρας (Bechtel, p. 207), Εὐκλιππος (ibid. 177), Μελαμπόδωρος (ibid. 303; see also above, n. 382).

for the same character (see von Kamptz (1982), 138 with bibl.; see §448), and *Πάτροκλος* (frequent on our vases) and *Πατροκλέης* in the *Iliad* (though the latter<sup>827</sup> does not appear in this nominative form, which was metrically difficult, see §223). With different formations of the hypocoristic there are also *Ἀναξᾶς Ποσειδωνίου* in contrast to *Ἀναξαγόρας Ποσειδωνίου* (Bechtel, p. 15), and very probably our Boiotian potter(s) BOI 5A *Φιθάδᾶς* and 5B *Φίθῃ* (see also §235). For more examples see Schwyzer, p. 636.<sup>828</sup>

Besides *Ἀλκιμος* and *Πάτροκλος* (and one or two other likely names in *-κλος*: DOC 5 and—hidden in a derivative—COR 18g) we have some further examples of this type of hypocoristic on our vases. The heroic name COP 77b [*Σ*]θένης is most likely taken from *Σθενέλα(ο)ς* (Neumann (1971), 67; Bechtel, p. 399). *Πόλυδος* on COR 62 and CHA 3g reflects *-δωρος* (also attested on our vases, see §237), or *-δάμας*, etc.<sup>829</sup> A likely case, on COR 12e and 107b, is *Ῥίφίτος*, for which, however, no full-blown compound name seems to be attested (\**-τέλης vel sim.*). Less certain is COR 64Ba *Φίονος* (i.e. *Φίφί-*), which is also probably derived from *Ῥίφί* (for the type of mistake see §112) and may be either a full-blown compound name *Ῥίφίνος* or a hypocoristic \**Ῥίφίνος*; the former unlike the latter is attested and therefore seems more likely. Further uncertain cases are COR 40a *Εὐνος*, which could be a hypocoristic *Εὐνός* (from *-νικος*, etc.) as well as a compound name *Εὐνός*; COR 67d and CHA 6b *Πολυβος*, which could be a hypocoristic *Πόλυβος* (from *-βιος*, etc.; see Bechtel, p. 377) as well as a compound name *Πολύβος*; and COR 115A *Μέλαμπος*, of which the form would be the same (though only in the nom.) both as a compound name and as a hypocoristic (see ad locc.).

A feminine example is Hekabe's name (see §211). If the second element of a compound name started with [a], this could be directly replaced by the ending, as may be the case with COR 33b *Ἀλκᾶ* (see ad loc.).

The last consonant before the ending may be subject to 'expressive gemination': this has been suspected in the case of COR 18h *Δέξιλλ(α)ος* (from *-λαός*, *-λοχος*, etc.).

Sometimes the names have simply undergone an inflectional or stem-type change (particularly when the compound name is an *\*s*-stem adjective). This is the case with the flute-player COR 17a *Πολύτερπος* (from *-τερπής*), the horse COR 24f *Πολυπένθα* (from *-πενθής*), and probably also COR 6e *Λάπυθος* (from *-πυθής*); see ad locc. and n. 155 for more examples. Another example of an altered *s*-stem, but with the suffix *-όι*, is COR 76e *Περίλιπῶι* (see §236). In all these cases it looks as if there was an attempt to avoid hypocoristics which were too short and therefore unintelligible (i.e. *Πόλυτος*, *Πολύπᾶ*, *Λάπος*, *Περίλῶι*). Whether the result still sounded *ὑποκοριστικόν*, it is difficult for us to judge.

<sup>827</sup> For its gen. see also nn. 578 and 595.

<sup>828</sup> I myself happen to sign formal letters with *Rudolf* W. (a form rarely used in speech in Switzerland and disguising the proper pronunciation of the first syllable, which is [ruə]), whereas on more informal documents I write *Ruedi* (which is not 'literary' German but reflects the Swiss German diphthong pronunciation).

<sup>829</sup> Correctly explained by Payne (1931), 165, no. 40.

Apart from these, there are of course many more types of hypocoristics with longer suffixes, for example *-ιος*, *-ῖνος*, *-λος*, *-υλλος*, *-ων*, *-ιων*, *-ις*, *-υς*. For those occurring on our vases see §§229 ff. below.

#### §229. Masculine hypocoristics in *-ων*

The masculine hypocoristics in *-ων* represent a very old type (see e.g. Schwyzer, pp. 487, 637; and cf. Latin *Capito*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Naso*, *Nero*, etc.). They are frequent in Greek, and their suffix was still productive at the time of our documents (see Bechtel, *passim*). This makes them a convenient type for 'throwaway names' (see §237). They are mostly bisyllabic. A recognizable group shows parallel formations in *-ύς*, for example CHA 1c *Δάσων* (see ad loc.), BOI 6A-E *Πόλων*, and *Πλάτων*, *Γλύκων* (Bechtel, p. 510), *Κράτων* (p. 260), *Πάχων* (p. 486).

On our vases there are several examples of names in *-ων*; not all are clear as to their stem (*-ον-*, *-ων-*, *-οντ-*). Some of course are heroic, or likely to be (and not always clear etymologically): COR 16c (and 57l) *Αἰθῶν*,<sup>830</sup> 24a *Δαίφῶν*, 24Ba *Εἰάσων*, 30i and 117b *Δόλων*, 46Bb and ETR 1c *Χίρων*, COR 57i *Ὀρίφῶν*, 66g and 79Ac *Βάτων*, 80e *Τάλων* (?), 87c *Φοίτων* (perhaps heroic); CHA 1c *Δάσων* (perhaps traditional), *Μέμνων* (*passim*). On the other hand, the *-ων* suffix is particularly frequent in the names of potters, painters, and others contemporary with our vases, for instance at Corinth COR 18c *Θέρων* and (i) *Ξένφῶν* (also 92b?), 33g *Φίλων*, 58a *Νίρων*, 103a *Βίων*, 114a *Δόρων*; COP 31 *Δόρκων*, 38A-B *Ἰγρων*, 65a *Ὀνύμων*, 3b *Σίμιων*, 66a *Στίπων*, 12 and 48A-B *Φλέβων*, 62a *Φύσρων* (complete?); on a Chalcidian vase we have CHA 13e *Μέδων*. For the names used as throwaway names on Corinthian and Chalcidian vases (*Δίων*, *Ῥίων*, *Χάρων*, *Δάμων*), see §237. In Boiotia we have BOI 1A-B *Γρύτων* (see also ad BOI 1 and 4C), 6A-E *Πόλων*, 11A-B *Κρίτων*, and 19 *Σίβων*. For some more examples not from vases, see nn. 535 and 986.

Names in *-ων* can also be longer hypocoristics, for example *Εὐρυτίων* (COR 107a and CHA 2d) and *Ἡπιοτίων* (COR 66i and 92k), as well as full names like *Ἀγαμέμνων* (COR 23f and 33a, probably AIG 2), *Ἀυτομέδων* (COR 80a and 93a, CHA 5f and 8a), and [*Εὐ*]ρυμέδων (COR 68b). There are also cases where no suffix can be isolated etymologically, for instance *Σαρπᾶδων* (COR 30a and 82f), *Ἀπέλλων vel sim.* (COR 20, 28Ad, etc.), *Λάρων* (COR 33f).

#### §230. Masculine hypocoristics in *-ιάς*

A frequent type of masculine hypocoristic ends in *-ιάς* (Ionic *-ίης*). Examples in our documents are the contemporary characters DOI 1a *Ἀνδρίās*,<sup>831</sup> BOI 2D *Γοργίās* (graffito), COR 50 *Quλ(λ)ιάς*, ETR 1d *Πρᾶξιās*, COR 17b (and COR 29?) *Πυρρίās*, and COR 49 *Φιδίās*, as well as two Satyrs, CHA 1a *Ἀντίες* and (i) *ὈΨατίες* (for more examples, especially such as are derived from

<sup>830</sup> *αἰθων* is also an adjective, used e.g. of horses (e.g. *Il.* 2. 839).

<sup>831</sup> In this case in particular, however, we are not sure about the inflection (compare e.g. *ἀνδριάς*, *-αντος*).

parts of the body, see nn. 535 and 986; the name in COP 27*b* is uncertain). In some formations the [i] disappeared through phonological processes: *Αἰνε(ί)ας* etc. (see §§221, 245).

### §231. Masculine (and feminine) hypocoristics in -ις

Nominatives in -ις are frequent in women's full names and hypocoristics, both of them bearing the accent on the suffix (for which see Meier (1975), *passim*); examples in our corpus are COP App. 1*Ab* *Εὐφολίς* and probably *Πυρφίς* on an unpublished vase (see introd. to Pt. I. 5 above (COR)).

But there are masculine names in -ις too. Indeed, they are much more common than we may be inclined to think. Of course there are such well-known mythical characters as *Πάρις* (several occurrences on our vases) and *Ἀδωνίς*. Our vases show a number of Satyrs bearing such names, which here give the impression of being hypocoristics, for instance CHA 1*g* *Δόρκις* (more examples ad loc.), a name that is repeated by the painter on CHA 14 (*h*), where there are also the likely cases (*e*) [*ῶ*]σμις (?) and (*j*) *Πόρις* (?). Two padded dancers on COR 105 (on which there are nude women too) are called (*e*) *Φάρις*, perhaps repeated in (*j*), and (*h*) *Μύρις*. A rider is labelled LAK 4*d* *Σύνις* (see ad loc.), and probably another one is COR 70*m* *Φίλωνις* (see ad loc.). COP 40 *Λῦσιδάδης* is derived from *Λῦσις*, and the latter is a hypocoristic taken from *περιψίμβροτος*-compound names such as *Λῦσιπόλις* (COR 87*d*), -στρατος, etc. (Bechtel, pp. 290 f.). Workers on Corinthian pinakes are labelled COP 63*c* *Λόκρις*, 64 *Δέρις* or *Δέρις*, and 65*b* *Σόρδης*; a likely case is COP 45 *Οδ[.]ρις*. Also COR 48 *Κένις* must be masculine in view of the three similar pieces (COR 47, 49, 50) which bear masculine names.<sup>832</sup> Therefore the assumption that NAU 1*Aa* *Αἴγυπτις* and NAU 1*Ea* *Μίκ(κ)ις* were hetairai rather than male donors like the others cannot be based on the form -ις (see ad loc.).

### §232. Masculine hypocoristics in -ας

CHA 3*f* *Περίφας* will have been of the consonantal type in -φ-αντ- (as in the *Iliad*, 5. 842, 847, 17. 323) and was probably derived from compound names beginning with *Περί-φ(α)-*, like *Περίφάτᾱς* (CHA 8*d*); see Risch, p. 27 (less likely von Kamptz (1982), 83). Therefore I am inclined to take the hypocoristic throw-away name COR 104 *Πολύφας* (see §237) to be of the same type. COR 71*b* *Εὐρύβας(ς)*, probably a hypocoristic from *Εὐρύβατος* or the like (Bechtel, p. 180; Kerkyra), may also have followed this declension (for the missing [s] see §204).

### §233. Masculine hypocoristics in -εύς

Only two certain examples of hypocoristics in -εύς (for the suffix see Perpillou (1973), *passim*) occur on our vases, namely IOI 2*c* *Ἀγασθεύ[ς]*, a giant, and CHA 8*j* *Μευσθεύ[ς]*, a Greek known

from the *Iliad*, both names derived from compound names in -σθένης.

Most names in -εύς are of unclear etymology: examples are Nereus, Odysseus (see §254), Peleus, Phineus, and Tydeus, all attested on our vases. Therefore one does not feel easy about the possible etymological connections of such names as *Φοινεύς* (CHA 17*b*, COR 41), *Θεσεύς* (CHA 11*a*), and *Περσεύς* (BOI 8, COR 55, 101*b*, CHA 9*e*) with, respectively, *οἶνος* (see Bechtel, p. 345), \**Θησι-*? (as *Δωσι-*, considered by Risch, p. 158), and *πέρθω/περσε-* (ibid.). Such apparent connections may be fortuitous and of the 'popular' type. The same is true of perhaps the most famous case of all, Achilles, for whose name even the most well-known etymological approach is unconvincing (see Hooker (1988), 4 f. with bibl.). In short the only possible meaning of a hypothetical compound name \**Ἀχι-λᾱφος*, 'bringing pain to the people' (like *κῶδιάνειρα* 'bringing glory to the men'), is inappropriate for the Achilles we know from the *Iliad*, being himself subject to the *ἄχος* (see *Lfgre* s.v., and Chantraine as well as Frisk, s.v. *ἄχνημαι*) so frequently connected with him by the poet; moreover, in the earlier epic tradition we know nothing about any 'Proto-Achilleus' whom the meaning would suit better. Therefore even this etymology cannot claim to be 'genuine' and primary (as opposed to 'popular' and secondary).

In Mycenaean, hypocoristics in -εύς (e.g. *O-na-se-u*, from names beginning with *ῶνασι-*, for which see Bechtel, pp. 348 f.), and names in -εύς in general, seem to have been particularly popular (see Risch, p. 158, with bibl.). Their frequency in the epic world is therefore likely to be an archaism. The suffix -εύς was indeed so typical of the heroic sphere that it could be used creatively in epic poetry (see the following examples from Risch, ibid.). There are *ad hoc* formations of names, for example the semi-heroic Phaiakes *Ἐρετμεύς*, *Ναυτεύς*, *Ποντεύς*, etc. (*Od.* 8. 111 ff.), as well as isolated case-forms that, though from names of different types, nevertheless follow this declension, for example *Od.* 10. 114 *Ἀντιφατῆα*,<sup>833</sup> and *Il.* 1. 423 *Ἀιθιοπῆας*.<sup>834</sup> There are even longer extensions such as *Il.* 20. 61 *Ἀιδωνεύς* and 5. 190 *Ἀιδωνῆι*.<sup>835</sup> It can often be observed that the alternative forms are used merely to fill up the end of a line.

This frequency in epic is relevant to two more names on our vases, viz. (1) COR 74*k* *Φιλίωνῆς* and (2) CHA 2*c* *Γᾱρυνφόνῆς* and CHA 9*c* *Γερυνόνῆς*. In Homer and Hesiod, these occur as names in -εύς: the first—attested only in the *Iliad*—is Ilioneus (acc. -ῆα 14. 489 and 492, gen. -ῆος 501, all three at line-end), the second—occurring only in Hesiod's *Theogony*—is *Γηρυονεύς* (287 acc. -ῆα, 309 dat. -ῆι, both at line-end, and, at the beginning, 982 acc. -έα, -ῆα, -ῆν codd.). On the other hand, COR 70*h* *Κεβριόνᾱς*, COR 68*g* *Κεβρ[ι]όνᾱς*, CHA 15*e* *Κεβριόνῆς* (perhaps COR 46*ai* [*Κεβρι?*]όνᾱς) reflect the stem as we have it in the *Iliad*,

<sup>833</sup> But see *Od.* 10. 106 and 199 for gen. -ᾱο from -φάτης (*Od.* 15. 243) and -την (*Od.* 15. 242 and *Il.* 12. 191).

<sup>834</sup> But *Ἀιθιόπ-ων*, -ας, -εσσιν elsewhere.

<sup>835</sup> *Ἀιδωνεύς* also at Hes. *Th.* 913, likewise at line-end. Elsewhere *Ἀιδ-ος*, *Ἀιδῆ-ς*, etc.

<sup>832</sup> The father of a dead man in an epitaph from Kerkyra (which had a close relationship with Corinth) appears as *Μηείσιος* in the gen., i.e. he was called *Μεΐσις* in the nom. (*CEG* 146); for a similar hypocoristic see CHA 14*f*.

not only for Kebriones (twice *-ης*, three times each *-ᾱο* and *-ηι*, five times *-ην*) but also for Meriones (all cases).

As we have seen, names in *-εὐς* were a poetic and on the whole archaic feature, but they could also be artificially introduced by epic poets to create an archaizing effect. In the *Iliad*, for instance, apart from the above-mentioned Trojan Ilioneus (with three occurrences, all at line-end), there are three Greeks who also bear names in *-ονεύς*, namely Itymoneus (11. 672 *-ῆα*, line-end), a *hapax legomenon* in archaic literature, Eioneus (10. 435 *-ῆος*, 7. 11 *-ῆα*, the first at line-end), and Othryoneus (13. 363 *-ῆα*, 13. 374 *-εὐ*, 13. 772 *-εὐς*, none at line-end). Three of these names ultimately seem to be ethnics, designating a man from *\*Ἰλιον*, one from *\*Ἡϊόνες*, a town in the Argolid (11. 2. 561; see also *\*Ἡϊόνη*, a Nereid in Hes. *Th.* 255), and another from Mount *\*Ὀθρυς* in Thessaly (Hdt. etc.). Ethnics in *-εὐς* are a phenomenon of relatively late origin in the Homeric language, according to Risch (pp. 158 f.), and since it was probably *\*Ἡϊον-εὐς* which provided the full suffix and was the model for the others (see von Kamptz (1982), 125), the entire group must belong to a recent layer of epic poetry.<sup>836</sup> Nevertheless, when used as names in *-εὐς* they sounded ‘archaic’, and with their metrical structure suited the epic very well. For Itymoneus, no etymology seems to suggest itself; it may be wrongly transmitted (perhaps for *\*Ἐιτυμ-*, i.e. *\*Ἐτυμ-* with metrical lengthening; see von Kamptz, *ibid.*).

Now, as already mentioned, the Corinthian counterpart of the Homeric *a*-stem *Κεβριόνης* ends in *-ᾱς* as expected, but Homeric *Ἰλιονεύς* appears as COR 74*k* *Ἰλιόνῃς*. In view of the non-Ionic forms *Μενέλᾱφος*, *Ὀλισ(σ)εύς*, *Θεᾱνῶι*, *Μᾱλῶι*, *Ἡαρματίδᾱς*, and *[.]τᾱς* on the same vase, *Ἰλιόνῃς* can hardly be argued to be an *a*-stem, i.e. a non-Corinthian form taken from Ionic; so it will have been understood as an *s*-stem by the Corinthian painter.<sup>837</sup> This is the more likely, since an oscillation between stems in *-es-* and stems in *-ēu-* can already be observed in Homer, for example 11. 16. 203 etc. *Πηλέος*, but 9. 147 etc. *Πηληῖος*; *Od.* 19. 177 *Δωριέες*, but 11. 2. 517 etc. *Φωκῆων*.<sup>838</sup>

On the other hand, for CHA 2*c* *Γᾱρυφόνῃς* and CHA 9*c* *Γᾱρυόνῃς*, both by the Chalcidian Inscription P., we should not assume an *s*-stem, since this name—apart from the *-εὐς* forms in the *Theogony*, and Aesch. *Ag.* 870 with nominative *Γηρύων*—is clearly an *a*-stem (of the same type as Meriones and Kebriones), well attested in choral lyric, viz. Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis*, Ibycus, and Pindar.<sup>839</sup> CHA 2*c* *Γᾱρυφόνῃς* therefore shows a mixture of

dialect which can also be observed in a number of other forms employed by this particular painter (see §259). We may further claim that in Geryones’ name, where an *a*-stem is the variant to Hesiod’s *-εὐς*, the oscillation could only have occurred in the Ionic(-Attic) dialect, since elsewhere the difference between the endings of the paradigms (*-εὐς* etc., and *-ᾱς* etc.) was too great to allow such a transition.<sup>840</sup> As Geryones was a typically Doric figure belonging to the context of Herakles, we cannot claim that the *a*-stem of choral lyric was a secondary adaptation of an Ionic-epic *a*-stem (nom. *-ης*, gen. *-ᾱο*, etc.). Therefore we may safely ‘blame’ Hesiod (or an Ionic source of his) for having created the *-ῆα* and *-ῆι* forms of *\*Γηρυονεύς* for convenience at line-end, and we may presuppose the existence of an Ionic *a*-stem *\*Γηρυόνης*, transposed from an *ā*-dialect, most likely Doric (did the name of the Cretan *Μηριόνης* undergo the same process of change?). This Ionic form is likely to be reflected in our Chalcidian attestations.

Now, if the epic genre gave freedom to create new names in *-εὐς*, particularly ethnics in *-εὐς* and *-ονεύς*, and if, for the sake of convenience at line-end, one could graft case-endings after this declension onto quite different stems (as Hesiod did with the mythical name Geryones), it seems likely that we can attribute to a pre-Homeric/Hesiodic layer not only *Γᾱρυόνᾱς* of the choral lyric but also Corinthian *Ἰλιόνῃς* (COR 74*k*) which may have been secondarily transformed into a (pseudo-)ethnic by Homer or one of his sources for the line-end position. We may then ask ourselves where the painter of the vase COR 74, which at any rate presupposes a literary source (see §441), found this form of the name; that it does not originate from Ionic epic is clear because of *-ῃς* rather than *-εὐς* and the digamma (see §504).

#### §234. Masculine hypocoristics in *-ιχος*

Hypocoristics in *-ιχος* are not infrequent, particularly in Boiotian<sup>841</sup> and Doric (see Schwyzler, p. 498). Among our documents we have COR 44*b* *Ἡίπ(π)ιχος* and ACC 3*d* *Ἡύβριχος*.

A derivative from such a name is BOI 3 *Ἐπίχῃ* (see §235). The element *-ιχ-* can be analysed in two different ways. (1) It could be based on the second element of a compound name such as *\*Ἐπι-χάρης*/*\*Ἐπι-χαρίδης*<sup>842</sup> or *\*Ἐπί-χαρμος*, possibly via a normal hypocoristic formation *\*Ἐπι-χ-ος* (see §228). (2) It could represent the suffix *-ιχο-*. In both cases the name as we have it must be a secondary derivative in *-ῃ* from *\*Ἐπιχ-*. In case (2), to judge from the clear names with this type of suffix, the first element of *\*Ἐπ-ίχ-ῃ* should be a lexical one with full semantic value (e.g. *\*ῥήπιος* ‘friendly’),<sup>843</sup> not just the preverb *\*ἐπι-*. In both (1) and (2) the

<sup>836</sup> *\*Ἰλιεύς* and *\*Ὀθρυεύς* would have been metrically unsuitable. Other groups of names in *-ονεύς*, *-όνη*, *-ών*, though not attested in Homer and Hesiod, may nevertheless have existed at the time and served as models, notably *Ἀλκυονεύς*, derived from the bird *ἄλκυων* (which occurs at 11. 9. 563, with *-όνη* *ibid.* 562), and *Ἐρμιόνη*, a personal name as well as a synonym of *Ἐρμιών*, a town in the Argolid like the above-mentioned *Ἡϊόνες*.

<sup>837</sup> A phonological explanation *[-eus] > [-ēs]* is implausible, see *ad loc.*

<sup>838</sup> See Chantraine (1942), 105, 223 f. The forms with short [e] can be explained as having originated from the patronymics with shortening of the vowel before another vowel, e.g. *Πηλῆ-ιδης* (see also Risch, pp. 158 f., with *bibl.*). Nevertheless, they must have reminded the speaker of the *s*-stems.

<sup>839</sup> Stesich. fr. S 13. 4 *SLG* voc. *[Γ]ᾱρυόνᾱ*, S 14. 8 acc. *[Γᾱρυ]όνᾱν*, S 15. ii. 14 nom. *[Γᾱρ]υόνᾱς*; S 70. 4 is unclear. Ibyc. fr. S 176. 18 *SLG* acc. *Γᾱρυόνᾱν*. Pind. *Isth.* 1. 13 and fr. 169*a*. 6 gen. *Γηρυόνᾱ*, *Dith.* 2 (fr. 81) voc. *Γηρυόνᾱ*.

<sup>840</sup> We may compare the unique *[Κε]βριονεύς*, which not surprisingly occurs on an Attic vase: a fr. of a bf. neck-amphora, Louvre CA 2364, *LIMC* v, ‘Kebriones’ 2; iv, ‘Hektor’ 15 (no ph., unfortunately; and the one in *CVA* does not show Hektor’s name).

<sup>841</sup> e.g. *DGE* 468*A*. 6 *Ἐυθύμιχος*, 474. 14 *Ἀσωπίχω*, 521. 2 *Μυριχίω* (patronymic adjective), etc., 536. 1. 13 *Ὀλιούμιχος*, 542. 36 *Ὀμολώϊχος* *Ἀθανίχω*, etc.; also fem. 452. 14 *Ἀρνεσίχᾱ*, 540*A*. 4 *Εὐμαρίχᾱ*. See also Vottero (1985), 412–14.

<sup>842</sup> Attested for Boiotians abroad (see Roesch (1982), 534 (index)).

<sup>843</sup> See *\*Ἠπίος -ίη* (Fraser–Matthews), *\*Ἠπιόβολος* and *\*Ἠπιόδορος* (Pape–Benseler).

second syllable should be short,<sup>844</sup> but metrical adaptation of proper names is a frequent phenomenon (see §222).<sup>845</sup> Without further parallels for this name, we cannot decide on its etymology.

§235. *Boiotian masculine hypocoristics in -ē vel sim.*

We have two examples of Boiotian hypocoristics in -ē (later written -ει),<sup>846</sup> namely BOI 3 'Επίχῃ' ἐποίεσε . . . (see also §234) and BOI 5B Φιθῃ' ἐποίεσε (see §224). Such names frequently show double liquid or nasal (but rarely other geminates) before the final vowel—a phenomenon which can be observed in other hypocoristics too. Their origin is debated because of their peculiar inflection. The oblique forms are (from Vottero (1985), 407): genitive -ιος,<sup>847</sup> dative -ει<sup>848</sup> and later -ι,<sup>849</sup> accusative -ειν.<sup>850</sup> Obviously the closest similarity is with the *s*-stems, particularly if we take into account the archaic dative in -ει.<sup>851</sup> If we pursue this comparison, we may suggest that the accusative form would be of the Σωκράτην type<sup>852</sup> (probably with a late [tn] pronunciation), and the genitive form in -ιος might represent an earlier [-eos] with a raising of the prevocalic [e] to [ē], written <ει>, frequent in Boiotian (see §221). If our names should then be treated as *s*-stems, and this course can be supported by the vocative DGE 456. 17 Ἀσκληπίχες χαῖρε (with lunate sigma, so not earlier than the mid-fourth century<sup>853</sup>), we ought to expect *s*-forms for the nominative of BOI 3 'Επίχῃ, 5B Φιθῃ, and the like.<sup>854</sup> In theory the loss of [s] could be due to analogy, but no suitable model is available and it would be better to think of a phonetic development of final [s], which is also attested elsewhere (see §§204, 224). If so, we might quote as a parallel the case of our Boiotian potter Mnasalkes, who writes his name both with and without final [s] (see *ibid.*). And another Boiotian potter, Γρύτῳν (BOI 1A–B), may have called himself Γρύτῃς, i.e. by his Boiotian hypocoristic, on one of the oil-flasks that he produced (see *ad loc.*). Orthographic convention, particularly strong in proper names, constantly worked against the loss of final [s]. But, on the other hand, it seems perfectly understandable that in our exclusively Boiotian type of hypocoristics this convention could have been neglected and an eventual loss of final [s] (perhaps mainly a matter of rapid and

colloquial speech-habits) thereby regularized in writing (see also §228 with n. 828).<sup>855</sup>

§236. *Feminine hypocoristics in -ῶ*

This is by far the most frequent type of feminine name on our vases. These hypocoristics normally preserve very little of the basic name or noun, retaining only the first syllable and—if available—the following consonant or consonant cluster. Occasionally two syllables are retained as a further aid to recognition, particularly in the case of underlying compound names with bisyllabic first element. The cut-off point in these cases is the same as for hypocoristics in -ος and -ᾶ (see §228), namely after the first consonant or consonant cluster of the second element. The names of the Nereids and Oceanids in Hes. *Th.* 243 ff. and 349 ff., respectively, illustrate these principles: Σᾶ-ῶ, Σπει-ῶ, Δωτ-ῶ, Πρωτ-ῶ (together with the compound name Πρωτομέδεια), Κυμ-ῶ, Νησ-ῶ, Θέμιστ-ῶ; Πειθ-ῶ, Πρυμν-ῶ, Ἰππ-ῶ, Ζευξ-ῶ, Πλουτ-ῶ, Μενε-σθ-ῶ (from -σθένης), Τελε(-)στ-ῶ, Καλυψ-ῶ, Ἀμφι-ρ-ῶ (from ἀμφίρ(ρ)υτος *vel sim.*).

These hypocoristics are frequent in the heroic sphere. As just mentioned, they are borne by various nymphs, of whom an example on our vases is the Nereid COR 77d *Ηαμαθῶι*, and also by somewhat wilder creatures, such as the Harpy LAK 7 Ἀφέλλ[ῶι] and the Gorgons—the latter appearing both with the generic term, COR 106b Γοργῶ[ι], and with one of their individual names, COR 100b Σθεν(ν?)ῶι, 124Aa [Σθ]εν(ν?)ῶι (for the geminate see §469).<sup>856</sup> But the noblest of characters, too, may have a name of this type. We have come across Apollo and Artemis' mother CHA 22a Λετῶ (with unclear etymology), Chiron's wife COR 46Ba Χαρμ-ῶλ-ῶι (the second element of the underlying compound is still clearly recognizable), Antenor wife COR 74d Θεᾶνῶι (since the alpha is always long,<sup>857</sup> we can see that her hypocoristic name is derived from Θεᾶνωρ—which is of the same formation as her husband's name—probably via Θεᾶνος),<sup>858</sup> Theano's maid *ibid.* (f) Μᾶλῶι, and finally Phineus' wife CHA 28f Ἐρ[ιχθ]ῶ (from -χθόνιος *vel sim.*).

In depictions of Satyrs and women (Maenads?) dancing, we have CHA 1d Κλυτῶ, (f) Ξανθῶ, (h) Χορῶ, (j) Μυρῶ, and (l) Φιῶ, as well as CHA 14b Ξανθῶι, (d) Φιῶ, (k) Δ[ῶ]ρῶ, where the names draw attention to positive attributes of the dancers.

<sup>844</sup> For the prosodic value of the suffix -ιχος, we have clear examples with a short [i], e.g. CEG 13, 93, 336, 630, and Kaibel (1878), no. 514.

<sup>845</sup> The assumption by Vottero (1985: 407) (\*'Επιχῃ) and Hansen *ad CEG* 327 (Επίκχη, index, p. 276) of an expressive geminate in this name is not necessary.

<sup>846</sup> A brief account of these names, including some later examples and bibl., is given by Maffre (1975), 423 n. 56.

<sup>847</sup> e.g. DGE 448. 6 Μελάνιος, 474. 30 Τιμόλλιος, 501. 1 Ξένιος (these are clear gen. forms, whereas patronymics in -ιος next to masc. nom. forms are ambiguous).

<sup>848</sup> Αἰσίμει (6th cent.), published by Venencie (1960), 589.

<sup>849</sup> DGE 524. 5 Δορκίλλι.

<sup>850</sup> IG vii. 558 Δαίμμεν (3rd cent.).

<sup>851</sup> See Buck, §109: for an *i*-stem we should expect -ι.

<sup>852</sup> See e.g. Chantraine (1961), 70, remarque ii; Schwyzler, p. 579.

<sup>853</sup> See Guarducci (1967), 377.

<sup>854</sup> E. Schwyzler (in DGE), who of course did not know our Ἐπίχῃ, explains the voc. Ἀσκληπίχες as 'volgaris . . . et solocus'.

<sup>855</sup> An alternative explanation was suggested to me by A. Morpurgo Davies. It would emphasize the hypocoristic nature of these names and would point out that the -ει dat. may go back both to \*-esi (as in the *s*-stems) and to \*-ēi, just as the -ιος gen. may go back to \*-eo (redetermined with a final -s) or even \*-eos (without loss of -s). It is then conceivable that we are dealing here with an originally different type which at some stage was confused with the *s*-stems (whence Ἀσκληπίχες). A remote parallel for this inflection could be found in the -e 'Kurz- und Kosenamen' of Mycenaean, recently studied by Risch (1987; see esp. 292). It is doubtful, of course, that all Boiotian *e/ei*-names belong to such an early type (some are bound to be innovations and the possibility cannot be excluded that they are by-forms of *s*-stems), but that such a type, if it existed, had an influence on the Boiotian hypocoristics cannot be ruled out.

<sup>856</sup> The Gorgons' mother is Κητώ, and their sisters, the Graiai, have names of the same formation (Hes. *Th.* 270 ff.).

<sup>857</sup> Il. 5. 70, 6. 298, 302, 11. 224.

<sup>858</sup> For the latter name see Bechtel, p. 53; Neumann (1971), 67.



In non-heroic scenes such names are sometimes found in the context of hetairai: for instance, COR 92 shows (d) Σελινότι and (f) Ἐρατότι at a symposion, and on COR 110 (c) Ἐρατότι is a naked dancer (see also §479). Another dancer (on an unpublished vase, see introd. to Pt. I. 5 above (COR)) is called Τιμότι. COR Gr 15b Ηιμερότι can be placed in this sphere, too.

Generally speaking, these names do not have any specific connotation; they are very widespread. Apart from the above-mentioned contexts we have COR 70d Αἰνόντι, a non-heroic name in a mixed scene (see §§243, 402), COR 76e Περιλιπόντι, a 'speaking name' in a heroic scene (see §§228, 239), CHA 3e Qλντὸ in a non-heroic departure scene (see also COR 81Ad Ὀλ[. ?]τόντι in a non-heroic wedding scene). Several frequent 'throwaway names' (see §237) provide evidence for the popularity of the formation (see e.g. COR 81A just mentioned). Διόντι is derived from names such as Διομήδης (*Iliad*), and Φιόντι from Ἰ-δρόμας or Ἰ-κέρτης (Bechtel, p. 215; Cyprian *mi-ke-re-te-se* /Wīkretēs/, Masson (1989), 159), or even from Ἰφι- names at a time when the suffix character of -φι was still clearly felt (Φιόντι was not always felt to be so derived, however, see §237). Διόντι and Φιόντι are particularly frequent on Corinthian (and Chalcidian, see §259) vases. Slightly more colourful are Δορότι, derived from names like Δωροξένος, -θεός, etc. (Bechtel, p. 144), COR 81Bb Φᾶχόντι (probably a departure scene), which reminds one of the masculine 'throwaway name' Φᾶχυσ (see §237), and COR 24h Ηιππόντι, a 'horsey name' (see §238).

That the feminine names and a handful of nouns in -ὠ originally had an ὠi-stem can be seen from their vocative -οῖ. In Doric inscriptions their nominative is [-οῖ], occasionally recognizable as [-ῶι],<sup>859</sup> while our Chalcidian inscriptions have -ὠ with-out [i] (see §259 for the one exception, Ξανθῶι, mentioned above). The Doric nominative is normally thought to be analogical to the vocative rather than to represent the original long-diphthong form, but this seems uncertain to me.<sup>860</sup>

### Throwaway Names (Mostly Hypocoristics)

#### §237. Function and formation of throwaway names

The expression 'throwaway names' was coined by Amyx (pp. 552 f.) and as it clearly conveys what is meant, I have adopted it. The phenomenon as such has long been observed. It is apparently

confined to Corinthian and Chalcidian vases; and on the latter vases these names seem to reflect the Corinthian tradition (see §259). Throwaway names are mainly short (bisyllabic) names that can neither be linked to myth in the scene in which they occur (although they may be attested as the names of heroic characters elsewhere) nor be taken as the names of historical persons. The latter view is supported by the fact that on the Corinthian pinakes, from which we learn numerous names of real Corinthians at the time, these names do not occur. Throwaway names cannot even be said to individualize the figures next to which they are written in any given scene, since on several vases such a name occurs more than once as a label for quite separate characters (e.g. Φιόντι COR 77c/f, Διόντι COR 105d/g/k; see §471 with n. 1190). Throwaway names could be used for unimportant characters in a variety of different scenes, depicting any type of subject, both heroic and non-heroic (heroic e.g. COR 77). The formation of the names is normally of a very common type (see §§229, 236). Their meanings, while often conveying some positive characteristics (e.g. εὖ-, πολυ-, δόρο-) or evoking the sphere of warfare (e.g. Φᾶχ-, δᾶμ-, μαχ-), usually remain vague or are sometimes even ambiguous. It is interesting to note that on Attic vases throwaway names are not used; on the other hand, on Corinthian vases nonsense inscriptions are much less frequent than on Attic ones. From the obvious acceptance of these inscriptions—as well as from the relatively small percentage of vases that are inscribed—it seems to follow that the customers for these products on the whole did not care much for inscriptions (or could not read them).<sup>861</sup>

The most frequent throwaway names are masculine Φιόντι and Διόντι, feminine Φιόντι and Διόντι, which seem to act as a kind of general label for 'man' and 'woman' respectively (see in particular the brides on COR 71 and 81A, which remind one of the formula pronounced by the Roman bride, Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 30 (*Mor.* 271d-e) τὴν νύμφην εἰσάγοντες λέγειν κελεύουσιν "ὄπου σὺ Γάιος, ἐγὼ Γαῖα"<sup>862</sup>). We may compare the use in modern languages of familiar names in stories of a general kind (jokes, anecdotes, etc.).<sup>863</sup> Therese Fuhrer has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that Δίων was also used much later as a 'stock name' in philosophy, e.g. by Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.*, *passim* (ed. Bury, see vol. iii, index of names).

<sup>859</sup> This form can only be identified in alphabets which use both ο and ω. Buck (§111. 5a) quotes an example λεχώι from Kyrene; see also CEG 683. 2 Τροπώι (Samos; 4th c.?).

<sup>860</sup> See Schwyzler, p. 478 with n. 8; Chantraine (1961), 90 n. 1. The analogy seems to be assumed because of <οῖ>-nom. forms (Thumb-Kieckers, p. 106); these are, however, only significant in inscs. where omega is also in use, i.e. considerably later than our vases, and may therefore reflect a later tendency to confuse the two case-forms. A second reason for the assumption could be the wide area in which the -ω nom. is attested (Attic, Ionic, Aiolic, Arkadian, Boiotian); but the loss of the [i] in final long-diphthongs is widespread too, and occurred independently. (I have not, however, been able to collect all the evidence, check the date of the attestations, and compare them with contemporary occurrences of dat. sg. in -ῶι, -ᾶι, etc.)

<sup>861</sup> See LIMC iii, pp. 410 f., where a good discussion of the throwaway and speaking names is given by P. Müller in the course of justifying his inclusion of some of these names in the lexicon. I take a much more negative view of their possible heroic character, however, even in the case of mixed and pseudo-heroic scenes (see §402). On the other hand, I would have included Balios (see §§504, 506) and other heroic horse-names (see §244). Moreover, some names with entries in LIMC may refer to historical people (see §243).

<sup>862</sup> See also Paul. ex Fest. p. 85 Lindsay, s.v. 'Gaia', and Quintil. 1. 7. 28.

<sup>863</sup> e.g. Joe Bloggs in British English, John Doe in American English. In Swiss German these stereotypes differ greatly from one region to another, e.g. in Appenzell *Sebedoni*, *Jokeb*, *Chuered*, etc.; in Zurich *de Hans*, *de Heiri*, *de Fritz*, *de Schaaggi*, etc.; in Berne *der Hansli*, or—more elaborately—*der Tülebach Kari* (originally a historical person), *de Minger Rüedu* (former Federal Minister, 1920–40), etc.



$\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota$  is used for non-heroic female bystanders in COR 78a/e and COR 119b, for a woman in a chariot (probably a bride) in COR 81Aa (the figure bears a second label (b)  $F\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota$ ), and for a Nereid in COR 77a.

$F\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota/F\iota\acute{\omicron}$  designates non-heroic female bystanders in COR 78f and 119d as well as CHA 6a, the bride in the chariot in COR 71c and 81Ab (just mentioned), and two Nereids in 77c/f. On the other hand, on CHA 11 and 14d, where the name is used for Maenads, it cannot be of this throwaway type in view of the accompanying names, which (particularly on CHA 1) are very carefully chosen; its meaning is likely to be different too (see below).

$\Delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota/\Delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}$  is slightly less stereotyped. Although it is used as a throwaway name in COR 81Ac, where it designates a female bystander, and again in COR 85a to label a woman in a very dull-looking company, it also occurs among non-throwaway names, for instance as that of a hetaira at a banquet in COR 92a, and in CHA 14k it is used for a Maenad; in these two cases it will have been chosen more deliberately (as CHA 14d  $F\iota\acute{\omicron}$  in the previous paragraph).<sup>864</sup> The element  $-\delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\omicron-$  is also used in semi-throwaway names (see below).

$\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$  is the name of a warrior in COR 59a and 78b, a charioteer in COR 119e, a horseman in COR 64d and 84, various boar-hunters in COR 102f and 109a/b, a man chatting in CHA 18a, three padded dancers in COR 105d/g/k, and a horse in COR 83ter.d (see §244; together with horses labelled  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ , an odd name which was frequently used by the painter of COR 83–83ter, see ad loc.);  $\Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$  is likely to be the name of a charioteer, a warrior, and a horseman in COR 99a/c/f (though all three names are miswritten; (f) is perhaps intended to be  $F\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ). The name occurs again on a vase with nonsense inscriptions (Amyx, p. 601, no. 8 = Lorber, no. 98).

$F\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$  is the name of a warrior in COR 59c, 64A, and perhaps 119c (?), a charioteer in COR 67c, a horseman in COR 108, several boar-hunters in COR 102b–d, a man chatting in CHA 18b, and a boy (if not the warrior) in COR 119c (?). In COR 68e a very careless writer seems to have used  $F\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$  for a horse.

$F\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$  is a horseman in COR 63, an old man in COR 119a, and a warrior in COR 67a and CHA 13d.<sup>865</sup> Its formation, however, differs from that of the other throwaway names (for more examples of this type of hypocoristic see Bechtel, p. 52). It is presumably connected with the name  $\text{Ἡχώ}$ , which is attested as the label for a figure of unclear interpretation in COR 81Bb  $F\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\omicron}\iota$  (see §236), and may refer to shouts or cries when used in a battle or departure scene. See also §259 with n. 932.

$\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu$  is a warrior in COR 59b and 112, a boar-hunter in COR 102g, and a man in COR 78d. This is an everyday hypocoristic (see Bechtel, p. 466), evoking mainly  $\chi\alpha\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  and  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$  (see Chantraine, s.vv.; Frisk, s.v.  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ ).

$\Delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$ , although only attested twice, should also be counted among these names, in view of the other names on the vases

on which it occurs. It is used for a warrior in COR 68f, and a charioteer in COR 78c. It is often difficult to decide whether we should read  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron-$  or  $\Delta\bar{\alpha}\mu\omicron-$  (Bechtel, pp. 116 and 130, respectively), although for a charioteer the former is more appropriate; in either case, we have a hypocoristic of a common type (see §229).

$\Lambda\bar{\alpha}\iota\delta\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$  is a warrior in COR 67b and 115a, a charioteer in COR 99d, probably a horseman in COR 111a, and a padded dancer in COR 105i; COR 107c is uncertain. For the formation of the name see §239, for the absent digamma §506. See also below on semi-throwaway names.

There are other, longer names of a stereotyped sort on Corinthian and Chalcidian vases; these are built in a uniform style and produce fairly dull results (we may call them semi-throwaway names). Most characteristic are the names beginning in  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon-$ , both hypocoristics and full-blown compound names.<sup>866</sup>  $\Pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\beta\omicron\varsigma$  (or  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ) in COR 67d and CHA 6b and  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}\iota\delta\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$  in COR 54 are the names of warriors.  $\Pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is a horseman in COR 62 (in a painting exactly equivalent to COR 63 with the throwaway name  $F\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ ); another  $\Pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is an old man in non-heroic, though not really throwaway-type, company in CHA 3g.  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\phi\bar{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (heroic?, see ad loc.) and  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in COR 102a/h, and  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ ,  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\phi\alpha\varsigma$ , and  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  in COR 104a/c/f are boar-hunters. The name  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  occurs again for a lost figure in CHA 6d, and for a warrior in CHA 13c.  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is a charioteer in COR 64a (see ad loc.), and  $\Pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$  a horseman in COR 100c. COR 74m  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\phi$ .[. . .] in a heroic scene is unclear; it may be a  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon-$  name, due to its position at the far end of the scene (see §441).

Names beginning with  $E\upsilon-$  also seem to fit into the semi-throwaway category, for example  $E\upsilon\delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , a boar-hunter in COR 104d (alongside (f)  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ );  $E\upsilon\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , a man in COR 85b;  $E\upsilon\phi\bar{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , a horseman in COR 100a and a warrior in COR 114d;  $E\upsilon\phi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$  a donkey-rider in COR 101d. Should the women's names of BOI 10—viz. (c) and (g)  $E\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\bar{\alpha}$ , (d)  $E\upsilon\phi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\bar{\alpha}$ , (f)  $E\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha$ —be classified in the same way (see §243)?

Similarly the names COR 53b  $E\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  and (c)  $\Pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  (the reading of label (a) is doubtful) ring somewhat dully in our ears, the former being echoed on COR 68 by two warrior-names, (a)  $E\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\varsigma$  (a hypocoristic name) and (k)  $E\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , and that of a horse, (b)  $[E\upsilon]\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\bar{\omicron}\nu$  (see §244). Even  $E\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , attested in two or three scenes that each include a number of Trojan names (COR 46Ac and CHA 8c; less certain CHA 26), may belong to this category (see §462), and the same is true for COR 107a  $E\upsilon\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\bar{\omicron}\nu$ , a warrior in a pseudo-heroic scene (see below).

On the two Chalcidian vases CHA 13 and 18, the element  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau(i)-$  could also be the sign of a semi-throwaway name (or at least a speaking element; see §239). On the former there are two warriors, (a)  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  and (b)  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , and, on the latter, one

<sup>864</sup> One may also mention COR 114a  $\Delta\bar{\omicron}\rho\omicron\nu$  in this connection.

<sup>865</sup> A variant is COR 103c  $F\acute{\alpha}\chi\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ , appearing alongside the equally unusual (a)  $B\acute{\iota}\delta\bar{\omicron}\nu$  and the more familiar (b)  $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>866</sup> Heroic characters such as COR 82a  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\varsigma$  are not included here, although  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon-$  names (just like 'horse names', below, §238) are of course frequent in epic too.



δῖω, δῖομαι, δῖεμαι ‘hurry’, taking them for ‘Dämonen- und Nereidennamen’. But, although it is true that the men named Δῖων are mostly involved in some action, the women named Δῖοί are all standing motionless; and we surely do not want to separate the masculine name from the feminine one. We must therefore accept Kretschmer’s derivation (p. 43) of these two names Δῖων and Δῖοί from Διο- compound names (with loss of intervocalic [w]; see §506). This of course does not mean that they could not be interpreted differently according to the context.

Such a secondary interpretation was clearly at play in the case of *Fῖων*/*Fῖοί*. Kretschmer (p. 44) lists several etymological connections, namely *Fῖς* ‘strength’, *Fῖεσθαι* ‘hasten’, *Fῖός* ‘poison’, *Fῖτυς* ‘curve, rim, fellow’, *Fῖον* ‘violet’. On one vase, viz. CHA 1 with Satyrs and women dancing, only the last meaning makes sense, indeed perfect sense, as the label for one beautiful dancer, *Fῖοί*, next to another one named *Μυρό*: the juxtaposition would naturally have conjured up ‘fragrance of violets’. Yet the original meaning of this hypocoristic name may have been quite different (see a similar ambiguity in COR Gr 15a, ad loc.) and the violet connotation is certainly not appropriate for the man’s name *Fῖων* (nor for *Fῖολαῖος* etc.). For such reinterpretations of names by popular etymology, see §510.

For Δῖων, J. Mansfield (*apud* Amyx, ad COR 59a) cites as a predecessor Mycenaean *di-wo* KN Dv 1503 and PY An 172. This would suggest that our throwaway name already existed as a hypocoristic at that time (the type of formation is of course much older, see §229).<sup>867</sup>

Two slightly unusual throwaway names occur on the vase COR 103, viz. (a) *Βῖων* and (c) *Ἰάχων*, and along with them is a throwaway-type horse-name, (b) *Ξάνθος* (see §244); but this is a very special vase anyway (see ad loc. and §260).

### Horsey Names

#### §238. The frequent use of names with ἵππ(ο)-

The expression ‘horsey name’ was also coined by Amyx (pp. 553 f.), although the phenomenon itself had been observed long before.<sup>868</sup> As horsey names are a particular kind of throwaway name (see §237), they do not necessarily need a special designation. I none the less retain the expression, because the phenomenon is not only typical of Corinthian vases, but horsey names—unlike throwaway names—also occur on Attic vases. They are extremely frequent as historical names too (see Bechtel,

pp. 219–26), and come close to fulfilling the role of throwaway names in epic.<sup>869</sup> Whether we should also speak of horsey names in the case of names formed from stems other than ἵππ(ο)- but nevertheless semantically related to the sphere of horses, is a matter of personal judgement; see COR 21 *Τόνιος* (ad loc.), §448 on COR 82h *Γλαῦρος*, and §425 on COR 66m *Φέρης*, which is to be compared with (s) *Ἡπ(π)ασος* and (u) *Ἡππαλγμος*.

In the following lists of likely and less likely horsey names, only characters not known from literature are listed (literary ones are COR 66s/u, just cited, and perhaps CHA 8f). It is obvious that many figures have a horsey name because they are involved with horses in the scenes on the vases. Even so, we cannot normally talk of ‘speaking names’ (see §239) since the labels mostly convey no more than a general notion ‘horses around’. Some of the vases in question also contain throwaway names proper (see §237).

The list of likely examples is as follows: COR 16b *Ἰπ(π)ομαχίδας* (a horseman holding a spear, i.e. perhaps a speaking name, see §239), 24h *Ἡππότης* (see §236; a female bystander; horses present), 30h *Ἡπ(π)οκλῆς* (a horseman), 42b *[H?]ἵππολύτᾱ* (‘three maidens’; horses present), 61 *Ἡππόλυτος* (dead youth between two warriors fighting; horses at some distance), 64b *Κίσιππος* (charioteer, perhaps a speaking name, see ad loc. and §239), 66i *Ἡπποτίων* (groom gesticulating at horses), 68l *Ἡππόλυτος* (warrior in chariot), 70g *Ἡππόμαχος* (warrior; horses present), 81Ah *Ἡπ(π)ομέδων* (warrior next to another, named *Ἀδάμας*; horses at some distance), 92j *Ἡπ(π)οτίων* (horseman), 104e *Πάντιππος* (horseman), 116a *Ἡππασος* (warrior; no horses present in the scene), perhaps CHA 3b *Ἡππολύτῃ* (female bystander; horses at some distance).

Less certain are the full names in mixed or pseudo-heroic contexts (see §402): COR 14e *Νίκιπ(π)ος* (horseman), 24i *Ἡπ(π)όλυτος* (warrior next to (h) *Ἡππότης* (in list above)); and likewise less certain are such names in heroic contexts: COR 44b *Ἡπ(π)υχος* (horseman), 66b *Αἰνίππᾱ* (a nurse with baby; horses at some distance), 70g *Ἡππόμαχος* (label of a warrior in a departure scene; horses present; perhaps a speaking name, see §444), 79Ac *Ζε(υ)ξίππᾱ* (female bystander; horses present), 91b *[H?]ἵπ(π)ονίκα* (lost figure), CHA 4i *Ἐχιππος* (no horses present in the scene). A possible case on a pinax is COP 78b *Ἀῦσιπ(π)ος* (perhaps a speaking name; but see ad loc.). COR 94 *[I]π(π)αίμων* in a chariot scene is of uncertain reading.

The importance of these horsey names reflects the general importance of the horse on Corinthian vases in departure scenes, chariot scenes (also with Poseidon), riding scenes (also with Poseidon or Kastor), battle scenes, wedding scenes, chariot-races, etc. (see §§466 ff.). Corinth also had Pegasus on her coins.

<sup>867</sup> Mansfield’s comparison of *Fῖων* with Myc. *i-jo* MY Au 102, however, is wrong. For not only is there no loss of initial [w] in Mycenaean (see Ventris–Chadwick (1973), 398, actually cited by Mansfield), but there is also no case of an etymologically unjustified initial digamma at Corinth. Moreover it seems likely that *i-jo* is a variant of *i-ju* (i-ju) ‘son’.

<sup>868</sup> See e.g. Jahn (1854: p. cxx with n. 875), on the vase ABV 266. 5, and Luckenbach (1880: 496 f.), who added COR 66i *Ἡπποτίων* and (s) *Ἡπ(π)ασος*, COR 30h *Ἡπ(π)οκλῆς*, COR 70g *Ἡππόμαχος*, and CHA 4i *Ἐχιππος*; the example COR 66s, however, is a heroic figure (see §425). See also Lorber, p. 20 n. 117 (bibl.).

<sup>869</sup> For example *Ἰππασος* in Homer, used for fathers of minor figures in a very formulaic and stereotyped manner: *Il.* 13. 411 f. (a Greek), 17. 348 f. (a Trojan), and (perhaps the same Trojan?) 11. 426, 431, 450 (in the last instance characterized as *ἵπποδάμος*). None of them takes an active part in the plot. Other horsey names likely to be from epic have more weight (see §448 on COR 82h).

## Speaking Labels

§239. *Speaking names and nouns and their distinction*

Speaking labels make some reference to the activity of the figure they designate. Some of them must be personal names, in view of their formation; others may be; very few cannot be. I tend to take speaking adjectives or compound nouns (which are nominalized verbal phrases) as personal names (although they often appear to be *ad hoc* coinages), but I do not adopt the same interpretation for non-compound nouns like COR 71a φίλοι and (d) *λίπ(π)οι* (see §401); one exception is CHA 14c *Λίπ(π)ος*, which designates a Satyr, not a horse.

Among non-heroic characters (see above, n. 861), there are a few cases of speaking labels which are at the same time agent adjectives or nouns (see *ad locc.*). On COR 7 a warrior and his groom are named *Ἡπποβάτας* and *Ἡπ(π)οστρόφος*; on COR 21 a warrior is called *Τόνιος*; on LAK 4 a groom, holding his master's horse during the fight, is called (a) *Ἀνιοχίδας*; and on the same vase the warriors' names (b) *Ἀρχιλοχ[ί]δας* and (c) *Δένωμαχος* are unlikely to refer to a historical fight between real persons, but are speaking names too, just as (d) *Σύνις*. The name *Ἀνιοχίδας* occurs again, on COR 89b, for a charioteer; also (a) *Φέρεις* and (d) *Λάφοπτόλεμος* on this vase are of the speaking type. On CHA 13, besides some other figures with throwaway names (see §237), there are two warriors fighting: (a) *Ἀνταῖος* and (b) *Ἀντίοχος*; here, as well as in the warrior's name COR 119f *Ἀντιμαχίδας* (see §237), the element *Ἀντ(ι)-* can be classed as the speaking type. On COR 16 a horseman holding a spear and riding next to Kastor is labelled (b) *Ἴπ(π)ομαχίδας* (also a horsey-type name; see §238); the two are approaching a scene with two men who seem to bear speaking noun-labels (titles?): (d) *Φορβός* (*Φόρβος*?) and (e) *Φαστυπότας* (see §472). On COR 64 there is a charioteer named (b) *Κίσιππος*, which could mean 'spurring the horses' (see *ad loc.*) and may be a horsey-type name too (see §238). On COR 70 a warrior (g) *Ἡππόμαχος*, who is greeting two ladies, may be identical with a nameless warrior climbing into a chariot (see §444; the name is probably also of the horsey type). A warrior on COR 114 probably bears the name (c) *Μίμ(ν)ων* which may mean 'withstanding the enemy's attack' (see *ad loc.*, also on the other names on this vase). On the pinax COP 78 a little jumping man (b) *Λύσιπ(π)ος* is holding the reins of a horse (again, his name may be a horsey one; but see *ad loc.*). On LAK 3 the overseer is called (g) *φύλακος* and another man (b) *Σόφορτος*; (c) is not clear. On COR 33 a female servant is labelled (d) *σακίς*, and on COR 17 a flute-player, not the most important character in the scene, is called (a) *Πολύτερπος* (see §228). On COR 19 the names of some padded dancers (e)–(i) speak of dance and wine.

When we turn to heroic characters, we may observe that on CHA 1, and similarly on CHA 14 (as far as we understand the labels), the names of the Satyrs refer to their horsey looks, those of the women to their perfume, fair hair, and beautiful dancing.

On COR 77 two Nereids are named (d) *Ἡμαθόι* and (e) *Qῦματοθᾶ* (others have throwaway names, see §237), and another, on COR 96B, is called *Πνῶτομέδοισα*; in the epic tradition Nereids quite generally already have speaking names. The same is true for the Centaurs, one of whom, CHA 23a *Ἐλάτιος*, holds a tree as his weapon. On ETR 4 an Amazon is labelled *Ἀνδρομάχῃ*, a name which occurs elsewhere (see *ad loc.*). On COR 12 (and similarly in the corresponding literary accounts), one of the sons of Eurytios is called *Τόξος*, which must be an allusion to the shooting competition which took place when Herakles was guest (see §416). Not known from elsewhere is COR 76e *Περίλιπός*; since the woman in question is a 'survivor' it could be a speaking name, but as we do not have a full literary account of the sack of Troy from archaic times we cannot exclude the possibility that the name actually comes from the epic tradition (where of course it would also be a speaking name).

The formation in *-ίδας* seems to be typical of speaking names: see the above-mentioned LAK 4a and COR 89b *Ἀνιοχίδας* (two men holding horses' reins), LAK 4b *Ἀρχιλοχ[ί]δας* (warrior), COR 16b *Ἴπ(π)ομαχίδας* (horseman with spear), COR 119f *Ἀντιμαχίδας* (warrior), as well as COR 74h *Ἡαρματίδας* (a horse in a heroic scene; see §244). These forms in *-ίδας* were originally patronymics (see §240). A special case is *Λαῖιδας*, which on Corinthian vases is a throwaway name (see §237). It is derived from a heavily shortened stem *Λαῖφo-* (just like *Λαίχος*, *Λάων*; see Bechtel, p. 285); its digamma is never written (see §506), and the name has no speaking quality.

Hetairai too are given speaking names on our vases (see §308). This is clear in the case of the company at a banquet on COR 92: (a) *Δωρόι*, (d) *Σελινόι*, (f) *Ἐρατόι* (for their formation see §236). Two nude dancers on COR 110 are named (b) *Πανταρέτα* (for the interpretation of this name see §479) and (c) *Ἐρατόι*; on COR 105 two others are (c) *Σίμα* and (f) *Κ[α]λλίς* (?); and on an unpublished vase (see *introd.* to Pt. I. 5 above (COR)) we have (a) *Τιμόι* (to be compared with *Πανταρέτα* just above?) and (b) *Πυρφίς*. A character of some notoriety must be represented by COR 18a *Αἰνέτα*. Likely hetairai are COR 25a *Νεβρίς* and (b) *Κ(α)λύκα*; COR Gr 15a *Φιόπα*, (b) *Ἡμερόι*, and (c) *Χαρίτα*. If EUB 3 *Κ[αλλιμ]έλεια* is a speaking name describing the woman in question, she is also likely to be a hetaira. A different case is DOH 3a, where we have an ethnic name (see §241). Some of the characters listed in this paragraph may have been real people. This may also be the case with COR 70d *Αἰνός* and (e) *Κιανίς*, who appear together with a warrior (g) *Ἡππόμαχος* in an otherwise heroic scene of Hektor taking leave of his family (see §444).

Apart from the Nereids and the Centaurs, horses, too, often have speaking names (COR 74h *Ἡαρματίδας* has just been mentioned); see also §244. On BOI 10 a dog is called (e) *Φιλοφῆρα* 'fond of hunting'.<sup>870</sup>

<sup>870</sup> See also *ad* COR 4c and CHA 3a.

## Patronymic Names

## §240. Names formed with a patronymic suffix

In our corpus, only two types of names formed with patronymic suffixes occur, one in *-ιδᾶς* and the other in *-ᾰδᾶς* (the latter replaces the former if the father's name is an *i*-stem, otherwise it is rare). The *-ιδᾶς* type is extremely frequent in the archaic period from which our vases mostly come. Yet even then the suffix was hardly ever used for its original purpose, which was to derive an individual's name from that of his father. Its use had become much freer: it was still used for proper names but without regard for the individual's father's name (see e.g. the Attic vase-painter *Εὔθυμίδης* of the late sixth century (cited in §227), whose father was not *Εὔθυμος*).

Among our vase inscriptions we have a whole series of historical names formed with these suffixes, namely in BOI 2, 9, 26; AIG 3E; COR 18d/f/g, 27h (and COP 18); COP 11b, 40, 41, 49, 52b; and NAU 1f; slightly altered are BOI 4C *Ἐμπεδιόνδαι* (dat.) and BOI 5A *Φιθάδᾶς* (for some more examples from other objects, see also §204 n. 733). Similar to the latter is a likely potter at Corinth, *Σῶταδ[ᾰς]* (see introd. to Pt. I. 5 above (COR), n. 118). One such name is used as a throwaway name, *Λαῖδᾶς* (six attestations; see §§237, 239), with the extended version *Πολυλαῖδᾶς* in COR 54 (see §237).

Secondly the suffix is used on our vases for a distinct type of speaking name, for example *Ἄνιοχίδᾶς* for men holding horses' reins (see §239 on LAK 4a–b, COR 16b, 74h, 89b, 119f). Schwyzler (p. 509) observes that such names, which he calls '(halb) appellativ' ('einer vom Schlage der und der'), are found from Aristophanes onwards. In Homer on the other hand, these forms are still full patronymic adjectives, not individual names.<sup>871</sup> Our speaking names on vases, however, are individual names, defining the 'profession' of the bearer (but not his parentage)—and they date from a century and a half before Aristophanes. Again we may assume that in reality (at least originally) a boy might get a name in *-ιδᾶς* derived from a particular trade or profession because his father was engaged in it. But since, in historical times, the suffix could be used in a freer manner, it seems also conceivable that a name in *-ιδᾶς* could be taken from the bearer's own profession and used as a nickname. It is tempting to assume that the freer use of the suffix was due to the reinterpretation of cases in which a son was named after his father's profession and remained in it himself.

<sup>871</sup> Schwyzler cites *Od.* 8. 114 *Ἀμφιάλοῦ θ', υἱὸς Πολυνήου Τεκτονίδαο* as an example of this 'semi-appellative' type, but this means 'A., son of P., who was the son of Tekton', i.e. the 'semi-appellative' or 'speaking' name is not *Τεκτονίδης*, the epithet of Amphialos' father after the profession of the grandfather, but *Τέκτων*, the name of the grandfather taken from his (mythical) profession. For such patronymics in Homer, see also Risch, pp. 147 ff., §33.

## Ethnic Names

## §241. Ethnic names used as names

Ethnic names used as names are very frequent; many examples are found in Bechtel, pp. 536 ff.

On COR 70 there is (e) *Κιᾶνίς*, maybe a hetaira in a heroic context at Troy. (We may perhaps compare the—unnamed—woman who, in Pausanias' description of the Chest of Kypselos, was shown sitting next to Herakles (the referee at the funeral games for Pelias) and was playing upon the Phrygian flute; see COR 66, 'Scene', and §425.)

Likely historical Corinthians are the two warriors COR 117c *Πύλιος* and (d) *Τάρας* (engaged in fighting each other), the boar-hunter COR 33f *Λάρον* (in a pseudo-heroic scene), and, on COR 18, Aineta's admirer (j) *Φρύξ* (see §219). Another boar-hunter, COR 102j, also called *Φρύξ*, may have been the same character some years later (see §473). A further possible example, from the West, is COR 40b *Ὀμυριῶς*, probably a slave stealing wine.

DOH 3a perhaps contains the name of a Rhodian hetaira, either *ἡᾶ Βρασία* (named after a local place) or *ἡᾶβρά (Ἄ)σία* (see ad loc.).

An ethnic name also known from epic literature is COR 66f *Ἀργεὺς*.

## Historical Persons

## §242. Characters in direct relation to the object on which they are named

Potters and/or painters: BOI 1A–B *Γρύτων*, 2A–D *Μεναιδᾶς*, 3 *Ἐπίχῃ* (also the donor of the vase?), 4A–C *Μνᾶσάλεκῃς*, 5A *Φιθάδᾶς* and (B) *Φίθῃ*, 6A–E *Πόλων*, 7A–B *Γᾰμέδῃς*; INC 1 *Ἀριστόνοθος* (or *Ἀρίστον{ο}φος*?); COR 27 and COP 18 *Τιμωνίδᾶς*, COR 57 *Χάρῃς*; COP 41 *Μιλωνίδᾶς* (also donor); ITH 2 *Καλ(λ)ικλέᾶς*; EUC 1 [. . .] *υῖος*, EUC 3 *Πύρ(ρ)ος*; DOC 4 [. . .] *ς*; DOI 1a *Ἀνδρίᾶς*; IOD 4A–C *Νικήσερμος* (also donor?); perhaps IOD 1 *Ἰστροκλέης*.

Donors of vases (probably sometimes potters too, see §302): BOI 2D *Γοργιάς* (incised, later), 20 *Σμίκρος*, 26 [*Εὐ?ν*] *οσστίδᾶς*, 27 *Λέδων* (?), 29 [. . .] *ωρος* (or the name of an admired youth?), AIG 3E *Ἀριστόφαντος καὶ Δαμονιδᾶς*, probably *Σῶταδ[ᾰς]* (see introd. to Pt. I. 5 above (COR), n. 118), COR 31d [. . .] *συλος*, ARG 1 [. . .] *α]νδρος*, probably ETR 1d *Πραξιάς*, IOI 1b [. . .] *λη* (fem.), perhaps IOD 7 [. . .] *θ]έη*, perhaps IOD 6C *Δημ[ο- . . .]*, and IOD 6G [. . .] *Μενεκά(ρ)τ[ης . . .]*, and perhaps IOD 8 *Ἀθηναγόρη* (?). The donors of the Naukratite sherds: NAU 1A *Ἀγυπτίς*, (B) *Δημοφ[ά]νη[ς]*, (C) [. . .] *γ?ήθη[ς]*, (D) *Ἐρμόμανδρος*, (E) *Μίκ(κ)ίς*, (F) [. . .] *νης*, (G–H) *Ζώι(ι)λος*, (J) (a) *Ἀντ[ . . . ]*, (b) *Θυμογή[θ]ης*, (c) *Ἰλέαρχος*, (i) *[Κ]λευ-π[ . . . ]*, (k) *[Ἐρ?]μόλ[ω]ς*, (o) [. . .] *όστρα[τος]*, (Lg) *Ἐρμολύ[ης]* (?), and other fragmentary names mostly in (J). Perhaps also DOH 2a–b *Ἀλκίδαμ[ . . . ]* (?).

Donors of pinakes (see §302): COP 3*b* Σῆμιον, 5*b* Θεο[. . .], 7 Θρασύμα[χος?], COP 8*a* [Π]έρ[ι]λ(λ)ος, COP 9 Πολῖτας, COP 10 Qύλ(λ)ᾶς, COP 11*b* Qυλοῖδᾶς, COP 12 and COP 48*A–B* Φλέβον, COP 13 [. . .]ον, COP 25 Αἰσιμέλλης, COP 26 [Αἰ]σγυλῖ[νος] (?), COP 27*b* Ἀγτιφῖας, COP 28 Ἀριστοφίλος, COP 29*a* Ἀσπόδωρος, COP 30 Δᾶμόφιλος (?), COP 31 Δόρκων, COP 32 Ἐδ[. . .] (?), COP 34 Εὐκρίνης (or label of a workman?), COP 35*b* Εὐρυμέδης, COP 36 Εὐστρατος, COP 37*b* Φιό[λ]ᾶς (?), COP 38*A–B* Ἰγρόν, COP 39 Κανθα[ρ- . . .] (?), COP 40 Λυσιάδᾶς, COP 41 Μιλωνίδᾶς (also painter), COP 42*c* Ὀρθο[. . .] (?), COP 43 Ξενφοκλῆς (?), COP 44*a* Qόμ[ι]ος (?), COP 45 Qό[. . .]ρις, COP 46 Qυ[. . .] (?), COP 47 [Φ?]ιλο[. . .] (?), COP 49 [. . .]ογῆτονίδᾶς, COP 50 [. . .]ῆς, and some final letters of names in COP 51–4. With genitive, probably COP 61 [Σ?]ίμω.

Recipients and owners of vases: BOI 2*A–D* Χάροπι (dat.), 4*C* Ἐμπεδιόνᾶι and Αἰσχύλοι (both dat.), COR 17*b* Πυρφῖας (a dancer), probably 47 Αἰσγυλῖνος (and his father Πετάλα, gen.), 48 Κένις, COR 49 Φιδῖας, COR 50 Qυλ(λ)ῖας, COR 50*A* Ἀγρᾶνῶ (gen.), COR Gr 2 Χοιράσου (gen.), EUC 2 Δεξι(ι)θέω (?), uncertain), ETR 1*e* Ἀρθε (probably an Etruscan case-form), DOC 5 Ἀρχέκλῶ (?), gen.) and his father Εὐκλέος (gen.), DOI 1*b* Ἀρκηιδῖκᾶς (gen. fem.), perhaps IOD 5*B* [. . .]κύδρῶ.

Kalos-inscriptions: BOI 9 Πολυντῖμίδᾶς, 19 Σίβων, uncertain 29 [. . .]ωρος (or donor?); EUB 3*b* (and 3*a*?) Κ[αλλι]μέλεια; DOH 3*a* ἡ Βρασία or ἡβρά (Ἀ)σία. The two women just listed may have been hetairai. Other likely hetairai are portrayed and labelled (see §243), in particular COR 18*a* Αἰνέτᾶ, next to whose name is a list of men, probably admirers of hers (*b–j*): Μεν(ν)έας, Θέρων, Μυρμίδᾶς, Εὐδιφος, Λυσανδρίδᾶς, Χαρικλιδᾶς, Δέξιλ(λ)ος, Ξένφον, and Φρύξ.

Other people known to, or identical with, a vase-painter or potter, and involved in some love affair (as some of the human recipients of vases and donors may have been): ACC 3*a* Ἀπολλόδορος and Ξύλλᾶς (gen.), (*b*) Φόλᾶς and Ἀπολλόδορον, (*c*) Ὀνάτᾶς and Νεξῶς (gen.), (*d*) Ηύβριχος and Παρμύνιος (gen.), DOC 2*a–b* Γελῶιος and Ἀκᾶς (gen.?), (*c*) [Ε]ῦμαχος.

#### §243. Possible contemporary characters shown and labelled on the vase

Where the labels identifying human characters depicted on our vases are not names from a heroic context, and are not throwaway (see §237) or horsey names (see §238), or speaking names reflecting the occupation of the figure in question (see §239), then there is some chance of their being the names of actual historical persons living at the time of the respective vase-painters. Nevertheless, there remains a considerable uncertainty in many cases, and we have to judge every single vase individually, particularly the pseudo-heroic and mixed scenes (see §402). In the following list, names that are possible but of uncertain reading and interpretation are omitted.

We have a few scenes of a mainly private character which are likely to show real people. In a domestic scene on BOI 10 there

are (*c*) Εὐφάρχα, (*d*) Εὐφροσύνη, (*f*) Εὐφάρια, (*g*) Εὐφάρχα (*his*), and (*h*) Qοδόμα—as well as a dog (*e*) Φιλοφῆρᾶ; the stereotyped Εὐ-, however, reminds one of the Corinthian semi-throwaway names (see §237). On BOI 11 a young man Κρίτων is goading two cocks to fight. On BOI 16 a family (see §475) is shown in an offering-procession: (*a*) Μῖτος, (*b*) Κράτεια, (*c*) Πρατόλαος (also (*f*) Σατύ[ρᾶ], whose function in the scene is unknown). Very similar is COP App. 1*A* with two women's labels, (*a*) Εὐθυδῖκα and (*b*) Εὐχολίς (the man's name was probably contained in the dedicatory inscription). Also COR 26, with (*a*) Καλ(λ)ιο[. . .], (*b*) Δα[μ- . . .], and (*c*) [Η]ιπ(π)όδιφος or [Η]υπόδιφος, is likely to have depicted the same kind of procession. On COR 17, (*b*) Πυρφῖας is a dancer, who was also the recipient of the vase; less certain is the flute-player (*a*) Πολύτερπος, whose speaking name may raise doubts about his real existence. COR 40 shows a wine-stealing scene with three men (*a*) Εἰνός (or Εὐνός), (*b*) Ὀμριφος, and (*c*) Ὀφέλανδρος (probably slaves). COR 33 shows a boar-hunt with some heroic names, but also several other names that may have been taken from everyday life: (*b*) Ἀλκᾶ, (*c*) Δορίμαχος, (*e*) Ἀνδρῦτᾶς, (*f*) Λάφον, (*g*) Φίλδων, (*h*) Θέρσανδρος.

COR 92 shows the company at a banquet, both men and women: (*a*) Δορόι, (*b*) [Ξ]έρφον (?), (*c*) Δᾶμαγόρᾶς, (*d*) Σελῖνῶι, (*e*) Η(ε)ρμαῖος, (*f*) Ἐρατόι, (*g*) Σφόρτος. The fragment COR 110 shows a dance, hardly a heroic one, of padded men and nude women, the latter labelled (*b*) Πανταρέτᾶ and (*c*) Ἐρατόι. COR Gr 15 shows three women's portraits: (*a*) Φιόπᾶ, (*b*) Ηἰμερόι, (*c*) Χαρίτᾶ. These women will have been hetairai, and portraits of other likely hetairai are shown on COR 18*a* Αἰνέτᾶ (for her admirers see §242), COR 25 (*a*) Νεβρίς and (*b*) Κ(α)λύκᾶ, and COR 65 Ἐράτᾶ. Although these women's names evoke the sphere of love, fragrances, flowers, etc., we should not rush to deny their bearers' existence and call them *ad hoc* speaking names. Aineta at least must have been real, and her name, too ('the famous one'), suits her well. Moreover, both Aineta's admirers and the men at the banquet on COR 92 have real names, not speaking or throwaway ones. Somewhat less certain is the case of the two women COR 70 (*d*) Αἰνῶι and (*e*) Κιανῖς, who may have been hetairai too, but are set in a heroic context.

Other names which are probably taken from everyday life designate warriors, horsemen, charioteers, etc. in scenes of mixed, pseudo-heroic, and non-heroic type, related to war: COR 5 Πάρευνος (warrior); COR 6*e* Λάπυθος (charioteer, mixed scene); some of the warriors on COR 46*A*, notably (*a*) Εὐμέλος, (*d*) Δᾶίπυλος, and (*e*) Δι(ὁ)νυμος (?) (mixed scene); COR 58*a* Νίφον and (*b*) Ἀντι( . . .) (horsemen); COR 81*g* Δᾶδάμας (warrior); COR 85*c* Ἀγᾶνῶρ (warrior) and (*e*) Δάμας (man in long robe); COR 86*b* Διονῦσιος and COR 87*a* Ἀκάμας (charioteers); COR 115*b* Μύριος; COR 115*A* Μέλαμπος; COR 117*c* Πύλιος and (*d*) Τάρας (all warriors). (The names on COR 114, on the other hand, may have to be interpreted differently.)

The names of workmen in some trade related to potting appear on the Corinthian pinakes (probably identical in part with

the donors or potters of the respective pieces, see §242): COP 52b [. . .]. ἰδᾶς (there is also a fragmentary name, possibly different, of a donor); COP 62a Φύσῳ and (b) [Ἀ]ρνέσιος; COP 63c Λόκρις; COP 64 Δέρις or Δέρις; COP 65a Ὀνύμων and (b) Σόρδης; COP 66a Στίπων; maybe COP 23a Δᾶμο[. . .], 34 Εὐκρύνες (donor?), 52b [. . .]. ἰδᾶς, 67 [. . .]. ἀγαθος, and 82a [. . .]νος.

A name belonging to a historically well-known character is LAK 3a Ἀρκεσίλας (however, most other names on that vase are unknown from literature and difficult to judge).

Here may be the right place to mention that the great number of names of historical people from Corinth, of which only very few are *hapax legomena* and hard to interpret, does not suggest, at least at the time of our documents, a mixed population either in Corinth or in other cities of the region—a state of affairs that is often assumed in connection with tyranny.<sup>872</sup>

## Horses

### §244. *The names of horses*

Horse labels occur quite frequently on Corinthian pottery and occasionally on Chalcidian vases (see §259).<sup>873</sup> Some are attested more than once, but only the frequent *Ξάνθος* can in some cases be called a stereotyped, if not a throwaway horse-name. Most horse-names are speaking names (see §239), describing the colour or attitudes of the animals. Only one certain feminine horse-name is attested on our vases, and a very special one it is, COR 24f Πολυπένθα (see §§439, 509).

The colour *ξανθός* was obviously popular. As this horse-name is well known from epic, we may, in the context of a Trojan scene, consider it an epic borrowing: it occurs, for instance, at COR 24g, together with Πολυπένθα, in a mixed Trojan wedding scene; at COR 27e, together with Ἀσόβας, in a scene with Achilles and Troilos; and at COR 70i, together with *Qόραξ*, in a mixed Trojan departure scene. The epic connection is all the more obvious if *Βάλιος* is also present (see §§504, 506), as on COR 57, where the horses (d) Πόδαργος, (i) Ὀρίων, and (l) *Αἰθών* appear too (see ad loc.; the last label is no longer legible, but is paralleled; see below).

A scene, non-heroic, it is true, but with carefully chosen names is COR 89, where three horse-names, (a) Φέρεις, (c) *Ξάνθος*, and (e) *Βάλιος*, occur together with the speaking name of a charioteer (b) Ἀνιοχιδᾶς (see §239) and the noble-sounding, though actually rather dull, speaking-type name of a warrior (d) Λαφόπτολεμος (see §506).

On the fragmentary pinax COP 56 we may assume a heroic context, since part of a chariot survives and this is normally an attribute of Poseidon on these tablets. In such circumstances, (a)

*Ξάνθος* seems a somewhat uninspired name, although we do not know what other names might have accompanied it.

Often, however, *Ξάνθος* occurs in non-heroic scenes together with human throwaway names (see §237): e.g. COR 67e together with (a) *Fάχυς*, (b) *Λαῖδᾶς*, (c) *Fίδων*, (d) *Πόλυβος*; 78g with (a) and (e) *Διότι*, (b) *Διδών*, (c) *Δάμων*, (d) *Χάρων*, (f) *Fιότι*, and probably (h) *Βάλιος*; COR 81Af with (a) *Διότι*, (b) *Fιότι*, (c) *Δορδοί*, etc.; COR 85f with (a) *Δορδοί*, (b) *Εὐμαχος*, etc.; COR 103b with (a) *Βιδών* and (c) *Fάχας*, two slightly unusual throwaway names (see ad loc.). On COR 79 *Ξάνθος* is perfectly legible, but the other names and the actual character of the departure scene are not wholly clear. The same is true for COR 90 with three horse-names (no photograph or drawing available): while (a) is undoubtedly *Ξάνθος*, the other two names are unclear ((c) may be *Qύλλαρος*] (see below), and (b) may perhaps be taken to read [*Π*]όδαργος (see ad loc.)).

The horse-name *Αἰθών* (see above) is again attested on COR 16c (a pseudo-heroic scene; see §472).

A very special horse-name is COR 27d Ἀσόβας, which—as mentioned above—occurs beside (e) *Ξάνθος* in a scene with Achilles and Troilos. It may have a literary origin.

On COR 68 a very careless writer used the names (i) *Λεῦρο*(ς) and (j) *Γ(λ)αῦρος* for a couple of the horses in a pseudo-heroic scene; of these the first is also used for the horse COR 79Aa *Λεῦρος* (heroic). The adjective *λεύκιππος*, typical of lyric poetry and also frequent as a human name, testifies to the popularity of horses of this colour, and *Γλαῦρος*, too, is an unexceptionable name for a horse ('gleaming, shining grey'). Also on COR 68, there are the horse labels (b) [*Eῦ*]ρυνέδων (semantically odd, more fit for a human, and probably of the semi-throwaway type, like (k) *Εὐρύλοχος*; see §237), (c) *ήπι(π)ος* (i.e. the generic noun), (d) *Δαμ[. . .]* (something like 'the tamed one?'), and (e) *Fίδων* (a human throwaway name). The selection of such a curious name as *Fίδων* for a horse may be compared with the equally odd choice of (d) *Διδών* on COR 83ter, which appears with three other horses, all labelled *Λάλας* (a)–(c), a strange name also used of humans on COR 83 and 83bis (see ad loc.).

On COR 86 the two labelled horses have very special names: (a) *Μελάνας* (also used of a warrior, COR 114f) and (c) *Εὐφορβος*; their charioteer is (b) *Διονύσιος*.

On COR 74, in a clearly heroic scene, there is a horse labelled (h) *Harματίδᾶς*; it seems doubtful that this (speaking) name is borrowed from an archaic epic poem (see §§239 f.), even though it has a dactylic structure.

The horse-name *Qόραξ* is attested twice: COR 102i in a pseudo-heroic boar-hunt (see ad loc. with §473), and COR 70f (written -ξς) in a mixed Trojan scene together with (i) *Ξάνθος* (see above).

*Qύλλαρος* is used for COR 87b/e, two of the horses of a *quadriga* in a probably pseudo-heroic scene, together with (c) *Φοίτων* and (d) *Λυσίπολις*; the latter name is most unusual for a horse, though not inconceivable, and we may wonder where it is taken from (see §509).

<sup>872</sup> See e.g. Stoessl (1987: 116), who speaks of 'ein Stammesgegensatz, wie er zwischen dem dorischem Adel und den nichtdorischem Massen die Entwicklung in den nordpeloponnesischen Städten weitgehend mitbestimmt' (with bibl. n. 125).

<sup>873</sup> For a collective label for horses see §401.

Again, of the horse-names (a) *Πύρρος* and (b) *Ταχύδρο[μος]* on the pinax COP 79 with a non-heroic riding scene, the second one, at any rate, seems unfamiliar.

On COR 107 in a pseudo-heroic battle scene there is (e) *Qρούπιος*, attested elsewhere only on a Chalcidian vase (see below).

Particularly choice is the mare's name COR 24f *Πολυπένθα*, which seems to be an epic borrowing (see §509); this is also suggested by the unusual occurrence of the feminine gender for a horse-name (see §439).

It is typical of the Chalcidian Inscription P. to use horse-names that are also known from Corinthian vase-painting (see §259), viz. CHA 3h *Ξάνθος* and (i) *Qρόπιος*. However, two other horse-names on his vases, both of uncertain reading, cannot be paralleled: CHA 6c *[Δρό?]μος* (see COP 79b, above), and—probably feminine—CHA 17a *[Ο]ρθίε (?)* (the vase is lost; see ad loc. and §465).

Other horse-names of unclear interpretation are COR 14f *Ποδ . . . ος* (Podargos, as, perhaps, in COR 90b (above), seems not to be a possible reading here) and COP 80 *[. . .]σος*.

## Special Discussion of Some Heroic Names

### §245. *Aineias*

Aineias' name is attested on the following vases: COR 15, 30g, 44d, 44Ab, 60c, 76d *Αἰνέας*; CHA 4g *Αἰνέες*; DOC 1a *Αἰνίās*.

The unvarying spelling with <ε> in Corinth may have two interpretations, viz. *Αἰνέās* or *Αἰνέās*. As we cannot prove that the widespread process, 'vocalis ante vocalem corripitur', either was valid, or had ceased to be so, in Corinth at the time of our vases (see §221), we cannot look for help from that source. On the other hand, we may derive an argument from the etymology of the name. *Αἰνέās* (as well as *Αἰνείος*, see Bechtel, p. 28) is likely to be built on the *s*-stem of the noun *\*aine<sup>h</sup>-*. In Homer the normal (and no doubt traditional) scansion of Aineias' name, written *Αἰνέās*, is — — —, which makes the formation *\*Ainē<sup>h</sup>-iās* the most likely.<sup>874</sup> However, *Il.* 13. 541 *Αἰνέās*, counted — —, shows that, in the Ionic dialect of the time, what was left of the resulting diphthong [ei] was a short [ē] (for this process see §221). The rendering <ει> of the epic form could therefore indicate the diphthong. But it could also reflect metrical (re-)lengthening of the [e],<sup>875</sup> as is the case with *Ἑρμείας*, where an originally short vowel in the middle syllable is apparent from *Il.* 5. 390 *Ἑρμείαι* (*vocali ante vocalem correpta*; for the etymology of Hermes' name see §253). In Corinth, for the diphthong [ei] we would expect the letter *ϕ*, i.e. *\*Αἰνέās*. But it is always *β* that is used, and since *\*Ainē<sup>h</sup>-* is not a plausible formation, the [e] in our name must be short, i.e. the diphthong is reduced, and the name must have the

non-epic scansion *Αἰνέās*. The same is true for CHA 4g *Αἰνέες*, and probably for the non-heroic name COR 18b *Μεν(ν?)έās* (see ad locc.).<sup>876</sup>

A special form is DOC 1a *Αἰνίās*. This is in line with the tendency of the Lakonian colonies in Italy (see Thumb—Kieckers, p. 96), and indeed of Lakonia itself (ibid., pp. 82 f.), to close [ē] before back vowels, in particular [o], but also [a] (e.g. at Herakleia, DGE 62. 172 *τὰς συκίας* for *συκέας*). We have here an indirect indication that the [e] of Aineias' name was short in everyday speech when this change—later reversed under Koine influence (see Thumb—Kieckers, ibid.)—took place, i.e. as early as the colonization of Taras around 700.

### §246. *Amphitrite*

Amphitrite's name is well attested on Corinthian pinakes. The etymology of the name is unknown. Both Frisk and Chantraine (s.v. *Τρίτων*) suspect its *Ἀμφι-* to be due to a change by popular etymology. For metrical reasons this change would have to have already happened by the time of Homer (*Od.* 3. 91 etc.) and Hesiod (*Th.* 243 etc.), and therefore was probably much earlier. There are in fact several occurrences of the spelling *Ἀφι-* in our documents: viz. COP 5a *Ἀφι(τ)ρίτᾱ*, COP 37a *Ἀφιτρετᾱν* (acc.), COP 70b *Ἀφιτρί[τᾱ]*, Attic *Ἀφ[. . .]ε* (*ABV* 96. 14, uncertain), perhaps also *ARV* 21. 1 *Ἀδοφιτρίτᾱ*.<sup>877</sup> On the other hand, there is a greater number of pinakes which show a nasal-sign (<μ> or <ν>), namely COP 2C, 20, 44, 68, and 69A, as well as Attic *Ἀνφιτρίτᾱ* on the dinos by Sophilos (Immerwahr, no. 65, and *ARV* 459. 3; Threatte, p. 594). It is therefore not certain whether our *Ἀφι-* forms are a case of loss of a nasal before a stop, which is the received view (see §201),<sup>878</sup> or, by contrast, an old form which was locally preserved.<sup>879</sup> Not infrequently, the nasal is rendered <ν>, for which see §114.

The third vowel is always long in metrical texts (also the equivalent vowel in Triton, Hes. *Th.* 931, fr. 343. 12 M–W). The normal rendering on Attic vases (see above; also *[Τ]ρίτῶννος* on an Attic rf. vase<sup>880</sup>) and on our pinakes is clearly <ι>: therefore the unusual *ε* in COP 37a *Ἀ(μ)φιτρετᾱν* (acc.)—although the earliest of those pieces that can be more or less accurately dated—is more likely to be the earliest 'wrong' spelling for an old [ī] (see §219)

<sup>876</sup> Another name of this type from the epic context, *Αἰνείας* (for whom Herakles performed one of his labours), is derived from an *s*-stem *\*auge<sup>h</sup>-* (see Bechtel, pp. 88 f.; Chantraine, s.v. *αἰγυή*).

<sup>877</sup> Immerwahr, no. 384. Threatte (p. 487) considers the omicron 'a false start for *φ*' (following Kretschmer, p. 163). But if this was a 'start', what was 'false' about it? In other words: why should a writer leave unfinished a letter that he has correctly begun and start it again? Should we therefore assume a kind of *u*-diphthong [au] instead of [am], i.e. an occasional pronunciation [aup<sup>h</sup>i] by dissimilation of the labial element against the one in the [p<sup>h</sup>]?

<sup>878</sup> See Lejeune, §§143, 333; Kretschmer, p. 41, §23; id., pp. 161–6, §142; Threatte, pp. 485–8. The claim that in the hexameter COP 5 the first syllable should be long is not decisive, see §222.

<sup>879</sup> If this is true, the [m] of *Ἀμφι-* would then owe its existence to popular etymology, since the preposition must always have had an [m] in Greek ('Lex Rix', see e.g. Mayrhofer (1986), 129 f.).

<sup>880</sup> Berlin F 1906, not in *ARV*. Kretschmer, p. 174; Threatte, p. 533.

<sup>874</sup> Hypocoristics in *-ās* are rare, and as a formation *\*Ainē<sup>h</sup>-ās* is impossible because of its non-existent basic stem, we should have to start from the basis *\*Aimē<sup>h</sup>-ās*, assuming constant metrical lengthening of the middle syllable, also in the dat. and voc. cases, where a scansion *-~~* would have been possible.

<sup>875</sup> This will be responsible for the Attic spellings CEG 62 *Αἰνέω* and CEG 65 *[Α]ἰνέαι*, both scanned — —.



than an indication of a different origin (e.g. an old [ei] or [ē] + [ē]) of this name; moreover, in Mycenaean there is *ti-ri-to*, which may reflect *Τρίτων* and would show an original [i].

### §247. *Athena*

Athena's name is attested a few times on our vases. In Boiotia we have BOI 15*d* *Ἀθᾶνᾶ* and 17*d* *Ἀθᾶν(ᾶ)* (see ad loc.). The same short form is that used on the Corinthian vases, viz. COR 6*b*, 28*Ag*, 45*a* *Ἀθᾶνᾶ* (probably also 19*b* [*Ἀθᾶν*]ᾶ and 91*a* *Ἀθᾶ[νᾶ]*).

On the other hand, on Ionic vases only the longer form is attested, viz. CHA 2*a* and 9*a* *Ἀθῆναίῃ* (no doubt also CHA 9*f* *Ἀθῆν[αίῃ]*), IOI 2*i* *Ἀθῆνάη* (see ad loc.), IOD 5*C* *Ἀθηνάη[ι]* (see ad loc.). On Attic vases, too, this is the form of the goddess's name: Immerwahr (p. 204) lists twenty-five occurrences,<sup>881</sup> mostly *Ἀθῆναίᾶ*,<sup>882</sup> but, in the fifth century, also *Ἀθῆνάᾶ* and *Ἀθῆνᾶ*,<sup>883</sup> for the short form there is a single attestation, which—not surprisingly—is in non-Attic dialect: *Ἀθᾶνᾶ*.<sup>884</sup>

We should therefore pay careful attention to the long form in non-Ionic contexts. On PCO 2, a highly archaic vase in Corinthian style but inscribed in non-Corinthian letters, the long form (*b*) *Ἀθᾶναίᾶ* will be due to a non-Corinthian artist (see ad loc.), whose origin, however, is unknown. The same seems to be the case with COP 44*b* *Ἀθ(ῆ?)ναί[ι]ᾶ* and 59 *Ἀθῆν[αί]ᾶς ἐμί*, whose writers may have been Athenians (see ad loc.). And on COP 77, the long form (*c*) *Ἀθᾶναέᾶ*—together with (*a*) *Τεῦ[ρο]πος*, (*b*) [*Σ*]θῆνελος, (*d*) Διο[μῆδε]ς, and (*e*) [*Π*άνδα]ρος—may be justified by the epic background of the scene (see §503). It is particularly noteworthy that in archaic Sparta the long name seems always to have been used (see n. 488 to the introd. to Pt. I. 8 above (LAK)). And should we see our DOH 3*b* *Ἀθᾶναίᾶ* (Rhodes) in a related context?

The short name must be very old (see Myc. *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, at Knossos). The longer one is a secondary derivative. In Homer both forms occur, but the short name is more frequent (*Iliad*, 104 : 56), and is used in a more formulaic way.<sup>885</sup> The reason for the distribution may be found in the meaning of the longer form. It can hardly be 'of Athena', which makes no sense—even in the (rare) expression *Παλλᾶς Ἀθηνάη*. Therefore it must be 'Athenian', i.e. 'of Athens'. It seems natural that the Athenians should claim the goddess as theirs. And it is most interesting that other Ionians, including those who must have emigrated to the East about 1000 BC, behaved as if they were Athenians in this respect. As for the Spartan (and the Rhodian?) *Ἀθᾶναίᾶ*, we should perhaps consider it a pre-Doric form (like *Ποιοιδᾶνι*, see n. 917)

<sup>881</sup> In three more, viz. his nos. 362, 772, 789, the form is not clear, since the end is broken off.

<sup>882</sup> The earliest is *ABV* 5. 4 by the Nettos P. (*LSAG* 76. 6*b*; Immerwahr, no. 57).

<sup>883</sup> The latter form on his nos. 366, 440, 690; in Ionic script, no. 782 with *Ἀθηνᾶ*.

<sup>884</sup> *ARV* 1187. 32 (Immerwahr, no. 781), also *Ἐρμᾶς*; see also *Ἀπέλλων* and *Ἄρταμος* on *ARV* *ibid.* 33 by the same painter.

<sup>885</sup> In both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* it occurs almost always at line-end (often preceded by *Παλλᾶς* or *γλαυκῶπις*).

of Athenian-Mycenaean origin. It would be worth while to examine the situation in archaic times all over the Greek world.<sup>886</sup>

### §248. *Chiron*

Chiron's name occurs twice on our vases, COR 46*Bb* and ETR 1*c*. The myth of Chiron as Achilles' teacher is first told directly in Hes. fr. 204. 87–9 M–W, but it must have been included at the beginning of the *Cypria* (Chiron occurs in fr. 3 *PEG*, *EGF*), and is implied at *Il.* 11. 831 f., where it is said that Achilles learnt medicine from Chiron. That Chariklo was Chiron's wife already in the epic period, as on COR 46*B* with (*a*) *Χαριφλόη*,<sup>887</sup> is implied by Hes. fr. 42 M–W, where she is referred to simply as *Ναίς*. Both Chiron and Chariklo take part in the procession at Peleus and Thetis' wedding on the newly discovered dinos by Sophilos, and also on the François Vase,<sup>888</sup> where the names are written *Χαριφλόη* and *Χίρῶν*.

*Χίρῶν* is written not with an *ε*-sign but with a single iota on both COR 46*B* and ETR 1. On all the Attic vases known to Kretschmer in 1894 (see Kretschmer, pp. 131 f.), including the François Vase just mentioned, the name is written *Χίρῶν*; there is also one *Χήρῶν*, *IG* xii/3. 360 from Thera (7th/6th cent.?). Therefore Kretschmer thought that [ī] was original. In addition to these attestations and the later one on ETR 1, which were known to Kretschmer, we now have our Corinthian one, which is probably the oldest direct attestation of the name, and the dinos by Sophilos. They all suggest that [ī] is original. Nevertheless, Kretschmer (1920: 58–62) was led to change his opinion. In view of the new evidence, we have to reconsider whether this was justified.

The only archaic attestation not having single <ι> is an Attic late-bf. amphora by the Diosphos P., cited by Kretschmer,<sup>889</sup> with *Πελέους* handing over little Achilles to *Χέρῶν* (on the reverse are nonsense inscriptions). It is dated to the early fifth century and is therefore almost a century younger than the François Vase, the Sophilos dinos, and our Corinthian piece. Now, Kretschmer reports two possible etymological connections for our name, both already considered in antiquity: namely with *χείρ* 'hand' (*Isid. Orig.* 4. 9. 12, because of Chiron's handiness), and with *χέρων* 'lesser, worse' (*Etym. Magn.* 810. 37; not very appropriate for Chiron, but not too bad for his wild companions). The Attic form with <ε> would therefore be easily explicable on the basis of either one of these etymologies.

<sup>886</sup> The attestations of Athena's name in metrical inscs. (which unlike the others are easily accessible) would have to be treated separately, since (as already noted) in the epic tradition both forms of the name were equally possible (the longer one no doubt from some Ionic source), and this might obscure the picture. On the prehistory of the Ionians, see also Trümper (1997), 10–38 (§§5–33), 284–9 (§§230–2).

<sup>887</sup> We may note the alliteration of the two names.

<sup>888</sup> Dinosaurs: *Para.* 19. 16*bis*; Immerwahr, no. 65; c.580–570. François Vase: *ABV* 76. 1; Immerwahr, no. 83; c.570.

<sup>889</sup> Kretschmer (1920), 60 n. 2. In 1894 he had not cited this vase, which was brought to his attention by Schulze (1896), 696. It is *LIMC* i, 'Achilleus' 34\* = *Add.*, 127. 123.

What caused Kretschmer to accept the etymological connection with  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho$  as genuine (the one with  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\upsilon$  is less satisfactory but equally possible) and to argue that the name was of the  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\omega\upsilon$  type (see Bechtel, p. 481), was  $\chi\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\upsilon$  of Alc. fr. 42. 9 L–P. This form is perfectly in line with the phonological representations of ‘hand’ and ‘lesser, worse’ in Lesbian, viz.  $\chi\epsilon\rho\rho$  (Alc. fr. 58. 21 L–P) etc. and  $\chi\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\upsilon$  (‘gramm.’ according to both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\upsilon$ ), from  $^*\chi\epsilon\sigma\rho-$ <sup>890</sup> and  $^*\chi\epsilon\rho j-$ , respectively—on the other hand, it is not easy to justify if the original form was  $^*X\acute{\iota}\rho-$  (or  $^*X\iota\sigma\rho-$ , or whatever). Yet both etymological connections create the problem of how we are to justify the early forms with  $<\iota>$ .<sup>891</sup> Indeed, this problem becomes more serious with our Corinthian form, even though in this dialect a close similarity between  $[\epsilon]$  and  $[\bar{\iota}]$  can be shown very early (see §219).

It is evident that both the above etymological connections for Chiron’s name were already perfectly possible at the time of the *Iliad*. Unquestionably, Chiron’s handiness is implied by several passages of the *Iliad*: his teaching Achilles medicine (*Il.* 11. 832  $\delta\upsilon\upsilon$   $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\upsilon$   $\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\acute{\xi}\epsilon$ ,  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{o}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon$ ), in a context in which an arrow is cut from a warrior’s thigh ( $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , so to speak); his giving Peleus the spear of Pelian ash (16. 143 f. = 19. 390 f.), which he must have manufactured too.<sup>892</sup> But, on the other hand, the very expression  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{o}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon$  applied to Chiron implies that for his fellow Centaurs the notion  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  (‘the lesser, meaner, less civilized’; see also  $\chi\epsilon\rho\eta\epsilon\varsigma$  with similar meaning) was appropriate, even though this was an etymology starting from a semantic opposite.

In Ionic,  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho$  and  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\upsilon$ , both with spurious diphthong, were  $[k^h\epsilon\bar{\iota}r-]$  in the epic period and therefore much closer to  $[k^h\bar{\iota}r-]$  than their equivalents in Lesbian. In view of the obvious familiarity of the early Lesbian poets with epic (see e.g. Sappho fr. 44 L–P), and the omnipresence of epic themes in archaic times, it is possible, and even likely, that  $\chi\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\upsilon$  was adapted to match the form of ‘hand’ in Lesbian because the epic poets had already made such a change (see §256 for another example of Lesbian adaptation to the Ionic epic language). If this suggestion is correct,  $\chi\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\upsilon$  is no longer an argument against  $\chi\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\upsilon$  being the original form. That this figure, who had next to nothing in common with the other Centaurs, but was the highly cultured teacher of Asklepios (*Il.* 4. 219) and the son of Kronos (Apollod. 1. 2. 4), had a non-Greek name which lent itself to popular etymology (as did the name of Asklepios), seems natural (for other cases of popular etymology in the epic sphere see §510).

<sup>890</sup> See Lejeune (§§120 n. 4 and 122) for a concise discussion of the etymological difficulties of  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho$  in Greek.

<sup>891</sup> The ‘parallels’,  $\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$  and  $\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  in Attic, cited by Kretschmer, are not comparable, since they can be—and usually are (Threatte, p. 194; Lejeune, §§152, 254)—explained by assimilation to the following  $[\iota]$ .

<sup>892</sup> Although in the *Iliad* he is not expressly Achilles’ universal teacher, this must have been so in the contemporary epic tradition (Hes. fr. 204. 87–9 M–W; he also taught Iason, *ibid.* fr. 40), and it is likely that the same early tradition made him responsible also for Achilles’ playing the harp (*Il.* 9. 186–9).

### §249. *Eos*

The name ‘Dawn’ is attested three times on our documents, all in the context of Memnon’s death: PCO 5a  $\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\varsigma}$ , CHA 5a  $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\varsigma}$ , PCH 1a  $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\varsigma}$ ; see also ad COR 80e for a possible Corinthian occurrence. As the basic form must have been  $^*aus\tilde{o}s$ , the initial  $[h]$  of Attic  $\epsilon\tilde{o}s$  is plausibly explained as the remains of the  $^*[h]$  ( $<^*[s]$ ), which was transposed to the beginning of the word (see §210). At Corinth, where  $[h]$  in the initial position is normally preserved (see §210), we may also expect such a  $[h]$ —all the more so since there is an attestation  $H\alpha[\tilde{o}]s$  in the Phokian dialect of Delphi (see ad COR 80e). But as we have no unequivocal Corinthian attestation of the form, we cannot check it.

The same is true for Chalcidian, where initial  $[h]$  is also invariably written. In CHA 5a, however, the only attestation of ‘Dawn’ on our Chalcidian vases, there is no aspiration. Therefore we may take this form as non-epichoric, viz. an epic borrowing (see §503), and should consequently assume a long first vowel (see ad loc.).

### §250. *Hektor*

Hektor’s name is frequently attested and poses several problems.

The first problem is its lack of initial aspiration in almost all Corinthian attestations, as well as in one Rhodian and one Chalcidian (see §§210, 503). The only example of the aspirated form, COR 60b  $H\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\rho$ , occurs on a vase which shows strong Attic influence as far as technique is concerned (see ad loc. and §261). The second problem is its middle consonant cluster which can show assimilation (see §212). In two examples, the name is miswritten.<sup>893</sup> The first is COR 68h, where the form  $K\epsilon\tau\omicron\rho$  is a wrong correction from  $^*E\tau(\tau)\omicron\rho$  (see §212). The second is COR 10b  $E\alpha\omicron\rho$ , which is unquestionably wrong and must be the work of an illiterate writer. This mistake cannot be explained as the product of writing from memory and is more likely to be a copying error. The model could have been  $B\kappa\tau\omicron\rho$  or  $B\eta\tau\omicron\rho$  written like this:

$B\kappa\tau\omicron\rho$  or  $B\eta\tau\omicron\rho$

### §251. *Helene*

In her homeland of Lakonia, Helene’s name had an initial digamma; see the two seventh-century dedicatory inscriptions from the Menelaion at Sparta (Catling–Cavanagh (1976)): one is in prose,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$   $F\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tilde{\alpha}\iota$ , and one is a hexameter,  $\Delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\iota[s]$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\theta\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon$   $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho[\iota]\nu$   $F\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tilde{\alpha}\iota$   $M\epsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\omicron}$ .<sup>894</sup> See also fr. adesp. 1011a

<sup>893</sup> Lorber’s remark (p. 21 n. 119), ‘Der Name Hektor wird öfter verschrieben’, is exaggerated.

<sup>894</sup> The second inscr. was recognized as a hexameter by A. Morpurgo Davies, see Catling–Cavanagh (1976: 152), who are surely too sceptical. Nobody seems to have taken any further notice of this possibility (see the bibl. in SEG 26. 457 and LSAG 446. 3a; the inscr. is not in CEG). A point in favour of a metrical line is the absence of the article, in contrast to its inclusion in the other inscr. (we should expect  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$   $F$ .  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$   $M$ . in a prose inscr.). Moreover, the uncontracted gen. form with written digamma (instead of  $M\epsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\tilde{\alpha}$ ) may be a poetic archaism (as in Corinth, see §506), although in view of the antiquity of the inscr. we cannot be certain about this point.

PMG (fr. <sup>oo</sup> 290 in Calame (1983)) with *Ἡελέναν* (the traditional attribution of this fr. to Alcman should now be taken very seriously; who else would be more likely to have used the indigenous Lakonian form?). Now, both the Corinthian attestations, COR 24d *Ἡελέναν* and 76c *Ἡελέναν*, and possibly also the Chalcidian one, CHA 15a *Ἡελέναν* (see §§206, 259), should have an initial digamma as in Lakonian. The name with an initial *H-*, at least in Corinth, cannot therefore be the indigenous form; see §504.

The form without digamma but with initial aspiration is also attested on an ‘Argive’ shield-band from Olympia with *ἩἩἩἩἩἩ* and *ἩἩἩἩἩἩἩἩ*, and in the epic context too (L. Kahil, *LIMC* iv, ‘Helene’ 69a\*).<sup>895</sup> In Etruscan, Helene’s name is normally unaspirated *Elina* (see n. 760); it never has an initial [w] either.

### §252. *Herakles and Iolaos*

The names of Herakles and his companion both share similar problems. In the case of the former, we may note the contraction after the loss of intervocalic [w] in the second element (see §§208, 506; for BOI 15c see §503), the mistakes in COR 32a *ἩἩρα(κ)λῆς* and CHA 19 *ἩἩρα{ρα}κλ[ῆ]ς* (see §112), and the genitive COR 19a *ἩἩρακλέος* (see §221). Iolaos always shows initial digamma in Corinthian and Lakonian (see §§206, 504) and fluctuates in its second element between the contracted form and the uncontracted one (which is unexpected at the time of our documents, see §506).

### §253. *Hermes*

The name of Hermes occurs on our vases in the following forms: BOI 17b *ἩἩρμῆ[ς]*, COR 28Ak *ἩἩρμῆς*, IOI 2h *ἩἩρμῆς*, DOH 3b *ἩἩρμῆς*. In addition we have the man’s name COR 92e *Ἡ(ε)ρμαῖος*, the special vocative COR Gr 26(1) *ἩἩρμῆν* (see ad loc.), and a Boiotian graffito (see ad BOI 1 and BOI 4C) with the human name *ἩἩρμαῖαι* (dat.).<sup>896</sup> Also important in this context is a newly found Apulian volute-krater (c. 340; nearly contemporary with the Darius P.) with (d) *ἩἩρμῆς* alongside (a) *ἩἩκάτῃ* and (c) *ἩἩιδῆς* (both with initial Ἡ).<sup>897</sup>

There are two main problems with this name: (1) the absence of initial aspiration in dialects for which we have good reason to believe that this sound was still clearly pronounced (see also §210), and (2) the formation of the name. We must briefly reconsider the second problem in order to find a solution for the first.

The original form of the name is reconstructed as *\*Hermāhās* (see Chantraine, s.v.) on the basis of the following observations. From Homer’s *ἩἩρμείας* and Hesiod’s *ἩἩρμείης* (*Op.* 68 *ἩἩρμείην*, fr. 66. M–W *ἩἩρμείην*) we see that the original form must have

been trisyllabic, scanned ——. The non-Ionic-Attic forms *ἩἩρμῆς* etc., as well as the derivatives like *Ἡ(ε)ρμαῖος*, show that we must reconstruct *\*Herma-* not *\*Herme-*; and the Ionic [e] (also reflected in the epic <ει>) where other dialects have an [a] shows that this [a] was long: *\*Hermā-*. Given this, it is unlikely that we have to start from a form with intervocalic [j], i.e. *\*Hermājās*, since in view of *\*Athānājā > Ἀθῆναίᾱ > Ἀθῆνᾱ*, we should then expect Attic *\*ἩἩρμῆς*. The normal form on Attic vases, however, is *ἩἩρμῆς*.<sup>898</sup> Therefore the uncontracted form in Ionic and Attic must once have been in *\*-ēēs* (one Attic bf. vase may in fact preserve it<sup>899</sup>), and the pre-Ionic-Attic form in *\*-āās* without a *-j-*; while the hiatus is only plausible if we accept an earlier intervocalic [h] < [s], i.e. *\*Hermā<sup>h</sup>ās*. This original form has often—although not unanimously—been suspected in Mycenaean *e-ma-a*.

We may now return to the unstable initial aspiration. The easiest explanation is to assume some kind of assimilation or dissimilation prompted by the intervocalic [h]. Yet the etymology of the root is not clear,<sup>900</sup> and we cannot decide whether the initial aspiration was original and could be dissimilated or was only due to anticipation of internal [h] (see §210).

It seems impossible to attribute aspirated and unaspirated forms to particular dialectal groups. Even within Corinthian we have both variants, and while the unaspirated form is very rare in the Greek world, the aspirated one is widespread and frequent; we may assume that the aspirated form, which was normal in Attic and later prevailed, was already taking over, slowly causing the unaspirated *ἩἩρμ-* to disappear.

The Boiotian form BOI 17b *ἩἩρμῆ[ς]* is surprising, since in this dialect we would definitely expect *ἩἩρμα-* or *ἩἩρμα-* (see e.g. *DGE* 477, 5th cent.). We shall have to assume foreign, for instance Attic, influence, which, however, is not visible in (d) *Ἀθῆν(ᾱ)*. The vase is a very special case anyway (see ad loc.).

### §254. *Odysseus*

The name of Odysseus was discussed by Brommer (1982/3), who collected the evidence but did not offer a linguistic analysis. The following seven forms are attested on our vases: one Boiotian, BOI 18a *Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς*; four Corinthian, COR 12j *Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς*, 23b *[Ὀδυσ(σ)]εύς*,<sup>901</sup> 74b *Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς*, 88a *Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς*; and two Chalcidian, CHA 3Ac *Ὀδυσ(σ?)εύς* and 8k *Ὀδυσ(σ?)εύ[ς]* (both by the same painter).

The situation is now different from that which prevailed at the time of Brommer’s article. (1) The earlier readings of COR 12j

<sup>898</sup> As on the dinos by Sophilos (*Para.* 19. 16bis; Immerwahr, no. 65), as early as c. 580–570 BC.

<sup>899</sup> A hydria of the late 6th cent. (Basle BS 498 by the Antimenes P.: *Para.* 119. 35bis; *LIMC* ii, ‘Apollon’ 884\*, iv, ‘Helikaon’ 1 and ‘Eurypylos’ i. 1). On this piece, however, a predilection for uncontracted forms can be observed, which in one case led to an artificial doubling of the last vowel: *Νεοππτόλεμο{ο}ς*. The inscs. are *Ἀπόλλων*, *Ἡελικάων*, *Ἰο[.]ς*, *Νεοππτόλεμο{ο}ς*, *Εὐρύπυλος*; *ἩἩρμῆς*, *Ἀθῆνᾱ*, *Ἡ(Ἡ)ρακλέης* (with A.W.), and *Ἀρῆ[ς]*.

<sup>900</sup> Nor is that of *ἩἩρμα* (see Chantraine, s.v.), from which the name is often derived (this may, however, be a case of popular etymology; see §510).

<sup>901</sup> For the lack of the final [s] see §204.

<sup>895</sup> Kahil writes that these inscs. are ‘en alphabet argivo-corinthien’, which is incorrect. Some are in Argive (e.g. the one in the Getty Museum, cited ad COR 123 with n. 389), others—such as this—in plain Corinthian (see §210).

<sup>896</sup> Less important are NAU 1D *ἩἩρμόμανδρος*, NAU 17k *[ἩἩρ?]μόλω[ς]* (?), NAU 1Lg *ἩἩρμογέν[ης]* (the reading *ἩἩρμῶ* was probably wrong, see ad loc.), and IOD 4 *Νῆκησερμος*.

<sup>897</sup> Berlin 1984. 40. See Giuliani (1988), 13–15 with ph., and the col. ph. in *ArchKal* 17–30 Sept. 1990. The other names are (b) *Φερσεφόνα* and (c) *Δῆμᾶτηρ*.

with delta and/or upsilon can be discarded once and for all: the text has the normal Corinthian form of the name.<sup>902</sup> (2) The Corinthian woman's name COR 81d which had been read as Ὀλυτ(τ)όι (and was still accepted by Brommer) cannot be used as evidence, although I could not establish a certain reading: Ὀλ[. ?]τόι (perhaps Qλ[v]τόι?). The form Ὀλυτ(τ)όι was also implausible because in Corinthian [ss] is expected in these cases, not [tt] as in Attic (see §213). We may now accept Ὀλυσεύς as the standard spelling of the only form of the name Odysseus in Corinthian.

When we turn to the history of the name Odysseus, we observe three points of alternation: (1) <λ> as opposed to <δ>; (2) <σ(σ)> as opposed to <τ(τ)>; (3) <σσ> as opposed to <σ>. The main facts to emerge from Brommer's article is that on vases Ὀλ- is earlier than Ὀδ-, and in Attic <τ(τ)> is earlier than <σ(σ)>.<sup>903</sup> Although this was already a widely accepted view,<sup>904</sup> his collection of the evidence is very useful. On the other hand, his classification of the material is not ideal, since he puts too much emphasis on the difference between <σσ/ττ> on the one hand and <σ/τ> on the other. Although only a minority of the Attic, and none of our non-Attic occurrences, shows a geminate in spelling, the name must have contained a long consonant (a 'geminate') for etymological reasons; for an internal Attic <τ> corresponding to an <σ> of other dialects can only represent a long [tt] (corresponding to [ss] elsewhere, e.g. in the alternation φυλάττω/φυλάσσω).<sup>905</sup> If therefore a single consonant sign is written, we may in most σ cases and in all τ cases just assume single spelling of a long consonant; this phenomenon is so common that we can hardly ever argue for a phonological difference.

It is true that in epic language the name is spelled and scanned sometimes with a long, sometimes with a short consonant (we are dealing only with [ss]/[s] here). In the *Iliad*, the long consonant is particularly frequent in the formulaic use of the nominative at line-end (c.50 times), and also, though rarely, occurs in the genitive, dative, or accusative (10 times). The short-consonant form is more frequent in the oblique cases, less frequent in the nominative, and its use is clearly less formulaic. The situation in the *Odyssey* is similar. This suggests that the form with the long consonant is older. What was the reason for the short form? The prosodic structure of the name cannot be made responsible, since — created no particular difficulties.

<sup>902</sup> I can personally confirm A. Pasquier's reading (see ad loc.), which was rightly accepted by Brommer (1982/3), 89 n. 3.

<sup>903</sup> In his list of Attic occurrences I count 12 forms with <τ(τ)> against 7 with <σ(σ)>; 13 with <λ> against 6 with <δ>—the ones with <τ(τ)> and <λ> being clearly older.

<sup>904</sup> Kretschmer, pp. 147 f. See also Kretschmer (1896), 280–2; Frisk, s.v.; Chantraine, s.v. ('A date ancienne la forme avec δ ne semble pas attestée hors des textes littéraires').

<sup>905</sup> Even if we do not consider [tt] a genuine form that could go back to the same source as [ss], but think of it as a 'hyperatticism', such a change would only have been possible if the foreign name to be transformed had a geminate. But, as explained above (§213), this possibility, which is no more than an *ad hoc* assumption, is quite unlikely.

Risch (1947: 82–6), taking up an earlier theory,<sup>906</sup> showed that in Homer (*Od.* 19. 407–9, 1. 62, 5. 340) this name was already connected by popular etymology with the epic verb ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι, the σ-aorist of a rare present ὀδύεσθαι,<sup>907</sup> and this yields a perfect explanation for the alternation between [l] and [d], if [l] was—as the inscriptions suggest—the original consonant (no explanation is available for the opposite development). The verb in question has as its normal aorist ὀδυσάμην (with metrical lengthening of the first or second syllable as necessary: in the latter case always with <σσ>), and we have reason to believe that the form with short [s] is original here, while the [ss] is likely to be secondary (the stem is ὀδυσ-; see both Chantraine and Frisk, s.v.). Therefore the short [s] of the form Ὀδυσσεύς, which already owes its [d] to the verb, is probably also secondary<sup>908</sup> and due to the verb; whereas the verb in its turn owes to the name its metrically advantageous variant with [ss] (instead of the lengthened vowel that would be normal).

If this explanation of the [d] and [s] by popular etymology (see §510) is correct, we can be certain that no form with a short [t] ever existed, although this is one of those claims that we can never prove. For the same reason we may take a single <σ> to represent long [ss] in the forms which have retained the [l] and therefore cannot be said to show the influence of the verb ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι.

Apart from the question of the [d] : [l], [ss] : [tt], and [ss] : [s], there is that of the second vowel. Here it is more difficult to find an explanation. We should not simply take the [i] of Corinthian as primary and therefore assume that the epic form does not preserve the original vowel but, instead, owes its [u] to the same popular etymology as its [d]; for we may be somewhat reluctant to believe that an original form Ὀλυσσεύς would have been connected with ὀδύσασθαι at all. And more importantly, the consistent [u] in the Attic form cannot be asserted to be secondary in view of its non-epic [l] and [tt]. On the other hand, we may be confident that the Corinthians, too, used an old and correct form of Odysseus' name in view of the fact that they had close connections with the hero's homeland (see also §107). Indeed, their reluctance to take over the form used in the East Ionic epic (though they accepted other such names, see §503) seems to suggest that they thought they knew better and that they had their own tradition about the famous king of Ithaka. As there is no real etymology of this name, we have to consider the possibility of a non-Greek origin and may therefore attribute the vowel alternation to different borrowings of the name by different Greeks.<sup>909</sup> In this connection similar phenomena come to mind, notably the frequent element -ινθος/-ινθος (e.g. the actual place-name Κόρινθος as opposed to the ethnic DOC 3 Κορινθίος; see ad

<sup>906</sup> See e.g. Kretschmer (1896), 280–2; Schwyzler, p. 5.

<sup>907</sup> Attested only in οὐδύεταυ ἐρίζει (Hsch.), obviously a metrical form (Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι).

<sup>908</sup> See Chantraine (1942), 110.

<sup>909</sup> We should not try to explain it by an alleged [y] pronunciation of earlier [u] in Corinth. In view of the many instances of [u] written <υ>, this would be an *ad hoc* explanation, and a circular one too (see §217).

loc.).<sup>910</sup> Admittedly the non-Greek origin of the name may also be made responsible for the alternation [d] : [l] in this name;<sup>911</sup> but in view of the discrepancy between 'Οδ- in the East Ionic epic language and 'Ολ- in Attic (which is also an Ionic dialect), we can hardly do without the epic popular etymology.

To sum up: (1) 'Ολυτ(τ)εύς is the proper Attic, 'Ολισ(σ)εύς the proper Corinthian form. (2) Both are likely to have a common, non-Greek origin in a form with an indistinct second vowel ([i], [u], [y]?) and an unknown consonant cluster, probably palatal (e.g. \*[kj], [k<sup>h</sup>j], [tj], [t<sup>h</sup>j], etc.). (3) The forms with [d] and short [s] are due to a connection by popular etymology with δδύσ(σ)ασθαι in the epic sphere. (4) The forms with <τ> and those with <λ> are likely to contain a geminate since they do not show the influence of this popular etymology.

We can further conclude that although the form with [d] is attested earlier (only in the epic texts, though, not in inscriptions), the one with [l] is older; and that wherever the name has a [d] this must be due to the direct or indirect influence of the language of the epic tradition, where this form is likely to have been first created.

The older an example with [d] is, the more interesting it is. By far the earliest, and (according to Brommer's list) the only one dating from the sixth century, used to be CHA 8k 'Οδυσ(σ?)εύ[ς] (c. 540); it is now duplicated in CHA 3Ac 'Οδυσ(σ?)εύς. Now, these vases are by the Inscription P., who often shows signs of a non-Ionic origin, for instance in the names CHA 8d Περφάτᾱς and 3Ab Φρῆσος on the selfsame vases. If our suggestion that he was a Corinthian is true (see §259), it is remarkable that in Odysseus' name he completely broke with the tradition so invariably maintained in Corinth. Maybe the form 'Ολισ(σ)εύς was just not acceptable to his new Ionic customers. What he actually writes is the epic form (which means that its [s] may be short, as explained above) and it can therefore be compared with his rendering of other names that can be argued to reflect literary language, e.g. CHA 1a Ἀντίεες and (i) 'Οφατίεες (see §504), 5a 'Εῶς (see §§249, 503). We cannot of course exclude the possibility that at some stage the form 'Οδυσσεύς became the generally accepted one (as it did later in the Koine), particularly in an Ionic city such as the one in which our painter must have worked.

Brommer (p. 90 with n. 6) observed that none of the Etruscan attestations of Odysseus' name, which mainly appears as *uθuze* (de Simone (1968), 124–6) and must therefore be derived from the epic form with [d], goes back to the archaic period; on the other hand, the Latin form *Ulixes* is the product of a completely

different tradition.<sup>912</sup> We cannot trace exactly where the Etruscan and Latin forms came from: suffice it to say that, while we may more safely claim a Greek epichoric source for the Latin borrowing, a source in art or literature must also be considered for the Etruscan form. This reminds us of Ariadne, the Minotaur, and Adrastus (see ad CHA 11c), for whose Etruscan names we have also found close cognates on Chalcidian vases (maybe also for Hektor, see §210 with n. 760); though on the other hand, these names had the same form in the Ionic-epic dialect. Whether we should assume a direct borrowing by the Etruscans from the epic language or one via visual art (e.g. Chalcidian), is difficult to decide. While the Etruscans' interest in Greek vases with their scenes from Greek myth is perfectly obvious, we still need to know more about their ability to understand Greek rhapsodes or to translate Greek epics from East Ionic into Etruscan.

BOI 18a 'Ολυσεύς is also remarkable, since in the Boiotian epichoric dialect we would expect [tt] in such a case (as noted above, §213). Similarly the combination of [l] and [ss] occurs in the name of a human donor, 'Ολυσσείδᾱς Καβίρῶ[ι], written in the plain Boiotian local alphabet at a date somewhat earlier than that of our vase.<sup>913</sup> These forms, as well as the few Attic instances of 'Ολυσ(σ)εύς of the fifth century,<sup>914</sup> must be a mixture of the epichoric form with [l] and the epic form with [ss] (see §503). It seems to have been acceptable to replace the peculiar Boiotian and Attic [tt] with the 'international' [ss], but less so to replace the [l] with the epic [d]. The form with [l] must have had a strong tradition in mainland Greece.

A short note on neo-analysis (see e.g. Schadewaldt (1951)) may be added. The popular connection of Odysseus' name with the notion of δδύσ(σ)ασθαι in the *Odyssey* does not at all fit our hero as we know him from the poem itself, where he is a sly, witty, and, on the whole, optimistic and cheerful character. It is true that he takes fierce revenge on the suitors when he returns home, but this appears to have been justified and 'hatred' is not named as one of his typical traits. Accordingly, the justification of his name by his grandfather (19. 407–9) sounds far-fetched, and the same is true for 1. 62 and 5. 340 where the word-play only becomes more or less plausible by making Odysseus the object rather than the subject of wrath and hatred (on the part of Zeus and Poseidon, respectively). It therefore seems unlikely to me that it was the poet of the *Odyssey* who invented this popular etymology. We should also note that the *Iliad*, where no such word-play occurs, already shows the secondary form of the name, although there is no sign of an Odysseus full of hatred, wrath, and cruelty in that epic either. But if we think of his atrocious revenge on Palamedes, whom he killed while he was peacefully fishing simply because Palamedes had exposed his trick of feigning madness

<sup>910</sup> This alternation can already be observed in Mycenaean, viz. *ko-ri-si-jo* /Korinsios/ and *ko-ri-to* /Korinthos/ in contrast to *za-ku-si-jo* /Zakunsios/ and *\*za-ku-to* /Zakunthos/. It may be tempting to connect Odysseus' name with δλυνθός 'wild fig' (also the place-name), but there is no plausible way of getting δλυσσ- and δλυττ- forms from δλυνθ-, as far as I can see.

<sup>911</sup> But there are very few likely examples; see e.g. Schwyzler, p. 333; Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. δάφνη (concerning Pamphylian Perge). A likely new instance is Myc. *da-pu-ri-to-jo* 'of the Labyrinth' (?), where, however, the second consonant is also a problem.

<sup>912</sup> I have stressed this elsewhere (1987: 174 f.).

<sup>913</sup> ΟΛΥΣΣΕΙΔΗΣΚΑΒΙΡΩ, Wolters-Bruns (1940), 51, no. 116. *IG* vii. 3659 ventures a restoration [ΙΙ]ολυ-, which is improbable. The inscr. was already known to Kretschmer (p. 147; for our BOI 18 see his *Addenda*, p. 228).

<sup>914</sup> See also Schulze (1896), 698, and Threatte, p. 484. For an example see ad COR 28Ac.

in order to avoid going to Troy (*Cypria*, fr. 20 *EGF* = 30 *PEG*), then he is much more the man we are looking for. This event will have been one of the first appearances of Odysseus in the Trojan Cycle and must have provided a suitable opportunity—much more appropriate than the one we know from the *Odyssey*—to insert a passage about the meaning of his name.

### §255. Poseidon

In our documents, Poseidon's name is attested many times on Corinthian pinakes, and once on a Corinthian vase.<sup>915</sup> Its normal form is *Ποτεῖδᾶν* (as on the vase COR 97 and *passim* on the pinakes). This agrees with the form of the name in the other dialects. In Attic, for instance, it is *Ποσειδῶν*, with an original diphthong<sup>916</sup> and assibilation mainly typical of Ionic, Attic, Arkadian, Cyprian, and Mycenaean. In epic, the same form is still uncontracted, viz. *Ποσειδᾶων*, which is also the Mycenaean form of the name, for example *po-se-da-o-ne* /Poseidāōnei/,<sup>917</sup> with the adjective *po-si-da-i-jo* (with short first [i], as still in the first millennium).

Occasionally, other renderings of the vowel of the second syllable occur in Corinthian: (1) <ei> (i.e. βξ) in COP 2*Ca* *Ποτεῖδᾶν*, COP 73*J* [*Ποτ*]ειδᾶ[ν], COP 73*K* [*Π*]οτεῖδ[ᾶν?], COP 23*b* [*Π*]οτεῖδ[ᾶ(ῑ)ν]; (2) <ei> (i.e. ξξ) in COP 38*Ba* *Ποτεῖδᾶν*; in (*Aa*) only *Ποτ*[. . .] survives; (3) <e> (i.e. β) in COP 8*b* *Ποτεῖδᾶ[ν(?)]*, COP 42*a*, COP 44*d*, COP 71 *Ποτεῖδᾶν*, COP 73*D* *Ποτεῖδᾶν*, COP 73*M* *Ποτεῖδᾶ[ν?]*; (4) <i> (i.e. ξ) in COP 73*L* *Ποτεῖδᾶ[ν]*, COP 2*A* *Ποτεῖδᾶῑν* (dactylic).<sup>918</sup> In none of these cases can we argue for a short vowel (even the <i> cases, which may seem to be due to the influence of the adjective (above), must have a long second vowel for metrical reasons).

The irregular spellings will be partly due to foreigners working at Corinth (see §261). The writer of COP 38*A–B* has a foreign-sounding name, *Ἰγρόν* (see ad loc.), and the same is true for the donor of COP 42: we would expect his name (*c*) *Ῥοθo*[. . .] to be *Ῥοθo* at Corinth (see §§206, 209). In the name of Athena on COP 44 (see ad loc.), (*b*) *Ἀθ(ε?)να[ί]ᾶ*, the missing vowel must be the result of A.W. and can only be plausibly supplied as an [e], thus providing a non-Corinthian form; this peculiarity and the use of the long form of the name (see §247) suggest an Athenian working at Corinth.

In most cases, however, additional clues to foreign influence are lacking, owing either to the fragmentary state of individual pinakes (esp. notable in COP 8, 23, and the five cases 73*D/J–M*)

or to the scantiness of the text (COP 71). It is remarkable that on two of the rare pieces with metrical inscriptions, Poseidon's name has an exceptional spelling, viz. COP 2*A* and 2*C* (both of these are fragmentary too). If we think in terms of foreigners, then the spellings with a digraph (βξ or ξξ) or a 'wrong' epsilon (β), i.e. the variants (1), (2), and (3) above, are easy to understand. The third would be a rendering of the monophthong that the writer, for instance an Athenian, could actually hear (see §219), with the equivalent of the sign he would use in his own dialect, i.e. the 'normal' epsilon (Attic ξ ~ Corinthian β, both mainly used for [ē] and [ē̄]). The digraph variants are even easier to understand as the rendering of the name by the same number of letters that all local scripts—other than Corinthian—would normally use;<sup>919</sup> the choice of 'normal' β or 'special' ξ is of no importance, since such a digraph was non-Corinthian anyway. Another reason that makes foreign influence particularly likely in these cases is that in the Corinthian dialect a diphthong [ei] had long been monophthongized, whence it is hardly imaginable that anyone working in Corinth would have wanted to render this product by means of a digraph, had he not been under some outside influence affecting the spelling, the pronunciation, or both.

Variant (4), the spelling with iota only, does not immediately point to foreign influence, since the spelling of the god's name with iota only was nowhere normal. From the metrical example, COP 2*A*, we know that the sound in question was pronounced long (see ad loc.). This is therefore a case where the opposition between the original long [ī] and the monophthong that had arisen from the diphthong [ei] had been almost, or even fully, lost (see §219). Still, this spelling, too, may be due to a foreigner who heard the vowel in question as an [ī] rather than an *e*-sound and wrote it as he heard it. This may apply to COP 73*L* on the reverse side of which there is a Palladion. In this connection, it is striking that in three of the eight cases in which we come across Athena on inscribed Corinthian pinakes, there are again hints of foreign influence: COP 73*L*, 44 (see above), and 59 with *Ἀθ(ε?)να[ί]ᾶ* *ἑμ'* (for the other cases, mostly fragmentary, see ad COP 63*a*).

Apart from the vowel of the second syllable, Poseidon's name on the pinakes presents only one other major problem, viz. the digamma in the uncontracted examples; see §506. For the contraction see §223.

No certain example of the short form *Ποτιδᾶς*,<sup>920</sup> attested for Doric,<sup>921</sup> occurs on our documents, the only possible (but by no means certain) one being COP 8*b* *Ποτεῖδᾶ[ν(?)]*.

<sup>915</sup> We need no general discussion of the etymology of Poseidon's name here; see Kretschmer (1909), 27 f., 383; Gschnitzer (1962); Ruijgh (1967); Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. I adopt the traditional 'Doric' accent (see Schwyzler, pp. 379 f., 384).

<sup>916</sup> e.g. on Sophilos' dinos of c.580–570: *Para.* 19. 16*bis*; Immerwahr, no. 65.

<sup>917</sup> The diphthong is also visible in the forms with [oi], probably owing to assimilation, viz. Arkadian *Ποσειδᾶνος* (gen., *DGE* 653), Lakonian *Ποσειδᾶνι* (dat., *DGE* 52. 1–4 (see also *LSAG* 201. 53 f. and *GD* 72 f.); [soi] probably borrowed from [pre-]Arkadian, a dialect with assibilation, before the Lakonian development [s] > [h]; see also Lejeune, §51 n. 8), and unexpected (mixed?) [*Π*]οτοιδᾶνι from Pergamon (dat., *LSAG* 362. 13 = *DGE* 642, 2nd q. 5th cent.?).

<sup>918</sup> Uncertain spellings are not listed here; see Index, p. 367.

<sup>919</sup> Arena (p. 106) cites an interesting exception, viz. *Ποσειδῶν* on an Attic kylix (*ARV* 173. 4, ph. *CVA* Italy, 30, pl. 75. 3) by the Ambrosios P. (end of the 6th cent., see Boardman (1975), 62), where the diphthong is clearly monophthongized too. The form is not found in Threatte.

<sup>920</sup> Considered 'une forme familière répondant aux sobriquets en -ās' by Chantraine, s.v. *Ποσειδῶν*.

<sup>921</sup> See Herodian. Gramm. iii/2. 917 with the frs.; Epich. fr. 81 *CGF*; Sophr. 131 *CGF*; and Eup. *Helotes* 149 *PCG* (this comedy, with its Lakonian subject, is likely to have been largely in Doric dialect).

§256. *Priamos*

The name of Priamos is attested as COR 70a and 79Ad Πρίαμος and COR 27a Πρέαμος. In Homer the first syllable is normally short (see e.g. *Il.* 1. 255, 3. 288). The fact that in the nominative, accusative, and dative, the form Πρῆαμδ- is never used, although in theory this would have been possible, shows that the short first syllable was indeed original and the long vowel of Πρίαμῆδης (e.g. *Il.* 2. 817, 8. 216) is due to metrical lengthening. The Lesbian form Πέρραμος, it is true, shows a different prosodic structure with a long first syllable, owing to a special sound-change in that dialect.<sup>922</sup> But in Sappho fr. 44 L–P the name has a short first syllable: Πέράμοιο. This is the epic prosodic structure of the name, and is well in line with the epic genitive ending and the epic theme of the poem, the wedding of Paris and Andromache (see also §248).<sup>923</sup> In view of all this, we would expect a short first vowel in Corinthian. If the Ε of COR 27a is correctly read it testifies to a possible opening of the [i] or a loss of opposition, rather than a long first syllable (see §219).

§257. *Troilos*

The name of Priamos' son Troilos is attested in the following forms on our vases: COR 27f Τρό. ιλος, 44a Τρόιλος, COR 51a Τρόειλος, and CHA 16a Τρ[ό]ειλος (see ad locc.). Of these, the first form is uncertain (and the vase on which it appears is in a very bad state: Τρόφιλος, Τρόξειλος, or Τρόειλος seem equally possible from an epigraphical point of view); the second and the third forms are clear, but the fourth one, again, is unfortunately unclear, though probably our reading is correct.

The name was discussed by Lejeune (1973: 203 f.), but only on the basis of the two instances in Athens (COR 27f and 51a). The earliest attestation of the name (besides uncertain Mycenaean forms) is *Il.* 24. 257 Τρώϊλος (I prefer Lejeune's accent on the first syllable); it was here scanned as a dactyl – √, i.e. with a hiatus between the [ō] and the [i]. Lejeune argued that in the first half of the first millennium [w] was the only sound that could be lost and leave such a hiatus, and he suggested that a form \*Τρωφίλος went well together with *Ψίφιος* and *Αἴφας* in Corinth. In a postscript, however, Lejeune reports a fresh autopsy of the two vases in Athens carried out by P. Amandry; the latter's findings made a digamma unlikely (obviously for both of them), but epsilon or <h> possible. In view of the short [i] in the name as used in Homer, Lejeune prefers the latter (i.e. Τρόχιλος).

Several objections can be raised. First, the report of the second autopsy by Amandry is unsatisfactory, since we are not told what he read in each case, and it is not made clear which type of epsilon he considered possible. Secondly, a heta for [h] in the intervocalic position is unheard of and should not be considered a solution for a dubious reading. Thirdly, Lejeune's justification of an alleged intervocalic digamma in our name, depending as it does on

examples of initial digamma (see §206) and digamma after [ai] diphthong (which seems to have been treated like a postconsonantal case, see §209), is itself problematic. For [w] in intervocalic position should not, properly speaking, be written in Corinthian of the time, and if it is, we have to find a special reason. Often we can argue for a reflection of poetic language. But we have here a name known exclusively from the Trojan Cycle and, since no other such name occurs with an intervocalic digamma on the Corinthian documents (see §506), it is more likely that the Corinthians did not receive Trojan names with this sound. A [w] is therefore unexpected in this name.<sup>924</sup>

Now, three of the four forms show an additional letter between the omicron and the iota; in one of these the letter is certainly an epsilon (Β in COR 51e), in the other two an ε-letter is possible (Β or Ε in COR 27f) or probable (Ε in CHA 16a). The Chalcidian vase seems to be the work of the Inscription P., who is likely to have been a Corinthian (see §259) and to have kept to certain traditional features of Corinthian vase-production. We may therefore reasonably assert that ΤΡΟΒΞΓΟΜ, i.e. Τροειλος, was the proper Corinthian spelling of the name, ΤΡΟΕΞΓΟΜ, i.e. Τροειλος, being perhaps an acceptable variant.

How is this form Τροειλος to be brought into agreement with the Homeric form and its dactylic scansion? The only reasonable solution seems to be to interpret the group <oe> as the representation of a diphthong, followed by the suffix -ιλο-, common in hypocoristic proper names (see e.g. Schwyzler, p. 485). The epsilon can be justified both by the tendency to open the second elements of diphthongs (see §225) and as an attempt to make it clear that there were two *i*-sounds, one belonging to the diphthong, and another following after a hiatus and forming a new syllable.

Several questions arise. (1) How do we explain the odd hiatus between the diphthong and the [i]? (2) Is the [o] long or short, i.e. do we have a long or a normal diphthong? (3) How can we justify the unusual spelling with <oe> in more than one form (if the readings are correct)?

The first question may find its explanation in a secondary development. It is evident that in antiquity Troilos' name was connected with the name of the city of Τροίη. The clearest piece of evidence is Plaut. *Bacch.* 953–5, 'Illo tria fuisse audivi fata quae illi forent exitio: signum ex arce si periisset, alterum etiamst Troili mors; tertium, cum portae Phrygiae limen superum scinderetur.' But the connection of the names of Troy and Troilos need not of course have been genuine; such connections are mostly due to popular etymology (see §510). Whatever the origin of the name, the possibility of a secondary analysis Τροι-ιλος can hardly be denied, particularly in view of the tendency in East Ionic to alternate between different spellings in such cases (prompted by different ways of pronunciation?); see the parallel of the Naukratite donor Zoilos (NAU 1G–H), whose name is spelled both Ζώιλος and Ζώυλος.

<sup>922</sup> See e.g. Lejeune, §138 n. 2.

<sup>923</sup> See Trümper (1986), 15–17. For Sappho's and Alcaeus' 'obsessive pre-occupation with the saga of Troy', see West (1988), 151 with n. 5.

<sup>924</sup> Also the Etruscan form *truile* (de Simone (1968), 120; *ETVs* S. 22, *OIG* 70) does not support a [w], although it is late (one instance 2nd cent., one undated).

For the second question we may consider the etymology of the name *Τροίη*, which is reasonably assumed to be a derivative in *-iā* from the ethnic *Τρώες*, with shortening of the [ō] before the suffix (see §221). If this is so, it would be natural for Troilos' name, too, to take the long vowel and be analysed as *Τρω-ιλος*. Originally or in the course of transmission, this form of the name was regularized (as *Τρώϊλος*) in the East Ionic epic tradition. It could also be the basis of the form *Τροιλος* on COR 44a and some Attic vases,<sup>925</sup> although we cannot exclude the possibility that these examples are simplified spellings of the *Τροι-ιλος* version, and even a pronunciation *Τρῶι-ιλος* cannot be ruled out. At any rate, this interpretation seems to reflect one way in which the name of the prince was widely understood in the epic sphere.

As for the third question, the possibly regularized use of an epsilon in spelling may be due either to a written tradition or to a special pronunciation of this heroic name in Corinth (or both); we cannot be certain.

### §258. Zeus

The name of Zeus shows a Ξ (i.e. Ξ) in a number of Corinthian label-inscriptions (COR 28A<sub>j</sub>, COP 42b, 75). Kretschmer (1897), who did not know COR 28A, compared the form with the Theraian inscriptions IG xii/3. 350–3, proposing a change of alphabet in Corinth in the early seventh century—a move away from a system in which Ξ was used for [dʲ] or [zʲ], and XM (not attested) for [kʲ], to the 'Ionic' system in use at the time of all the inscriptions that are preserved. The problem, however, is that COP 18 with Υ for [ps] (i.e. its 'Ionic' function) is regarded as earlier than COP 42 with Ξ [dʲ], so we have to assume that the rendering of Zeus' name on COP 42 is an archaism. Indeed, the three Corinthian instances suggest that this spelling was employed in some prominent position, perhaps in a temple inscription, from where it was consciously or unconsciously copied onto our clay documents. This would solve the chronological problem and allow the assumption that the spelling may be an orthographic relic. But there is no other evidence that the *samekh* sign ever had the value [dʲ] or [zʲ]; therefore we should be sceptical about Kretschmer's orthographic explanation of this spelling.

I can see three possible interpretations of the rendering with initial xi. (1) It is a simple misspelling, which in view of its frequency seems unlikely, despite the undeniable similarity of the signs Ξ (xi) and Ι (zeta). (2) It is due to some peculiarity of the writing system, but since it occurs in two different and distant local scripts (Thera and Corinth), this is not very attractive either.<sup>926</sup> (3) It could reflect a special pronunciation, i.e. [kʲeus] instead of [dʲeus], but how should we justify this? One possible explanation is popular etymology (see §510); for one of the most important functions of Zeus was of course to watch over hospitality as Ζεὺς Ξένιος (*Il.* 13. 624 f.; *Od.* 9. 270 f., etc.). We

may also remember that the accusative of Ζεὺς was Ζῆν [dzēn], often used as a secondary stem, and that ξένιος was pronounced with a long vowel [ksēn-] in many dialects after the loss of [w], and particularly in literary languages (a Corinthian example of this loss, probably to be explained by literary borrowing, is COR 70k Πολυξένῃ; see §503). An analogical adaptation of Zeus' name to his epithet therefore seems not inconceivable. The epic usage, obviously formulaic, with name and epithet at the beginning of two consecutive lines (*Il.* 13. 624 f. Ζῆνός . . . | ξενίου . . . , *Od.* 9. 270 f. Ζεὺς . . . | ξένιος . . . ), would have made this particularly appealing.

Apart from this peculiar spelling, we also get Δεὺς at Corinth (COP 78a), and the same form is attested on a Rhodian vase (DOH 3). The normal form Ζεῦ[s] occurs on the Corinthian pinax PCO 6, which must have been made expressly for Athenian purposes (see ad loc.).

### MIXTURE OF DIALECTS

#### Connections between Chalcidian and Corinthian

##### §259. The Chalcidian Inscription Painter

The Chalcidian style is one of the most commonly discussed topics in the field of non-Attic Greek vases. The following facts seem to be accepted. (1) The style is characteristic of a small number of very active individuals, starts suddenly around the middle of the sixth century, and disappears again towards its end. (2) In the main paintings it shows strong influence from contemporary Attic style. (3) In the accessory decoration (animal friezes etc.) it shows strong Corinthian influence. (4) The Inscription P. is one of the earliest members, if not the founder, of the school.

It is stressed by art historians that the Chalcidian school had an origin which may best be characterized as 'springing out of the blue'. Collinge (1985: 9 f.) rightly says that there is no 'proto-Chalcidian', and that the style is 'fully grown in the work of the Inscription P., even on the vases believed to be his earliest. Where this painter learnt his trade is not clear. As either a native Chalcidian or a recent émigré his skill is equally surprising.' But can we not be more positive about the origin of this painter and his style?

Archaeology is occupied with tracing special features of the Chalcidian style back to other major styles. Keck (1988: 39) finds clear Attic influence in the shape of the belly-amphora CHA 9, painted and inscribed by the Inscription P.; but (pp. 44–9) she characterizes the same painter's kraters CHA 14 f. as direct descendants of the late-Corinthian 'Bügelhenkelkrater'. As for the hydriai, those by the Cambridge P. (of which CHA 18 f. bear inscriptions) are of an archaic type<sup>927</sup> that was quickly given up

<sup>925</sup> *ABV* 95. 5 (= Immerwahr, no. 173), 95. 6 (= 167); *ARV* 320. 8 (= 506).

<sup>926</sup> A close genealogical link between the scripts of Thera and Corinth cannot be established on the basis of our present knowledge; see Wachter (1989b), 56 (top) and 57.

<sup>927</sup> This type was mainly produced in Corinth, but there, too, was eventually replaced by the Attic shape.



by the Chalcidian school in favour of the more elegant form of those made by the Inscription P. (among them CHA 10–13), which show Attic influence with a certain individual touch (pp. 49–55, esp. 54 f.). We gain the same impression from the paintings. It is true that representations of mythical scenes by the Inscription P. show an outstandingly original artist (see e.g. §444), and his colleagues, too, demonstrate a great deal of inventiveness (Collinge (1985), 248 f., 252–7; Keck (1988), 83–171, esp. 169 ff.). But there is also influence from both Athens and Corinth in the paintings. The most obvious Attic influence in iconography are the Satyrs in the main paintings (where in Corinthian we would expect padded dancers); Corinthian influence, on the other hand, is stronger in subsidiary zones (komos scenes, chains of galloping youths), particularly with the Cambridge P., whereas with respect to iconography, Corinthian influence is hardly perceptible (Collinge (1985), 242–6).

This school, therefore, clearly presents a mixture of Corinthian and Attic styles, quickly brought to a remarkable perfection by a few gifted artists, among whom was the Inscription P. The ‘out of the blue’ character of the Chalcidian style need not surprise us. As explained in the Introduction, the skills of the potter and vase-painter had to be learnt through personal contact and practice with experienced masters, not just through looking at pieces made by other people; and, judging by the influences that are apparent in his work, it is an inescapable conclusion that the Inscription P. must have served his apprenticeship either in Corinth or in Athens, most probably in both. While learning the trade, he will have developed his own style which he was free to adopt when he eventually became independent and set up his own enterprise in an Ionic city. Since he was not an Ionian (as we shall see below), this Ionic city must have been his home of choice.

Such a biography of migration is of course not at all surprising. We are dealing with the period of Stesichorus’ travels (fl. c.570–540, according to West (1971)),<sup>928</sup> of Anacreon, of Pherecydes of Syrus, of Xenophanes’ emigration from Phokaia to Elea in southern Italy, of young Pythagoras about to leave Samos for Kroton, of young Ibycus in Rhegion about to travel eastwards, and of young Simonides in Keos. Moreover, the widespread and far-reaching commercial contacts at that time are too well known to require comment (see ad AIG 3 and NAU 1). So why should we not assume that a vase-painter learnt traditional Corinthian decoration in Corinth and fine Attic scene-painting in Athens, proceeded to season the whole with his own imagination and genius, and finally settled in a prosperous Ionic city?

The beginning of the Chalcidian style coincides with the end of Corinth’s fame as a centre of vase-production. It is therefore a priori reasonable to suppose that Corinthian potters and painters, at least the gifted ones, left their home city and went

abroad. The Inscription P. could well have had exactly such an origin and biography. What does the evidence of his vase-inscriptions tell us?

The most important feature is a number of occurrences of non-Ionic [ā] in his inscriptions. Three cases<sup>929</sup> were already known to Kretschmer (p. 71, partly following Fick (1883), 10), namely CHA 2c Γᾱρὺφόνες, in contrast to (a) Ἀθῆναίῃ on the same vase and CHA 9c Γῆρὺφόνες;<sup>930</sup> CHA 14i Νᾱίς, in contrast to (g) Φοίβε on the same vase and CHA 9d Νεῖδε[s],<sup>931</sup> and CHA 13d Φᾱχὺς.<sup>932</sup> Another clear example is CHA 8d Περιφᾱτᾱς,<sup>933</sup> and a very likely one is CHA 11c Ἀριᾱδῆ, but both are otherwise unnoticed as far as I know (see ad locc.). Kretschmer rightly concluded that this is an example of dialect mixture. But his interpretation of the phenomenon as being due to the mixed population of the city (he thought of a colony like Rhegion, which, according to Strabo 6. 257, was founded by people from Chalkis and refugees from Messenia) cannot be correct. This would only explain why dialectal forms might differ between one inscribed object and another, whereas here different dialectal features are used by one and the same individual, often on the same vase. Such a mixture cannot be explained by foundation circumstances of 200 years earlier but must be thought of as personal to the painter himself. Γᾱρὺφόνες (see §233) and Ἀριᾱδῆ are particularly revealing. (1) The mixed character of these forms, with one long [ā] preserved and one turned into an Ionic [ē], shows that they are not just copied from elsewhere. (2) The fact that their endings are Ionic while their basic forms are not, shows that the painter started from a non-Ionic form which he wanted to turn into Ionic but was neither consistent nor sufficiently competent in doing so. This means, first, that he probably did not consider the matter of dialect

<sup>929</sup> The alleged case CHA 1h Χόρᾱ is a false reading for Χορῶ.

<sup>930</sup> Lejeune (§163) assumes a short [a], which is impossible in view of the parallel form with an [e] and the many literary attestations of the name (see §233). Collinge (1985: 72) connected the long [a] of Geryones’ name on CHA 2 with Stesichorus. But if the painter had wished to give the vase a literary touch, he would have written Athena’s name in the Stesichorean form too (Ἀθᾱνᾱ, fr. 209. i. 8 PMG, fr. S 14. 3, and 89. 7 SLG). Moreover, the other forms with a long [a] cannot be explained by Stesichorean influence. Therefore the fact that Stesichorus is ‘a poet of the west’ (he was from Himera on Sicily) is no reason to use him as an argument for a production centre of Chalcidian vases in Reggio (Collinge, *ibid.*). I would stress again that poets, artists, and artefacts (of which more are lost than preserved) travelled widely in those days.

<sup>931</sup> It is true that the form with [ā] is also Attic (Νᾱίς, Νᾱῖς), and prevails in later literature. Yet this Attic vocalism is itself a problem and it seems inadvisable to take CHA 14i as Attic (suggestion by Fränkel (1912a), 14). Be that as it may, the Inscription P. shows with Νεῖδε[s] that he knew the Ionic form, which proves that Νᾱίς is another indication of his foreign origin.

<sup>932</sup> There has been some discussion as to the quantity of the [a] in this name. Yet there is no doubt that the [a] is long; for this is a throwaway name clearly taken from the identical Corinthian throwaway name (see §237 and below), and the Corinthian form has a fem. equivalent Φᾱχῶι (COR 81Bb) which we cannot separate from Ηχῶ. Moreover, the stem Φᾱχ- is not found in names, whereas Φᾱχ- is (Bechtel, p. 196). Kretschmer (p. 67) was therefore right to take the [a] as long, and this is now generally accepted (see e.g. Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. ἡχῆ; Heubeck (1980), 284; Masson (1981/2), 544). Φᾱχος in Arkadia (SIG 183. 36: Tegea, 362/1) is of no help here.

<sup>933</sup> The first [a] must be long, for it seems inconceivable that this painter, who was well acquainted with epic, should have invented for a vase of clearly Trojan context the otherwise unattested name \*Περιφᾱτῆς.

<sup>928</sup> See the lively picture, drawn by Burkert (1987: 50 f.), of wandering groups of artists performing Stesichorean choral lyric all over the Greek world. Even earlier, poets travelled widely (sometimes being exiled), e.g. Eumelus, Terpander, Arion, Alcman, Sappho (on these see e.g. Stoessl (1987), 74 ff.).

very important (which would agree well with his careless but all the more individual handwriting) and, secondly, that Ionic was a foreign dialect to him, i.e. that he was non-Ionic.

A similar case is the unique Doric ending of CHA 14*b* *Ξανθόυ* (also noted but not interpreted by Kretschmer, p. 71),<sup>934</sup> normally the Inscription painter wrote the Ionic form in -*ός*, namely in CHA 1*d*/f/h/j/l, 3*e*, 6*a*, and indeed on CHA 14 itself, in (d) and probably (k) too. We may, however, note that this 'Doric' slip of the brush is in the Euboian Ionic alphabet, which he almost always used for his customers. There is a single case where he seems to have committed a blunder in his choice of local script, namely CHA 3*c* *Τύχλ[ο]ς*, written not with the expected sign Υ but with + as in (d) *Τοξ[. . .]* of the same vase (see ad loc.). This is important, since it reduces the number of possible places of origin for the painter. Corinth is among the remaining possibilities.

Several names used by the Inscription P. show an initial digamma: CHA 1*l*, 6*a*, and 14*d* *Φιός*, CHA 3*Ab* *Φρέσος*, CHA 13*d* *Φάχυς*, CHA 17*b* *Φοινεύς*. The same is true for CHA 18*b* *Φιόν*, by the Cambridge P. We know of no Ionic dialect in which any such [w] was preserved in the sixth century, and although it may well be that the local Ionic script retained this letter in the abecedarium, we have to consider this usage non-Ionic (the form *Φιός*, used three times, is therefore as much a mixed form as *Γάρυφόνες* and *Ἀριῶδες*). Although it is not certain that *Φοινεύς* of CHA 17 is the king of Kalydon, known as *Οἰνεύς* from Homer, we may reasonably argue that no Ionian with such a thorough knowledge of the Trojan epics (CHA 3*A*, 4, 5, 7, 8, 15, 16) would have spelled this name, and similarly Rhesos' name, with an initial digamma.

Three of the five names with an initial digamma are throwaway names (e.g. *Φιός*—though only the occurrence on CHA 6). One of these names shows a non-Ionic [ā] (*Φάχυς*). All are well paralleled, and—as far as vases are concerned—only paralleled, on Corinthian pottery, as in fact are throwaway names as a category. The conclusion is inevitable: the presence of these names is due to the direct influence of Corinthian vase-painting. We cannot, however, assume that an artist as gifted, imaginative, and inventive as our Inscription P. would have used such dull, not to say outlandish, forms in an Ionic context had he not been a Dorian himself, indeed a Corinthian, deeply rooted in the Corinthian vase tradition. This seems to apply not only to the Inscription P. but also to the lesser-known Cambridge P. (for the latter's old-fashioned hydriai of Corinthian type, see above with n. 927).

The Inscription P. uses other rather special names that are known from Corinthian vases, notably the semi-throwaway name (see §237) CHA 3*g* *Πόλυδος* (see COR 62 *Πόλυδος*, on a vase closely related<sup>935</sup> to COR 63 with *Φάχυς*, also echoed by the Inscription P.), CHA 6*b* *Πολυβος* (see COR 67*d*), and the horse-names (see §244) CHA 3*i* *Ορόπιος* (see COR 107*e* *Ορούπιος*) and

(h) *Ξάνθος* (COR *passim*). See also the names of the following Satyrs and Maenads: Σῆμος (alongside *Φιός*) on CHA 1 and 14 (probably attested on COR 110*a* and 118*b*); CHA 1*j* *Μυρό* (see the padded dancers COR 105*b* *Μύρος* and (h) *Μύρις*); and probably CHA 14*k* *Δ[ο]ρός* (see the hetaira COR 92*a*).

On the other hand, we may note that in the case of well-known figures from the Trojan epic he did not use Corinthian forms if they differed from the Ionic ones: CHA 4*d* *Αἶας* and (g) *Αἰνέες*, 3*Ac* *Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς*, 8*k* *Ὀδυσ(σ)εύ[ς]*, 15*a* *Ηλένῃ*, (c) *Ἀνδρομάχῃ*, (e) *Κεβριόνῃς* (some of these forms, however, differ in Corinthian only in the ending).

In CHA 9*e* he writes *Περσεύς*. This form is unexpected for the Ionic dialect of Euboea and her colonies, which have [rr] instead of [rs] (see §214). Although [rs] in our name could equally as well be due to the East Ionic epic language as to Corinthian (see §503), it is still non-epichoric and suggests foreign influence. The same is true of CHA 15*d* *Ἐκτῶρ*, for which we would expect initial [h] (see §§210, 503).

The suspicion that the Inscription P. (and perhaps also the Cambridge P.) was not local to the centre of production finds further confirmation in his handwriting. He uses two significantly different forms for each of four letters. (1) Both tailed rho (CHA 9, 11, 12) and untail rho occur: of these the latter, ϱ and ρ, could point to a 'Corinthian' background (it preponderates in his inscriptions and is also used by the Cambridge P.<sup>936</sup>), while the former, ϱ, is the proper 'Chalcidian' form, as used by the painters of CHA 22, 26, and the Phineus P. (CHA 27 and perhaps CHA 28). (2) A similar fluctuation can be observed in the forms of mu. Here the Inscription P. mostly uses μμ, the 'Corinthian' (and 'international') form, but on one vase attributed to him (CHA 23) he seems to have adopted the specific 'Chalcidian' five-stroke form,<sup>937</sup> used by most of his colleagues, namely on CHA 24 and 26 (but not on CHA 22, nor on CHA 27 by the Phineus P.). (3) The Inscription P. normally uses closed θ, i.e. the form used on the Corinthian vases (so also the Cambridge P., CHA 19), but on CHA 14 and 16 (and very probably on CHA 10 too, less certainly on CHA 9) he writes the open or 'modern' form, which is also used by his colleague of CHA 20 (they may have known it from Athens). (4) The fourth case concerns sigma, for which the Inscription P. uses both the four-stroke and three-stroke type. Although this is a minor difference and fluctuation often occurs in archaic Greek inscriptions, it seems significant that the 'Corinthian' four-stroke type is not used by his Chalcidian colleagues, viz. the painters of CHA 20–2 and 23 (unless the latter is by the Inscription P.), CHA 25, and the Phineus P. on CHA 27 and 28.<sup>938</sup> Although it does not seem impossible that a writer used different forms of perhaps one or two letters, such serious inconsistency as is the case with the Inscription P. seems

<sup>936</sup> One of the two preserved instances of rho by this painter is similar to that of Menaidas (see §101).

<sup>937</sup> The attribution does not seem certain to me, however. Also the letter-form ϱ of phi would be unusual.

<sup>938</sup> Also CHA 18 by the Cambridge P. shows only the form with three strokes.

<sup>934</sup> See, earlier, Ritschl (1866: 782), who did not attempt a dialectal attribution either.

<sup>935</sup> As observed by Lorber, p. 59 with n. 362.

exceptional and must have a special reason, most plausibly the necessity of having to use more than one script during the course of his career.

The fact that the Inscription P. (and perhaps the Cambridge P. as well) had a history of migration is in my view incontestable. Now, theoretically, such a mixture of dialect and script could have arisen in one of two ways: (1) he was a Dorian (e.g. a Corinthian) by origin and finally settled in an Ionic milieu; (2) he was an Ionian who settled in a Doric milieu. If we accepted the second view, we would, on account of the specifically Corinthian features of his potting, painting, and labelling, be obliged to conclude that he actually settled in Corinth. This, however, is impossible for three reasons. First, the clay that he and his school used is certainly not Corinthian.<sup>939</sup> Secondly, while it is conceivable that the likely founder of a school (and perhaps a colleague of his) was an immigrant to the place where he (or they) eventually established a new tradition, we cannot plausibly assume that all the founder's followers were likewise immigrants. Yet the followers' inscriptions show so many features pointing to a (Euboian-)Ionic tradition,<sup>940</sup> without a single one pointing to a Doric tradition, that the Chalcidian school must have been located in an Ionic settlement—as is normally assumed. Thirdly, a clever immigrant looking for customers and commercial success would quickly adapt to the script of his new surroundings rather than stick doggedly to his old one (it was easier to change one's script than one's dialect). Therefore the almost consistent use of the Euboian-Ionic script suggests that the Inscription P. was a non-Ionian rather than a non-Dorian by origin; that he could also write in a non-Euboian script is shown by one solitary lapse in his preserved inscriptions (CHA 3c). The most likely biography of the Inscription P. (and maybe of his colleague, the Cambridge P.) will therefore include an origin in declining Corinth, a stay in rising Athens, and a final settling-down in a Euboian-Ionic centre. In the hotly debated question as to whether this was on Euboea or in the Western colonies, my preference is for the latter, in view of the number of pieces found (and still coming to light) in southern Italy (among them our CHA 7, 16, 21–6, 29). One day, we shall find the kilns in which Chalcidian pottery was fired.

#### §260. *The inscriptions on COR 103*

Among the late-Corinthian (LC) vases there is a hydria, COR 103, whose inscriptions show odd features. In contrast to all previous writers who have tried hard to defend its labels as Corinthian, I suggest we accept that the alphabet employed is not in fact Corinthian; the individual peculiarities that lead me to this position are: the non-Corinthian beta (B instead of β), straight instead of crooked iota, 'red' chi (Υ), sigma not san (ς), and

possibly a 'red' xi (+). What is actually represented here is not easy to define: the local alphabets of Euboea, Boiotia, Thessaly, Lokris, eastern Argolid, Lakonia, Arkadia, Elis, their colonies, and a few smaller regions are all theoretically possible. Lorber (p. 107) suggests that the vase is an imitation from a Doric colony on Sicily, but it is hard to see how an otherwise perfectly Corinthian vase should have been made so far away from all the others. Putting aside the above-mentioned places in terms of vase-painting, only the so-called 'Chalcidian' school seems a plausible guess. The style of this school has by far the closest similarity to the LC style (see §259).

Here it is interesting to notice that Amyx (p. 268) expressly states that our hydria, COR 103, is 'close to the krater, below, no. 8' (i.e. our COR 104). Both vases belong to the Corinthian Andromeda Group, which forms a homogeneous unit. The krater COR 104, however, is of the so-called 'Chalcidian' shape.

It seems an intriguing possibility that our vase-painter was an Ionian sent for training to Corinth, where he tried to write in Doric dialect but did not bother to adapt his Ionic alphabet. Also the unusual throwaway names, *Bίῶν* instead of *Δίῶν* or *Φίῶν*, and *Ῥάχᾱς* instead of *Ῥάχυσ* (see §237), indicate a foreigner. Our painter could form a second link between the (late) Corinthian and the Chalcidian schools.<sup>941</sup> For whereas the Chalcidian Inscription P. was a non-Ionian (probably, indeed, a Corinthian) who finally settled in an Ionian city, and was (for the most part) successful in adapting his alphabet, though less so in the matter of his dialect (see §259), the painter of COR 103 may have been the opposite: a non-Corinthian who worked in Corinth (temporarily?), and was more able or willing to adapt to the dialect than to the alphabet of his place of work. Was he perhaps a 'Chalcidian' visiting the place where his famous colleague and possibly teacher had served his apprenticeship?<sup>942</sup>

### Other Traces of Foreign Dialects

#### §261. *Survey of the other cases encountered*

I mention briefly some minor cases of dialect mixture.

The earliest cases, showing not a dialect mixture proper, but a discrepancy between the Corinthian style and non-Corinthian inscriptions, are PCO 1–6. On EUB 3 from Eretria, the form *καλᾶ* (fem.) is unexpected. On a few Corinthian pinakes, certain features occur which point to foreigners at work in Corinth (see ad COP

<sup>939</sup> What its origin is, we do still not know; see Keck (1988), 11–13.

<sup>940</sup> e.g. non-Corinthian letter-forms like *λ Ν Ϟ Ρ* etc.; non-Corinthian script features in CHA 27a with *Ψ* = [k] and CHA 23b with *Φ* = [ps]; non-Doric dialect features in CHA 21b *Φοίβε*, CHA 22a *Λετῶ* (two!) and (b) *Ἀρτεμῖς*, CHA 27c *Ἀδρῆστος*.

<sup>941</sup> It may be worth mentioning that our hydria has a more modern shape than the most old-fashioned of the Chalcidian ones, viz. CHA 18 by the Cambridge P. (see n. 927; on shapes see Rumpf (1927), 124).

<sup>942</sup> On p. 511, Amyx says that the so-called 'Chalcidian'-shaped kraters suddenly appear in LC I, are always in the red-ground technique, and cluster in the region of the Andromeda Group and the Tydeus P.; he also stresses that the Corinthian examples antedate all others, including the proper Chalcidian ones. Although, according to Amyx, the 'invention' of this shape is a mystery (there being no direct antecedents), artists like our Inscription P. and the painter of COR 103 may tell us more about how it got into the Chalcidian workshops from Corinth, its likely place of invention.

29 with §§255 and 219 for unusual spellings of *e*-vowels, and ad COP 42, 44). COR 60*b* *Hε'γτōρ* seems to be Attic, but (*a*) *AĩFαS* is genuine Corinthian (see §250 and ad COR 85 f.). In ETR 1–4 there is a discrepancy between ETR 1*d* *ΠρᾱξίῳS* and ETR 4 *Ἀνδρομάχῃ*, written by the same hand (see ad loc.). Other cases are the artists of IOI 2 (a man from the Kyklades working in

Athens), EUC 3 (possibly the son of a Corinthian working in an Ionic locale), and DOH 1 (a foreigner on Rhodes).

Several forms, particularly on Corinthian vases, show non-epichoric features which can be argued to have a literary origin, mainly but not exclusively in the East Ionic epic language (see §§503 ff.).

## CHAPTER 3

# Daily Life

### DEDICATIONS TO GODS

#### Formulae Used

##### §301. *The different types of dedicatory formulae*

The usual formula is ‘nominative +  $\mu' \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  (+ dative)’ (*FDV*, p. 58, formula no. 1). This needs no discussion (see §303 for metrical cases).

A number of inscriptions of the type ‘genitive +  $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota'$ ’ are likely to be meant as short dedicatory statements (*FDV*, p. 59, formula no. 9), at least if the name in the genitive is a deity (COR 125, 128, COR Gr 23, 25, COP 24, 59, perhaps NAU 1*La*; see also §506 n. 1297); I call these inscriptions ‘dedications with property formula’ to distinguish them from owners’ inscriptions strictly speaking, i.e. added by the (human) owners of the objects in question. A—very unusual—example of this formula on stone is *CEG* 400, a combination of the two occurs in *CEG* 251 and 302. The same formula seems to be sometimes used for dedications to humans too (see §310).

#### Who Were the Donors of Painted Dedicatory Vase Inscriptions?

##### §302. *Potters and painters as donors?*

If a vase bears a painted inscription this means that the text was inscribed while the vase was still in the potter’s workshop and that it had to stay there for at least one more night. I am informed by a professional potter that the paint of an inscription on an otherwise dry vase dries very quickly. However, the firing is best done when it is dark, because the colour and intensity of the flames coming out of the hole in the roof of the kiln have to be carefully observed in order to achieve the right temperature and mixture of combustion gases at each stage of the firing process. The process itself only takes about four hours, but then the kiln and its contents must be allowed to cool down for at least twelve hours.

We may therefore postulate that a customer could go to a potter’s shop, place an order for a vase with a painted inscription, and collect it and dedicate it the next day. This is of course possible, although it seems a considerable undertaking.<sup>943</sup>

<sup>943</sup> Also there must be enough pottery to fill a kiln before starting the firing process, which need not have been the case every evening.

On the other hand, it is no less possible that vases with painted inscriptions are dedications by the potters or painters themselves. This is the case with the Corinthian pinax COP 41 which explicitly states  $\text{Μιλῶνιδᾶς ἔγραψε κ' ἄνέθεκε}$ , and is indeed likely for the whole set of Corinthian pinakes from Penteskouphia, as we shall see. Two more very likely examples are BOI 3 and IOD 4*B*, and we may suspect that the same applies to the numerous dedications from Naukratis and Aigina (see ad NAU 1 and AIG 3). Indeed, many of the painted dedications to gods may be dedications by potters or painters, although we can hardly ever prove it; see, for instance, BOI 20, a Kabiran vase with a specially reserved field for the inscription.<sup>944</sup>

Let us first examine the Corinthian pinakes. Their function is hotly debated and some very diverse opinions have been put forward.<sup>945</sup> Amyx (pp. 603–5) briefly discusses certain aspects, complaining about the lack of a proper edition and emphasizing how profitable it would be to draw the parallels between the vases and these documents. On pp. 605–8 (in consequence of his interest in Corinthian prosopography) he gives a list of human proper names attested on these pinakes (among them two bogus ones, see ad COP 38*B* and COP 49). I cannot see what leads Amyx to say (p. 603): ‘most of the pinakes were dedicated by members of the pottery industry’,<sup>946</sup> and (p. 604): ‘It is easy to assume that in nearly all cases the dedicant is the maker (and the painter) of the pinax, so it seems probable that most of these names belong to Corinthian vase-painters.’ While there is only one case where we are sure about the identity of the artist and the donor (COP 41,

<sup>944</sup> Other painted dedications to gods are BOI 25 ff., COR 127, ARG 1, ACC 1 (?), DOC 3 (?), 6, IOI 1 (?), IOD 5–7 (partly uncertain), NAU 2; see also n. 628 (two later vases with painted inscs. by a certain  $\text{Ζωπυρίσκος}$ , from a sanctuary). For the cases with property formula see also §301. Incised are COR 31*d* and COR Gr 26(1) (metrical?).

<sup>945</sup> A most bizarre one is reported by Seeberg (1971), 46 (ad no. 230 = Berlin F 452, *AntDenkm* ii, no. 40. 3, *LIMC* vii, ‘Poseidon’ 109a\*, dr. pl. 360, uninscribed, with Poseidon (perhaps) shown as a padded dancer or (as I would prefer to say) a padded dancer as Poseidon): ‘Bouzek tells me that they suggest to him, after intensive study, the whims of drunk men—which may not be far out, if one supposes that many plaques were decorated for immediate dedication on some occasion resembling the Attic Choes; in any case Bouzek’s remark well describes their unpredictability. Inferences from their pictures, unsupported by other evidence, are clearly unsafe.’

<sup>946</sup> His n. 2 on p. 603 does not illustrate this point, but indicates the identity of certain vase-painters and pinax-painters. The cue for his note in the text should therefore be one line up, after ‘painters’.

mentioned above),<sup>947</sup> I am nevertheless certain that Amyx's view is on the whole correct (though the donors will more often have been the potters rather than the painters); however, we must find as much support as possible for this opinion. What can we adduce in its favour?

Boardman (1954), in his study of painted votive plaques, made—amongst many others—the following valuable observations. (1) There is no literary evidence for clay *πίνακες* or *πινάκια* as votive plaques, but a great deal for wooden ones (pp. 186 f.). (2) Even in vase-painting the representations of such tablets, often shown as hanging from a tree in a rural sanctuary, suggest wooden plaques for several reasons (pp. 187 f.). (3) Some wooden plaques have indeed been found, rich in inscriptions and painting (p. 188, our COP App. 1A–D). (4) In Athens, the only other place (so far) that has produced a fair quantity of clay pinakes, a number were painted by leading bf. vase-painters (p. 189 with n. 61). (5) On the other hand, many Athenian pinakes are twice as thick in the centre as near the edges; except for the very best, they show no uniform thickness and may not even be exactly rectangular; some have an overhanging ridge at the upper edge; on their backs there can be rough sketches (p. 192). (6) They are usually pierced with holes for fixing against a wall or (in cases where they were painted on both sides) hanging free, and the ridges around the holes are often not removed (p. 192). (7) One Corinthian plaque (Rayet (1880), 106 fig. 3) has only one hole in the middle of one side, so that if it had been hung up, the picture/scene thereon would have turned through 90°; similar oddities are to be observed in other examples (e.g. our COP 25, 28, 45, 61). Boardman thinks that the holes were therefore primarily for suspension in the kiln, rather than afterwards (pp. 192 f. with n. 110).

However, the last point is dubious. For there were in antiquity no materials capable of being formed into wires or threads or nails that would not have dropped a clay pinax in the high temperatures of a kiln. We must therefore accept that the holes were devised for the final function of the pinakes: their dedication. Of course the very existence of a dedicatory inscription painted on such plaques (or vases) before firing shows that they were intended as gifts for the gods. But this raises the problem mentioned above,<sup>948</sup> namely whether to assume that the vase or plaque was ordered beforehand and then collected by the donor on the following day or shortly thereafter. That is possible, but it would certainly have been much quicker and safer to call in at an artist's shop, buy a painted wooden plaque, have one's dedicatory inscription added, and take it to the sanctuary immediately.

From Boardman's points we can draw the following conclusions. Wooden plaques were more common than clay ones.<sup>949</sup> The clay tablets are mainly from the chief centres of pottery manufacture,

Corinth and Athens. A large number of the pinakes are carelessly executed: uneven thickness, ridges, sloppy shaping, painting with no regard for the 'suspension' holes. Some paintings are of extremely poor quality, others are just sketches (e.g. COP 90A). In many (if not most) cases it seems inconceivable to me that the tablet could ever have been purchased by a customer for the purpose of dedication.

On the other hand, the vast majority of the inscribed tablets are clearly dedicatory. Of the 139 inscribed Corinthian pinakes or pinax fragments, 77 (55 per cent) bear certain or probable dedicatory inscriptions, 23 of which expressly name Poseidon as the dedicatee; and the others are likely to be for him too (many of them show him or his consort Amphitrite, often labelled). Of the rest, another 22 which show labelled scenes with Poseidon or his consort are likely donations to him, 3 more (all with kiln scenes) mention Poseidon in a different way, 7 show working scenes connected with potting and mostly show labelled workers too (COP 62–6, 81, perhaps 82), and 2 bear likely painter's or potter's signatures (COP 60, 61; COP 18 and 41 are already counted among the certain dedications). Only 11—as far as their fragmentary state allows us to judge—either show scenes which have nothing to do with potting or Poseidon (COP 66 (but see below), and COP 75–80), or bear other unusual inscriptions (COP 85, 86) or dedications to a different deity (COP 58, 59, both to Athena, the former showing a labelled Poseidon); the remaining 17 bear unclear or nonsensical inscriptions.

This means that for almost 75 per cent of the inscribed tablets we have positive indications that they were dedicated to Poseidon, which allows us to assert that all the rest were too; moreover, they seem to be from the refuse tip of a single sanctuary.<sup>950</sup> And as the inscriptions are almost exclusively painted, most of the tablets, even the worst, can be shown to have been made precisely for the purpose of dedication.

But who were the donors? Two painters' names are certain: Timonidas of COP 18 (and COR 27), and Milonidas of COP 41. The latter explicitly says that he also dedicated the pinax, the former probably did not (the donor's name in the incised dedicatory inscription is broken off). Seven names of men in the pottery trade, added as labels to figures depicted, can safely be argued to name the actual producers and donors (COP 62a–b, 63c, 64, 65a–b, 66a, others are uncertain); the pinakes in question do not bear dedicatory inscriptions. In general, references to the pottery trade are unusually frequent in the scenes on these objects, though the emphasis is not so much on potting or painting, as on firing in the kiln. This was the most delicate process, which decided the success or failure of the whole potting and painting process for a considerable number of objects. I count twenty-eight kiln scenes on the inscribed pinakes,<sup>951</sup> whereas on the vases, Corinthian and other, allusions to firing pottery are extremely rare. One man, Phlebon by name, dedicated several

<sup>947</sup> The traditional interpretation of *αὐτοποκία*[. . .] in COP 2A–C as 'made by himself' is highly unlikely (see ad loc.).

<sup>948</sup> See also Boardman (1954: 186) in the context of an Attic pinax fr. found on Aigina.

<sup>949</sup> The reason why they have not survived is obvious, as is the reason why the clay ones have.

<sup>950</sup> Did those for Athena and Zeus end up in the wrong sanctuary by mistake?

<sup>951</sup> Only 18 are listed in Cuomo di Caprio (1984), with pps. pp. 78–80.

pinakes, which are all painted by the same hand (COP 12, 48A–B); the fact that a tablet with a kiln scene is among them (COP 48B) is particularly noteworthy. On four or five other pinakes the donor asks the deity for recompense (COP 1A–D, maybe also COP 50). Another man wrote the lapidary remark [Σ?]ἰμῶ ἐμί on a tablet (COP 61), which was then dedicated to Poseidon and Amphitrite with the rest; he obviously did not consider it necessary to add whether it was his gift (sc. *δῶρον*) or his work (sc. *ἔργον*); a similar case is COP 64. The writer of COP 66 managed to add the name Στίπῶν as a label for a man working at a kiln, Poseidon's label however is pure nonsense, *νιϙ*. Who else can our Στίπῶν be but the writer himself, i.e. the potter, just about able to write his own name, correct or not?

This all points in the same direction, namely that these pinakes are generally, if not exclusively, dedications by the members of the pottery industry. Yet the poor quality of many paintings does not suggest that they were the work of the professional painters—except of course COP 18 by Timonidas and COP 41 by Milonidas, on both of which the fact is expressly stated and the painting is indeed very good. As the central process (for the success of which these tablets seem to have been dedicated, and which is shown so many times) was the firing, not the painting, it may therefore have been mostly the men who were in charge of the crucial act of firing who took the brush and left us their names on the pinakes. Only Milonidas seems to have been proud enough of his art to indicate that he was not merely the donor, but also the painter, and Timonidas seems to have been self-confident enough to insist on adding his signature alongside the dedicatory inscription by whoever the donor was.<sup>952</sup>

The connection with firing brings us to the immediate function of these tablets. They make best sense as proof pieces, potted and painted more or less roughly, but placed in the kiln in a prominent position facing the peep-hole. From the reaction of their paint—and, as far as their preservation allows us to judge, they all bear paint in their inscriptions or figure decoration or both—the success of the final reduction process could be observed. After a great success—or a disaster—the potter will have brought a tablet to the deity, asking for (more) success.<sup>953</sup> It is also likely that prayers, short hymns, or similar pieces of poetry were spoken before, after, or during such an important and exciting process. The phrase (on COP 1) with *τὸ δὲ δὸς χάριεσαν ἀμοιβάν*,

attested as part of a prayer in the *Odyssey* (3. 58), and some other fragments of texts, will have been part of such incantations (see §303).

Why, precisely, it was Poseidon (and his spouse, to whom, however, no texts are addressed) who was responsible for the firing process, we can only guess. First, Poseidon had among his many aspects the epithets *γαιήροχος* ~ *ἐνοσίχθων* ~ *ἐννοσίγαιος*, i.e. he is the god of earthquakes and eruptions of volcanoes.<sup>954</sup> What went on in a burning kiln must have reminded the Greeks of the occasionally manifested forces of the inner regions of the earth. Secondly, water, the 'classic' domain of the god, which is also represented on the pinakes (he often holds his trident, and on COP 44 he is shown with Triton), has considerable importance in potting. Thirdly, clay is part of the earth, and we know that Poseidon was closely related with Demeter, not only in connection with his horsey aspect,<sup>955</sup> but also because the most plausible etymology (see both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. *Ποσειδῶν*) links the second element of his name with *Δα-* of *Δαμάττηρ*.<sup>956</sup> And lastly, one of the major concerns of potters, who not only manufactured but also needed to market their products, must have been that their wares arrived safely at their various destinations, which were very often overseas, for instance Etruria. To appease Poseidon, god of the sea, must have seemed advisable. (Should we perhaps connect the seafaring scene of COP 67 with this aspect of the god?) On the whole, this god appears to be very appropriate as the patron of our artists, particularly, but not exclusively, for the firing process.

## The Possible Background of Metrical Dedications

### §303. *Parts of prayers copied onto Corinthian pinakes?*

In the case of the metrical inscriptions on some Corinthian pinakes we have reason to believe that the verse is a direct reflection of prayers that were perhaps uttered on the occasion of the dedication. The most interesting example is COP 1, of whose structure we can be more or less certain (see ad loc.). COP 1A, for instance, is likely to have read as follows: [X μ' ἀνέθηκε Πιοτῆδ' ἄνι Φάνακτι | δῶρον (?) ἐ]παγγέλιας· τὸ δὲ δὸς[χα]ρίεσ(σ)αν ἀμοιβάν, 'X offered me to King Poseidon, having promised a gift. Now, you, give the welcome recompense!' The normal practice in votive offerings<sup>957</sup> of course was to promise some gift to the gods, if they helped. This was a kind of contract leading to a three-step process: promise, favour granted by the deity, dedication of the promised object. On our pinakes, however, the promise seems to have been made in the past, the pinax (sometimes together with something else?) is donated in the present, and a favour is

<sup>952</sup> Timonidas is an exception in several respects. (1) Painter's names are rarely added to pinakes. (2) He places his name in the very middle of the tablet, though he probably did not even dedicate the piece himself (Milonidas, the only other certain painter we know from tablets, chooses the margin). (3) He is known from vases too (no parallel) and—unlike the painters of so many other pinakes—is an excellent artist. (4) He does not write *boustrophedon* but always uses the 'modern' l.-to-r. direction (no parallel). (5) His topic (a hunter with dog) is—as far as I can see—without a certain parallel (a possible parallel is F 894, where two men with spears are meeting, who could be hunters according to Furtwängler). (6) After the verb he adds another word, which has so far been taken as his father's name, but is probably better taken as an elaborate hint by the painter that he was fully aware of how good an artist he was (see ad loc.).

<sup>953</sup> Phlebon (COP 12, 48A–B) seems to have felt the need to come back regularly.

<sup>954</sup> See Nilsson (1967), 448 with n. 5; Trümper (1986), 71 ff.

<sup>955</sup> See Nilsson (1967), 29, 448, and see below, §405.

<sup>956</sup> As the first element is probably a case-form of *πόσις*, i.e. clearly of IE origin, the second element should not be too readily dispensed with as obscure (i.e. non-Greek). See §255 with n. 915.

<sup>957</sup> See e.g. Burkert (1985), 68 ff.





Moreover, we may wonder whether certain other elaborate inscriptions on pinakes may not reflect spoken texts of some sort—for instance the metrical labels of Amphitrite, COP 5 f., which combine to produce *Ἀμφιτρίτῃ ἐμὶ Ποτῆδ' ἄφ' ὄνου ἄροιτις*, and the ‘imaginary’ labels of Poseidon, COP 83 *Ποτῆδ' ἄν δ' ἐμὶ* ‘I am indeed Poseidon’ and COP 84A *Ποτῆδ' ἄν*, which occur on tablets with kiln scenes but without an actual figure of the god, who seems therefore to have been imagined as being present in the act of firing.

#### POTTERS’ OR PAINTERS’ SIGNATURES

##### Normal Cases

###### §304. *Potters*

The formulae ‘nominative + ἐποί(ε)σε’ are considered potters’ inscriptions, i.e. BOI 1–7 (BOI 3 probably together with a dedication to gods; BOI 4C with a metrical dedication to a human, see §307), EUC 1, 3, ITH 2, INC 1, DOI 1a, DOC 4, IOD 4A–C (IOD 4B with a dedication to a god); a potter is referred to in INC 2 (see §307).

A possible potter’s or painter’s inscription is IOD 1. Many of the painted dedications on vases and pinakes may include potters’ or painters’ inscriptions (see §302), and it is always possible that a painted vase was potted and painted by the same man.

###### §305. *Painters*

Painters’ inscriptions (see also §304) are COR 27h and COP 18b (both by the same man), COR 57m, COP 41 (also a dedication), and IOI 5. A likely example is NAU 1D; a possible though in-explicit one is ETR 1d (see §307); a very uncertain one COP 60.

##### Special Cases

###### §306. *Objects praising themselves*

Although the names of the painters or potters are not recorded on the few vases which praise themselves, the function of the inscription is similar in that the artist expresses his pride in his work. A fairly certain example is IOD 9, another one may be AIG 3A; COR 121, on the other hand, is very uncertain (see also §309).

#### EROTIC INSCRIPTIONS

###### §307. *Potters as lovers of boys?*

Some ‘dedications’ are to humans not to gods. In view of the two most significant examples, namely BOI 4C and INC 2, I tend to interpret such objects as love-gifts (but see §312 for cases in which this connotation is less likely).

On the aryballos BOI 4C we read (a) *Μνᾱσάλλκες π[οί]εσε vac.*<sup>964</sup> *Ἐμπεδιόνδα*, and (b) *Ἀντ[ά]ρ ἡ δόκε φέρων φιλοτάσιον Αἰσχύλοι αὐτό*. As explained ad loc., we should understand this as: (a) ‘Mnasalkes made (me) for Empediondas’; (b) ‘But the latter took and gave the same love-gift to Aischylos’. Inscription (a) is likely to have been written by Mnasalkes, and (b), later, by Empediondas. The expression ‘the same love-gift’ in line (b) tells us that the aryballos had been made by Mnasalkes as (or into) a love-gift for Empediondas, and was passed on as a love-gift to Aischylos by the latter. For the clearly erotic aspect of the oil-flask see Theocritus 2. 156 (see ad COR 17, n. 174). Now, if BOI 4C was a love-gift, then BOI 4A and B, similar ring-aryballoi by Mnasalkes (on which, however, no recipient is mentioned), may have to be interpreted similarly (it is not known where they were found and whether they were all three found together). In the same context we may place BOI 9, an unguent-box, with a fervent statement about the beauty of Polytimidas, and perhaps also the *kalos*-inscription BOI 19, on a drinking cup.

On the vase INC 2, probably an exaleiptron-type unguent-dish, the sentence *Καταπύγων ἡ ποιέσας καὶ ἡ φέρων* testifies to a homoerotic relationship between a potter (a master?) and his partner (an apprentice?) to whom he gave the pot.

From here we may proceed to a contemporary of Mnasalkes, namely Menaidas of BOI 2A–D. He expressly states that he made his four vases (three aryballoi, one alabastron, i.e. all oil-flasks) *Χάροπι*. But who was Charops? The following possibilities have to be considered. (1) The dative indicates that Charops is the recipient of the vase. (1a) In his publication of our BOI 2C, Greifenhagen (1936: 400 f.) referred to the sanctuary of Herakles Charops at Mount Laphystion in Boiotia. According to Pausanias 9. 34. 5, cited by Maffre,<sup>965</sup> the Boiotians said that Herakles Charops’ sanctuary was there because this was believed to be the spot where Herakles came up to the world again with Hades’ hound Kerberos.<sup>966</sup> If this connection is correct, there are the possibilities (1a. 1), suggested by Greifenhagen, that Menaidas sold the vessels to visitors to a sanctuary, who then donated them, or (1a. 2) that the potter himself donated all these vases (and perhaps more) on his own behalf (for possible parallels see §302). On the other hand, Greifenhagen did give parallels for the name Charops, all of them humans.<sup>967</sup> Could we not therefore assume (1b) that Charops was a human, perhaps a lover of Menaidas the potter? Nothing is known about where these vases were found, but it will be agreed that at least the majority are likely to be from one and the same spot, and from a tomb rather than a sanctuary, where pottery is not normally so well preserved nor found in such

<sup>964</sup> This probably reflects [Mnāsalkēpoiēse] (see §§204, 224).

<sup>965</sup> Maffre (1978), 265 n. 15, with recent bibl. on this epiklesis of Herakles in n. 16. On p. 267 with nn. 17 and 18 he mentions a possible etymology ‘aux yeux perçants’.

<sup>966</sup> One wonders whether this story originated in a popular etymology of the name Charops as something like ‘after he had seen Charon’ (if anything, this would of course have to be \*Χάρωνοψ).

<sup>967</sup> e.g. an Attic rf. cup where it occurs as a *καλός* name: *ARV* 138. 1 (see also p. 1572). Maffre (1978: 265 nn. 12–14) contributes more attestations.

tidy sets by the same producer. There is also the possibility (2) that Charops was not the recipient but a customer who passed the vases on to an unknown recipient. But this seems less likely (why should this customer be noted on the vessel, and in the dative?). I personally prefer version (1b).<sup>968</sup>

In view of the preceding cases, should we not perhaps interpret in the same way the other Boiotian aryballoi with potters' signatures (BOI 1A, 5A–B, 6A, 7B), as well as the other kinds of vases by the same men (BOI 1B, 6B–E, 7A, and probably the coiled-snake oil-flask discussed ad BOI 1 and 4C)?<sup>969</sup> See also §§311 f. on the aryballoi from Corinth.

A similar case may be ETR 1–4, all by one painter (and from one tomb?). On ETR 1, besides some Greek labels for the figures depicted, two human names are recorded: these are likely to be a potter (*Πρᾶξιᾶς*, written in Greek like the labels to the painted figures) and an Etruscan recipient of whose full name only the praenomen in an oblique case-form is given: *Arnthe*, written in Etruscan. Apart from the juxtaposition of these two names, the actual subjects on the vases also seem to point to an erotic context: on ETR 1 little Achilles is being handed over to his mentor Chiron (see §475 on a vase with this subject from an initiation context); on ETR 2 there are Erotes; on ETR 3 one side of the vase shows a dog and a man, the other a dog and a youth (pets being popular love-gifts on Attic vases); perhaps even the Amazons on ETR 4 may ultimately have had such a connotation.<sup>970</sup> This is as far as we can get without our new reading of ETR 3b: *Διὸς κῶροι* or quite possibly dative *Διὸς κῶροι*. What have the Dioskouroi to do with our erotic context of a man (perhaps a potter) and a boy (perhaps the recipient of the vase)? In Lakonia, the Greek state where the twins play their most important role, we know of the following cult (Burkert (1985), 213): 'The Spartan cult of the Dioskouroi is found in the context of a warrior society and of initiations in which an encounter with death is also involved. Phoebe and Hilaeira also have their sanctuary, and their priestesses are themselves called Leukippides. The *epheboi* make a nocturnal sacrifice of a dog to Phoebe before their ritual fight in the Platanistas.' This is transmitted by Pausanias (3. 14. 8 f.), especially: *καὶ τάδε ἄλλα τοῖς ἐφήβοις δρώμενά ἐστιν· θύουσι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ· τὸ δὲ Φοιβαῖον ἐστὶν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως, Θεράπνης οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκός. ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρα μοῖρα τῶν ἐφήβων σκύλακα κυνὸς τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ θύουσι, θεῶν τῷ ἀλκιμωτάτῳ κρίνοντες ἱερεῖον κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον ζῶιον τῶν ἡμέρων. κυνὸς δὲ σκύλακας οὐδένας ἄλλους οἶδα Ἑλλήνων νομίζοντας θύειν ὅτι μὴ Κολοφωνίους.* For a youngster passing from childhood to adulthood, the enforced

separation from a puppy, a beloved pet and perhaps a love-gift from his *ἐρῶν*, is of course plausible as an initiation procedure (see also §475 with nn. 1219 f.). In Sparta, this separation was obviously standardized and ritualized. Should we link our ETR 3 to such religious practices? The confirmation seems to come from side (a) of the vase, clearly reading *Μεαιταίε*, for which the conjecture 'Maltese dog' seems too colourless. But if we separate *μή*, an approach already tried by L. Schmidt (1852), we find the word *ἄϊτᾱς*, a Doric and Thessalian (i.e. widespread) noun for 'beloved youth' (see LSJ, s.v.). The alphabet and the general dialect of the writer point to Lakonian Doric, perhaps of Taras in southern Italy (see ad ETR 1).<sup>971</sup> It seems hard to believe that this is all coincidence, particularly as the boy on our vase wears a wreath, which shows that he is to be imagined in a festive context. The overall meaning of a phrase, *Μεῖ ἄϊτᾱι*, short though it is, is difficult to establish. We get nowhere by separating *Μεῖ ἄϊτᾱ* (gen.) or *ἄϊτᾱ* (voc.) *ι*ε, since no suitable meaning can be found for *ι*ε. *Μεῖ ἄϊτᾱι* *ἔ* seems better, since *ἔ* may be the present subjunctive of *ἐλμύ*, which is often combined with *μή* in the sense of a dubitative suggestion (Schwyzer–Debrunner, p. 317: Homeric, Attic, etc.).<sup>972</sup> In that case we should have: 'It may be for the beloved boy', whereas 'For the Dioskouroi' on the reverse could be an answer or an imperative correction ('No, it is for the Dioskouroi'). At any rate, this interpretation of ETR 3 fits the general context of the four vases, and with its Lakonian, or at least Doric, connection it suits the alphabet of the four inscriptions, as well as their main dialect.

#### §308. *Hetairai shown or spoken of*

There are names of women suggestive of the sphere of hetairai on several Corinthian vases; see §239. One vase, COR 18, again an aryballos (see §307), shows a portrait of a woman from whose mouth emerges the inscription *Ἀνέτᾱ ἐμύ*, followed by a list of nine men's names. This vase belongs to a whole set of similar pieces, mostly uninscribed (COR 17 is a second exception, see §311). The same sphere is evoked by some of the non-heroic dancing scenes (see §479) as well as by COR Gr 15, a pyxis for women's toilet articles which shows three plastic heads with such names as *Φιόπᾱ*, *Ἡμέρῳ*, *Χαρίτᾱ*.

There are also vases explicitly belonging to the symposion context (most others too will have been used at symposia, of course). COR 25, a wine-cup, shows two women's portraits with the labels *Νεβρίς* and *Κ(α)λύκᾱ*. With these we may group the symposion scenes themselves (mostly on kraters), of which the only one that is inscribed, COR 92, offers two hetaira-names, *Σελῶν*

<sup>968</sup> Discussing BOI 2D which bears a slightly strange second inscr., I. K. Raubitschek (1966: 165) notes: 'We do not know how Gorgias could give to Apollon what Menaidas had made for Charops, but there is no reason to question the interpretation as a whole.' If Charops was human, this would not be a serious problem, although the question of the find-spot would become more important.

<sup>969</sup> It seems not unlikely that some potters' apprentices also learnt the art of writing from their masters (see ad BOI 2 and 4, as well as §§315, 472).

<sup>970</sup> We may remember young Herakles' labour of fetching Hippolyte's girdle (see §413), performed by order of his master Eurystheus.

<sup>971</sup> *Ἀνδρομάχῃ* of ETR 4 is explicable as an Attic borrowing (see *ibid.*).

<sup>972</sup> Whether we should accept the lack of the iota 'adscriptum' of the form *ῆι*, it is difficult to decide. On the one hand, the 1st h. 5th cent. seems a bit early for a case of the reduction of a long diphthong (see e.g. Buck, §38, and for Attic, Threatte, p. 353). On the other hand, we could argue for the archaic subjunctive form without the [i], although it is attested only rarely and in isolated regions (see Buck, §149, e.g. on Lakonian [?] *ζῶε* of GD 70B = DGE 57B = LSAG 216. 27; Schwyzler, pp. 661 f. [c]); our form would be historically identical with Sanskrit *dsat*.

and Ἐρατῶ (see also the unidentified scene on COR 65, a krater fragment showing a woman labelled Ἐράτᾱ or Ἐρατα[. . .]). A heroic symposion scene is shown on COR 12 and, similarly, a heroic love scene (not with a happy ending) on COR 113. Whether kraters, which are heavy and bulky, were suitable as love-gifts, may of course be doubted.

These hetaira-names lead directly to those inscriptions in which the beauty of a woman is praised (see §309). For erotic inscriptions that are more difficult to interpret, see §310.

In the case of the other erotic inscriptions with women's names (DOC 2 and ACC 3; see §310), it is not clear whether they were meant to be love-gifts, or, on the contrary, bore some sinister intent—for instance to arouse jealousy. An uncertain case of an erotic (?) owner's inscription may be COR 126 (see below, §310).

### §309. *Kalos-inscriptions*

EUB 3 and DOH 3 (which also shows a list of gods) praise the beauty of women. Both are on jars which are likely to have been used for pouring wine. AIG 3A is another possible woman's *kalos*- (better, *kale*-) inscription, praising a figure depicted (or is the praise directed at the vessel?).

For the male *kalos*-inscriptions BOI 9 and BOI 19 see §307.

If Arena's reading and interpretation of COR 121d (καλὸ ἐμὶ τὸ ποτήριον καν) is correct, the beginning of the statement is similar to a *kalos*-inscription. It remains doubtful whether the end might mean that the vessel is beautiful too (see §306); the other inscriptions on the vase are uncertain.

### §310. *Other erotic inscriptions*

On DOC 2 we twice read that a man loves a woman: (a) and (b) Γέλοιος Ἀκᾱς ἔραται; but a second man (or boy), we are told in (c) [E]ῡμαχος δὲ μισθὸ τ[. . .], does something for which he is paid.

For ACC 3, showing (a) Ἀπολλόδορος Ξύλλᾱς ἔραται, (b) Φόλχᾱς ἀ(μ)πῶγίξῃ Ἀπολλόδορον, (c) Ὀνάτᾱς Νιξῶς ἔραται, (d) Ἡύβριχος Παρμύνιος ἔ(ε)ραται, Cerri (1989) imagines a symposion context with women, youths, and adult men. He compares the sequence of statements (a) and (b) with Catullus 56. 5–7 'Deprendi modo pupulum puellae | trusantem; hunc ego, si placet Dionae, | protelo rigida mea cecidi.' The coincidence with Catullus' 'ego', his 'puella', and the nosy 'pupulus' may of course be fortuitous, such situations being perhaps—at least in the imagination of some—not infrequent. But what is the meaning of the other two statements, (c) and (d)? At first sight, they come as a disappointment, since they simply refer to four different people—two lovers and their sweethearts. There might, however, be some excitement in them if we imagined, for example, that Nixo, with whom Onatas is said to be in love, was in fact the girl-friend of Parmynis, who in turn was being pursued by Hybrichos . . .

On COR 126, a fragmentary pyxis (i.e. a receptacle for women's toilet articles), Τᾱς ἐρῶσᾱς [. . .] is legible and is likely to mean 'of the (she-)lover'. The woman in question may have to be interpreted as the 'active' partner in an ἐρῶσα-ἐρωμένη pair, analogous to the situation in the more common ἐρῶν-ἐρώμενος pairs. Although the easiest interpretation of the fragment is that of an owner's inscription (with ἐμὶ, as suggested by Stillwell (1948)), the possibility cannot be excluded that the sentence was more elaborate; theoretically, -ᾱς may even be accusative plural. If it is genitive, then COR 17 (see §311) and COR 50A, which are also possible cases of the property formula (see §301), may be compared; so too, for instance, CEG 447 and 460, which have a clear erotic quality, i.e. are dedications rather than just owners' inscriptions.

## PRIZES AND OTHER DEDICATIONS TO HUMANS, OR OWNERS' INSCRIPTIONS

### §311. *An aryballos as a prize for dancing skills*

On COR 17 (see §479), the first dancer in a non-heroic dancing scene has an elaborate hexametrical label, designating him by means of the property formula (see §301) as the owner, probably the winner, of the aryballos. Is there perhaps an erotic connotation too, in view of the fact that the prize is an oil-flask (see §§307, 472)?

### §312. *The 'quatrefoil'-decorated aryballoi*

'These four vases [i.e. our COR 47–50] are no doubt the work of one establishment, or of one artist, who threw in the prospective owner's name with the pattern, on request' (Payne (1931), 164), 'i.e., they are to that extent bespoke vases, though hardly made-to-order' (Amyx, p. 568). All four have quatrefoil decoration (Amyx, *ibid.*; see Dumont–Chaplain (1888), 185, fig. 39). It is important to observe that they cannot be potters' or painters' signatures, for—as was long since noted—two of them, COR 49 and COR 50, with different names on them, are written by the same hand. In view of the fact that they are oil-flasks, i.e. serving the same purpose as COR 17, which was a prize for a dancer (see §311), we may interpret them in a similar way. Just as on COR 17, the owners are men named in the nominative ('de rubrique'), although unlike Πυρρίᾱς they do not get a whole hexameter and a beautiful picture. Considering the almost 'industrial' production by different artists (probably in the same workshop), an erotic connotation seems less likely than for the oil-flasks described in §307 or for the more individual aryballos COR 17.

### §313. *Another likely metrical dedication to a man*

We would like to have more than the surviving tiny fragments of the vase ITH 1, which, in good epic style, says something like, 'He who (was my?) dear guest and faithful comrade . . .' and seems to have been at least four hexameters long. A dedication to a friend seems the most likely context.

§314. *A gift to a woman*

DOI 1 shows both a potter's inscription, 'Andrias made me', and a female owner's inscription (or a dedication to a lady), 'I belong to Archidika'. The exact context, i.e. whether there was a personal relationship between the two persons (see ad loc. about their names), we cannot tell.

ABECEDARIA

§315. *The function of abecedaria on vases*

We have five painted abecedaria on four pieces among our objects: BOI 14 (twice), COR 51*b* (besides Achilles and Troilos, only the latter being properly labelled), COP 86, ACC 2. The most likely function of such pieces is as a gift to a youngster, to provide an exemplar for practising the art of writing (see also §307); though COR 51, an aryballos, may also be suspected of belonging to the erotic sphere (see §§442, 472, and ad BOI 2).

INSCRIPTIONS OF UNCLEAR INTERPRETATION

§316. *Inscriptions which are unclear mainly because of their fragmentary state*

BOI 10*b* (a dedication?), BOI 27, AIG 3*F*, PCO 3, COR 1, 11, 29, 75, part of 121, COP 33, 63*a*, 82, 91–7, LAK 9, ITH 1, 3, CHA 29, ACC 1*A*, IOI 3, IOD 8, 10, NAU 1*Na–d*, and DOH 2 are all unclear. See also the nonsense inscriptions, §318. Certain other inscriptions are legible or even intelligible, but we are nevertheless unsure of their function and meaning. This is the case with PCO 1, DOC 7, DOH 3*b*.

§317. *Measuring cups and jars from Olympia?*

The vases from the sanctuary of Olympia (ELI 1–5), which bear such inscriptions as δᾱμόσιον, -ια 'public', ἄλς 'salt', καρπόμετρον (?) 'measure for corn' (?), Ὀλυμπία [?], are thought to be measuring vessels, the labels referring partly to the intended contents, partly to the community. The fact that the word 'public' occurs not only as graffiti but also in paint tells us that such vessels were already being produced for their specific 'public' function. (On the other

hand, the famous graffito ΦΕΙΔΙΟ:ΕΙΜΙ looks more like an owner's inscription.<sup>973</sup>) I am attracted by the thought that these vessels may have served for the distribution of standardized portions of food and wine to the workshops and building sites. The δᾱμος, who will have been the employer, may have had several reasons for marking these dishes: first, to make sure that they did not constantly disappear (i.e. the markings would be similar to owner's inscriptions); secondly, to guarantee their content (we may then compare δημόσιος πῆχυς, for which see Burkert (1996), 72).<sup>974</sup>

§318. *Nonsense inscriptions*

I have not normally included nonsense inscriptions because they do not contain much information. Nonsense inscriptions are mostly due to illiterate writers who knew how to draw a few signs very well (these people *were* good at drawing!) but were ignorant of their proper use. A less glaring form of nonsense inscription is the product of the copying mistake (see §112). There, too, the writer is likely to have been only more or less aware of what he was writing, though he often produced careful letters. Some of the inscriptions that we take for 'nonsense', of course, may just have been miswritten by the painter—or misunderstood by ourselves.

In addition to a few nonsense labels to figures depicted (see §403), we have come across COP 8*c* (in company with some meaningful inscriptions), COP 87–90, BOI 30, LAK 5, and (at least partly) IOI 6.

<sup>973</sup> Schiering (1964), 169 ff., ph. pl. 64, a small jug. The inscr. is not in the Elean dialect because of the gen. in -ῶ (instead of -ᾱ). It must therefore be taken for Attic, Pheidias' own dialect. Consequently the vertical stroke that makes a Θ out of the Ε must be accidental, since the Attic form of the verb is regularly written with an epsilon (see §219). The closed form of heta is no longer expected at this date anyway. See also *SEG* 31. 373 for further bibliography. Let us hope that the inscr. is genuine.

<sup>974</sup> Hamdorf (1981: 205) interprets a few graffiti with Ψ (p. 199, nos. 19 and 22) and ΨΩ (p. 199, no. 23) as ψωμός 'bit', or the like. This does not make good sense, nor do there seem to be any other forms with ω-vocalism from the root of ψήω 'rub, grind' which would suit. Therefore we should consider the Ψ to have the old Elean value [k<sup>h</sup>] (see Jeffery, pp. 206 f.), possibly still used as a local abbreviation at a time when the Ionic alphabet had normally taken over. This would allow a reading χ, which may stand for χοῖνιξ, the very unit that Hamdorf claims the two vessels in question represent. The inscr. χω of the smaller pot, on the other hand, may represent the same stem, or possibly χοῦς or a diminutive of it, which in its contracted form would have been χω- in Elean (by this stage the omega may well have been part of the late local alphabet, as was the case in Attic before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet; see §106).

# Labelled Scenes and Their Interpretation

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

### §401. *Collective labels*

Sometimes labels that are put next to a single figure are collective labels. Examples are COR 22 *Χάριτες* (§406), COR 56 *Χάριτες* [?] (ibid.), COR 28*Ai* *Χάριτε* (dual) as well as (a) *Μόσαι* and (b) *Μούσαι* (§421), COR 36*a* *Μοῖσαι* (§406), COR 131*b* *πύκτα* (dual) (§474), CHA 9*d* *Νεῖδε* [s] (§408). In the light of COR 71*d* *ἡίπ(π)οι* (a name *Ἡππῶι* makes no sense for a horse or a man), label (a) of the same vase, which could stand for the whole group of otherwise unnamed people watching or following a wedding procession, is likely to read *φίλοι* (rather than *Φιλόι*—as the name of the woman next to whom it is written; see ad loc. and §476).

### §402. *Mixed and pseudo-heroic scenes*

The stereotyped character of Corinthian vase-painting in particular only rarely allows us to distinguish heroic scenes from non-heroic ones by means of iconography alone. The labels are therefore very important. Yet even in clearly heroic episodes with one or several clearly heroic figures, names occur which cannot possibly be linked to myth. Such scenes I call mixed scenes. On the other hand, scenes of stereotyped character, full of non-heroic names, can contain the odd heroic character. Such scenes I call pseudo-heroic scenes.

The precise function of such a mixture, or—if there was no function—the motivation of the painter's decision, is hard to fathom. We could assume mere carelessness. This would seem to be the most likely solution for the pseudo-heroic scenes. For instance, on COR 89 (§468) in a chariot drawn by such famous horses as *Ξάνθος* and *Βάλιος* (and one *Φέρēs*, not otherwise known), there is a warrior with the grand-sounding but unimaginative name of *Λαφοπτόλεμος* (see §506) accompanied by a charioteer with the dull, speaking name (see §239) of *Ἀνιοχίδας*. Similar cases are COR 87 and 90 (both §468). On COR 100 (§469), between two horsemen with the dull names *Εὐφᾶμος* and *Πόλυς*, there runs a Gorgon, properly named *Σθειν(ν)ῶι*. COR 68 (§468), a carelessly labelled chariot scene, contains Hektor (miswritten) and his charioteer Kebriones. In a run-of-the-mill battle scene on COR 99 (§469), in contrast to such throwaway names (see §237) as *Δίων* (two or three times) and *Λαίδας*, one warrior is called *Αἴφας*.

Another battle scene that contains some grand-sounding names is COR 107 (§471), as does the departure scene CHA 3 (§467). On COR 16 (§472) two horsemen *Κάστορ* and *Ἰπ(π)ομαχίδας* (it is hard to imagine that the painter actually forgot the name Polydeukes) are galloping towards two men labelled *Φορβός* and *Φαστυπότας*; a possible parallel may be COR 37 (§469). In two boar-hunt scenes (COR 33 and 102; §473) some names or combinations of names also have a heroic touch.

For the mixed scenes, on the other hand, we could seek a deeper explanation. Was it perhaps fashionable to represent humans in a heroic context? Was there a connection with the function of the vases and the occasions for which they were made (see §506)? On COR 6 (§411), where Herakles and Iolaos are fighting the Hydra, an extra charioteer is watching them: he is labelled *Λάπυθος*, and not attested elsewhere. On COR 24 (§439) with the wedding of Helene and Paris, a warrior (i) *Ἡπ(π)όλυτος* is present whom we cannot link to the rest of the picture. In the scene of Hektor's departure on COR 70 (§444) three odd names, (d) *Αἰνός*, (e) *Κιανίς*, and (g) *Ἡππόμαχος*, labelling the characters of a distinct group within the scene, do not fit the heroic context. On COR 14 (§458) with the suicide of Aias there is a character labelled (e) *Νίκιπ(π)ος*.<sup>975</sup> Some of these names, it is true, are horsey names (see §238). But horsey names are frequent in historical times as well as in epic, and only one name (COR 14*e*) actually designates a horseman (COR 24*i* and 70*g* are foot-warriors, the former in a non-war scene). Therefore these names need not be mere inventions by the painter in the way of throwaway names (see §237), but could have a historical reality.

The difference between pseudo-heroic and mixed scenes is of course not always clear-cut. On COR 117 (§471) the hero *Αἴφας* is fighting *Δόλῶν* (which he never did, as far as we know), and, next to them, one *Τάρας* is fighting one *Πύλιος*, who are both possibly historical persons. Another battle scene, COR 46*A* (§462), shows a more or less equal mixture of clearly heroic names and names which cannot be attributed to mythical figures but could just as well be historical.

### §403. *Nonsense labels*

Nonsense labels are very frequent on Attic pottery (and keenly debated), whereas elsewhere they are comparatively rare. Amyx

<sup>975</sup> Similarly interpreted as a mixture by Amyx, pp. 553 f.

(1988: 601) lists eight cases on Corinthian vases (see introd. to Pt. I. 5 above (COR) ), and on the pinakes there is one more (COP 66*b*, besides a proper name which may, however, be faulty too); see also COP App. 1*B*, a wooden pinax. BOI 12 seems to be another case; and PCH 2, as well as some labels of LAK 3, may also belong to this category. For other nonsense inscriptions see §318.

#### HEROIC SCENES

*Note:* In §§404–82 below, catalogue numbers in bold figures indicate the particular vase(s) under discussion.

#### The Gods

##### §404. *The young Olympian gods*

Among the documents concerning the Olympians at the beginning of their reign belong the following. First PCO 6, the pinax of Corinthian style but made in, or for, Athens, showing the Birth of Athena.

A mid-sixth-century vase, probably also made in Athens but by an incomer from the Ionic Islands in the Aegean, IOI 2, shows the Gigantomachy (see the discussion of place of production, alphabet, and dialect, ad loc.). As for the participants in the battle, it was long since noted by Jahn (1863*bis*) that (*j*) Enkelados and (*k*) Polybotes are fighting with their traditional opponents, Athena and Poseidon (see Apollod. 1. 6. 2). The reading of (*e*) as Hera's name, perfectly possible from an epigraphical point of view, can be supported by her similar participation in a fight on an Attic vase.<sup>976</sup>

On CHA 10 we find Zeus fighting Typhon, a myth first attested (in Greece) in Hes. *Th.* 820 ff.; on the opposite side there is Atalante's wrestling match (see §425).

##### §405. *Unspecified scenes with gods*

A Euboian vase of c.600 BC, EUB 1, shows three goddesses, the third of whom is labelled 'goddess', θεῖ. On COR 45, in a departure scene, a lady bidding farewell to the departing warrior is labelled Ἀθᾶνᾶ. Three youths riding on winged horses and holding tridents, one of them labelled Ποσειδάων, are depicted on COR 97, which, according to Lorber (pp. 85 f.), simply reflects 'das in dieser Zeit so beliebte Schema der dreifachen Wiederholung'. We may compare EUB 1, just mentioned. Amyx's statement (p. 583), 'The further implication is that neither the figures nor the inscription should be taken very seriously', on the other hand, is exaggerated. The tridents and the wings of the horses clearly show that the artist intended to paint the god; Poseidon was Pegasos' father, and his general connection with horses (Ἰππιος *vel sim.*) is well known too.<sup>977</sup>

<sup>976</sup> The cup ARV 1318 f., no. 1, with one Φοῖτος as her opponent; see n. 635.

<sup>977</sup> A good account of this aspect of the god is still de Ridder (1898), 228–32. See also Nilsson (1967), 448, and Trümper (1986), 68–70, 76 f.; also §302 above.

Poseidon is also frequent in unspecified scenes on inscribed Corinthian pinakes (COP), often together with Amphitrite (as in Hes. *Th.* 930), and sometimes in a chariot, a context reminiscent of a wedding scene (COP 56 and 80, which only preserve parts of horse-names, may have been of the last type; see also two dinoi by Sophilos: Immerwahr, nos. 61 and 65). Poseidon is shown twice with Zeus (COP 42 and 75), and once with Amphitrite, Athena (in what function?), and Triton (COP 44); Athena is also shown on COP 76. On many of these pieces there is also a dedicatory inscription (COP 2C, 3, 5, 11, 13, 20, 35, 37, 38, 42, 44, 47, 58; on COP 8 and 27 the label is uncertain); on others no such dedications are preserved (they may just be lost; COP 68–74). On COP 83 and 84 there seem to be labels for Poseidon, whose figure, however, is not shown. For these pinakes see also §302.

##### §406. *Unidentified scenes with gods*

Apollon (Ἀπέλλων) is shown on COR 20, perhaps followed by the Muses. This constellation is certain in the case of COR 36, and since Apollon with the Muses also occurs on COR 28A at the wedding of Herakles and Hebe (see §421), and, for instance, on the François Vase (ABV 76. 1) at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis,<sup>978</sup> a wedding is a likely context for the second or both of our unidentified scenes. For the Lesbian diphthong in COR 36*a* Μοῖσαι and its implications see §508. Apollon's name is also attested on COP App. 1*D*.

On IOI 4 Aphrodite (named) and probably Ares (the label is lost, but the name must have been short) are shown in a chariot. They occur together in a chariot in the above-mentioned scene on the François Vase, for example, but other gods' weddings would be equally suitable.

The most likely context for the two goddesses Leto and Artemis (mother and daughter) in a chariot on CHA 22 is again a procession to one of the divine weddings.

The Charites are preserved on the two fragments COR 22 and 56. Again, the above-mentioned COR 28A, where they are following Aphrodite, gives a plausible setting.

Dionysos is named twice on Corinthian vases: once in an unclear context (COR 31, together with an incised dedication to some deity), once with Satyrs and Maenads (COR 118).

Hera occurs in an unclear context on COR 122.<sup>979</sup>

On a small Naukratite fragment (NAU 1*Ma*) there are probably the Muses and a warrior.

On the fragment COR 96*B* there is a Nereid (Ἰνδοτομέδοισα) rushing to left, and on COR 96*A* two women are hastening to left, the remains of a label pointing to a poetic form of a name in -άνειρα. Both fragments may be from the scene of Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters (see §433).

<sup>978</sup> See Wachter (1991*b*).

<sup>979</sup> Amyx (p. 591) attributes the label to the third woman. The direction principle (see §105), however, makes the fourth more likely. His interpretation, a priori dubious, of the group of three women as 'Hera (whose head is larger than the others), shown with two worshippers?', is therefore to be rejected. Also, the head of the first woman must have been as large as that of the third. The group of three women could be e.g. the Charites, but this is no more than a guess.



Persephone is shown and labelled  $\Phi\epsilon\rho\sigma[\epsilon\phi-. . .]$  or  $\Phi\epsilon\rho(\rho)\iota[\phi-. . .]$  on the very late Corinthian fragment **COR 124B** from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth.

§407. *Unspecified dancing scenes with Satyrs and Maenads*

We have two inscribed vases showing a dance of Satyrs and Maenads, both by the Chalcidian Inscription P.<sup>980</sup> On **CHA 1** all names are easily legible, whereas those on **CHA 14**, which is badly damaged, are more difficult.

On **CHA 1** all names, both of Satyrs and Maenads, are non-compound, and mostly of the speaking type (see §239). Those of the women, who do not display any special features, refer to their activities, such as (b)  $M\acute{o}\lambda\pi\epsilon$  and (h)  $X\omicron\rho\acute{o}$  and more generally perhaps (d)  $K\lambda\nu\tau\acute{o}$ , or they evoke other desirable female characteristics: a lovely perfume in the case of (j)  $M\nu\rho\acute{o}$  and probably (l)  $F\iota\acute{o}$ , pretty hair in the case of (f)  $\Xi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{o}$ . They are with one exception formed with the common suffix  $-\acute{o}\iota-$  (see §236). The names of the men allude to features of their appearance: (c)  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\nu$  refers to the shaggy pelt, (e)  $H\iota\pi\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  to the horse-tail and hooves, (g)  $\Delta\acute{o}\rho\kappa\iota\varsigma$  to the big eyes,<sup>981</sup> (i)  $\acute{\omicron}\Phi\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$  to the long ears, and (k)  $[\Sigma]\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  to the snub-nose. Their formation, however, varies considerably:  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\nu$  is an *n*-stem name,  $H\iota\pi\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  an adjective,  $\Delta\acute{o}\rho\kappa\iota\varsigma$  an *i*-stem name,  $\acute{\omicron}\Phi\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$  a masculine  $\bar{a}$ -stem name derived from a noun,  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  an *o*-stem adjective. In view of all this, how should we take (a)  $\acute{\Lambda}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$ , obviously another  $\bar{a}$ -stem name?

It is important to note that although such Satyr features as the horse-tail and hooves, the long ears, the flat nose, and the big eyes are clearly represented in the painting and reflected in some of the names, the bearers of the names are not really individualized and the features are the same for them all. The same is true of  $M\acute{o}\lambda\pi\epsilon$  and  $X\omicron\rho\acute{o}$  who are dancing no more enthusiastically than their companions. The Satyr labelled  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\nu$  has no pelt, although this was obviously an important part of these creatures' outward appearance, as can be seen from other representations;<sup>982</sup> therefore  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\nu$  can be called a speaking name (§239) here too. Likewise the colour of  $\Xi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{o}$ 's hair is no lighter than her companions', but as women in bf. vase-painting are only rarely shown with special attributes, this does not matter either.<sup>983</sup> It is also

important to note that several of the Satyr- and Maenad-names on our vase recur on Attic vases: Simos, Choro, and probably Dorkis in the same form; others in similar forms, namely Myro as Myris, and Molpe as Molpaïos (and Choro, again, as Choranthe and Choreia).<sup>984</sup> We may take all this as an indication that at least some of these names were in a way traditional, imagining, for instance, some underlying source in literature, or at least folk-tale, folk-song, or the like. At any rate, they seem not to be due to spontaneous creation on the part of the vase-painter.

Up to now  $\acute{\Lambda}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\varsigma$  has been taken for a hypocoristic of some compound name like  $\acute{\Lambda}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ , etc. This may of course be the correct interpretation of the historical name  $\acute{\Lambda}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ . Yet in view of the speaking names (§239) on our vase this is not a satisfactory explanation for our Satyr's name. Fränkel (1912a: 12 f.) has therefore already tried to find a suitable meaning for it. She interprets it as 'Angänger', on account of the Satyrs' threatening attitude to humans and nymphs when they 'come across' them. Fränkel does not make it clear exactly how the name might have been formed. But she may have had in mind one of the following. (1) A compound of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota-$  and the root (ε)λ- 'go'; this is impossible, however, since this root is not used in such a manner. (2) A formation from  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\omega$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  'come across';<sup>985</sup> a study of word-formation, however, clearly shows that names in  $-\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  are not derived from verbal stems, but mostly from nouns, less often from adjectives.<sup>986</sup> (3) A derivative from  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  'opposite'; yet, there are no such derivatives from nouns

Silen und Nympe hausen'. No cavern seems to have been depicted on the vase, however ('unter Rebzweigen', Fränkel).

<sup>984</sup> See Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), *passim*. As can be seen from her list, on Attic vases too (mostly rf.) there are names which recur several times: Briakchos, Chorillos, Hedyoinos, Kissos, Komos, Lasios (also bf.), Marsyas, Phlebiippos, Sikinnos, Silenos (also bf.; generic noun), Simos (also bf.), Spholeas bf. (see n. 714), Stysippos, Terpaulos, Terpon; Bacche (generic noun), Choro, Dione, Eudia, Galene, Komoidia, Mainas (generic noun), Methyse, Nympe, Oinante, Opora, Paidia, Phanope, Thaleia, Thyone, Tragoidia; most of them, however, seem to reflect a tradition different from that on our Chalcidian vases (Choreia, by the way, is also attested as the name of a famous Maenad in Paus. 2. 20. 4).

<sup>985</sup> Her references to Hekate  $\acute{\Lambda}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$  and the epithet  $E\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  are irrelevant, since these show an additional  $-a-$ . For analogous reasons the two glosses  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta$  'prayer' and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\eta}$  'gift', as well as the non-cognate gloss  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (ntr.) 'width' (see LSJ), need not be taken into consideration.

<sup>986</sup> For those derived from bodily features see above, n. 535. Many more are found in Bechtel (in the section on non-compound names, pp. 622–37): apart from the ones derived from bodily features there are  $\Theta\omega\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\theta\acute{\omega}\psi$  'flatterer', p. 505),  $K\nu\omega\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\kappa\nu\acute{\omega}\psi$  'snake', p. 582),  $K\omicron\kappa\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\kappa\kappa\upsilon\eta$  'cuckoo', p. 582),  $\Lambda\alpha\mu\pi\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  'torch', p. 610),  $\omicron\mu\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (probably <  $\omicron\mu\beta\rho\omicron\varsigma$  'rain'; Bechtel (p. 585) thinks of a young animal  $\omicron\beta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , but see his pp. 598 f.),  $\Sigma\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\sigma\pi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  'cliff', p. 507),  $T\rho\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\xi$  'must', p. 598; also  $T\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega\nu$ , p. 591),  $T\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , pp. 514, 570),  $\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , p. 573); 'aus unbekanntem Appellativum'  $\Gamma\alpha\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (p. 499, also  $\Gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\omega\nu$ ),  $N\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (p. 478; unclear derivative from  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ?, see Chantraine, s.v.  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , 2 and 3),  $X\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\chi$  or  $\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , p. 502). From adjectives:  $E\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$  'seventh', p. 521),  $K\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\beta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  'crooked', p. 492),  $\Lambda\alpha\iota\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\lambda\alpha\iota\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  'nasty', p. 503),  $\Xi\omicron\upsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\xi\omicron\upsilon\theta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  'yellowish', pp. 495, 575),  $\Sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (<  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  'crook-legged', p. 492). Only for two names could derivation from a verb be suspected:  $N\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (from  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$ ?) and  $T\epsilon\gamma\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (from  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\omega$  'snore'?). Bechtel (p. 522) connects the former with  $\nu\epsilon(\omicron)\mu\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ; but a derivative from  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (ntr.) seems more likely to me, parallel to  $T\epsilon\gamma\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  which Bechtel (p. 497) derives from  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  (also ntr.). In both names  $-\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  may stand for  $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\varsigma$  and derivation from a verb is at the least very dubious.

<sup>980</sup> An uninscribed one is Basle, Antikenmus. inv. Käppeli 417. A new list of Satyr- and Maenad-names is added to the article of Kossatz-Deißmann (1991) (pp. 147 ff.).

<sup>981</sup> This is the only case where the ability rather than the external appearance of the part of the body seems to be stressed. At least there is no obvious concrete noun from this stem (apart from the *hapax legomenon*  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  ntr., Nic. *Al.* 481); but it is not a large step from a verbal abstract to a concrete notion in this sphere, e.g. in the case of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\mu\alpha$  in view of its formal equivalent  $\delta\acute{\iota}\mu\mu\alpha$ .

<sup>982</sup> A good example occurs on a vase by the same painter; see above, n. 531, ad (g)  $\Delta\acute{o}\rho\kappa\iota\varsigma$ .

<sup>983</sup> Fränkel (1912a: 21) makes a similar observation concerning a Maenad  $\acute{\Lambda}\nu\tau\rho\acute{o}$  (together with a Satyr  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ) on a probably Attic bf. amphora (still lost?, see Kossatz-Deißmann (1991), 175). This name, to whom 'bei Homer und Hesiod der Nereidenname  $\Sigma\pi\epsilon\acute{\omega}$  entspricht, erzählt von dem  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\rho\omega$ , dem  $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , in dem nach der Schilderung des homerischen Hymnos an Aphrodite (V. 263)

or adjectives in *-ιος*, and a name formed like this would not yield a satisfactory meaning.<sup>987</sup>

In view of the fact that (1) all the other Satyrs and one of the Maenads (*Ξανθό*) have names derived from a specific physical trait (also, slightly more abstract, *Μυρό* and *Φιό*), and that (2) names in *-ῖας* (Ionic *-ῖες*) are particularly frequently derived from such features,<sup>988</sup> it is clear what we should expect, namely a derivative from a noun for a typical feature of the Satyrs' bodies. Is there a noun in Greek which would suit our name formally and semantically?

There is indeed a noun *ἄντ-*, a consonant stem (such as we have in *ᾠδατ-ῖες*), from which the name could be derived. Of this noun, only the dative-locative singular *ἀντί* (used as an adverb and preposition) and the accusative singular *ἄντα* (occurring occasionally in early epic texts) are preserved (see both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. *ἄντα*). The form *ἀντί* normally means 'instead of', but originally meant 'in front of, opposite' (see LSJ).<sup>989</sup> Closer to a substantival use is the archaic accusative *ἄντα*. This too is mainly used adverbially as an accusative of direction,<sup>990</sup> meaning 'over against, face to face',<sup>991</sup> it is entirely formulaic in the *Odyssey* where it occurs only with the participle *τιτυσκομένους* 'aiming forward'.<sup>992</sup> As a preposition (always with the gen.), it means 'opposite, against' (mostly in a hostile sense) in the *Iliad*<sup>993</sup> (also Alc. fr. 41 *PMG*), and 'opposite, before' in the *Odyssey*.<sup>994</sup> Of the form *ἄντα* there are derivatives with *-α-* already in Homer, viz. the adverb *ἄντην* with a similar meaning, and *ἀνταῖος* 'standing opposite', *ἀντάω* 'come across, accept'. These show that *ἄντα* was no longer invariably thought of as an accusative of a consonant stem at that time.

<sup>987</sup> We may perhaps be tempted to think of a meaning 'dancing partner'. Yet in their dances Satyrs ('S') and Maenads ('M') are not grouped in precise pairs. CHA 14 shows them in the order SMS MS SM SM SMS (total: 7 S and 5 M). Our vase CHA 1, it is true, depicts them in a 'regular' order (*a*)-(*l*) SMSMSMSMSMSM. But they are not actually grouped in pairs: 5 M are dancing to r., 1 to l., but only 4 S are dancing to l., and 2 to r.; 3 of the 5 M to r. are looking back over their shoulders. We therefore have to divide the string, if at all, between back-to-back figures not looking back over their shoulders, and this yields SMSMS MSMS M SM.

<sup>988</sup> For examples see nn. 535 and 986.

<sup>989</sup> e.g. in the Law of Gortyn (1. 40) *ἀντὶ μαϊνύρων δυνόν* 'in the presence of two witnesses'.

<sup>990</sup> Schwyzler, pp. 68, 441 f., 549.

<sup>991</sup> *Il.* (six times) *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄντα (F) ἰδὼν ἠλεύατο χάλκεον ἔγχος* (13. 184, 404, 503, 16. 610, 17. 305, 526); similarly 22. 274 *καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄντα (F) ἰδὼν ἠλεύατο φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ*, 23. 686 *ἄντα δ' ἀνασχομένω χερσὶ* 'swinging back with their hands against each other'. 19. 162 f. *οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πρόπαν ἡμῶν . . . | ἄκμηнос σίτοινο δυνήσεται ἄντα μάχεσθαι*.

<sup>992</sup> *Od.* 21. 48, 421, 22. 266, 24. 181.

<sup>993</sup> *Il.* 8. 424 *τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος αἰεῖραι* (similarly 428), 16. 621 f. *ὅς κέ σεῦ ἄντα | ἔλθῃ ἀμυνόμενος*, 17. 29 f. *εἰ κέ μεν ἄντα | στήνῃς*, 17. 166 f. *Αἴαντος μεγάλτορος οὐκ ἐτάλασας | στήμεναι ἄντα κατ' ὅσσε ἰδὼν*, 20. 69 *ἄντα δ' Ἐνναλίω θεᾷ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνῃ (ἵστατο)* (similarly 73, 75, 76), 21. 331 f. *ἄντα σέθεν γὰρ | Ξάνθον δυνήεντα μάχη ἥσσομεν εἶναι*, 21. 477 *ἄντα Ποσειδάωνος ἐναντίβιον πολεμίζεω*. Not in a hostile sense 2. 626 *πέρην ἁλὸς Ἥλιδος ἄντα* 'across the sea, opposite Elis'.

<sup>994</sup> *Od.* 1. 334 *ἄντα παρεῖδαν σχομένην λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα* 'in front of her cheeks' (also at 16. 416, 18. 210, 21. 65), 4. 159 f. *ἐπεσβολίας ἀναφαίνεω | ἄντα σέθεν* 'in front of you, at you', 6. 141 *στῇ δ' ἄντα σχομένη* 'opposite', 22. 231 f. *πῶς . . . | ἄντα μνηστήρων ὀλοφύρεαι ἄλκιμος εἶναι* 'in view of the suitors'.

There are, however, two formulae in which *ἄντα* is clearly a noun and which must therefore considerably pre-date Homeric times. This noun, *ἄντα*, means 'face', more generally 'appearance'. The first formula, attested only in *Il.* 24 and a Homeric hymn, is *θεοῖσι ἄντα ἐώικει*.<sup>995</sup> This is an accusative of respect. The second, which is more frequent, is the phrase *ἐσάντα* (or rather, *ἐς ἄντα*) (*F*) *ἰδεῖν*. It is normally used in the context of recognition: *Il.* 17. 333 f. *Αἰνείας δ' ἐκατηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα | ἔγνω ἐσάντα ἰδὼν*; *Od.* 11. 142 ff. *οὐδ' ἐὼν υἱὸν | ἔτλη ἐσάντα ἰδεῖν οὐδὲ προτιμυθήσασθαι*. | *εἰπέ, ἄναξ, πῶς κέν με ἀναγνοίῃ τὸν ἐόντα*; *Od.* 16. 457 f. *μὴ ἐ συμβώτης | γνοίῃ ἐσάντα ἰδὼν*; *Od.* 15. 532 *ἔγνω γάρ μιν ἐσάντα ἰδὼν οἰωνὸν ἐόντα* (μιν belongs with *ἔγνω*); but it is used outside the context of recognition at *Od.* 17. 238 f. *τὸν δὲ συμβώτης | νεῖκεσ' ἐσάντα ἰδὼν*. *Od.* 10. 453 f. *οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλους εἶδον φράσσαντό τ' ἐσάντα*, | *κλαῖον* contains the same formula in a recognition scene, but, with its *ἐσάντα* set apart from *εἶδον*, it shows that the phrase was no longer understood as 'look into someone's face'; this is even clearer in *Od.* 5. 217 *εἶδος ἀκιδνοτέρη μέγεθός τ' εἰσάντα ἰδέσθαι* ('smaller to look at in her appearance'). This formula therefore is likely to be very old.<sup>996</sup>

Apart from *ἐ(ι)σάντα* there are other combinations of a preposition and *ἄντα*: for example, three in one line at *Il.* 23. 116 *πολλὰ δ' ἄντα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον*,<sup>997</sup> where *-αντα* has no meaning of its own (people walking around 'up and down and crosswise' looking for firewood).<sup>998</sup> These three may be new creations of the poet. It is difficult to say whether these adverbs were formed because *-αντα* was thought of as no more than a suffix, or because it was still felt that *ἄντα* was a nominal form; at any rate, *ἄντα* alongside *ἀντί* could easily be understood as an accusative, and the prepositions with which it is combined would all require an accusative in a context of 'going here and there'.

Only once is *ἐναντα* attested in Homer, namely at *Il.* 20. 67 f. *ἐναντα Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος | ἵστατ'*, where it is used exactly like *ἄντα*, *ibid.* 69 (in the hostile sense). The question is whether this is also a new creation or not. As it is likely that *-αντα* was still felt to be an accusative, the form is remarkable, for Homer does not normally use *ἐν* with an accusative. It is therefore less likely to be a new creation than the combinations in 23. 116 mentioned just above—especially since there was no reason in the context in question to use *ἐν* ('where') rather than *ἐ(ι)ς*

<sup>995</sup> *Il.* 24. 630 *ὅσσοις ἔην, οἷός τε θεοῖσι γὰρ ἄντα ἐώικει*; *h. Cer.* 241 *ὡς προθαλῆς τελέθεσκε, θεοῖσι δὲ ἄντα ἐώικει*.

<sup>996</sup> The version with *ἐς* is not necessarily an extension of an earlier *\*ἄντα Φιδῶν*, as is claimed at *Lfgre* i. 913. 19 ff. (Schwyzer, pp. 618 f., given as a reference, does not say this). At least this would go back to a period too remote to allow of any sound judgement (pre- and postpositions were already a regular feature in Mycenaean). And since the nominal character of the form *ἄντα* is much better preserved in the phrase with *ἐς* than it is in the adverbial usage (which is also the opinion given at *Lfgre* i. 914. 38 ff.), we should a priori take it for very archaic.

<sup>997</sup> Of these only *κάταντα* seems to occur again (see LSJ, 2nd cent. AD).

<sup>998</sup> Not 'auf, und zwar geradeaus, gerade aufwärts' (etc.) as Schwyzler (p. 632) claims. There is also one occurrence of *πρόσαντα* 'upwards' (see LSJ; 4th cent.), maybe inspired by our very line.



(‘whither’).<sup>999</sup> More plausibly this phrase is an archaism.<sup>1000</sup> This view is supported by two further arguments. First, there are other attestations of this phrase, all in choral lyric, which cannot claim to be derived from this exceptional Homeric passage.<sup>1001</sup> And secondly, there are in Homer clear remains of an old phonetic rule according to which we should have *εἰς*, but not *ἐς* before a vowel.<sup>1002</sup> Hence phrasal *ἐσάντα* does not look old. But as it must be old in view of its formulaic use, we can only conclude that its form must be due to some remodelling. The starting-point is clear: traditional *\*ἐν ἄντα* (*F*)*ιδών* was replaced by the metrically equivalent *\*ἐς ἄντα* (*F*)*ιδών* because *ἐν* + accusative did not suit the Ionic epic dialect of the time and *εἰς*- was impossible for metrical reasons.<sup>1003</sup> But why do we have *ἐναντα* in *Il.* 20. 67? This can only be because the *ἐν* in the traditional *ἐναντα* did not clash with *ἵσταμαι* (‘where’ or ‘whither’) as much as with *ἰδεῖν* (‘whither’ only).<sup>1004</sup>

We have found a noun *ἀντ-* with the meaning ‘face’. But this noun was by no means a current item of the Greek lexicon at the time of our literary evidence; on the other hand, we cannot say how far back into the Dark Age we should have to go in order to find the word in its proper nominal sense. Now, the vague rendering ‘face’ may be determined more precisely. The old use, in the context of looking at and recognizing, suggests that its precise meaning is the region of the eyes, and indeed the point between the eyes, or rather slightly above their level in the middle of the forehead, upon which one fixes one’s eyes when looking into someone else’s face (e.g. in a dispute, match, or fight). The meaning of *ἀντ-* did not, however, include the eyes, which are *ὄσσε* etc., nor did it embrace such details as eyelashes, eyebrows, or crows’-feet. In Greek the spot between the eyes at which one looks is *μέτ-ωπον* (also *μετώπιον*, both found in Homer),<sup>1005</sup> meaning ‘forehead’. The noun *μέτωπον* (or *μετώπιον*) is clearly a more recent formation than the old root-noun *ἀντ-*. It seems likely that at some early stage *μέτωπον* started to replace *ἀντ-*,

<sup>999</sup> *ἵσταμαι* can be used with an expression of direction, e.g. *Il.* 17. 29 f. *εἴ κέ μιν ἄντα | στήης* (not *ἀντί*), *Od.* 17. 447 *στήθ’ οὐτως ἐς μέσσον* (not *ἐν μέσσῳ*), *Il.* 24. 169 *στή δὲ παρὰ Πριάμῳ* (not *Πριάμῳ*). However, the construction with an expression of place is also used.

<sup>1000</sup> *ἐν* + acc. is certainly older than *ἐ(ι)ς* + acc., see Schwyzler, p. 619, Schwyzler–Debrunner, p. 456.

<sup>1001</sup> The occurrence of this phrase in Pind. *Nem.* 10. 66 *ἐναντα στάθεν* (hostile) corresponds to this poet’s use of *ἐν* + acc., which is often considered a feature of Boiotian, Pindar’s home dialect. But as there are hardly any other Boiotisms in his poems, Trümper (1986: 101 with n. 51) put forward the possibility that it is an archaic feature of choral lyric. This view gets further support from the other attestations of *ἐναντα*. The first is Soph. *Ant.* 1299 (lyr.), which is one of the clearest cases of the nominal use of *ἄντα*: *τὸν δ’ ἐναντα προσβλέπων νεκρόν* (one is tempted to write: *ἐν ἄντα*—there is no need to change to a gen. *νεκροῦ*). The second is Eur. *Or.* 1478 (lyr.) *ἐναντα δ’ ἦλθε* (hostile sense). (The dubious passage Tim. *Pers.* 11 with *ἐνα[ν]ται* hardly belongs here.)

<sup>1002</sup> See Morpurgo Davies (1964), 163 f. It is true that Homer uses *ἐς* also (though rather rarely) before a vowel, but this is a comparatively young feature of the Ionic epic language.

<sup>1003</sup> *εἰσάντα*, which occurs only twice (*Od.* 5. 217, see above; Hes. fr. 193. 3 M–W) and not in a formula, must be considered a recent variant.

<sup>1004</sup> One may wonder whether the distribution is due to the poet or rather to later redaction at a time when *ἐναντα* was understood merely as an adverb.

<sup>1005</sup> See Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. One thinks of a word from the animal sphere.

which was more and more confined to the adverbial use. The shift of meaning from ‘forehead’ to ‘in front of’, and in particular to ‘opposite’ and ‘against’ in a hostile sense,<sup>1006</sup> is of course a natural one (compare ‘in front’).<sup>1007</sup>

The meaning ‘forehead’ of our root-noun *ἀντ-* (or *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-*) is also attested in other IE languages, notably in Hittite with dative-locative *handi* etc. ‘front, forehead’,<sup>1008</sup> and in the derivatives OHG *andi*, *endi*, ON *enni* ‘forehead’, and Latin *antiae* ‘forelock’—though more frequently the root appears as an adverb or preposition meaning ‘opposite’ and ‘next to’ (Sanskrit *ánti*), ‘in front of’ (Latin *ante*), ‘up to’ (Oscan *ant*), *vel sim.* It may not be by chance that the nominal meaning of the root-noun is best preserved in the two languages from which we have the earliest attestations, Greek and Hittite.

We may of course wonder whether our root-noun *ἀντ-* can really be preserved in its original meaning ‘forehead’ in our name *Ἀντίεως*. One would be the more sceptical if a large and bald forehead were not one of the most typical features of Satyrs. It is true that it only starts to become a distinct feature in vase-painting from the second half of the sixth century onwards,<sup>1009</sup> and is particularly frequent on fifth-century Attic vases.<sup>1010</sup> It is, however, so typical that even baby-Satyrs are shown bald-headed.<sup>1011</sup> Also, Satyrs are far more often depicted full face than any other figures, which shows that the staring face and eyes are important.<sup>1012</sup> On

<sup>1006</sup> It is precisely on the forehead that aggression is first expressed, by frowning and the lowering of the brows. For this reason language often connects forehead and fight: see German ‘jemandem die Stirn bieten’; French ‘faire front à quelqu’un’, ‘et vous avez le front de me dire cela!’, ‘front de bataille’; English ‘to show a bold front’, etc. And back with Homer we find the formulaic situation, when a warrior hits his opponent on the forehead (this seems to be the spot one aims for), *Il.* 11. 95 . . . *μετώπιον ὀξεί δουρὶ* (Agamemnon kills Oileus), 16. 739 . . . *μετώπιον ὀξεί λαῖ* (Patroklos kills Kebriones). Geryones is often represented with one of Herakles’ arrows in one of his foreheads (or eyes), e.g. on *ABV* 108. 14 (Brize (1980), 44, 134, no. 13, ph. pl. 2. 1), *ABV* 136. 49 (Brize, op. cit. 44, 134 f., no. 14, ph. pl. 2. 2), *ARV* 62. 84 (Brize, op. cit. 46, 139, no. 52, dr. pl. 4. 1), *ARV* 16 f., no. 17 (Brize, op. cit. 47, 139, no. 54, ph. pl. 4. 2), and indeed already on the 7th-cent. Samian bronze relief, Brize (1985: see pp. 56 f.; Eurytion too has an arrow in his forehead); one wonders whether the almost stereotyped position of the arrow reflects some old tradition of the story. On our CHA 2 and 9, however, no such arrow is shown.

<sup>1007</sup> Pre- or postpositions often develop from nouns (French *chez*, Latin *causā*, German *wegen*, *mittels*, etc.).

<sup>1008</sup> See Szemerényi (1982). There are the nom. /hants/, the frequent dat.-loc. *handi*, the directive case *handa*, and perhaps the abl. *handaz* (the last two used only adverbially). It is true that the word is never expressly marked as a part of the body with the determinative <sup>120</sup> (p. 226 n. 56), but Eichner (1980: 150) interpreted the form KBo XIII 31. II. 6 *handissi* as ‘an seiner Stirn’.

<sup>1009</sup> A clear and early example is *ARV* 70 f., no. 3 (Simon–Hirmer (1981), 96 f., ph. pl. 97, below), on a bilingual ‘eye-cup’ of c. 520 BC. We may wonder, by the way, whether this special type of cup, whose eyes ‘stare’ at the drinker’s companions, and whose use is after all closely related to Dionysian pleasures and the world of the Satyrs, should be seen in this connection too.

<sup>1010</sup> e.g. *ABV* 507. 32; *ARV* 370. 13, cited above, ad our CHA 1g; *ARV* 371. 15 = Simon–Hirmer (1981), 111 f., ph. pl. 145; *ARV* 462. 48 = Simon–Hirmer (1981), 121 f., ph. pl. 168: all vases are of the early 5th cent.

<sup>1011</sup> See e.g. Brommer (1937), 27.

<sup>1012</sup> Examples in Th. H. Carpenter (1986), 96 n. 92. A good one is the flute-playing Satyr on *ARV* 182. 6 = Simon–Hirmer (1981), 103 f., phs. pls. 120 and 123, whose eyebrows are joined above his eyes, giving him a particularly strange appearance; to his left is a fair-haired Maenad, see Simon–Hirmer, op. cit., pl. xxxiv (she would certainly be called Xantho, as our CHA 1f).

the other hand, the bald forehead is never an ‘obligatory’ feature, like the hooves and the pelt (which in fact are eventually omitted in Attic vase-painting). The possibility cannot be excluded therefore that it was a much older, literary motif that was just not portrayed in the earliest representations of Satyrs that we know.

If our explanation of the name *Ἀντίεξ* is correct, this has considerable implications for Satyrs in general. For in that case the name of this Satyr must date from a time when the noun *άντ-* could still be understood, and this, as far as we know, was no longer the case in the age of Homer. Our first representations of Satyrs date from the early sixth century.<sup>1013</sup> By what means our name, probably together with the others, would have been transmitted, we cannot tell. Some poetic, maybe popular, tradition, however, seems likely, taking into consideration the linguistically archaizing form *῾Οφάντιεξ* (see ad loc.), and the more widespread Satyr- and Maenad-names Simos, Choro, and probably Dorkis (see above). The merry family of Satyrs and Maenads, and the rout of Dionysos, a god who is three times mentioned (though on the whole avoided) in the *Iliad* and already attested in Mycenaean,<sup>1014</sup> were features of ‘low’ and popular religion and may be very old.

**CHA 14** shows several names which we have just met, viz. (a) *Σ(ι)μος*, (b) *Ξανθόι*, (d) *Φιός*, (h) *Δόρκις*; also (c) *Ηίπ(π)ος* is similar to **CHA 1e** *Ηίππαίος* (the Satyrs on **CHA 14** have horse-tails but no hooves, those on **CHA 1** have both). These names, therefore, belonged to the repertory of the Inscription P. and were not just spontaneous ideas; it may not be just chance, then, that four of the five, (a)–(d), are at the beginning of the sequence. Others on **CHA 14**, however, are more special—at least as far as we can judge—for instance (g) *Φοίβεξ*, (i) *Ναίς*, and the uncertain ones, (e), (f), (j); one is dull, viz. (k) *Δ[δ]ρόξ*, being almost a throwaway name (no wonder, since it is the last in the sequence; see §237).

## Perseus

### §408. *Perseus’ deeds*

‘Chronologically’, the first event in this context is shown on **BOI 13**, where Danae receives the golden rain from Zeus. Her child was Perseus.

In order to kill the Gorgon Medusa, Perseus received wings, a cap, and a bag from the Graiai, as shown on **CHA 9** (on the other side of which are Herakles and Geryones).

Thus equipped, he overpowered the Gorgon, cutting her head off. Several vases show Perseus fleeing (with Medusa’s head) and pursued by the sister Gorgons, namely **BOI 8**, **COR 55**, **COR 106**, and probably **COR 124Aa** (see §409 below). On

<sup>1013</sup> But see also Hes. fr. 123. 2 M–W *καὶ γένος οὐτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμνηχανοεργῶν* (‘mischievous’).

<sup>1014</sup> See also the new attestation *di-wo-nu-so* (dat.) in a clearly religious context (together with *di-we* ‘to Zeus’) on the tablet KH Gq 5 from Chania (Kydonia): Hallager–Vlasakis–Hallager (1992), esp. 75 ff.; Olivier (1993).

**COR 106** our new reading has provided the name of the Gorgons’ father, who is normally *Φόρκυς* or *Φόρκος* in literature, often in general the Old Man of the Sea, sometimes individualized as Nereus’ brother and therefore a son of Pontos (Hes. *Th.* 233–8; see West (1966), 232 ff.). The name is spelled *Πόρϕ[ος]* on our vase, i.e. with pi instead of phi. This finds support from, and in turn supports, a passage of Alcman. One half of the evidence, though indirect, is certain, namely *Νηρεὺς· θαλάσσιος δαίμων. Ἀλκμάν καὶ Πόρκον ὀνομάζει* (Hsch.). The other half is direct and almost certain, namely Alcman fr. 1. 19 *PMG*, where the papyrus shows *παῖδα Π’ρκω*, for which *Πόρκω* is the accepted restoration. The identity of Alcman’s Porkos, however, has been disputed. Page (1951: 39 f.), in view of the difficulty of finding a daughter of Phorkys suitable to the context, conjectured a special Lakonian divinity Porkos, who would have no connection with Phorkys/–kos. But on the evidence of our vase, which proves that Phorkys (the Gorgons’ father), *could* be spelled with a pi, this idea must now be given up. Also we now know that Alcman’s form is neither ‘merely a local spelling’ nor ‘perhaps even a clerical corruption . . . of *Φόρκος*’ (Page (1951), 38 f., reporting earlier views). Since ‘the daughter of Porkos’ in Alcman’s passage can hardly be anyone other than the Nereid Thetis,<sup>1015</sup> we must accept that Alcman ventured to refer to Nereus by a name that on our vase could be used of Nereus’ brother.<sup>1016</sup> Given that Nereus, Phorkys, and Proteus can all be identified with the Old Man of the Sea (West (1966), 233 top), this seems natural. As for the difference between initial [p] and [pʰ], we should probably think not so much of a phonological reason as of some variation by popular etymology (see §510). Which of the two versions was primary and which secondary is impossible to establish, for there is, on the one hand, *πόρκος*, a fairly well-attested word for a kind of fish-trap (see also *πέρκη*, a river-fish), and, on the other, the rare adjective *φορκόν· λευκόν, πολλόν, ῥυσόν* (Hsch.) ‘white, grey-haired, wrinkled’ (i.e. ‘of old age’) (see Frisk, s.v.; Chantraine, s.v.), both of which could have provoked an analogical change in one or the other direction.<sup>1017</sup>

<sup>1015</sup> Thetis, who caused some major difficulties to her mortal suitor Peleus, is the only figure who fits the scene, and indeed fits it perfectly (also Calame (1977), ii. 62 n. 32, referring to Farina and Marzullo, prefers this identification). Surely, the repulsive Gorgons and the aged Graiai are unsuitable candidates, and the Sirens, who are once described as Phorkys’ daughters (Page (1951), 39 n. 9), are not normally individualized in such a way that a poet can speak of one of them (*παῖδα*) and be understood by his public.

<sup>1016</sup> I think that we should not take the Hesychian gloss as an independent parallel for this identification of the two sons of Pontos. It is more likely an explanation of this very line from Alcman by some scholar in antiquity, who found it as hard as we do to believe that Alcman was here referring to one of the Gorgons or Graiai, daughters of Phorkys. The same identification, Nereus = Phorkos, is made in *Σ Lyc. Alex.* 477, as mentioned by Page (1951), 39 n. 12.

<sup>1017</sup> Two more references given by West (1966: 235) are dubious: (1) *φόρκες· χάρακες* (Hsch.) is only relevant if *χάρακες* means ‘fish’, not ‘pole’ (usually, *φόρκες* is regarded as taken from Latin *furca* ‘fork, pole’); (2) the sea-fish *porcus* in Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 32. 150 (also 32. 19 and 56) is probably not a Greek but a Latin word, derived from a well-known IE root *\*perk-* meaning ‘spotted’, which is also the origin of the above-mentioned *πέρκη* and of Germ. *Forelle* ‘trout’ (see also Wachter (1987), 413 f. n. 945, for an obscure river-god of central Italy), as well as of other spotted animals like piglets etc.

Later, Perseus freed Andromeda, as shown on **COR 101** (on the other side is a non-heroic riding scene).

§409. *Unidentified scene with Gorgons*

Going by label (*a*), the fragmentary vase **COR 124A** bore one or—more likely—several Gorgons. As Gorgons in archaic art mostly appear in pursuit of Perseus this is a very likely setting (see §408 above). There seem to have been other scenes besides, among them perhaps Achilles and Troilos with label (*c*).

## Herakles

§410. *Herakles and the Nemean Lion*

This first of Herakles' labours is found on **COR 32**, alongside his struggles against Geryones and the Kerkopes (see also below, §444 with n. 1108 and §467).

§411. *Herakles and the Lernaian Hydra*

This is the most popular of Herakles' labours attested at Corinth. We find it on **COR 6, 8, 13, 19**, and there are even more uninscribed examples (on **COR 19** there is a non-heroic dancing scene too). Another instance of the myth is **LAK 6**.

We may add a few remarks about the iconographical and literary background of this myth. The thirteen Corinthian representations studied by Amandry–Amyx (1982)<sup>1018</sup> are of so clearly a standardized appearance, with such small differences of detail, that it seems justifiable to claim a common iconographical origin (*ibid.* 107, 115). The two authors think in terms of a tradition in the workshops rather than of a wall-painting or similar monumental original, a view which seems acceptable. The prototype must be older than the oldest vase in question (*ibid.*, no. 1, TR, i.e. c.630–620/15). From the high demand for vases with this story we can conclude that it must have been very popular in Corinth, whether in poetic texts or prose accounts (or both). It is very unlikely that it was known only from Hes. *Th.* 313–18, for there the crab who helps the Hydra is not mentioned,<sup>1019</sup> whereas it appears not only on six out of eight Corinthian representations that preserve the relevant part of the scene,<sup>1020</sup> but also on much older Boiotian representations (c.700 BC). Nor was the crab known from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which do not mention the event, although both are well aware of Herakles' labours for Eurystheus and of other deeds. On the other hand, in Apollodorus 2. 5. 2 and other late mythographers the crab does take part, which shows that their sources go back to archaic times; sources of such great age, however, must have been poetic texts (see §509).

From a comparison of the thirteen Corinthian representations studied by Amandry–Amyx (1982) the 'prototype' must have

contained the following features: Athena facing right and holding a jug (for which see Boardman (1982)); Herakles grabbing one head of the Hydra and piercing a few others with his sword; the Hydra with her main body facing left, twining her tail round parts of Herakles' limbs or body and facing him with most of her heads; from the right Iolaos helping with a sickle, cutting off one or two of the Hydra's heads near the ground. Less certain, but still probable, are some kind of chariot to the left behind Athena and, as mainly decorative elements, a Siren between Athena and the chariot, and an owl somewhere (Amandry–Amyx, p. 112 with nn. 50 f.).<sup>1021</sup> This list is matched by many of the features in the reports we have from the literary sources: Hesiod (*Th.* 313–18) provides Athena's advice and Iolaos' help, and Apollodorus tells not only of the monster's winding itself round one of Herakles' feet, while he in turn grabbed it and held it fast, but also of the crab sent by Hera to help the Hydra. But despite these similarities there are differences.<sup>1022</sup> Our archaic representations testify to a detailed story behind their prototype, and, again, we may think of a literary, i.e. poetic type of source.

As far as the inscriptions are concerned, it is unlikely that they were a necessary part of that prototype. (1) Only four out of the ten or eleven illustrations that we can judge in this respect actually have any labels. (2) Iolaos' label especially is applied in a heterogeneous way, namely behind his head on **COR 6** and **8**, but between his legs on **COR 13** and **19**. (3) Herakles' chariot is named under the horses' bellies on **COR 19**, but either not named or else oddly labelled *Φοῦς* next to the Siren in the chariot on **COR 6**. (4) Lapythos, the charioteer in the chariot next to Iolaos on **COR 6**, is unparalleled both as a figure and as a label. So we cannot claim that the intervocalic [w] in *Φιόλαῖος* is preserved in three of the four cases (**COR 6, 8, 13**) simply because the inscription was copied from an earlier original. **COR 19**, which is only slightly younger (a minimum of c.15, a maximum of c.25 years), shows almost exactly the same iconographical standard,<sup>1023</sup> but the spelling is *Φιόλαῖς*. The written digamma on **COR 6, 8, and 13** can therefore also be thought of as hinting at a poetic background (see §506).

The layout of the scene on the fragment **LAK 6** will have been similar.

<sup>1021</sup> An owl perched on the chariot-reins also appears on the pinax **COP 2B** (see also ad **COP 63a**).

<sup>1022</sup> In Apollodorus, Herakles fights with his club, Iolaos only comes when the crab is killed, and he brings fire to burn the smashed (not cut) necks of the Hydra to prevent them from sprouting again. The latter feature, in particular, could easily have been shown in pictorial art, had it been part of the version told in Corinth at the time. On the other hand, the sprouting heads do not give the impression of a recent motif. Were there different versions?

<sup>1023</sup> Apart from the crab (which is also missing on **COR 13**), the main deviation from the norm here is that Iolaos is only just about to start fighting. If we compare Apollodorus' version (above, n. 1022) we may conclude that Iolaos did take part in the fight, but only at a later stage (see n. 1076). The vase retains old features too, e.g. Athena bringing refreshment to Herakles in a jug (as on **COR 6**, as well as the early MC aryballos, Amandry–Amyx (1982), no. 6 (Basle BS 425), and perhaps also *ibid.* no. 12).

<sup>1018</sup> Our **COR 6, 8, 13, 19** are their numbers 4, 2, 3, 13, respectively.

<sup>1019</sup> Of the whole story, only the hatred of Hera, the help from Iolaos, the advice from Athena, and the fact that Herakles slew the monster, are told.

<sup>1020</sup> Namely on Amandry–Amyx's nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12 (see p. 111), certainly absent only on nos. 3 and 13.

#### §412. *Herakles (?) fighting the Centaurs*

From the fragment **CHA 23** with two Centaurs labelled Ἐλάτιος and Μάρφσος, it is not immediately clear whether this is the Centaurs' fight with the Lapiths or with Herakles. But since, according to Apollodorus 2. 5. 4, Herakles wounded a Centaur named Ἐλατος together with Chiron, the fight between the Centaurs and Herakles (when he stopped at Pholos' home on the way to hunt the Erymanthian boar) is the more likely context for our vase than the fight with the Lapiths. The story was already known to Stesichorus (see fr. 181 *PMG*). Whether the form with -ος or the one with -ιος of our vase is more trustworthy, it is difficult to say; the former is more frequent, the latter better as a derivative from ἐλάτη 'fir-tree'.<sup>1024</sup> As for the Centaur Μάρφσος, there is an interesting parallel (overlooked by the editor of the fragment), namely a dog on the François Vase (*ABV* 76. 1) whose name is normally restored Μάρφ[σα]s. As the same names were often used for both Centaurs and dogs (see Wachter (1991b), 97), we could now, in view of our Centaur-name, more safely restore the dog's name as Μάρφ[σο]s. At any rate, this name can hardly have been mere invention on the part of the vase-painter.

#### §413. *Herakles and the Amazons*

The labour whose object was to seize the girdle of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons (see also §307 with n. 970, and see e.g. Apollod. 2. 5. 9), is undoubtedly represented on **COR 4**. And this interpretation also seems likely in the case of **COR 1A**, an even more archaic Corinthian vase. Others (see ad loc.) have suggested Achilleus and Penthesileia for the latter piece (in view of Exekias' famous vase-painting *ABV* 144. 7, for which see Simon-Hirmer (1981), 87 f. and col. pl. xxvi), but we cannot exclude the possibility that in some archaic versions of Herakles' labours the Amazon Queen, too, tried to plead for mercy before being killed. At any rate, the gesture of asking for mercy seems better attested for Amazons in their battle with Herakles than for Penthesileia. The most prominent example known to me is *ARV* 1634. 30bis (Basle BS 453, ph. *CVA* Switzerland, 6, pl. 44. 1). M. Schmidt (1980: 154) writes: 'Diese Geste meint wohl mehr Ergebung und Ablassen vom Kampf als Bitte um Schonung.' Yet our Corinthian fragment (**COR 1A**) with an Amazon clearly making the gesture (i.e. pleading for mercy) and the Attic vase with an Amazon who at first sight seems to be trying to make the gesture to Herakles (though she fails and falls to the ground) support each other strongly.

In considering **COR 9I**, showing Athena and a lost figure called Hipponika, Lorber (p. 58) plausibly rejects earlier interpretations (repeated by Schefold (1993), 332) of the Palladion in the *Iliupersis* context. The representations of the Palladion, Athena's statue, are always small whereas our Athena is full size.

<sup>1024</sup> Curiously enough there was also a *Lapith* called Ἐλατος (but in his case perhaps a derivative or hypocoristic from ἐλαύνω, ἐλατήρ 'charioteer' etc.). He was the father of Polyphemos the Argonaut (see §473 on **COR 102a**), see Apollod. 1. 9. 16, Soph. fr. 380, etc. (see Pape-Benseler).

Now, Arena (p. 105) has pointed out that Hipponika on an Attic vase is an Amazon's name.<sup>1025</sup> Lorber's suggestion of Herakles' Amazonomachy is therefore very plausible. It can be further supported, for not only can Athena be present at the event<sup>1026</sup> (as with Herakles and the Hydra, see §411), but she can even take an active part in the battle.<sup>1027</sup> Lorber (loc. cit., following Perdrizet (1908), 144) sees the main argument for this interpretation in the 'twigs' in front of Athena's face, which would be the weapons in the hands of Centaurs. This, however, seems doubtful to me. For not only would it be strange that such a tree should be so close to the goddess's face, almost tickling her nose, so to speak, but the black strokes are more easily interpreted as the swept-back hair of another figure fighting in the same direction as Athena.<sup>1028</sup> If the interpretation of the scene is correct, the Amazon-name Hipponika should be considered canonical (although it must be noted that it does not fit dactylic metre).

#### §414. *Herakles and Geryones*

This labour is represented on **COR 32** (along with the episodes of the Nemean Lion and the Kerkopes), but no labels are preserved on this scene. We also find it depicted on **CHA 2** and on **CHA 9** (here alongside Perseus receiving his wings, cap, and bag). It is first attested in Hes. *Th.* 287 ff. (also 982), where *Εὐρυτίων* is named as Geryoneus' shepherd and Orth(r)os as his dog (ibid. 293; the dog appears also in 309, 327). Line 293 is often excluded, but I see no reason for this, since it fits our **CHA 2** so well (see also Hellan. ad loc.).

On **CHA 2** (with its wonderful herd of cattle), Athena, Herakles, Geryones, and Eurytion (dead) are labelled, while the dog and Iolaos, who is waiting in the chariot, are left without names. In the relevant scene on **CHA 9** there are even fewer labels, viz. Athena, Herakles, and Geryones.

It is likely from the form of Geryones' name, which ends in -ονῆς (as also on an Attic vase, see ad **CHA 2c**) not -εύς as in Hesiod, that Hesiod's version is not the direct source of our paintings. For the difference in dialect between the two labels of Geryoneus on **CHA 2** and **CHA 9** see §259; for the difference between -ῆς and -εύς see §233.<sup>1029</sup>

<sup>1025</sup> *ARV* 653, bottom, no. 2 = von Bothmer (1957), 133, no. 19 = *LIMC* i, 'Amazones' 88. The name only seems to recur much later in Cyrenaica (see Fraser-Matthews).

<sup>1026</sup> *ABV* 360. 4 = von Bothmer (1957), 68, no. 310 = *LIMC* i, 'Amazones' 49\*; von Bothmer, loc. cit., no. 308.

<sup>1027</sup> *ABV* 454, bottom, no. 2 = von Bothmer (1957), 68, no. 311 = *LIMC* i, 'Amazones' 50.

<sup>1028</sup> For such hair see e.g. the beard of **COR 101d** *Εὐφραρχος* (Lorber, pl. 19), the hair of **COR 113b** *Περιφλύμενος* (Lorber, pl. 26), the hair of the opponents of **COR 112** *Χάρων* (Lorber, pl. 28), and that of a defeated warrior with non-sense inscr. (Amyx, p. 269, no. A-1, p. 601, no. 3; Lorber, no. 105, ph. pl. 28).

<sup>1029</sup> Brize (1985) published a fine bronze sheet from Samos, dated to about 620 BC and uninscribed, showing Herakles and Geryones (ph. also in Schefold (1993), figs. 92a-d). Herakles is wearing the lion skin, which had previously been thought to be an innovative feature taken over by visual art from Stesichorus. The new piece reminds us of the shakiness of such speculations (see n. 1006).

§415. *Herakles wrestling with Nereus*

This episode too took place on the way to the Hesperides (Apollod. 2. 5. 11), and appears on the fragment **COR 95** together with four female bystanders. Δωρίς, as pointed out by the editor, is Nereus' wife (Hes. *Th.* 240–2; Apollod. 1. 2. 7) and fits the context very well (although we would expect the woman standing closest to Nereus to be so named, the label must be attributed to another figure, on the grounds of the direction principle; see §105).

§416. *Herakles at Oichalia*

To facilitate discussion of the main scene on the famous vase **COR 12** (with the suicide of Aias shown under one handle),<sup>1030</sup> I repeat the characters of the banquet scene in the order that they are shown (from left to right): Τόξος and Κλύτιος on a *kline*, Διδαίφω and Εὐρύτιος on a *kline*, the latter facing left, Φίφίτος alone on a *kline*, facing right, Φιολά standing to the right but looking back over her shoulder away from Ηἑρακλῆς, who, again, is lying on a *kline*. It is important to note that the scene is composed of two distinct groups. To the right are Herakles (*g*), the daughter of Eurytios (*f*), and one of his sons, Iphitos (*e*); this group is the centre of attention. Looking leftwards we see King Eurytios himself (*d*) and three more of his sons, namely Didaion (*c*), Klytios (*b*), and Toxos (*a*); these four labels should be taken in order from right to left, reading away from the main group of characters: first the king and then his sons. This grouping makes perfect sense. The story (Apollod. 2. 6. 1) tells us that ἀφικόμενος οὖν εἰς Οἰχαλίαν καὶ τῇ τοξικῇ κρείττων αὐτῶν γενόμενος οὐκ ἔτυχε τοῦ γάμου, Ἰφίτου μὲν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παίδων λέγοντος διδόναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν Ἰόλην, Εὐρύτου δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπαγορευόντων. The grouping on the vase is a perfect reflection of the myth: King Eurytios and most of his sons (not named individually by Apollodorus) were against the marriage and are shown together to the left, whereas the eldest son Iphitos is shown at Herakles' side and the bride stands between the hero and her family. Iphitos also played a special role later in the myth when he did not believe that Herakles had stolen his father's cattle and in the end was unfortunately killed by Herakles.<sup>1031</sup> The scene on our krater, in which Iphitos is present, must represent an early stage in the story, perhaps at a banquet after the shooting competition. How Herakles was persuaded to leave the place without having received Iole, and why he only later came back to take revenge, we do not know, since the summaries of the epic *Oichalias Halosis* are too short.

The names of Eurytos' family are known from literary sources (mostly transmitted in Σ Soph. *Trach.* 266). The earliest is Hes. fr. 26. 27–31 M–W:

<sup>1030</sup> Stoessl (1987: 82) holds that the suicide scene is like 'eine vorahnende Interpretation des Hauptbildes und seiner Bedeutung für den Haupthelden'. This seems an over-interpretation to me.

<sup>1031</sup> Unlike Lorber (pp. 23 f.) I cannot see any signs of the coming disaster in this scene. The murder of Iphitos by Herakles took place later and in different surroundings (Apollod. 2. 6. 2., *Od.* 21. 22 ff.), and the extermination of Eurytos' house and the abduction of Iole happened even later (this is overlooked by R. Olmos in *LIMC* iv, 'Eurytos' i).

... Στρατονίκη  
Εὐρτον ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐγένετο φίλτατον υἱόν.  
τοῦ δ' υἱεὶς ἐγένοντο Δηίων <τε> Κλυτίος τε  
Τοξεύς τ' ἀντίθεος ἡδ' Ἰφίτος ὄζος Ἄρης.  
τοὺς δὲ μέθ' ὀπλοτάτην τέκετο ξανθὴν Ἰόλειαν<sup>1032</sup>

It has not previously been noted that the order in which Eurytos and the three younger sons, who were opposed to the marriage, are mentioned is exactly the same in this passage as on our vase (from right to left of course). The odds against three out of the four names of Eurytos' sons occurring in one particular order is 24:1. And even if we disregard Iphitos, who has a special function, the odds in favour of one particular order for three names out of three is only 1:6. It seems unlikely, then, that the order on the vase is due to mere chance, and we may therefore claim that our vase-painter had a poetic source in mind (see below). This need not, however, have been the above passage from the *Catalogue of Women*, for we know from other such examples that lists of mythical names were a widespread and recurrent feature of epic poetry in archaic times.<sup>1033</sup> Also for most of the names there are differences in form between the literary source(s) and the renderings extant on our vase, as Kretschmer noted long ago (pp. 47 f.): Τοξεύς–Τόξος, Δηίων–Διδαίφω, Εὐρυτος–Εὐρύτιος, Ἰόλεια–Φιολά.<sup>1034</sup>

The name Τοξεύς, or—as a different hypocoristic—Τόξος, no doubt reflects the shooting competition mentioned in Apollodorus' summary. It may be called a literary speaking name (see §239).

A particular problem is the name that corresponds to our vase's Διδαίφω. In view of the missing τε, the passage from Hesiod (only preserved in Σ Soph.) must anyway be corrupt; cod. L has ΙΔΗΗΩΝ, corrected to ΔΗΙΩΝ; and whereas Rzach (in 1913, see M–W ad loc.) conjectured Διδαίων on the strength of our vase, M–W prefer Δηίων.<sup>1035</sup> It is quite possible that the name of the much better known Δηίων, the father of Kephalos,<sup>1036</sup> may, in the course of transmission, have replaced our name, which is otherwise unattested and belongs to a figure without any importance or descendants. And indeed Rzach's Διδαίων is not only metrically better as far as the first syllable is concerned (Δῆϊων would be awkward especially in comparison with all the Δηι- names in Homer and Hesiod, which have a long first syllable), but it also renders unnecessary the τε, which seems not to have been part of the original line.<sup>1037</sup> The name—in Ionic—should, however, be written

<sup>1032</sup> Other sources are less reliable: Aristocrates Laced. (*FGH* 591 F 6) has Τοξέα, Κλύτιον, Δηίωνα (Iphitos is lacking); Diod. Sic. 4. 37. 5 has Τοξέα καὶ Μολίωνα καὶ Κλυτίον (the last name restored; Iphitos is also lacking). For the story see also Σ Eur. *Hipp.* 545; Σ *Il.* 5. 392.

<sup>1033</sup> See Wachter (1990a) and (1990b) for the Nereids, as well as Wachter (1991b) for the Muses, Lapiths, and Centaurs.

<sup>1034</sup> For variations in the endings of mythological names, see Lorber, n. 573 (with bibl.).

<sup>1035</sup> Amyx (p. 559) is right to wonder why M–W did not take Rzach's suggestion more seriously.

<sup>1036</sup> See e.g. Apollod. 1. 9. 4; he is also called Δηιονεύς, *ibid.* 2. 4. 7 and Hes. fr. 58. 9 M–W.

<sup>1037</sup> It is true that Deion is transmitted both for Hes. and for Aristocr. (see above, n. 1032), but both attestations are preserved in the same scholion and one may easily have influenced the other.

Διδηίων, and the line would then read: τοῦ δ' υἱεὶς ἐγένοντο Διδηίων Κλυτίος τε, with metrical lengthening of the second iota of course. Here we may return to the corrupt reading ΙΑΗΗΩΝ in cod. L. Assuming a form of iotacism we get a sequence of letters very close to the form of the name we have just reconstructed, namely ΙΑΗΙΩΝ in which only the initial delta would be missing, perhaps on account of an earlier 'correction' (after 'Ιδη?'). The name on our vase is written with a digamma to bridge the hiatus between [ā] (i.e. Ionic [ē]) and the lengthened [i]. The etymology (see ad loc.), however, suggests that a digamma is etymologically unjustified. This is therefore a second likely indication of a poetic background reflected in our painting (see §506).

The main difficulty is to know which text is the actual source of our painted scene. Is it indeed the above passage from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, or should we assume some lost epic account of the story (e.g. *Oichalias Halosis*)? We have seen that only some of the names of the characters, viz. (b), (e), (g), agree with the forms in Hesiod,<sup>1038</sup> while others differ, viz. (a), (c), (d), (f). One name, (c) Διδῶν, seems to differ because of a corruption in the literary tradition, and may have agreed originally. The form of another one, (f) Φιολᾶ, which in the epic language we would expect to have four syllables (i.e. the second element -λαᾶ of its original non-Ionic form; see ad loc.), could be due to contraction in everyday speech, or might even be thought of as the expected form Φιολᾶᾶ, written with one alpha only.<sup>1039</sup> For the two other names, however, there is no easy explanation: (a) Τόξος, which is prosodically equivalent to Τοξεύς in many situations, and (d) Εὐρύτιος, which fits the hexameter (particularly at its beginning) better than Εὐρυτος, are both different from the formations in Hesiod's text. It does not seem likely that they are our writer's mistakes, for he gives an impression of competence. These two names at least do not suggest that the poetic source behind our painting is Hesiod, although in view of the order of the names, (d)–(c)–(b)–(a), the source must have been a list very similar to his lines 29 f. A second reason for Hesiod's not being the source is the fact that in his version he only gives a list and says nothing of the actual story, whereas our painting shows the family and their guest at a symposion and clearly divides them into two groups according to their functions in the story. We have here a case similar to the Nereids, the Lapiths and Centaurs, and the Muses (see above, with n. 1033), where we can also identify different epic traditions containing similar lists of names.

#### §417. Herakles and the Kerkopes

This incident is shown on **COR 32** (alongside Herakles fighting with the Nemean Lion and with Geryones). The name of the Kerkops is not clear, unfortunately.

<sup>1038</sup> For Herakles' name see Hes. *Th.* 318, 527 Ἡρακλῆς, probably to be scanned — not — (see §§223 and 504 with n. 1268).

<sup>1039</sup> Such a case may be Πενθεσιλᾶ on an 'Argive' shield-band (Kunze (1950), 149 ff., 212, no. xxix. β; cited above, n. 144), and similarly Attic *Νανσικᾶ* in a scene reflecting the *Odyssey*, *ARV* 1177. 48 (ph. e.g. Brommer (1983), pl. 41). See also ad *COP 1D*. Δί for Δί is written in *CEG* 362 (see §303).

#### §418. Herakles and Gegenes

For the scene on **BOI 15**, where Herakles, seconded by Athena, is fighting a gigantic warrior named Γᾱγενέες, who is seconded by Ares, A. D. Ure (1935) suggested a Boiotian myth linked to a local cult of Ares with chthonic affinity.<sup>1040</sup> Because Ares and Athena are assisting in the fight, Vian (1945) took our 'Earth-born' to be identical with Kyknos, Ares' son. But he had to admit that this would have to be a special version of the myth, since there are unusual features in this representation when compared with such others as are preserved: Ares here sits on horseback, Herakles is fighting with his club rather than a spear, and there is no sign of Zeus or his lightning. Undoubtedly the weakest point of this identification, however, is the actual name of the alleged Kyknos. The myth of Kyknos' fight against Herakles in Thessalian Pagasai was a very famous one from archaic times onwards (see §420), and I can hardly imagine that he would have been given a name other than Kyknos anywhere in the Greek world of c.400 BC. Also, Kyknos' mother is normally known as Pelopeia (only once Pyrene), not Earth, as Vian himself admitted,<sup>1041</sup> and Kyknos is neither a giant nor a Titan, whereas the figure on our vase has clearly gigantic proportions.<sup>1042</sup>

Ought we perhaps to take into account that Apollonius Rhodius (1. 936–1011) reports a victory by Herakles near Kyzikos over the so-called Γηγενεῖς, who are said to have been Pelasgians expelled from Thessaly?<sup>1043</sup> We do not know much about this story, but in my view it furnishes the safest link for our vase. It is of course not impossible that there was originally some connection with the Kyknos story, which was also set in Thessaly.

Our scene agrees well with what we already know from Homer about the antagonism of Athena and Ares. Grim Ares helps the barbarians and is always defeated, bright Athena helps the Greeks (Herakles is the Greek hero *par excellence*) and always has 'the splendour of victory, Nike'<sup>1044</sup> on her side.

#### §419. Herakles and Nessos

The myth of Nessos,<sup>1045</sup> who is shown carrying Herakles' wife Deianeira on our fragment **COR 123**, is known from Hes. fr. 25. 17 ff. M–W and Archil. fr. 286 and 288 *IEG*. The editor, Amyx (see also his p. 631), discusses Attic parallels of the representation.

<sup>1040</sup> She postulates Koroneia, where perhaps a cult of Athena superseded one of Ares. Ares did have certain chthonic features, e.g. at Thebes, where a dragon, who was his son, had to be slain by Kadmos before he could found the city. Ure considers the vase to be very similar to pottery from the Kabirion, but Wolters–Bruns (1940) do not think that it belongs to any of the known Kabiran workshops.

<sup>1041</sup> Flacelière–Devambez (1966) conclude that in Boiotia Kyknos' mother may have been a chthonic deity, which is a circular argument.

<sup>1042</sup> Was this the reason why Vollkommer (1988) grouped the vase with the Gigantomachy? In view of the antagonism between Athena and Ares this interpretation is implausible.

<sup>1043</sup> See Σ Ap. Rhod. 1. 987a, 989–91, 936–949a; also Hdt. 1. 57. 1.

<sup>1044</sup> Burkert (1985), 169.

<sup>1045</sup> The apparent snub nose of the Centaur is due to the colour being partly lost; the incision on the original shows a very noble profile.

§420. *Herakles and Kyknos*

For the representations of this myth see Shapiro (1984). We are concerned here with those on **COR 69** and **CHA 20**. For the traces of a building beyond Kyknos on the Corinthian fragment, which is plausibly interpreted as the temple of Apollon at Pagasai, see Shapiro (1984), 525.<sup>1046</sup>

§421. *Wedding of Herakles and Hebe in Olympos*

The myth of Herakles' deification is not reported in the *Iliad* (see 18. 117–21). The same may be true of the *Odyssey*, for in the passage 11. 601–27 lines 602 f. are said to have been inserted by Onomakritos (born c. 560, and working under the Peisistratids); moreover, line 604 about Hebe's being Zeus and Hera's daughter is identical with Hes. *Th.* 952,<sup>1047</sup> which—being part of the end of the poem (901–1022)—may itself be a later addition (see West (1966), ad loc.). Be that as it may, the newly found Corinthian vase **COR 28A** at least shows that this myth was already current around 595/90–570. It was taken up by Pindar, Euripides, and others. It should be noted also that even on our non-Attic vase, Athena plays a prominent part in being the first to meet the couple; her role as conductress of Herakles to Olympos later becomes very important in Attic vase-painting.<sup>1048</sup> Apollodorus (2. 7. 7) says that the wedding took place after Herakles was reconciled with Hera, who is present on our vase and is the bride's mother.

The spelling *ov* in the graffito *Μοῦσαι*,<sup>1049</sup> probably written by a different hand, may be a hint of literary language (see §§220, 505). The painted inscriptions, however, do not contain any such indication (nor do they exclude a literary source).

§422. *Unidentified scenes with Herakles*

Three fragments show Herakles' name, but not the context: **COR 73** (the hero seems to have been in a chariot), **LAK 2**, and **CHA 19**.

## Various Other Myths Before the Trojan War

§423. *Kephalos hunting the Termessan fox*

This scene on **BOI 23** is an unusual subject on vases. The myth of Kephalos, Eos' beloved, is first alluded to in Hes. *Th.* 986 f. Braun–Haevernick (1981: 25) consider the painting with its pygmy-type hero to represent a myth travesty (like e.g. the scenes on **BOI 18** and **22** with Odysseus). Yet in the present case, a more spontaneous, 'afterthought' connection of the scene with a mythological story seems more likely to me. For there are other

vases that are very similar in decoration as well as shape (ours is 20.5 cm. high) and with similar scenes—I should think they are by the same hand—to which, however, this myth cannot so easily apply. Only one of them<sup>1050</sup> (they are all uninscribed) may yet be suspected as representing the Kephalos myth, but in a comical variation: on one side a pygmy with *petasos* (similar to our 'Kephalos') and his dog are running after the 'Termessan hare'; on the other side there is indeed a fox being chased by a dog and looking back at him, but here the pygmy is having a siesta, leaving the job to his dog. On another cup, however, the pygmy with *petasos* is not hunting a wild animal at all, but fighting (or playing?) with his dog.<sup>1051</sup> There are other representations too of very similar pygmies, but without *petasos* (i.e. 'at home?'): on one vase a pygmy chases geese, while on the reverse pygmies are fighting;<sup>1052</sup> on another vase one pygmy fights a crane (a very old motif, see *Il.* 3. 3–7) with a stick, and on the reverse a second pygmy holds a drinking-horn and approaches a goat.<sup>1053</sup> All these scenes cannot represent precise mythological subjects, certainly not Kephalos' story. So the addition of Kephalos' name to our vase may be the result of a spontaneous idea that came to the painter just before or even after the scene was painted.

§424. *Argonauts visiting Phineus*

This myth is shown on three of our vases, viz. **COR 24B**, **LAK 7**, and **CHA 28** (here alongside Dionysos and Ariadne). An uncertain case is **COR 96A** (see §433).

In the scene on **COR 24B** the names show some surprising spellings, notably (a) *Εἰάσων* with an unexpected diphthong (which is, however, paralleled in Etruscan); secondly, (d) *Πο'λνδ(ε)ύκ(ε)ς*; thirdly, (b) *Φινεύς* with a second letter which looks like an upsilon; and fourthly the name (c) *Τῆμάνδρᾱ* for Phineus' wife, which is unparalleled.

In the case of (d), the secondary insertion of the upsilon between *ο* and *λ* is likely to hint at some metrical lengthening.<sup>1054</sup> May we—in spite of the somewhat incompetent writing (see §§111 f.)—guess at a poetic background to this painted scene (see §§220, 505)? If so, the non-Corinthian diphthong-spelling *β λ* in (a) could also be a reflection of such a source, indeed a written and non-Corinthian one (see §§219, 505).

All this may be connected with two other odd features: (1) the original upsilon as second letter in *Φινεύς*; and (2) the lady represented next to King Phineus, who must be his wife

<sup>1050</sup> Wolters–Bruns (1940), 98, no. K. 7, ph. pl. 50, drs. pl. 26. 1–2 = Braun–Haevernick (1981), 62, cat. no. 298; 19 cm. high.

<sup>1051</sup> Wolters–Bruns (1940), 98, no. K. 11, drs. pl. 31. 5–6 = Braun–Haevernick (1981), 66, cat. no. 379; 19.6 cm. high.

<sup>1052</sup> Wolters–Bruns (1940), 99, no. K. 16 = Braun–Haevernick (1981), 64, cat. no. 355; 19 cm. high.

<sup>1053</sup> Wolters–Bruns (1940), 99, no. K. 15 = Braun–Haevernick (1981), 65, cat. no. 367; 20.5 cm. high.

<sup>1054</sup> See e.g. Alc. fr. 1. 1 *PMG* (fr. 3. 1 in Calame (1983)) *Πωλυδέυκης*, and probably also fr. 2 *PMG* (2 Calame), where Risch (1954: 21) argues for metrical lengthening. Admittedly, without the middle epsilon the name on our vase would have a dactylic shape *Πουλυδύκης*; but this is not otherwise attested, and apart from *Πωλυδέυκης* a second form suitable for the hexameter was not required.

<sup>1046</sup> I doubt, however, that this is sufficient proof for the painter's having precisely Hes. *Scut.* 57 ff. in mind, for in line 70 only *ἄλσος καὶ βωμός* are mentioned, not a temple. Also the Chalcidian fr. should not be over-interpreted.

<sup>1047</sup> *Th.* 952 corresponds to what we are told in *Th.* 922.

<sup>1048</sup> See e.g. *LIMC* ii, 'Athena' 428 ff., 523 ff., etc.

<sup>1049</sup> The Muses follow Apollon ('Musagetes'); see also **COR 36** (an otherwise unidentified scene).

and whose name in my view can only be read *Τῖμάνδρῶ*. We know of a Timandra who was the daughter of Tyndareos and Leda (Apollod. 3. 10. 6), i.e. the sister of Kastor and half-sister of Polydeukes. The Dioskouroi were of course among the Argonauts—just like Zetes and Kalais, the sons of Boreas, who when the expedition reached the blind King Phineus, rid him of the Harpies (Phineus' blindness and his torment by the Harpies are already attested in Hes. fr. 254 and 151 M–W). Depicting Polydeukes along with Iason, the leader of the expedition, therefore makes perfect sense. On the other hand, we do not really expect Timandra up in the far north of Thrace where Phineus dwelt. What was her story? Hesiod (fr. 176 M–W) and Stesichorus (fr. 223 *PMG*, from the same *Σ*) inform us that she was first the wife of the Tegean king Echemos (also Hes. fr. 23a. 31 M–W), whom she then left. This was because of a curse laid by Aphrodite on Tyndareos that his daughters should be *λεῖψανδροι*. Her new husband was Phyleus, king of the Epeioi in Elis, by whom she had a son Meges (Meges and his father Phyleus are well known from the *Iliad*, where Timandra, however, is not mentioned). Might we assume that the vase-painter mixed up Phineus and Phyleus? This seems particularly attractive in view of the second letter in Phineus' name. For this letter looks as if it had first been an upsilon and was then more or less successfully corrected into an iota.<sup>1055</sup> Taking into account that both tales, the one about Phineus and the Argonauts, and the other about Phyleus and Timandra, are already separately attested in Hesiod, we have no reason to believe that they were originally connected. Confusion by the vase-painter is therefore more likely, particularly in view of the similarity between Phyleus' and Phineus' names and Timandra's connection with both myths (for similar confusions see §444 on COR 79A).

Our painter seems not only to have confused his myths, but also to have been not very good at writing in view of the oddly shaped mu in (c) and the two forgotten epsilons in (d). It seems most likely that these are copying errors. But what was his source?

The scene on LAK 7 had long been wrongly interpreted,<sup>1056</sup> until Pipili (1987: 21 f.) found the obvious solution: *Ἀφελ[λῶ]* for *Ἀελλῶ*. (I had myself come to the same conclusion before I saw her book.) It should long since have been observed that the named figure, the more 'chastely' dressed of the two, is likely to be female,<sup>1057</sup> and that the scene takes place on the surface of the sea (winds are an important element in seafaring).<sup>1058</sup> One

iconographical element worries Pipili: 'What is surprising is that the Boread could be shown with a thunderbolt, Zeus' attribute. It does not appear in any extant version of the story. This iconographic type may be unusual but it is not unintelligible. Boreas and his sons were personifications of wind and storm, and the thunderbolt would be a suitable attribute.' (In her n. 197 she refers to the close connection between thunder and wind expressed in *Il.* 13. 795 f.; see also Heracl. A 14, and perhaps Ibyc. fr. 286. 8 f. *PMG*.) Even this feature, however, finds a parallel on a 'Protomelian' amphora showing a winged creature with thunderbolt, which was included among the Boreads by K. Schefold (*LIMC* iii, 'Boreadai' 27\*, ph. pl. 105) and had already been called a 'Boread' and 'storm-spirit' by Payne (1931: 78), whose interpretation now gets strong support from our Lakonian fragment.<sup>1059</sup> Kahil's rejection of Pipili's interpretation—because of the thunderbolt (*LIMC* iv, 'Harpyiai' 27)—is therefore invalid. The name of the Harpy occurs already in Hes. *Th.* 267 (her sister is *Ἰοκυπέτη*). Its etymology (it is related to *ἄημι* 'blow') shows that she was connected with the notion of wind. The parallel between our scene—in which the Harpy named *Ἀελλῶ* is chased by a Boread with thunderbolt—the attribute of Zeus, and the passage from the *Iliad* (13. 795 f.), where the wind *ἄελλη* is driven to earth by the thunder of father Zeus (*ὑπὸ βροντῆς πατρὸς Διὸς εἰσι πέδονδε*), is in fact so close that we may speak of a direct representation of a mythological conception. This must have been a widespread one in view of the fact that the scene from the *Iliad* cannot be reflected here.

The Phineus scene on CHA 28 was of high quality but is now almost entirely destroyed, and the same is true for the labels. There may be popular etymology in the name of the Harpies and confusion of mythological names in the name of Zetes (see ad loc.).

#### §425. Funeral games for Pelias

Two vases show scenes from the games for Pelias, namely COR 66 (alongside the departure of Amphiaraios for the Theban War) and CHA 10 (alongside Zeus fighting Typhon). Both need some discussion.

The two scenes on the famous 'Amphiaraios Krater', COR 66, should be viewed in the following, chronological, order: (1) Games, (2) Departure (Amphiaraios did not come back from Thebes), but it is customary to treat them in reverse order, since the departure scene is more important, and the two scenes are described in this order by Pausanias (5. 17. 7–11), who saw an obviously very similar representation of them, also next to each other, on the Corinthian 'Chest of Kypselos' at Olympia.<sup>1060</sup> The best discussion of the iconographical relation of this vase to the chest (here abbreviated 'Kyps.') and to other vases, is still that by Hauser, who was building largely on Robert (1874). Amyx has pointed

<sup>1055</sup> We have no reason to believe that the nu in this name was originally a lambda (although the two letters are of course very similar), since the space before the next letter (such as it is) is normal and would have been somewhat large without the third stroke of the nu.

<sup>1056</sup> Zeus in the Gigantomachy (Rumpf (1923/4: 82 f.) and Lane (1933/4: 166), neither of whom provides a solution for the inscr.); Herakles and Kyknos (Woodward (1932: 27 ff.), doubtfully taking the inscr. as Ares' name); Stibbe (1972: 139) leaves the case open (tentatively suggesting winged Hermes).

<sup>1057</sup> Note e.g. CHA 28, where the Boreads wear short chitons, the Harpies long ones; and on CHA 1 the Satyrs are naked, while the Maenads are clothed.

<sup>1058</sup> Also on CHA 28, as Pipili (loc. cit.) observes, the fleeing Harpies are just about to reach the shore (there are fish in the sea). And there are other children of Boreas who can fly over the sea, see *Il.* 20. 223–9.

<sup>1059</sup> We may assume that the Boread had small wings on his feet and the Harpy big ones on her back as e.g. on the Lakonian Boread P.'s name-vase (see e.g. *LIMC* iii, 'Boreadai' 6\*, ph. pl. 100); the relevant parts are lost on our fr.

<sup>1060</sup> See e.g. E. Simon, *EA* iv (1961), 427–32; she dates the chest to the 2nd q. or the middle of the 6th cent.



out that ten of the names (now eleven with Alkmaion's label) occur in the corresponding scenes on the chest. The other nine, he says, 'are of course intended to be heroic, but in the context they raise problems'. In fact, this is true of only four of the nine, viz. (b) and (h)–(j), whereas for (m), (o), (g), (s), and (u) there are good explanations, as we shall see. And even for (b), (h), and (j) there may be a better reason than just invention by the vase-painter. After all, the chest too only showed a few particular moments of the myth, whereas the whole tale, of which we have no full account, may well have contained many more names and characters (see also on CHA 10, below).

(a) Ἐριφύλλᾱ (also on Kyps.) is well known as Amphiaraios' wife.

(b) Αἰνίππᾱ (shown on Kyps., but unnamed), as Robert has already observed, is the label for the woman who carries the little boy (sc. Amphilochoi, who is not named on the vase, probably for lack of space). The nurse's name is not transmitted by Pausanias for the Chest of Kypselos. Of course it could still be that in the full story her name was included; at least she belongs to the iconographical canon (see below). Despite the possibility that the groom (i) bears a horsey name (see §238), I hesitate to consider Ainippa's as being of this type. After all, the figure has nothing about her to justify a name meaning 'having violent horses',<sup>1061</sup> a point which argues against an invention by the painter.

Then follow the two daughters, viz. (c) Δᾱμοφάνασ(σ)α (Kyps.; the intervocalic digamma hints at a poetic background, see §506) and (d) Εὐρυδίκηᾱ (Kyps.). Next comes the elder son, (e) Ἀλκμ[αί]ων (Kyps.). He is standing next to his departing father, (f) Ἀ(μ)φιάρεος; the latter was both Argonaut (Apollod. 1. 9. 16) and Kalydonian Boar-hunter (1. 8. 2). (g) Βάτων (Kyps.) is also mentioned as Amphiaraios' charioteer in Apollodorus 3. 6. 8, and twice more in Pausanias (2. 23. 2, 10. 10. 3); he occurs again on an Attic vase; see (j) below, with n. 1063.

Next follow two characters who are not known from Kyps. or elsewhere, viz. the woman (h) Ἀ(ε)ο[υ]τ[ι]ς—showing A.W. like (k)—and the boy (i) Ηιπποτίων. The latter, who does in fact seem to be looking after the horses, possibly bears a horsey name (see §238). Yet in the light of two or three other characters with horsey names on this vase who are certainly known from literature, namely (s), (u), and perhaps (m), we cannot exclude the possibility that this name also is taken from the literary source rather than being just an invention of the vase-painter.

(j) Χαλμιέδης, a man sitting on the ground, is not described on Kyps.: Robert (1874) and Hauser (*apud* Furtwängler–Reichhold (1932)) take him for a servant.<sup>1062</sup> But both the rather grand name, which is hardly just an invention on the part of the painter, and the individual function of this figure, who is known from other

vases,<sup>1063</sup> suggest more than just an old house-slave. Pausanias (10. 10. 3), in his description of Delphi, reports the existence of one Halitherses nearby to Amphiaraios and his chariot in a statue group dedicated by the Argives. It seems tempting to identify the two figures, though Pausanias thought this character to be one of the Argive leaders. Finally, scholars have drawn attention to Odysseus' friend Halitherses, son of Mastor, an old seer who predicted the king's return. On the whole, the interpretation as a seer seems attractive, but we may still wonder what could have been the function of another such figure in our scene in addition to Amphiaraios, who was himself a seer and fully aware of what was going to happen.<sup>1064</sup>

The first character in the scene of the funeral games is (k) Ἀκ(α)στος. On Kyps. he is the referee, giving the crown to the winner of the running contest, and no doubt on the vase too his prominent position marks him as the referee; he was the son of the man in whose honour the games were being given and therefore the organizer of the event (see the similar function of Achilles in *Iliad* 23). He was also an Argonaut (Apollod. 1. 9. 16).

If the next man, (l) Ἀργεός (on Kyps., Ἀργεῖος is shown as a runner), is to fit the scene, he must be identical with the Argonaut and builder of the Argo (as already suggested by Robert, p. 97, and accepted by Hauser, p. 7).<sup>1065</sup> The fact that the man sits on a throne, like Akastos, is somewhat surprising. But since not all the heroes take part in all the contests, he and (m) are probably the spectators of whom Pausanias speaks when describing the Chest of Kypselos (οἱ θεώμενοι). At any rate, we have no reason to separate him (as does P. Linant de Bellefonds in *LIMC* ii) from the contestant in the foot-race on Kyps. After all, this event is not depicted on our vase.

(m) Φέρεις (not mentioned on Kyps.) will have the same function as (l), discussed just above. He fits the scene very well as the father of (p) (Apollod. 1. 8. 2, 1. 9. 14, 1. 9. 16, 3. 10. 4), just like (s) and (u) who are also fathers of Argonauts. The name is used for a horse in COR 89a, with the meaning 'Carrier'; this

<sup>1063</sup> Robert (pp. 88 f.) (followed by Hauser) draws attention to two other vases on which this old man is represented. One is a 'Pontic' amphora (Munich SH 838, Jahn (1854), 48 f., no. 151; *LIMC* i, 'Amphiaraios' 17\*), where he sits on a chair, the other a Tyrrhenian amphora (*ABV* 95 f., no. 8). On the latter vase, instead of our woman (h), there is a man touching Baton's chin (on the former there is no such figure). This man is now known from another Tyrrhenian amphora, namely Basle, H. A. Cahn coll. HC 921 (see *LIMC* i, 'Amphiaraios' 16\*, 2nd q. 6th cent.; Scheffold (1993), 283 ff., with ph. fig. 304). There he is depicted as an old man labelled Οἰκλῆς, i.e. he is Amphiaraios' father, and his hand is extended towards Baton and Amphiaraios in the chariot. There is also the equivalent of our man (j), again crouched in front of the horses; unfortunately no name is preserved. The other inscs. preserved are: Ἐριφύλλῃ, ἡόμος, Βάτων, Ἀμ[φιάρεος].

<sup>1064</sup> See e.g. P. Friedländer, *RE* vii (1910–12), 2271. 21 ff., and *LIMC* iv, 'Halimedes', with more (unnamed) iconographical parallels to our figure, a discussion, and bibliography.

<sup>1065</sup> As the other sources unanimously call him Ἀργος (see ad loc.), we may have here the echo of a special local tradition of the Northern Peloponnesians who, by deriving the name of the builder of the Argo from the place-name Argos, tried to usurp him for their region. The same tendency may be observed with the name of Athena (see §247).

<sup>1061</sup> For this meaning see Bechtel, p. 28. Amyx (p. 572) cites one Αἰνίππος from Roman times (see Pape–Benseler).

<sup>1062</sup> In Hauser's words (p. 5): 'Da unser Mann auf dem nackten Boden sitzt, so ist er kein Herr, sondern ein Sklave, . . . einer von den der Poesie so wohlbekannten, unglaublich gescheiterten Dienern, welche alles im voraus wissen'; he takes the name to mean 'Seewart', 'wohl ein in der Seestadt Korinth verbreiteter Sklavename'.

again gives the name a connection with the characters (*s*) and (*u*), whose horsey names (§238) are both known from literature.<sup>1066</sup>

(*n*) *Εὐφῆμος* (on Kyps., the winner of the chariot-race, as on our vase too) was also an Argonaut (Apollod. 1. 9. 16), and is well known from later accounts as the ancestor of the rulers of Kyrene (Pind. *Pyth.* 4, etc.).

(*o*) *Κάστωρ* (not on Kyps.), like his twin-brother (on Kyps. but not on our vase), was an Argonaut (Apollod. 1. 9. 16) and one of the Kalydonian Boar-hunters (ibid. 1. 8. 2).

Also (*p*) *Ἀδμᾶτο[s]* (on Kyps., where he is boxing) was an Argonaut (Apollod. 1. 9. 16) and Boar-hunter (1. 8. 2); see his father (*m*).

(*g*) *Ἀλάστωρ* (not on Kyps.), according to Hauser (p. 7), is a name 'von dem wir nicht ahnen, wie er in diesen Sagenkreis hineingerät'. On the contrary, I think that he fits the scene very well, being a son of Neleus, i.e. a nephew of the dead Pelias (see Apollod. 1. 9. 8 f.). Again, we must remember that we have no full account of the story of these games, not even a list of participants like that given by Apollodorus for the Boar-hunt and the Argo expedition.

(*r*) *Ἀμφιάρεος* (not shown on Kyps. in this context), according to Hauser (p. 7), 'wird wenigstens in der Litteratur, und zwar von Stesichoros, als Sieger im Lauf eben bei den Leichenspielen für Pelias genannt' (*Athla epi Peliai*, fr. 179b PMG, where he is participating in the long jump: *θρόνισκων*). This is of course a very strong piece of evidence for his participation in the games, as is duly stressed by Brize (1980: 26 f.). Brize also cites another vase showing our hero in these games, namely the fragments of an Attic bf. dinos (which could not have been known to Hauser):<sup>1067</sup> on this piece *Ἀμφιάρεος* is shown with *Ἰφίτος*, *Μελανίδων*, *Καπ[ανεύς]*, and *Περίφας* preparing for the javelin contest; on a non-contiguous fragment, Atalante is wrestling with a male opponent (no names preserved), watched by *Δάμας*, *Κέλαις*,<sup>1068</sup> *Ἀστερίδων*, and *Ἄ[. . .]*.<sup>1069</sup>

<sup>1066</sup> In Apollod. 1. 9. 14 Pheres is said to be the founder of Pherai in Thessaly. I prefer a horsey connection.

<sup>1067</sup> LIMC i, 'Amphiaraos' 2\* (bibl.), ph. pl. 555; Immerwahr, no. 71. For the Atalante scene on this vase see LIMC ii, 'Atalante' 62\*. A very good ph. of the whole piece is given by Scheffold (1964) and (1966), pl. 65; (1993), fig. 295.

<sup>1068</sup> *Κελάας*, accepted in LIMC, is an impossible reading, and so are 'Keleos' by Scheffold and *Κελαίνος* by Immerwahr (see previous n.). A glance at the ph., which is clear in this respect, would have shown that the frs. join neatly and the reading is *Κέλαις*. The hero in question is of course *Κάλας*, son of Boreas, who (along with his brother Zetes) is reported to have taken part in the games by Hyg. *Fab.* 273 (this account must therefore go back to an archaic tradition). If the form with [e] is the original one, the name could be related to *κέλλω*, *κέλεις*, and the form with [a] would be due to assimilation of the type *Φηκα-* > *Ἀκά-δημος* (see ad COR 70l and §212), or else to popular etymology (see §510) after an animal, LSAG 182. 18 = DGE 108 *καλαῖδα* (acc. fem.), for which see Risch (1990), 241 f. The opposite way (i.e. with dissimilation) is also possible.

<sup>1069</sup> Iphitos is likely to be a mistake by the writer; we should expect Iphiklos (on Kyps., see below; but see also n. 1081). Melanion and Asterion also take part in the games on Kyps. Kapaneus (if correctly restored; the second alpha is not preserved), one of the Seven against Thebes, is a plausible character in this contest too. Periphas and Damas, however, are hard to justify. But, again, we have no full account of the tale.

On (*s*) *Ἡπίπ(π)ατος*<sup>1070</sup> (not on Kyps.), Hauser (p. 7) remarks: 'seinen Namen möchte ich nicht notdürftig damit rechtfertigen [as suggested by Robert], dass Aktor, Sohn eines Hippasos, als Argonaut genannt wird' (Apollod. 1. 9. 16). Yet we must surely acknowledge the primacy of the literary evidence and should warmly welcome such a reference. It would be an odd assumption that people, even vase-painters, knew the stories and the names of the characters primarily from pictorial art (where inscriptions are rare!) rather than from literature or story-telling. In our particular case, there are three reasons why it is both a methodological mistake and unnecessary to assume a horsey name (see §238), as Hauser does (following Luckenbach (1880), 496). (1) The hero is no more conspicuously involved with horses than his competitors (*n*)–(*r*), none of whom, it will be noted, bears a horsey name. Not even the fact, stressed by Luckenbach, that he is the last in the row (though only of the chariot-racers), and that the writer may have been running out of suitable names, is relevant (see also on CHA 4i, §456), for with his precise knowledge of the myths the writer could surely have found another suitable name without having to invent one.<sup>1071</sup> (2) In the same way as we must—and can—justify (*o*), (*g*), and (*r*) on the grounds of literary evidence, we should also be prepared to accept such a justification for our name (*s*). (3) In the case of (*u*), who is taking part in a 'non-horsey' contest, Hauser (p. 6) has to accept the connection with the man known from literature. Now, (*s*) and (*u*) are exactly comparable, namely fathers of Argonauts mentioned in Apollodorus' list, and the same is true for (*m*). We should therefore accept this connection for (*s*) too.

At the right side of the scene we see two heroes wrestling. (*t*) *Πελέυς* (on Kyps.) was also an Argonaut (Apollod. 1. 9. 16) and a Boar-hunter (1. 8. 2). As for (*u*) *Ἡπίπαλμος* (not on Kyps., where Iason has his function), we have a very suitable figure for this name, an individual known to have been the father of the Argonaut *Πηνέλεως* (Apollod. 1. 9. 16). The case is parallel to (*s*). Apollodorus' text gives the genitive *Ἰππάλμου*, but *Ἰππάλκμου* and *Ἰππάλκιμον -ος* are transmitted in Σ II. 2. 494–5 and Diodorus Siculus 4. 67. 7, respectively. We can correct the texts of Apollodorus and Diodorus from our vase (and Σ II.): *Ἰππαλκμος* is obviously the best reading of the name, as already stressed by Schulze (1896: 697 n. 1). The name is of a very unusual formation, a point which also speaks strongly in favour of a heroic origin rather than an invention of post-epic times.

When we come to consider the problem of the impact of literature on our two scenes, we have no way of proving that Stesichorus' poems are reflected therein, as is often assumed.<sup>1072</sup>

<sup>1070</sup> Neumann (1980: 299) compares the formation to that of *Δάμασος* II. 12. 183 (citing Schwyzler, p. 516, where there is also *Ἐρασος*). But these names are hypocoristics from full names in *Δαμασι-* and *Ἐρασι-* (Bechtel, pp. 114 f. and 159 f., respectively), and there is no question of that type of formation here. We may, however, compare *Χοίρασος* of COR Gr 2 (in the gen. -ου).

<sup>1071</sup> e.g. Pisos, Asterion, Melanion, Iphiklos (all on Kyps.), and perhaps Kapaneus (see above with n. 1069), etc.

<sup>1072</sup> See Brize (1980), 27 (bibl.). Brize himself duly takes a critical view, although his arguments against a dependence upon Stesichorus are themselves hardly

It is true that he is a likely candidate, since he wrote not only *Athla epi Peliai*, mentioned above (see *r*) but also an *Eriphyle* (see fr. 194 *PMG*). Yet there was also an epic *Amphiaraou exelasia*, which was attributed to Homer (it is often thought to have been part of the *Thebais*; see test. 7 f. *PEG*, fr. 9 *EGF*); and there must have been a strong epic tradition concerning the games for Pelias, for he and his daughters are mentioned in the *Iliad* (2. 715), and the poet evidently felt he did not need to add any further explanation. The story was well enough known. At any rate, we have one indication of a poetic background to our vase, namely the intervocalic digamma in (*c*) (see §506), but we cannot prove which work or author was the source.

A few general points on the remaining names on the Chest of Kypselos and in the literary treatments may be added. In Pausanias' description of the chest there are characters in the scenes of the funeral games who are not included on our vase. At the beginning (5. 17. 9) Herakles, obviously acting as the referee, is seated on a throne next to the spectators and shown with a female partner (see §241; Herakles was also an Argonaut, Apollod. 1. 9. 16). The two participants in the chariot-race named on the chest but not on the vase are Pisos, son of Perieres, and Asterion, son of Kometes. It must have been Pausanias who added their fathers' names (it is inconceivable that these were mentioned in the labels on the chest).<sup>1073</sup> Pisos in Apollodorus 3. 10. 3, however, is the son of Aphareus, whose other two sons, Idas and Lynkeus, were Argonauts (1. 9. 16); he is therefore not the son, but the grandson of Perieres (3. 10. 3, 3. 10. 4). Is this Pausanias' mistake? Asterion, on the other hand, is called *Ἀστέριος*, son of Kometes, in the list of Argonauts in Apollodorus 1. 9. 16. Here the Attic fragment cited above (*r*) shows that Pausanias has the correct form. Between the chariot-race and the wrestling scene there is the boxing match between Admetos, our (*p*), and Ampyx' son, Mopsos (an Argonaut according to Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 191, *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 65, etc., often designated *Ἀμπυκίδης*; see below ad CHA 10).

The other characters on the chest are Iason (an Argonaut, of course, Apollod. 1. 9. 16; and a Boar-hunter, 1. 8. 2), who is shown wrestling; Eurybotas (transmitted *Εὐρυβώτης* Vb, *Εὐρυκώτας* Pc), otherwise unknown, throwing the discus; Melanion, a runner, who, according to the famous story, on a later occasion won Atalante

in a race (Theogn. 1293 f., Apollod. 3. 9. 2, etc.); Neotheus, otherwise unknown, and Phalareus,<sup>1074</sup> both runners.

And finally, an interesting detail concerns Iphiklos, the winner of the running contest. Pausanias seems to have had some doubts as to his genealogy and, instead of his father only, mentions his son too (5. 17. 10 *εἶη δ' ἂν ὁ Πρωτεσιλάου πατήρ τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἰλιον*). This reflects the version as reported in *Il.* 2. 704–6, where Protesilaos is said to be the son of Iphiklos and grandson of Phylakos. Pausanias' hesitation seems understandable, for we know of a tradition, preserved in Apollodorus, in which there was an Argonaut (1. 9. 16) and Boar-hunter (1. 8. 2 f.) called Iphiklos, who would fit our games perfectly, but whose father is said to have been Thestios.<sup>1075</sup> This discrepancy may have troubled Pausanias, who no doubt preferred the Homeric version because the character on the chest was a runner. Now, it is true that the *Iliad* knows of a good runner called Iphiklos (23. 636), and elsewhere in the *Iliad* when the name Iphiklos is used it designates the son of Phylakos (2. 705, 13. 698). But in book 23 Nestor, who is speaking of his own former sporting prowess, does not mention the name of Iphiklos' father, and the two contexts with Iphiklos, son of Phylakos, do not refer to running. On the other hand, Hesiod (fr. 62 M–W) seems to have spoken explicitly of the runner as the son of Phylakos. We cannot be absolutely clear about this. But the discrepancy may have very old roots (which would explain the cautious treatment by the poet of the *Iliad*), for the following reason. In one version of the Kalydonian Boar-hunt Iphiklos, son of Thestios, claimed to have been the first to hit the boar (Apollod. 1. 8. 3). Now, this version is likely to be very old too, since it also contains the war between the Kuretes and Kalydonians, more or less as described in the *Iliad* (9. 529–99). Therefore the claim of Iphiklos in this tradition, which of course presupposes that he was also the fastest runner in the hunt, seems to reconcile the running ability of the Iliadic son of Phylakos with the Boar-hunter, son of Thestios, and both traditions may have roots going back to the period of the epic. Perhaps the two heroes named Iphiklos were the same originally? At any rate, Pausanias' hesitation shows that even in antiquity the case was not clear, and this uncertainty seems to go back very far indeed.

The scene on the chest concludes with representations of the prize tripods (see *Il.* 23. 259 etc.), as well as of Alkestis, a daughter of Pelias (as in Apollod. 1. 9. 10) who was also offered as a prize (and eventually won by Admetos).<sup>1076</sup>

conclusive. (1) Dependence would only be proven, he says, if on the chest and vase the specific Stesichorean version of the story were depicted, whereas there are differences. Yet do we know that version well enough? And would a slight variation really prove independence? (2) Such a 'Literaturbetrieb', i.e. a busy literary movement with strong influence on visual art, is, he says, unthinkable in those days. Yet, again, are we not in a very weak position to judge? There are in fact indications which suggest the contrary; see §§501 ff. and Stoessl (1987), 79–106 (on Corinth).

<sup>1073</sup> See also three characters who certainly did not have a father's name added to their labels: (1) *Εὐφήμος* (also on the vase, see above), of whom, however, Paus. says: *Ποσειδῶνός τε ὦν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον* (he is also Poseidon's son in the Argonauts' list in Apollod.); (2) *Εὐρυβώτας*, about whom Paus. knew nothing; (3) *Ἰφίκλος*, running: in this case Paus. is not sure whether he is the father of Protesilaos, i.e. the son of Phylakos (see below).

<sup>1074</sup> This figure may be linked to a character known from literature: in *Σ Od.* 4. 797 one *Φαληρεὺς* (on the chest there would have been the Doric form, of course) is one of the sons of Ikarios, son of Perieres. Other grandsons of the latter, who were Argonauts and Boar-hunters, are the above-mentioned sons of Aphareus, namely Idas, Lynkeus, and Pisos. The list of Ikarios' descendants in this scholion does not agree with that in Apollod. 3. 10. 6, but maybe our *Φαληρεὺς* is hiding behind Apollodorus' *Ἀλήτης* (the names are metrically equivalent).

<sup>1075</sup> Apollod. (1. 9. 12) also knows Iphiklos, son of Phylakos (in the story of the rusty knife, found by Melampus).

<sup>1076</sup> In his last sentence on the games (5. 17. 11) Pausanias says that Iolaos is shown as winner of the chariot-race: *Ἰόλαος δέ, ὃς ἐθελοντῆς μετείχεν Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ἔργων, ἔστιν ἵππων ἄρματι ἀνιρημένους νίκην*. However, he cannot have belonged to the scene of the chariot-race at the games for Pelias, but must have been Herakles' companion in the next scene on the chest: the killing of the Hydra (see von Massow (1916), p. 44 with dr. pl. 1). For Pausanias has just mentioned that Euphemos, our (*n*), is winning the chariot-race. In the standard iconogra-

As for the apparent similarity of the representations on the chest and the vase, we must stress that not only are a number of characters different in those scenes that occur on both objects, but also that the order of the shared characters (if we assume that Pausanias described them strictly from left to right) does not always agree; the same is true for the position of the prizes. We should therefore resist the temptation to see the scenes on the vase as more or less exact counterparts of the ones on the chest.

CHA 10 shows Atalante in a wrestling match at the funeral games for Pelias, but the labelling of the figures (c) Πῆλεός and (b) Μῆρόφσος is a problem. At first sight, the man with whom Atalante is shown wrestling bears the label of Mopsos, while Peleus is the man standing behind, and the very fact that all editors felt obliged to discuss the two names and their attribution clearly indicates that this is the most natural interpretation of the scene and the labels. But of course such a distribution contradicts the literary tradition. Rumpf (1927: p. 49) suggests a breach of the starting-point principle (see §104), and compares CHA 2*d* and 13*d*; but the first of these cases (CHA 2*d*) is due to a special situation and causes no problems, and the second is due to a subsequent alteration in the process of labelling (see ad locc.). Later (p. 51), Rumpf adopts a different view: 'ist dem Maler ein Irrtum in den Beischriften untergelaufen, indem er die Namen . . . vertauschte'. Boardman (*LIMC* ii, 'Atalante' 74) tries to do away with the problem as follows:<sup>1077</sup> 'The names of Mopsos and Peleus are not exchanged—as Rumpf, 51—but the artist writes beside the heads where he can, starting from the right, and so is obliged to write Peleus behind him.' This is unsatisfactory; the painter does not always write next to the heads (see e.g. CHA 1 and 15), nor can we safely argue that he had any preference for retrograde writing (see CHA 2, 8, 14). No 'excuses' can be made; the painter clearly did 'exchange' the two names, for (1) it is very likely that he labelled the wrestler before the bystander, and (2), as mentioned above, he did not normally break the starting-point principle. Had he therefore wished to give the wrestler the name Peleus, he would have done so first and the label would be exactly where we now read Mopsos, not on the bystander's robe; subsequently he would have labelled the latter, for instance on his robe. Had he, however, begun by labelling the bystander, not only would that figure have a retrograde name (starting-point principle), but the wrestler also (direction principle; see §105). The distribution becomes obvious if we imagine the two names being exchanged: everything would then be neat and tidy.

phy of the Hydra scene in Corinthian art, Iolaos is almost always present (see §§411 and 509 on the vases preserved). But in view of Pausanias' misinterpretation, the figure of Iolaos on the chest must have been in, or at least next to, a chariot and therefore cannot have been helping his friend in the fight as in the standard vase-paintings. But of course, Herakles would have been quicker to jump from the chariot and start fighting than his charioteer, i.e. we are just dealing with the representation of a slightly earlier moment in the story (of which no full literary treatment survives); this moment is shown on one of the surviving vases too (see n. 1023). For similar problems of iconography and literary treatments see below, n. 1079.

<sup>1077</sup> E. Simon (*LIMC* vi, 'Mopsos' i. 7) follows him: 'die beigeschriebenen Namen lassen sich zwanglos anders verteilen.'

Of course we cannot argue that our writer, the Inscription P., did not know what he was writing. And since the myth of the contest between Atalante and Peleus was a very popular one, it is also unlikely that he just misinterpreted a model.

We have to accept that in the imagination of this painter and writer there was a wrestling match between Atalante and Mopsos (as claimed by Gerhard (1847), 158 f.). We have to admit, too, that our painter had an accurate knowledge of the myth, since Mopsos was not only the seer on the Argo and one of the Kalydonian Boar-hunters (Ov. *Met.* 8. 316, 350), but, on the evidence of the Corinthian Chest of Kypselos at Olympia, he also took part in the funeral games for Pelias, as described by Pausanias, 5. 17. 10 οἱ δὲ ἀποτετολμηκότες πυκτεύειν Ἀδμητος καὶ Μόψος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀμπυκος (see above, on the Amphiaros krater, COR 66, where the boxing match is not shown). On the Amphiaros krater Peleus is shown wrestling not with Atalante but with Hippalkmos. Admetos, who is boxing with Mopsos on the Chest of Kypselos, is taking part in the chariot-race on the krater. Atalante later ran races against many suitors, among them Melanion. So why should she not have taken part in several wrestling matches? And might not Mopsos, whose fame as a boxer must have been considerable,<sup>1078</sup> have been something of a wrestler too? A different question of course is whether we want to project such a variation of the story onto some lost literary source.<sup>1079</sup> For here again we must remember that we possess no full version of the story (see above, n. 1076), and therefore no record of all the feats performed, or of all the competitors involved.<sup>1080</sup> It is also important to note that even for the fourth character on our vase, Κλύτιος the spectator, there is a good literary connection, for we hear of an Argonaut called Κλύτιος in Apollonius Rhodius

<sup>1078</sup> A second representation is after all preserved, namely a shield-band from Olympia of the early 6th cent., cited above ad loc. with n. 552; the name of Mopsos' opponent is illegible. A further indication may be seen in the fact that Ampyx was made Mopsos' father, even if this was probably due to popular etymology (see §510), i.e. confusion of two different roots, (1) \*puk- (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.vv. ἄμπυξ and πύκα; ἄμπυξ-κος 'head-band' is attested in Myc. a-pu-ko-mo-ko etc., see e.g. Plath (1994), 68 ff.) and (2) \*pug- 'fist, boxing' (see Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. πύξ) with its [k]-form πύκτης 'boxer'.

<sup>1079</sup> Although Beazley (1960: 224), discussing the various pairs of wrestlers, takes this scene for the match between Atalante and Peleus, his explanation of the variation in general—the story [of the *Athla epi Peliāi*] was told in different ways—may also account for this case. Similarly Kunze (1950: 178) in our context: 'Unbekümmert konnten die Künstler aus der Sage und dem reichen überkommenen Typenvorrat herausgreifen, was jeweils ihrer Aufgabe und dem zur Verfügung stehenden Raum gemäß war. Von der Freiheit, mit der dabei verfahren wurde, gibt schon der Vergleich der auf die Peliasspiele bezüglichen Bilder des Amphiaroskraters . . . mit der Kypseloslade einen Begriff.'

<sup>1080</sup> E. Simon (*LIMC* vi, 'Mopsos' i. 7) writes, 'M(opsos) war nicht Ringer, sondern Faustkämpfer' (referring to the chest and the shield-band, *ibid.* nos. 5 and 6). But how can we totally exclude the possibility that Mopsos wrestled? We should remember that in *Il.* 23, the only full account of funeral games that we have, a number of heroes take part in two or three contests each: in three, Meriones (chariot 287 ff., shooting 850 ff., javelin 884 ff.) and the Greater Aias (wrestling 700 ff., fighting 802 ff., discus 826 ff.); in two, Diomedes (chariot and fighting), Antilochos (chariot and running 740 ff.), Epeios (boxing 653 ff. and discus), and Odysseus (wrestling and running). In 629 ff., Nestor reminds us of how successful he had been as a young man in the boxing, wrestling, running, and javelin contests (four disciplines) at the games for Amarynkeus.

(e.g. 1. 86 f.),<sup>1081</sup> and—as we have seen many times—Argonauts and Boar-hunters are very often identical (or close relatives). And would not a match of Atalante against a lesser, but by no means weak hero, while Peleus pondered his chances, have made a dramatic introduction to the ‘real’ match in a literary account of the games?<sup>1082</sup>

§426. *Tydeus (and Polyneikes) with Adrastus*

Tydeus, son of Oineus, fleeing from Kalydon, and Polyneikes, son of Oidipus, fleeing from Thebes, arrived at Argos as shown on **CHA 27**; there they were welcomed by King Adrastus and given his daughters Deipyle and Argeia. Soon after, Adrastus and the others set out for the Theban War to avenge Eteokles’ injustice towards his brother Polyneikes.

§427. *Peacemaking scenes with some of the Seven against Thebes*

Nothing is known from elsewhere of Parthenopaios, son of Atalante, as a peacemaker in the numerous quarrels amongst the Seven, but so he is represented on **LAK 8**.

The fragmentary state of **CHA 12** makes certainty about the representation difficult. Blatter (1983) prefers (a) Ἀδρεστος as peacemaker between (c) Ἀμ[φιάρεος?] (such is his restoration) and Lykurgos (from the description at Paus. 3. 18. 12 of the throne at Amyklai, on which Tydeus acted as a second peacemaker).<sup>1083</sup> Collinge (1985: 187–9) prefers the dispute, also considered by Blatter (1983: 20), between Polyneikes and Tydeus (Apollod. 3. 6. 1) because the figure who is likely to bear the name (b) [Τ]υδεύς seems to be a warrior in action, i.e. fighting. But as Blatter (p. 21 with n. 18) stressed, there are other such disputes, so we cannot be sure. Also, Ἀμ[φιάρεος] is not the only possible restoration: Ἀμ[φιδάμας] or Ἀμ[καίως], sons of Lykurgos (Apollod. 3. 9. 2) would fit equally well, for instance. Even Adrastus’ position and function in the scene seem uncertain to me, for in the light of the starting-point principle (see §104), inscription (a) can hardly designate the figure with which it is usually associated, viz. the unarmed man who seems to be standing quietly amid the turmoil. Nevertheless, because of the presence of both warriors and naked men, the general interpretation as a peacemaking scene in the context before the Theban War is plausible.

<sup>1081</sup> Strangely this Argonaut is identified with Eurytos’ son and is accompanied by his brother Iphitos (for these two characters see §416 on **COR 12**). It seems as if in some source of Apollonius’ an original Argonaut Klytios and the Argonaut Iphiklos (see text above, before n. 1075) had been mixed up with Eurytos’ sons. Moreover, it appears that it was Apollonius’ method, to collect as many Argonauts as possible, and he therefore ended up with not only Iphiklos and Iphitos, but two of each. See also §471 on **COR 107**.

<sup>1082</sup> See above with nn. 1067 ff. for an Attic vase showing not the actual javelin contest but the preparations for it: the heroes are walking around with their spears, as if contemplating their imminent action. See also Iolaos in a chariot, above, nn. 1022 f.

<sup>1083</sup> See also the unclear representation on a shield-band from Olympia, **LIMC** i, ‘Amphiaraos’ 33 (with dr.).

§428. *Departure of Amphiaraos for the Theban War*

Amphiaraos is shown departing on **COR 66**. He went to war against his will because he was obliged to obey his wife, who had been bribed by Polyneikes with Harmonia’s necklace. On the opposite side of the same vase Amphiaraos is shown as a participant in the funeral games for Pelias. For the details see above, §425.

§429. *Tydeus killing Ismene*

Welcker (1858: 37) was already well aware of the two passages from literature which must be closely connected with the scene painted on **COR 113**, namely Mimnermus, fr. 21 Bergk (= West), *Μίμνερμος δέ φησι τὴν μὲν Ἰσμὴν προσομιλοῦσαν Θεοκλυμένῳ ὑπὸ Τυδείῳ κατὰ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐγκέλευσιν τελευτῆσαι*, and Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 95 (from *Σ Eur. Phoen.* 53), *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνιαυτὸς παρήλθε* [i.e. after Iokaste’s suicide; see already *Od.* 11. 278 f.], *γαμεῖ δὲ Οἰδίπους Εὐρυγάνειαν τὴν Περίφαντος, ἐξ ἧς γίνονται αὐτῷ Ἀντιγόνη καὶ Ἰσμήνη, ἣν ἀναιρεῖ Τυδεὺς ἐπὶ κρήνης καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἡ κρήνη Ἰσμήνη καλεῖται. υἱοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἐτεοκλῆς καὶ Πολυνείκης, ἐπεὶ δὲ Εὐρυγάνεια ἐτελεύτησε, γαμεῖ δὲ Οἰδίπους Ἀστυμέδουσιν τὴν Σθενέλου*.<sup>1084</sup>

Robert (1915: 121 ff.) renewed the discussion, bringing in a parallel for this scene in vase-painting, namely two fragments of a bf. skyphos from the Athenian Akropolis.<sup>1085</sup> Waiblinger (1972) plausibly finds the same scene on an (uninscribed) Attic white-ground cup of c.490–480 in the Louvre (G 109). I would also cite the name of a man of the second century BC, *Ἰσμηνίας Ἀθανίου ἐκ Τυδείας* (*IG* xii/9. 1189. 16; Bechtel, p.227): was the choice of his name deliberate and could it then be regarded as a reflection of our myth?

Although we know of two characters called Ismene (who may, however, have originally been the same), it is clear from the context of the passages cited, and from the vase(s), that we are here dealing with the daughter of Oidipus and sister of Antigone, Polyneikes, and Eteokles (Apollod. 3. 5. 8; Hyg. *Fab.* 67, etc.).<sup>1086</sup> The general context of the myth is clear: Tydeus was one of the Seven against Thebes. We also know of a Periklymenos, a Theban noble and son of Poseidon, who (according to the *Thebais*, fr. 6 *PEG*) killed Parthenopaios and almost killed Amphiaraos (Apollod. 3. 6. 8). It has therefore been argued, from the existence of the *Περιγλύμενος* on our vase, that the name *Θεοκλύμενος* was wrongly introduced either by Mimnermus himself (Roscher (1884–1937), iii/2. 1967) or—less convincingly—in the course of transmission of his text (Robert (1915), i. 124; the seer from the *Odyssey* is not a likely model); we cannot know.

The *exact* context of the scene is difficult to establish. For the situation in Aeschylus’ *Septem* towards the end of the siege of

<sup>1084</sup> This second passage was again cited by E. Bethe, *RE* ix (1916), 2135. 49 ff., but has since been badly neglected.

<sup>1085</sup> Graef–Langlotz (1925), no. 603b–c, dr. pl. 29; Robert (1915), 123 fig. 33, from Graef–Langlotz; Immerwahr, no. 74, with *Ἰσμήνῃ* and [*Περιγλύμειος*].

<sup>1086</sup> The other Ismene is said to have been the daughter of the Boiotian river-god Asopos, and subsequently the wife of Argos (Apollod. 2. 1. 3).

Thebes shows Ismene still alive, whereas Tydeus is soon to die (his death at Thebes is implied in *Il.* 6. 222 f., 14. 114), and it is difficult to see how he could have had his chance to intrude on a private Theban love affair at that stage of the plot. More suitable would have been the occasion of his embassy to Thebes with a message calling upon Eteokles to renounce the throne (see *Il.* 4. 384; Apollod. 3. 6. 5, etc.). For at that stage he took part in the games at Eteokles' palace and won them with the help of Athena—much to the anger of the Kadmeians, who set an (unsuccessful) ambush for him on his way back to camp (*Il.* 4. 390 f.; Apollod. loc. cit.). It is imaginable, for example, that at these games Eteokles promised his sister to the winner, and that Tydeus, subsequently finding Ismene with a lover, killed her. The man on the horse on our vase (*Qλύτος*), if he has any real function at all, would then make sense as an allusion to Tydeus' imminent departure for the camp. Athena's<sup>1087</sup> order to Tydeus to kill Ismene (as reported by Mimnermus) could be explained in various different ways, but certainty is impossible.<sup>1088</sup>

The only way out of the chronological difficulty is to assume that in Aeschylus' play Ismene was allowed a longer life than in earlier versions of the myth. In fact we hear hardly anything about her life after the war was over, and much the same uncertainty attends her sister Antigone's end, of which there were a number of very different versions in the fifth century: she followed her father Oidipus to Attica (Aesch. *Sept.*; Eur. *Phoen.*), she was buried alive and hanged herself (Soph. *Ant.*), she was burnt in a temple together with Ismene (Ion of Chios, fr. 740 *PMG*).<sup>1089</sup> In view of the *Θεο-*/*Περί-* discrepancy in the lover's name that exists between Mimnermus and our vase, these two pre-classical examples can hardly have been closely related, and, that being so, the version of Ismene having been killed by (jealous) Tydeus is likely to be the original one.

Whether our vase-painter had any particular poetic source in mind, we do not know. The fact that *Θεο-* and *Περί-* are metrically equivalent could point to a mistake within a poetic tradition (for such mistakes see §510). The *Oidipodeia* (fr. 2 *PEG* and *EGF*, also Procl. *Chr.*) also had Euryganeia, daughter of Hyperphas, as the mother of Oidipus' four famous children, which may suggest that Pherecydes' account is based on that epic. And as Pherecydes says nothing about a love affair with Peri- or Theoklymenos, but places the killing at a well outside Thebes (which somewhat reminds us of the Troilos story and can hardly have been made up by Pherecydes), we may reasonably conclude that the version on the vase does not reflect the *Oidipodeia*. On the other hand, the subject is very well suited to lyric poets such as Mimnermus; we know that he told the story and that

his mythical topics were often erotic.<sup>1090</sup> But he was an Ionian from Kolophon, wrote about an obscure *Θεοκλύμενος* instead of a plausible *Περί-*, and—most importantly—is believed to have flourished at least half a century before our vase was made. It is therefore more reasonable to assume a different and slightly later poetic source, an assumption which is supported by the very special and non-Ionic form *Ηυσμένα* (see ad loc.). What source this could have been, we can only guess.

#### §430. *Punishment of Kapaneus*

The correct interpretation of the scene on **DOC 1** as the punishment of Kapaneus, when he was about to scale the walls of Thebes, was independently put forward by Tiverios (1980) and Forti (1980). The myth of *Καπανεύς* must have had some popularity with certain peoples in Italy. He is, for example, represented and labelled *Kapne/Capne* on five Etruscan mirrors (5th cent. and later, see de Simone (1968), 85); see also I. Krauskopf in *LIMC* v (p. 961). For a possible connection of this scene with the other scene on the vase, viz. Diomedes and Aineias, see §443.

#### §431. *Theseus and the Minotaur*

This scene is represented on **CHA 11**. The Chalcidian style is closely related to the style at Athens (see §259), where Theseus' myth was much more popular than elsewhere.

#### §432. *Dionysos and Ariadne*

The god found Ariadne on the island of Naxos, where she had been abandoned by Theseus on their way from Crete to Athens. This scene too (like that on **CHA 11** immediately above) occurs on a Chalcidian piece, **CHA 28**. Although the painting is in a bad state of preservation, the label of Dionysos is still easily legible, and M. Boss (Würzburg) has recently found the remains of Ariadne's name (see ad loc.). On the vase there are also the Boreads visiting Phineus and chasing the Harpies.

### The Trojan Cycle

#### §433. *Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters*

On **COR 98** Peleus is depicted surprising Thetis and her sister Nereids. The two fundamentally different versions of how Thetis got her mortal husband are—briefly—as follows:<sup>1091</sup>

(1) The 'refined' epic version stated that the match was arranged by Zeus either (1a) in revenge, because Thetis had repelled him out of gratitude to Hera who had reared her (*Cypria*, fr. 2 *PEG* and *EGF*; Hes. fr. 210 M-W), or (1b) out of fear, because of a prophecy that Thetis' son would be more powerful than his

<sup>1087</sup> She was plausibly recognized by Pfuhl (1915) on the fr. from the Akropolis, mentioned above (see n. 1085).

<sup>1088</sup> I cannot see how Robert (1915: 127) could conclude from the words *κατὰ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐγκέλευσιν* that Ismene was a priestess of the goddess (this is repeated by Schefold (1964: 77) and (1966: 81), and by I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* v. 796 f.).

<sup>1089</sup> On Antigone see now C. Zimmermann (1993), esp. 68 ff. (Mimnermus) and 89 ff. (Pherecydes). Our vase is only briefly mentioned (at p. 70 n. 44).

<sup>1090</sup> Also the cowardly look of Periklymenos, who is running away naked, fits such a genre much better than the sphere of epic where he was known as a great hero (but we may not draw any conclusions as to his character from his white-coloured body; see Pfuhl (1915)).

<sup>1091</sup> The most readable account is still Lesky (1956).

father (Pind. *Isth.* 8. 26 ff.). In (1a) it was probably Hera who found the best of mortals as a husband for Thetis (thus *Il.* 24. 60 f.); in (1b) Zeus, by a message to Chiron, got things started, and in both cases—but no doubt more easily in the second—he could have organized the famous wedding which all the gods attended (*Iliad*, *Cypria*, etc.). A variant is told by Alcaeus (fr. 42. 9 L–P).

(2) The ‘popular’ (Melusine) motif reports that Peleus won Thetis by wrestling with her and outmanœuvring her ability to change shape (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 62 ff., etc.).

These two versions, as Graef (1886) pointed out, were clearly distinguished all the way down to Ovid (*Met.* 11. 217 ff.), who as far as we can judge was the first to try to reconcile them. On our vase we have the ‘popular’ theme, which is shown in a very similar way on a roughly contemporary bronze relief from Perachora (Payne (1940), 147, ph. pl. 49. 2); there too we have Peleus kneeling, about to leap forward, a tree, and a woman fleeing to right (no labels). This version—not with Peleus lurking in ambush, but showing him wrestling with a snake coming out of Thetis’ hand—was also represented on the Chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5. 18. 5; for the chest see §425). The details on our vase, namely the tree and the altar, may suggest that the painter had full knowledge of the story (though they somewhat remind us of the similar setting of Achilles’ attack on Troilos, as e.g. on COR 27). But we cannot specify any particular (poetic?) source. What we *can* say, however, is that the wrestling version was not contained in any of the accounts in which it is the *gods* who bring Peleus and Thetis together—it is neither in the *Iliad*, nor in the *Cypria* (where Zeus was angry and it was therefore Hera who found Peleus for Thetis), nor in Hesiod, nor in Alcaeus. The first poet whom we know to have used it is Pindar. This goes well with other popular features of choral lyric (see Trümper (1986), 54, 64 f., 129). It seems not unlikely that Stesichorus, who was fond of such stories, had already used our version in one of his many poems, although we cannot be sure.

We may have the same scene on the fragment COR 96B with a Nereid Πνοτομέδοισα striding to the left while looking back at, and being followed by, a man. As the scene looks very lively, something like a pursuit seems more likely to me than, for instance, Achilles mourning Patroklos, or Thetis mourning Achilles, or the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (as preferred by Chamay (1990)). The Nereid Πνοτομέδοισα corresponds to the one known from Hes. *Th.* 249 as Πρωτομέδεια and from Apollod. 1. 2. 7 as Ποντομέδουσα, which are metrically equivalent forms and occupy the same place in the epic tradition of Nereid lists (see Wachter (1990a; 1990b)). The first element of her name seems to have varied. Yet we may note that (1) metathesis of nasals is hardly ever attested (see §205 for the liquids), and (2) interchanged letters are a very rare mistake (see §110). Therefore our Πνοτο-, instead of being considered merely a variant or a mistake for Ποντο-, should probably be taken more seriously. It could in fact reflect a lost noun \*πνοῦτος, a thematic masculine noun formed with the *o*-grade of the root of πνέ(ν)ω, as πλοῦτος is with

the *o*-grade of the root of πλέ(ν)ω (for the possible spelling <ο> of an original diphthong [ou] in Corinth at the time, see §220). Apart from πνε(ν)- we have the rare zero-grade of this root in πνυτός· ἔμφρων (Hsch.), also attested in names like Πνυτότιμος, Πνυταγόρας (Bechtel, p. 373). The whole name would then mean ‘mistress of the winds’ and would be a speaking name (see §239)—very appropriate for one of these nymphs.<sup>1092</sup> The second element shows the variant -μέδοισα instead of -μέδουσα (e.g. Φυλομέδουσα *Il.* 7. 10). This must be due to poetic influence on this painted scene (see ad COR 36a and §508).

In view of the position of the women’s arms on the fragment COR 96A, on which we read a name ending in [. . .]ανερα, earlier scholars have assumed a dancing scene. But the element -άνειρα, the only possible interpretation of the five letters, is so typical of epic names and epithets (Risch, pp. 138 f., §30d) that a heroic setting is to be preferred. Now, there is one Καλλιάνειρα in Homer’s list of Nereids (*Il.* 18. 44), and for the position of the women’s arms we may follow Hauser (1896: 178) and compare the fleeing Nereids of COR 98 (phs. e.g. Schefold (1993), figs. 318a–b). Alternatively, going by what looks like the remains of a wing (Lorber, p. 46, doubtfully) to the right of the fragment, the scene of the Harpies-pursued by the Boreads comes to mind. Yet, we know that the names of the two Harpies involved in that incident are Ἀελλώ and Ὠκυπέτη, as attested from Hes. *Th.* 267 onwards (see §424), and the wing would have an odd position if it were to belong, for instance, to a full-size Boread. Could the remains be the fingers of a man’s left hand, perhaps grasping the arm of the (labelled) woman to the right? We may then compare Peleus grasping Thetis’ wrist on the Melian amphora Kavalla A 1086 (ph. Schefold (1993), fig. 317), and for the shape of the hand one could point, for example, to those of the two men to the left on COR 85 and Poseidon’s left hand on COP 3 (Lorber, pl. 44. 145 and pl. 2. 12, respectively). If our figure is indeed the Nereid Kallianeira, it is curious to note that her name, structured -νν-ν, occupies the same place in Homer’s list of Nereids as Πνδοτομέδοισα of COR 96B in Hesiod’s list, namely the end of the line ‘G + 5’, i.e. the fifth line after Γλαύκη (for a detailed comparison of these lists see Wachter (1990a; 1990b)). This could be due to different traditions behind our two vase fragments. But in this kind of epic list, names of the same prosodic shape can jump from a particular position in one line to the same position in another, as can be seen from the beginnings of the following specimen lines: *Il.* 18. 41 (G + 2) Κυμοθόη τε καὶ Ἀκταίη, Hes. *Th.* 249 (G + 5) Νησαίη τε καὶ Ἀκταίη, but *Il.* 18. 40 (G + 1) Νησαίη Σπειώ τε, Hes. *Th.* 245 (G + 1) Κυμοθόη Σπειώ τε. Our two names therefore could be from the same source. This seems particularly attractive in view of the ‘irregular’ spelling -άνερα (with β) instead of the expected -άνερα (with ε), which allows an explanation parallel to the one in COR 96B Πνδοτομέδοισα. For as

<sup>1092</sup> See Wachter (1990a), 45 with n. 26. Other Nereid-names containing the notion of wind are Γαλήνη and Πληξάυρη; see also e.g. Hes. *Th.* 252–4.

soon as we read  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\rho(\rho)a$ , our name is a regular Lesbian form, for which, again, we may postulate a special poetic source (see §508). This interpretation seems preferable to the assumption of a simple mistake (as e.g. in the deviant spellings of Poseidon's name; see §255). For Lesbian  $[rr] < *[rj]$  see e.g. Lejeune, §155; for the rendering of the long consonant  $[rr]$  with a single sign see §113 above.

#### §434. *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*

The wedding of Peleus with the goddess (see §433 above), of which there are famous Attic representations, for example on the François Vase (*ABV* 76. 1), is shown on **EUB 2** of the mid-sixth century.

#### §435. *Chiron receiving the baby Achilles*

Peleus and Thetis' little son was handed over to Chiron, the learned Centaur, for his education (see *Σ Il.* 18. 57). This is shown on **COR 46B** as well as on **ETR 1** (where the scene may have an erotic function; see §307). On **COR 46B**, besides  $\chi\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\nu$  his wife  $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\gamma\lambda\acute{o}\iota$  is also present. She was one of the Naiades and is also attested on the Attic François Vase (*ABV* 76. 1) and in Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 102 f. [181 f.] (see the *Σ*, whence also Hes. fr. 42 M–W).<sup>1093</sup>

#### §436. *Zeus and Ganymedes*

The story of Ganymedes, son of Tros, who was abducted by Zeus because of his beauty (*Il.* 20. 230–5 etc.) is shown on **ACC 4**.

#### §437. *Judgement of Paris*

This episode is shown on **PCO 2**, and much later on **BOI 17** and **BOI 21**. It was related at length in the *Cypria* (see Procl. *Chr.*), but Homer only mentioned it briefly (*Il.* 24. 25 ff.), no doubt because everyone knew about it anyway. On the first side of **BOI 21** we get (a)  $\text{H}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ , Aphrodite, and Hermes, but no Paris-Alexandros and no Athena. On the second side there is a lyre-player  $\mathcal{A}(\dots)$  who could be Alexandros (thus represented on **BOI 17**, where he is named Paris), but then the two goddesses playing the *morra* game are unexpected. According to Braun-Haevernick (1981: 65) the lack of one or two goddesses in the representations of the Judgement of Paris is frequent on South Italian vases,<sup>1094</sup> but a total of four goddesses is odd. Does the scene represent a comical distortion of the competition with the *morra* game, rather than Paris, deciding who is the winner?

#### §438. *Dioskouroi and Leukippides*

The myth of the Dioskouroi, the brothers of Helene, carrying off the daughters of Leukippos was told or at least mentioned in the *Cypria* (fr. 11 *PEG* = 9 *EGF*, non-metrical, naming both  $\text{I}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$  and  $\Phi\omicron\acute{\iota}\beta\eta$ ). The fate of the Dioskouroi was known to

<sup>1093</sup> Is it mere chance that the mother of the seer Teiresias is also called Chariklo? His father is not Chiron, however.

<sup>1094</sup> It is therefore not necessary to interpret  $\mathcal{A}(\dots)$  as Apollon, as did Fairbanks (1928: 196 f.).

Homer (*Il.* 3. 243 f.). In Apollodorus 3. 11. 2 Phoibe belongs to Polydeukes and Hilaeira to Kastor; in Propertius 1. 2. 15 f. the order is reversed. Our vase **CHA 21**, with Polydeukes carrying off Phoibe, shows that Apollodorus preserves the better version (see also §468, **COR** 87, on the twins' horses).

#### §439. *Wedding of Paris and Helene*

Paris and Helene's arrival at Troy was followed by the celebration of their wedding, according to the *Cypria* (Procl. *Chr.*). This is shown on **COR 24**, in a scene with Hektor (and unnamed Andromache), Paris-Alexandros and Helene, and a character labelled  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\nu$ , who must be Hektor and Paris' brother, known from literature as  $\Delta\eta\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma$ .<sup>1095</sup> He fits the scene particularly well as the future third husband of the bride (Heubeck (1980), 284).<sup>1096</sup> In **COR 70j** the same hero is called, rather similarly,  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\nu\varsigma$  (see §444), for which an Attic parallel has recently been found.<sup>1097</sup> Finally, Kretschmer (1920) refers to a 'Tyrrhenian' amphora<sup>1098</sup> on which the name of a figure who must also be Hektor's brother is  $\Delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\nu\omega\varsigma$ . Variations in names are a common feature of oral poetry (see §510), particularly where the names are metrically equivalent (which is not the case with  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\nu$  (see §504), but does apply to  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\nu\varsigma$ ,  $\Delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\nu\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\Delta\eta\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ; see also §462 on **COR 46Ad**). The variation cannot be explained by a similarity between Corinthian beta and nu (which is not striking anyway).

Helene's name would be expected to have initial digamma in Corinthian, just as in some archaic Lakonian attestations (see §251). The fact that it has an *H*- on our vase(s) shows that in Corinth she was known not as an indigenous Peloponnesian character but as one from a quite different setting. This is likely to have been the epic tradition (see §504), and we may take the occurrence of this form as an indication of a poetic background to our painted scene.

A lady (*e*)  $\text{A}\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  is unparalleled in the Trojan contexts preserved.<sup>1099</sup> But as the name is of a very special and elaborate

<sup>1095</sup> Amyx (p. 563) rightly rejects the connection, made on the basis of Apollod. 2. 6. 2, between our  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\nu$  to the l. and the warrior  $\text{H}\iota\pi(\pi)\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (see below) at the far end of the scene. In Apollod. a character called Deiphobos, son of a Hippolytos, is mentioned, but he was a Greek at Amyklai in Herakles' time and therefore has nothing to do with our Trojan prince.

<sup>1096</sup> The earliest evidence for this is *Od.* 4. 276, 8. 517; see also Apollod. *Epit.* 5. 9; *Little Iliad* (Procl., *Chr.*), etc.

<sup>1097</sup> J. Paul Getty Museum 83. AE. 362, see D. Williams (1991). [ $\Delta$ ]  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\phi\omega\nu\varsigma$  (notable for its non-Attic  $\acute{\alpha}$ ) occurs together with  $\text{K}\alpha\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$  (see ad **COR 70l**),  $\text{I}\rho\lambda\upsilon\chi\acute{\sigma}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon$ ,  $\text{H}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon$ ,  $\text{M}\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\text{S}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (assimilation?), and many other Trojan and Greek characters. Williams's doubts (p. 51) on the identity of Daiphonos with Deiphobos are of course unnecessary.

<sup>1098</sup> *ABV* 95. 5, Immerwahr, no. 173; see the phs. Schefold (1964) and (1966), pl. 73a, (1993), fig. 339, and *CVA* Germany, 32, pls. 311 f.

<sup>1099</sup> I find it somewhat hard to believe, as suggested by G. Berger-Doer (*LIMC* iii, 'Automedousa' 2), that she is identical with the Medusa who was a daughter of Priamos, according to Apollod. 3. 12. 5. There is only one Automedusa in Greek mythology: she is the daughter of Alkathos (Apollod. 2. 4. 11) son of Pelops (3. 12. 7), first wife of Iphikles, and mother of Iolaos (2. 4. 11). May we assume that in some accounts she actually got to Troy—presumably with Helene, whom she seems to be greeting in our painting? There would at least be the parallel of her cousin Aithra, the daughter of Pelops' son Pittheus and mother of Theseus (3. 15. 7), who had come to Troy as Helene's maid and was later taken home by her grandsons (see §441 on **COR 74g**). But the precise reason why Automedusa should be in Helene's train, and who the man at her side is supposed to be, we do not know.



kind, it is probably not just an invention by the vase-painter and could therefore be a further indication of a literary background to this vase (see §§504 f.). So too could its spurious diphthong (see §§220, 505).

The horse-name (*f*) *Πολυπένθα* is most unusual and elaborate compared with the many throwaway names (§237) for both humans and horses on Corinthian vases (see §§244, 509). Also, it is rare for horses in epic contexts to be female,<sup>1100</sup> and this name may therefore be taken as an additional argument for a poetic background to this painting (see §§504 f.).<sup>1101</sup> In view of that, we may remember that (*g*) *Ξάνθος* is also recorded as one of Hektor's horses in *Il.* 8. 185 (see §506 with n. 1286).

On the other hand, when dealing with the right-hand side of the scene, the painter seems to have run out of appropriate names and turned to horsey ones (see §238): a woman (*h*) *Ηιππώι* and a man (*i*) *Ηιπ(π)όλυτος*, neither of whom are attested in Trojan contexts. The latter, moreover, is a warrior, who has little to do with a wedding scene. He seems to be intruding, much in the manner of a character in a mixed scene (see §402).

#### §440. *Telephos*

**COR Gr 13** shows a warrior named *Τέλαφος*, who is normally known as *Τήλεφος*.<sup>1102</sup> Lorber (p. 92) is right to say, 'Der Aryballos zeigt eine recht individuell gestaltete Kampfszene, völlig abweichend vom Schema der üblichen Zweikämpfe . . . So wird die eingeritzte Inschrift . . . —gleichgültig, von wem hinzugefügt— die richtige mythische Deutung der Darstellung geben.' The inscription is therefore a label not an owner's inscription, as it was also considered but rejected by Kroll (1968: 22 n. 44) because it is incised, not painted. This shows also that we have no reason to assume a writer different from the vase-painter and may take this inscription, written in perfect Corinthian characters, as equally authentic as the painted ones.

Kroll (1968: 21 with n. 35), referring to Buck (§222. 7), considers the form to be 'Doric for *Τήλεφος*'; this was repeated by Bauchhenß-Thürdiedl (1971: 14). It is true that in many West Greek, particularly North-west Greek, dialects we have [ā] instead of [ē] in certain environments, in particular before an [r], as in *ίάρός* (Lejeune, §256), and in the isolated case of *Ἄρταμης* (see §216). However, this tendency does not seem strong in Corinthian, where we have *Φέρῃς*, *Ημερόι*, etc. (the relevant part

of Artemis' name is not attested; see COR 127), and in our name a [p<sup>h</sup>] follows the [e] in question.

The explanation for the variant is found in the Telephos story itself, which was popular in antiquity and fairly often represented in art (see Bauchhenß-Thürdiedl (1971), esp. 75 ff.). In Apollod. 2. 7. 4 we read: *θηλὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρτιτόκος ἔλαφος ὑπέσχευ αὐτῶι, ποιμένες δὲ ἀνελόμενοι τὸ βρέφος Τήλεφον ἐκάλεσαν αὐτό*. Our form shows that this 'etymology' was already known in archaic times. Also, the comparison worked better in archaic times when the two words in question were more similar (namely, [tēlephos] and [elaphos]) than they were later ([tēlefos] and [elafos]). It seems likely that this story and explanation were recorded in archaic literature, probably in the *Cypria*, where the landing of the Greeks in Mysia and the wounding of Telephos by Achilles were related in detail (see Procl. *Chr.*).<sup>1103</sup> For similar popular etymologies for proper names in epic see §510. This 'mistake' settles the dispute mentioned above (Kroll, Bauchhenß-Thürdiedl, Lorber) about the meaning of the inscription.

#### §441. *Embassy to Troy about Helene*

The event called *Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις*, as shown on **COR 74**,<sup>1104</sup> is twice alluded to in the *Iliad* (3. 205–24 and 11. 138–42) and again played a role in the context of the *Iliupersis* (see Apollod. *Epit.* 5. 21; the surviving remains of the epic *Iliupersis* do not preserve it). It is contained in Proclus' account (*Chr.*) of the *Cypria* (no names except Helene, the cause of the mission, are given), though it is left out of Apollodorus' even shorter account of the myth (*Epit.* 3. 31). For the presence of Theano (rather than Antenor himself) see Beazley (1957a: 240–3), in particular his discussion of Bacch. *Dith.* 15. As Beazley (p. 239) observes, the presence of (*i*) Glaukos and (*j*) E(u)rymachos makes it clear that the painter knew of them as two of Theano and Antenor's sons. In the *Iliad* we hear of nine more sons of this couple, but these two must have been the most famous ones; at least it was they who were represented (and labelled) in Polygnotos' painting of the Sack of Troy at Delphi (Paus. 10. 27. 3), and Glaukos may be thought of as the more important of the two, since he alone is mentioned by Apollodorus in the context of our event (see also Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 82 f. [109 f.]).

The poetic form of the name (*a*) *Μενέλαος* is the only linguistic indication of a poetic background to this painting (see §506). What the source was, we can only speculate, though it will scarcely have been an epic text in the Ionic dialect (see §§233, 504). On the other hand, the scene itself is so detailed, and the characters agree so well with those we know and whom we may expect to have been involved in the story, that we should accept our vase as an important piece of evidence anyway.

With Menelaos are (*b*) *Ὀλισ(σ)εύς* (bearing the Corinthian form of the name, see §254) and (*c*) *Ταλθύβιος*, who was Agamemnon's

<sup>1100</sup> See the amusing passage in *Il.* 23. 407–9 where Antilochos threatens his male horses with the embarrassing prospect of being beaten in the race by Menelaos' horses, one of which is *Αἰθρη*, *θηλὺς ἐοῦσα*.

<sup>1101</sup> J. Mansfield *apud* Amyx (p. 563), referring to Achilles' horses who could mourn Patroklos' death (*Il.* 17. 426–55) and one of whom, *Ξάνθος*, had the gift of prophecy (*Il.* 19. 408–17), suggests that our name has a particular meaning in the context of the wedding of Paris and Helene as an indication of the grief that this marriage would cause for the Trojans and Greeks. This is intriguing, although we have no knowledge of any other immortal horses with such gifts in the Trojan Cycle. If Mansfield's suggestion were true it would reflect a specific narrative, perhaps from the *Cypria*. In terms of 'neo-analysis' (see §456) we might then conjecture that such a prophecy may have been the source of inspiration for the similar tale by the poet of the *Iliad*.

<sup>1102</sup> Heubeck (1980), 285: 'wohl einfach Schreibversehen für *Τέλεφος*'.

<sup>1103</sup> Immediately after Telephos had been healed of his wound at Argos, another *ἔλαφος* came into the action, which was to play an even more important role for the Greeks, viz. the one shot by Agamemnon at Aulis.

<sup>1104</sup> Not every point in Beazley's rich article (1957a) is repeated here.

herald and therefore a very likely participant in such a mission. They are received by (d)  $\Theta\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{o}\iota$ , the wife of Antenor, who was the Greeks' host for the period of their mission. (e)  $\Delta\iota\alpha$  is interpreted as a maid of Theano's by Beazley, who mentions several heroic women of this name; in view of the general character of the scene we should hesitate to think of it as a contemporary Corinthian name: see (h) and (m). (f)  $M\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\iota$  is taken for another of Theano's maids by Beazley. The name cannot be linked to a heroic character, but its uncommon nature argues against an invention by the painter.

(g) The function of the  $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the story has not as yet been explained. We should at any rate expect her to play *some* role, rather than to have been just invented. The noun instead of a name signals that the painter either did not remember her name or considered her function as a nurse very important. Now, there is one character who would fit the context, and indeed would fit it perfectly. It is Theseus' mother,<sup>1105</sup> Aithra, who had come to Troy as Helene's maid and was later rescued by her grandsons Akamas and Demophon.<sup>1106</sup> She must have been eager to meet the Greek ambassadors and they may have called on her to persuade Helene to return.

(h)  $H\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ , Glaukos' horse (see ad loc.), is not attested in myth, and although the name has a perfect dactylic structure and seems very elaborate as a speaking name (see §§239, 244), we can hardly claim that it is taken from an early epic poem (see §240).

(i)  $\Gamma\lambda(\alpha)\hat{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and (j)  $E(\hat{\upsilon})\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  are two of Antenor and Theano's sons (Paus. 10. 27. 3; see also §459).

(k)  $F\tau\lambda\iota\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ : a Trojan named Ilioneus, son of Phorbas and a not altogether colourless figure, is later killed by Pēneleōs in a dramatic scene (*Il.* 14. 489–505), and although we do not know of him in any other context, we should not just dismiss him as 'not exactly in place here' (Amyx, p. 576). At least it is not necessary to assume that Theano's escort consisted exclusively of her sons. For the form of the name and its implications see §§233, 504.

The same applies to (l)  $[\dots]\tau\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ , which does not fit any of Antenor and Theano's sons as far as we know. Beazley's reading (p. 238 f.), Politas, son of Priamos (mentioned in the *Iliad*, books 2, 13, 15, 24), is epigraphically difficult. On the other hand,  $N[\acute{\alpha}]\sigma\tau\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ , which would fit the remains, is equally difficult, since Nastes, leader of the Karians (*Il.* 2. 867–75), and his people came to Troy only years after the event represented on this vase. The case has yet to be solved.

For (m)  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\phi$  [...] Beazley (p. 238) compared COR 102  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\phi\bar{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (preferred by Lorber, p. 82 f.) and COR 104  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\phi\alpha\varsigma$ , which, however, do not offer striking parallels. Heubeck (1980: 285) suggested  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\phi\tilde{\alpha}[\tau\bar{\alpha}\varsigma]$ , but the Trojan  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$  is mentioned only once in *Il.* 13. 791, in a list of men whose names mostly begin with  $\Pi$ -. Should we take our name as a  $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon$ - name

(see §237) without a specific epic connotation? (I suspect Amyx is also referring to this label when he proposes (p. 576) that some names on this vase may be taken from everyday life.) Its occurrence may be explained by its position at the very end of the sequence, when the painter had run out of names (for similar cases see COR 30h and CHA 4i, §§446 and 456, respectively); we should be more sceptical, however, with (e), (f), and (h).

#### §442. *Achilleus and Troilos*

The Troilos story, contained in the *Cypria* (see Procl. *Chr.*) but only very shortly alluded to in the *Iliad* (24. 257, by his mourning father Priamos), was remarkably popular in the archaic period. We have it on COR 27 (together with a painter's signature), COR 44, COR 51 (with an abecedarium), and CHA 16, perhaps also on COR 124Ac (see ad loc.). The most important point linguistically is Troilos' name (see §257).

COR 27, a vase by the painter Timonidas, shows two interesting horse-names. One is  $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , and although this is very common on vases, we should remember that Troilos' brother Hektor had a horse of this name (*Il.* 8. 185; see §506 with n. 1286), which Troilos may have borrowed. The other is  $\mathcal{A}\sigma\omicron\beta\alpha\varsigma$ , which is probably best understood as  $\mathcal{A}(\nu)\sigma\acute{o}\beta\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ , the Doric form of a supposed  $*\mathcal{A}\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{o}\beta\eta\varsigma$ . As a horse-name, this is very elaborate (see §§244, 509) and we may wonder whether Timonidas just invented the name or took it from elsewhere, maybe a literary source. It is true that as preserved, the name would not fit dactylic metre, but metrical lengthening of some kind ( $*\mathcal{A}\nu(\alpha)\sigma\acute{o}\beta\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ ,  $*\mathcal{A}\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{o}\beta\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ ) would easily cure the problem.

On COR 44, some Trojan are approaching from the right, but too late to help the young prince: they are Hippichos, Pyraichmes, Aineias, and Hektor. As we do not have a full account of the Troilos story, we cannot decide whether Hippichos is just an *ad hoc* horsey name (see §238) or a borrowing from epic. (We may put against the first possibility the fact that the painter could easily have found a better name for a Trojan, especially for the first one to approach from the city.) Pyraichmes is a character well known from the *Iliad* (2. 848; 16. 287 ff.). He was eventually killed by Patroklos (see §448). Nevertheless, he does not seem important enough to have been an obvious choice for this scene, unless he was involved in it in literature already. On the other hand, it is logical that Aineias and especially Hektor, the brother of the murdered prince, should rush out to help. But we may wonder whether there is any particular reason for Hektor to be the last to come. Of course Achilles may have been in trouble if Hektor had arrived too soon, but it would be hazardous to speculate on the reason for Hektor's delay. Even so, we may still ask ourselves whether this detail is due to the painter's imagination or whether it was contained in the tale.

Although it gives us the form of Troilos' name, COR 51 does not add anything relevant to the myth. In this case, the combination of the myth (boy in danger), the vase (an aryballos), and the abecedarium (exercise) somehow suggest the sphere of lovers of boys (see §§315, 472).

<sup>1105</sup> See Apollod. 3. 10. 7.

<sup>1106</sup> See *Little Iliad*, fr. 20 PEG = 23 EGF; *Iliupersis*, fr. 6 PEG = 4 EGF and Procl. *Chr.*; perhaps also *Cypria*, fr. 13 PEG.

On **CHA 16**, a small fragment, there are Troilos, whose name is clear, apart—alas!—from the fourth letter, and a woman, whose name is mutilated and who is filling a vase at a well. Among the names of the several characters known to have gone to wells, Ismene (whom we do not expect with Troilos, of course) and Polyxene do not fit the traces. Helene, as preferred by Rumpf (1927: 15), would more or less fit the traces as they have been read so far, but we would not expect her to be sent out of town for water. Now, it has been stressed that it is only from the famous François Vase (*ABV* 76. 1 = Immerwahr, no. 83) of c.565 that Polyxene is known to have gone to the well with Troilos (see Roscher (1884–1937), v. 1222). So the tradition of her name in this connection may have achieved undue importance in modern times, as Collinge (1985 p. ref.) observes. On the other hand, the general context of Troilos accompanying one of his sisters on the dangerous excursion to the well outside the city certainly makes sense.

The new reading *Mheδ[. . .]* offers a more attractive solution. The two most suitable names that I have been able to find (the scene may of course have contained more characters) are those of Troilos' sisters *Μέδουσα* and *Μηδεσικάστη*. The former is attested only in Apollodorus (3. 12. 5), whereas the latter is a well-known character who is mentioned—and explicitly characterized as a *κούρη νόθη*—in the *Iliad* (13. 173), when Teukros kills her husband Imbrios; and she occurs again as one of the women captured at the sack of Troy (see Paus. 10. 25. 9 f. on the painting by Polygnotos at Delphi) together with the more famous widows Hekabe, Andromache, and Helene (see **COR 76**, §459). She is therefore the most likely candidate, and—having now three glimpses of her at different moments of the war (*Cypria*, *Iliad*, *Iliupersis*)—we may confidently accept her as a regular feature of the Trojan Cycle. We cannot say for certain, however, whether it was our vase-painter, or Kleitias of the earlier François Vase, or both, who actually invented the participation of the respective daughters of Priamos in the adventure with Troilos, or whether this was mentioned in some literary account. Or were both Medesikaste and Polyxene sent out to fetch water?

#### §443. *Diomedes and Aineias*

The famous fight is shown on one or two pieces, the pinax **COP 77** (less certain) and the vase **DOC 1** (where the punishment of Kapaneus is also depicted). The scene on **COP 77** is taken as a reflection of *Il.* 5. 290–318 by Friis Johansen (1967: 57–63). It is certainly likely that the scene is rightly identified, at least if Pandaros' name is correctly restored. But if Diomedes was in fact attacking Aineias (whose name is not preserved), should we not expect to see him throwing a rock? Or do we have to imagine Aineias kneeling or lying on the ground with Diomedes aiming at him and Aphrodite trying to carry her son away? Sthenelos was present in the relevant scene in the *Iliad* (see below), but Teukros is not mentioned there. On the whole, I do not think that we can be very positive about the scene being a reflection of the *Homeric* text, though the long form of Athena's name may bring a hint of some literary background (see §247).

On the later vase **DOC 1** Diomedes (unnamed) and Aineias are fighting, the latter aided by his mother, Aphrodite. Again there is no stone, but Aineias and his mother are a clear indication that this scene is meant. Is it mere chance that on the same vase there is also shown the myth of Kapaneus (see §430)? For in the next line of the *Iliad* (5. 319), immediately following the fight between Diomedes and Aineias, Sthenelos, *υἱὸς Καπανῆος*, drives away Aineias' horses down to the ships. Although the story of Sthenelos' father Kapaneus is not told at this particular moment in the *Iliad*, there may be a hint here that our painter (who lived in southern Italy towards the mid-fifth century) was indeed thinking of this particular part of the Homeric epic.

#### §444. *Departures of Hektor and Paris*

As departure scenes are a common genre subject on Corinthian vases, it is no wonder that the famous departure in *Iliad* 6 is also shown, namely on **COR 79A** (with Paris only), on **COR 70** (with Hektor only, perhaps mixed; alongside a non-heroic riding scene), and on **CHA 15** (with Hektor and Paris; alongside non-heroic running and riding scenes).

For a discussion of the scene on **COR 79A** see Lorber (p. 91 f.) and Simon (1982: 42–5). Its labelling is slightly odd. Since Paris and Priamos are Trojans and make sense together at this particular moment of the story, (c) *Ze(v)ξίππᾱ* may also be connected with the Trojan myths. In the light of Alcman, fr. 71 *PMG*, we can accept her as Priamos' mother, although she looks younger than Priamos. Alternatively, we may take the name for a horsey one (see §238). As Lorber remarks, Baton (e) is traditionally Amphiaraos' charioteer (see **COR 66**) and does not fit in this scene. Still, it has to be said that the name, which semantically does not suggest a charioteer, is here given to the man performing that role, which indicates that the painter knew about the heroic charioteer of that name.<sup>1107</sup> We may take the occurrence of Baton as one of the inconsistencies and confusions in mythological matters that are not infrequent on Corinthian vases (see e.g. **COR 24e**, 30d, 46*Ad*, 57i, 87*b/e*, 117*b*, perhaps **COR 24Bc** and **CHA 28b**). And it argues against rather than for the theory of the vase's being a forgery (see ad loc.).

If we try to analyse the content of the scene on **COR 70**, it is clear, first, that (c) Hektor, shown greeting (i.e. bidding farewell to) his parents, belongs in the chariot with (h) Kebriones, his charioteer, and secondly, that the warrior on foot, unnamed or (j), belongs with the second white horse, unnamed or (i), at his side. Therefore (g) Hippomachos, the warrior who is greeting the ladies beyond the horses, and the unnamed warrior who seems about to get into Hektor's chariot are in a way superfluous, since there is no horse nor any space in the chariot for either of them. Perhaps the conception of the whole was the departure of only two warriors X and Y, each shown twice in chronologically distinct

<sup>1107</sup> Simon reminds us of a Trojan named Baton, founder of *Βατλία*, a place near Troy already known in the *Iliad* (2. 813). This, however, is a slightly dubious tradition, contained only in *EM*, s.v. *Βάτεια*, p. 191. 45 ff. (“ἐδρον ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς”). Like I. Krauskopf (*LIMC* iii, ‘Baton’ ii. 1) I would doubt the connection.

scenes. Scene (1) would be the farewell of X, viz. (c) Hektor, to his parents (a) and (b), and scene (2) the farewell of Y, viz. (g) Hippomachos, to two unnamed women. Scene (3) would again show X (unnamed), now climbing into his chariot where his charioteer (h) is ready to depart, and in scene (4) Y (unnamed), now ready to depart, would be standing next to his white horse and his companion (j) Daiphonos (sitting on the other white horse), while two women (k) and (l) are watching him. Taken in this way, all human figures would have a name, but repetition of the names of X and Y would be dispensed with, and the same would go for the names of the two women facing Y (g) in scene (2), who could be the same as (k) and (l) in scene (4), where there was more space for their labels. The fact that the dress and shields of the 'repeated' characters are differently decorated, is probably not an important objection to the repetition hypothesis. Three possible parallels to such chronologically split scenes may be COR 79, 119, and CHA 3, which are all departure scenes too (see §467).<sup>1108</sup>

It has long since been noted that in the *Iliad* Hektor takes leave not of his parents but of his wife, who does not appear on this vase at all. The scene cannot be the famous departure in *Iliad* 6, then, and we may be tempted to interpret the names as afterthoughts. On the other hand, there certainly exist later Attic rf. vases (*LIMC* iv, 'Hektor' 17 and 19\* = *ARV* 26. 1 and 1036. 1, the latter already mentioned by Braun (1855)) showing a departure of *Ηέκτορ*/*Ἑκτωρ* from his parents *Πρίαμος* and *Ηεκάβε*/*Ἑκάβη*. We must also allow that our painter knew a lot about the Trojan myth, since most of the names in our scene (for details see below) are well chosen and attributed to suitable figures in the painting: King Priamos (a) stands next to his wife Hekabe (b), both facing their son Hektor (c); Kebriones (h), Hektor's charioteer, waits for his master to climb into the chariot; one brother and two sisters of Hektor stand next to each other (j)–(l), the former also ready to depart with his more famous brother; there is also a horse (i), named as one of Hektor's in the *Iliad*.

Nevertheless, two women's names and one man's name are difficult to justify, namely (g), (d), and (e).

(g) *Ηιππόμαχος*, according to Amyx (p. 574) is 'not altogether out of place here' as a Trojan. Yet the only function of Hippomachos in the *Iliad* is to be killed by Leonteus (*Il.* 12. 189), and although his father Antimachos is mentioned elsewhere, this is only when two more of his sons are killed (*Il.* 122 ff.). Luckenbach (1880: 496 f.) took the name for a horsey name (see §238), and in spite of the many good Trojan names on this vase this idea should not be lightly dismissed, given the utter insignificance of Hippomachos in the *Iliad*. Moreover, with our interpretation of the whole painting (see above), i.e. if we identify Hippomachos with the warrior in scene (4) who is about to mount his horse, our name makes slightly better sense, namely as a speaking horsey name (see §§238 f.). On the other hand, Hippomachos could also be a historical name.

(d) *Αἰνός*, a hypocoristic name of a frequent type although from a less familiar root, cannot be linked to any known character.

(e) *Κιανίς* is a very unusual name, meaning 'the woman from *Κίος*' (see ad loc.; cities of this name existed in Mysia and Bithynia). The fact that the two labels (d) and (e) designate two women, next to each other and therefore with similar function, may lead to a solution, for name (d) reminds us of COR 18 *Αἰνέτα*, who is likely to be a hetaira ('the praised one'). Neither of the names (d) and (e) sounds particularly princess-like compared with (k) and (l). Could it be that they are supposed to designate two women with the function of, for example, *Βρισηίς* and *Χρυσήίς* in the *Iliad*? (Although the *Iliad* does not, as far as I know, mention any such women on the Trojan side, they can readily be imagined.<sup>1109</sup>) In any case, our *Κιανίς* has an ethnic name (see §241), and hetairai—at least in historical times—not infrequently bear such names (see ad DOH 3, n. 691).

Taken together, the three names (g), (d), and (e) not only have a strong unheroic touch to them but also—according to our interpretation of the labelling—designate a distinct group of individuals within our clearly heroic scene. As for their function, a warrior taking leave of his favourite girls would fit both the heroic and the contemporary worlds equally well. But as there is no strong reason to assume a literary borrowing for any of these names, we should take them as an intrusion of the kind that is found in a mixed scene (see §402), with one horsey or historical man's name and two probably historical women's names.

For (f) *Qόραξ* Amyx (p. 574) points to a dog *Qόραχς* on the François Vase (*ABV* 76. 1) and another (black) horse on COR 102; whether this name is taken from literature, we do not know.

The names (h) *Κεβριόνας* of Hektor's charioteer, and (i) *Ξάνθος*, known as one of Hektor's horses (*Il.* 8. 185) but also a frequent non-heroic horse-name (see §§244 and 506 with n. 1286), are as we would expect.

The last three names of our departure scene, (j)–(l), all three clearly heroic, take us back to the literary sphere. As regards (j) *Δαίφονος*, there is some variation of what must in any case be the name of Hektor's brother, known as *Δηίφωβος* from literature. For a perfect parallel to our form, as well as other forms of the name on vases see §439 on COR 24a. This kind of variation of epic names is a typical feature of oral poetry (see §510).

(k) Since we would expect *-ξένῃ* in contemporary Corinthian (see §209), our compound name *Πολυξένῃ* must be regarded as non-epichoric. The form is therefore likely to be taken from an epic story in non-Corinthian dialect and in that case must be imagined with a long penultimate syllable, i.e. *Πολυξένῃ* (see §503).

(l) As discussed ad loc., the form *Κεσάνδρῃ* has an exact parallel on a later South Italian vase. It is likely to be taken from a literary source rather than from some epichoric dialect, especially

<sup>1108</sup> For this type of 'continuous' narration in pictorial art (frequent throughout antiquity and still very popular today!) see Schefold (1978), 271, with bibl. nn. 631 ff., esp. n. 635 on the MC vase COR 32.

<sup>1109</sup> Some of Priamos' fifty sons (*Il.* 6. 244 ff., 24. 295) are explicitly characterized as *υἱοὶ νόθοι* (Demokoon, 4. 499; Isos, 11. 101 f.; Doryklos, 11. 489 f.; Kebriones, 16. 738), and his daughter Medesikaste (see §442) as a *νόθη* (13. 173). One of Antenor's sons, Pedaïos, was a *νόθος* also (5. 69–71).

as there are other hints of a literary, most likely epic, background to this painted scene and its inscriptions, notably (*j*) and (*k*), and not least (*c*), the unaspirated name of Hektor (see §§250, 503). But in view of (*b*) *Ἡέκτορ* this background would have to be partly independent of East Ionic epic (see §504).

It should again be stressed that the poetic background—which for various reasons we should be right to assume for this vase—is *not* the famous farewell scene known from *Iliad* 6. Was there somewhere a literary scene in which Hektor took leave of his parents, and which is not preserved?

In assessing **CHA 15**, Furtwängler–Reichhold doubt that there is a close relationship between this vase and the Homeric epic because the vase is utterly prosaic, whereas the Homeric farewell scene of *Iliad* 6 is highly emotional. In fact, the opposite is true (see the excellent description of the scene by E. Simon in Beckel–Froning–Simon (1983), 46). Not only is the attribution of the name Paris to the archer very appropriate (see e.g. **COR 82b**), but the fact that the wife of the archer looks away (a detail not actually stated in the *Iliad*) whereas the other couple face each other, mirrors the situation in the *Iliad* in the most effective way. We hear how Helene in her flirtatious speech to Hektor (*Il.* 6. 343–58) scorns Paris, *μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν* as the latter puts it 337 f., for not going to war (see also 3. 428 ff.). This attitude is expressed on this vase by her pointedly looking away from her husband,<sup>1110</sup> while keeping her mantle closed and crossing her arms inside (whereby, as Simon observes, she shows the contours of her body to the world). Very different is Andromache's appearance: she is chastely veiled, but opens her mantle towards her husband and seems to be begging him to stay with herself and their little son (exactly as in the poem, esp. 431 f.), while his horse is snorting into his ears from behind to remind him of his duty. Given the archaic period of this painting, it is a masterpiece of observation of human behaviour and transposition of verbal expression into figurative art.

A connection with the *Iliad* has been denied because the baby Astyanax is absent. But, again, see E. Simon (Simon–Hirmer (1981), 64): 'Der kleine Sohn Astyanax, der sich vor dem hohen Helmbusch des Vaters fürchtet, ist weggelassen. Dem Maler kam es auf den Gegensatz im Verhalten der beiden Paare an. Genaue Textillustrationen gibt es weder in der archaischen noch in der klassischen Kunst, sie setzen erst im Hellenismus ein. Dennoch steht dieses Bild der Menschenschilderung Homers näher als spätere Darstellungen.' Although there are no direct indications of epic language reflected in the labels of this vase, its scene may reasonably be taken as a reflection of the Homeric *Iliad* as we know it (see §509).

<sup>1110</sup> I do not think she is looking back at the man under the handle as Langlotz (1932: 22 f.) believed (the whole frieze can be checked on his pls. 23 f.). This man is (deliberately?) painted so as not to meet her eyes, though he too is looking back over his shoulder. He probably has nothing to do with the scene, exactly as the 'knee-runner' under the other handle is linked neither to Kebriones and his horses nor to the riders behind him on the reverse of the vase.

#### §445. *Embassy to Achilles*

Hodios, Aias, a boy, and Nestor are sent to Achilles. Hodios is a very unimportant figure (named only three times in the *Iliad*; the reference here is *Il.* 9. 170). The very fact that he occurs in the scene on **CAE 1**, and even wears the messenger's cap, shows a clear reflection of the myth as told in the *Iliad*.

#### §446. *Dolon*

The vase **COR 30** shows a running man, labelled Dolon (under a handle on the side). Both the main scenes show a pair of warriors fighting, and each of the four warriors is seconded by a young groom on horseback: Hektor (with Sarpedon) against Achilles (with Phoinix) (§452), and Aias (with the other Aias) against Aineias (with Hippokles) (§450). Friis Johansen (1967: 70–5) pleads for a close connection with the *Iliad*, whereas most other scholars have strong reservations. As Robert (1919: 202 f.) has pointed out, Phoinix is a particularly odd label for a young groom on horseback, Sarpedon was dead in book 22 when Achilles and Hektor fought, and Hippokles is unknown to the *Iliad*. Moreover, Lorber (p. 33) and Amyx (p. 564) stress that, first, the Lesser Aias and Sarpedon do not fit a page's role either, and secondly, we should expect chariots, not horsemen.

However, the various criticisms above lose much of their weight if we ask what the painter's intention was. Clearly he did not mean to paint specific scenes but produced the normal stereotyped subjects: warriors fighting, their pages waiting with the horses. From the names he gave to the figures, however, we may conclude that he did indeed have the *Iliad* in mind. (1) Robert was certainly right to say that the two fighting pairs were chosen as the two best heroes and the two second best.<sup>1111</sup> (2) There was a famous fight between Hektor and Achilles, and there was a scene where the two Aiantes and Aineias met.<sup>1112</sup> (3) Also, the label Dolon (*Iliad* 10 only) for a runner, a figural type which fits well under the handle, is most appropriate, although he has nothing to do with the two main scenes. (4) The homogeneity of these three different Iliadic scenes may be taken as an additional argument that this epic was in the painter's mind (see §509).<sup>1113</sup> The general impression we get is the following. First, the painter had a precise knowledge of the myths in the *Iliad*. Secondly, he was careless in his choice of names for the unimportant characters (the pages). The latter is true not only for the label Phoinix but also for Hippokles. This is a colourless horsey name (see §238),

<sup>1111</sup> The two best are of course Achilles and Hektor, for the other two see *Il.* 2. 768–70 (Aias) and 20. 337–9 (Aineias).

<sup>1112</sup> *Il.* 17. 752–4. Hektor was also involved; his absence from the Aias–Aineias scene depicted here may be excused by his fighting on the other side of the vase. The fact that Patroklos' dead body is omitted (as Antilochos' often is in the duel between Achilles and Memnon; see §454) is due to the stereotyped character of the painting mentioned above.

<sup>1113</sup> Or should we rather argue the other way round? Since the story of Dolon despite its old elements is often thought to be a later addition to the *Iliad*, we might use its natural incorporation into a sequence of scenes that *are* known from the *Iliad* as an argument for its having belonged to this epic originally, or at least since the early 6th cent.

and since the scene with Achilles and Hektor is the primary one, the bearer of the name Hippokles is likely to have been the last character to be named (apart from the separate Dolon); it would not have been too difficult to find a more suitable Trojan name for him, if it had mattered (for similar cases see COR 74*m* and CHA 4*i*, §441 and §456, respectively).

#### §446*A*. The slaughter of the Thracians

The amphora CHA 3*A* offers the earliest example in visual art of the Rhesos myth. See True's article (1995) for later vases, for a very plausible iconographical comparison of the Thracians' horses on this vase with Geryones' herd on CHA 2, and for a detailed comparison of the scene with the text of *Iliad* 10. The main—and in my view very significant—difference is that Odysseus on the vase is involved in the killing but in the *Iliad* deals only with the horses. We should therefore beware of speaking too readily of an immediate illustration of the epic passage we know.

Remarkably, a non-Corinthian and non-Attic, but typically poetic, form of Odysseus' name on this vase (see §254) combines with a non-Ionic, but possibly Corinthian, form of Rhesos' name, the latter probably reflecting the origin of the painter (see §259). The initial [w] in Rhesos' name testifies to a connection with words like *ῥῆσις* and may be of a secondary character, i.e. due to popular etymology (see ad loc. and §510). But such a connection can hardly have been made through the medium of the Corinthian dialect, and indeed it seems already to have been made in epic texts (see ad loc.). It is probable therefore that both name-forms should be traced back to epic poetry but not in the same way. For whereas the form of Odysseus' name will be a direct borrowing, from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* for example, we need an intermediate stage, most plausibly at Corinth, for the form of Rhesos' name. Should we imagine 'translations', or close imitations in local dialect, of East Greek epics in places like Corinth (see also §501)? At any rate, the Inscription P. seems to have had poetic texts in mind, though hardly the Ionic *Iliad* as we know it today.

#### §447. Aias and Hektor

This famous fight, where Aias almost defeats Hektor, is shown on COR 10, COR 60, and COR Gr 6 (for Hektor's name on this vase see §§212, 250).

Although we read in *Il.* 14. 402–32 that when Aias hits Hektor with a stone it is not Aineias alone—as on COR 60—but several other Trojans too who come to help their leader (an objection already raised by Abeken (1836), 308), the identification of the scene (accepted also by Friis Johansen (1967)), seems none the less plausible. It is true that the painter produced 'eine Bildschablone . . . , der die Beischriften erst nachträglich einen Inhalt gegeben haben'.<sup>1114</sup> But the addition of Aineias shows that the painter knew of Hektor's having been in serious trouble, and the fact that Aias and Hektor are shown fighting each other on three vases

indicates that such an encounter was stored in several painters' heads. Nevertheless, we cannot speak of a reflection of the *Iliad* as we know it.

#### §448. Fight over the dead Sarpedon

As there exist more fragments than given in the first publication of COR 82 by Arena (p. 108; mentioned by Lorber, p. 77, fully cited by Amyx, p. 579), we now know a few more of the characters that are represented on this vase. On the Trojan side (shown fighting from right to left) there are: a warrior (*a*) Polydamas (he follows a warrior whose name is lost); the archer (*b*) Paris, in the act of shooting; a warrior (*d*) striding to the front; the dead Sarpedon (*f*); Pyraichmes (*g*) about to be brought down; and Glaukos (*h*), lifted, or leaping, up in the air. On the Greek side (fighting from left to right) there are: (*c*) Aias facing his opponent (*d*), and the huge warrior beyond the dead Sarpedon, whose charioteer (*e*) Alkimos is alert and ready to leave at any moment (with the body of Sarpedon, of course). As the huge Greek and the dead Sarpedon are likely to have constituted the centre of the scene, many more figures may be inferred to the right. (*Note:* It was no surprise to find that D. von Bothmer, *LIMC* vii, 'Sarpedon' 2, had also come to the correct readings of the inscriptions in the mean time; yet, since his few remarks are hardly sufficient and I know of no full treatment of our vase, I have not changed my text.)

The first question concerns the Greek whose name is lost and who is painted next to the charioteer Alkimos, above the dead Sarpedon's body; he is attacking the kneeling Pyraichmes or the leaping Glaukos, or both. This can only be Patroklos, for it was he who killed Pyraichmes and Sarpedon, and he whom the dying Sarpedon told Glaukos to fight (*Il.* 16. 492–501). Moreover, Alkimos fits the scene as the Myrmidon dearest to Achilles after Patroklos and Automedon (24. 574 f.).

As regards Alkimos, there is some confusion in the *Iliad*. In 16. 197 Alkimedon is described as the leader of the fifth Myrmidon contingent. In 17. 467 (also 475, 481, 500, 501) Automedon, Patroklos' (and later Achilles') charioteer, praises Alkimedon as the Greek who—except for the late Patroklos and himself, of course—can best handle Xanthos and Balios, and tells him to take his place in the chariot while he goes to join the fighting. But later on in the poem only the name Alkimos is used: in 19. 392 Automedon and Alkimos get the horses ready for Achilles to return to the battle; in 24. 474 and 574 they are with Achilles when Priamos comes. It has always been assumed that Alkimos is just a different name for Alkimedon (in fact it is the expected hypocoristic; see §228). Our vase offers the earliest concrete evidence for the truth of this assumption. For by book 16 the name Alkimos has yet to be used, but in this same book Alkimedon is said to be present at the fight. However, it is strange—and probably a mistake by the painter—that the charioteer on the vase is he and not Automedon, who must be meant in 16. 278 f. when the Trojans, perceiving Patroklos in Achilles' armour and accompanied by his squire (*θεράπωντα*), are gripped

<sup>1114</sup> von Steuben (1968: 46); he gives parallels to this configuration (p. 100 n. 150).

by terror (the scholia explain that it is Automedon in Patroklos' armour, whereas Patroklos wears Achilles').<sup>1115</sup>

Another problem was to restore the name of warrior (*d*). These are the steps which led to my solution: first the label (*c*) *Aῖφας* next to his opponent's leg showed that all the letters next to our warrior's face must belong to one and the same long name ending in *-πυλος* or similar. No possible name suggested itself. The second and decisive step was the recognition of the first letter of the lower 'line' as an omicron (not a pi, which is angular Γ in (*g*)), while the square and the little dot at the left end of the upper 'line' is a beta (Β) (not a delta and the remains of some other letter). This leaves us with *-βουλος*. Now, there is only one name in *-βουλος* in the *Iliad*: *Κλεόβουλος* in 16. 330. He must be our man, for not only does he occur in the right context, but he is also killed by precisely the opponent shown on our vase: *Αἴας δὲ Κλεόβουλον Ὀϊλιάδης ἐπορούσας ζῶν ἐλε, βλαφθέντα κατὰ κλόνον· ἀλλά οἱ αὖθι λῦσε μένος, πλήξας ξίφει αὐχένα κωπήντι. πᾶν δ' ὑπεθερμάνθη ξίφος αἵματι· τὸν δὲ κατ' ὅσσε ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή* (16. 330–4).

As for the other Trojans, Glaukos and Polydamas fit the scene very well. The former was present when Sarpedon died, was healed of a wound by Apollon immediately afterwards, and then went round calling for Trojan help in the fight over Sarpedon's body. The first he met was in fact Polydamas (16. 535), who is also shown on our vase. Less close to the *Iliad* is the presence of Paris-Alexandros, who is last heard of in 15. 341 and does not reappear on the scene until book 22. But there is no reason why he should not have been about. Still, there is one more 'mistake' in the scene, for we do not expect to see a dead Sarpedon (dying *Il.* 16. 502 f.) beside a still living—albeit mortally imperilled—Pyraichmes (dying *Il.* 16. 289 f., as observed by Amyx, p. 579) and Kleoboulos (dying 16. 330–4, as we have just seen). Though I think we may forgive the painter, whose knowledge of the story after all is far above average, as von Bothmer (1981: 66) has already perceived (he uses the expression, 'an astonishing degree of literary faithfulness').

In fact, I know of no contemporary vase that reflects a scene from the *Iliad*, and indeed the text as we know it, as closely as this one. The decisive factor is Kleoboulos. He is an absolute non-entity, who is never mentioned before or afterwards in the poem and whose only function is to die as soon as he is mentioned. We have no reason to believe that he may have been any better known than that, or indeed have been spoken of in any other literary context.<sup>1116</sup> Almost as important is Pyraichmes' presence, for although he was a leader, he is named only once elsewhere

in the *Iliad* (2. 848).<sup>1117</sup> It is still debatable whether we should assume direct knowledge of the Homeric text on the part of the vase-painter, or some kind of intermediate stage such as a big wall-painting. I personally favour direct knowledge, for the grander the putative example in visual art (of which we know nothing, of course) the more awkward would be the chronological 'mistake' and the replacement of Automedon by Alkimos. And if direct knowledge is accepted, we should also note the remarkable fact that all the Ionic features in these names have been Doricized (it would be an *ad hoc* assumption to claim a local poem modelled after the *Iliad*). One wonders how epic texts were actually recited in Corinth; see below, (*f*), and §501.

The name of (*b*) *Πάρις* is attested only twice in Corinthian (see COR 79Ab). On earlier Corinthian vases there is only Alexandros (PCO 2a, COR 24c). We may suspect a reflection of the epic text here too, particularly as Paris' dress and function as an archer so closely agree with *Il.* 3. 17 *παρδαλέην ὤμοισιν ἔχων καὶ καμπύλα τόξα*,<sup>1118</sup> and with his wounding of Diomedes (*Il.* 11. 369 ff.) and killing of Achilles (*Aithiopsis*) with arrows. See also §444 on CHA 15.

(*c*) *Aῖφας* is the Lokrian, as we learn from the passage cited above.

(*d*) The spelling of the second element of [*K*]λεῦβουλος may represent something of a contrast to (*a*) Πολυδάμας, which in view of the close reflection of the epic text on our vase might be expected to contain a long vowel. But we should remember that both renderings of the secondary long vowel [ō] were acceptable at the time in Corinth (see §220).<sup>1119</sup> At any rate, our *-βουλος* is another example of an early rendering with spurious diphthong in a context which closely reflects an epic poem; indeed it may even be claimed to reflect a written text, which here would be the *Iliad* itself (see §§220, 505).<sup>1120</sup>

(*f*) The non-Ionic form *Σαρπηδόων* of Sarpedon's name was previously known only from COR 30. Its etymology is not clear. The sole occurrence in literature where we would not expect the epic form is Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 112, but there *Σαρπηδόνα* is the unanimous reading of the manuscripts. Although we cannot know for certain why Pindar did not use the form proper to his genre, i.e. with an [ā],<sup>1121</sup> we can be sure that he did not; for there would have been no reason to change *-ā-* into *-η-* in the course of transmission. Our vase is a very welcome second attestation since it shows that the non-Ionic form with *-ā-* was real enough. We may wonder through what kind of tradition it came about

<sup>1117</sup> More famous is his fellow leader of the Paionians, Asteropaios; this creates a much-discussed discrepancy.

<sup>1118</sup> The exotic archer's dress was later to become more or less canonical for Paris in vase-painting etc., see e.g. *LIMC* i, 'Alexandros' 70–77a, for the archer, *ibid.* 15, 47, 48, 49, etc. for the 'Skythian' dress.

<sup>1119</sup> It should be noted too that *Πολυ-* is unequivocal as to its meaning, whereas a name in *-βουλος*, in particular in a label of a not very well-known character, could have been read *-βῶλος* (for which see e.g. Bechtel, p. 97).

<sup>1120</sup> For the analogous Attic case of *Κλειῶ* on the François Vase (not in the *Iliad* though) see Wachter (1991b), 108–12.

<sup>1121</sup> He may have preferred the epic form because the one with [ā] was very rare or because he wanted to sound 'Homeric' (see Forssman (1966), 154 f.).

<sup>1115</sup> It does not help much to assume that the painter had in mind the (only) scene in which Alkimos is in the chariot (17. 467 ff., just mentioned). For at that stage even Patroklos was dead, and Sarpedon's dead body had long been carried away, washed and anointed by Apollon, and taken back to Lycia by Sleep and Death.

<sup>1116</sup> The name is attested for historical persons; see Bechtel, p. 99, and add e.g. the vase *ARV* 316. 4 (*CIG* 7892; Bonaparte (1829), no. 1645), if the reading is correct.

that the name of a character indigenous to Asia Minor was known in the present form in mainland Greece. In other words, the question is how, in a vase-painting which clearly reflects a scene as told in the *Iliad*, a non-everyday name could occur in a form alien to our Ionic *Iliad*. See §504.

(h) Γλαῦρος (the son of Hippolochos)<sup>1122</sup> is written with an alpha as would be expected (though unlike on CHA 4). Since Glaukos is used as a name for horses (see COR 68j) we may classify the names of both father and son (*Il.* 6. 119 Γλαῦκος δ' Ἰππολόχοιο πάϊς) as epic horsey names (see §238), although Glaukos is by no means an unimportant character in the *Iliad*. He will eventually be killed by Aias in the battle over Achilles' body (see CHA 4, §456).<sup>1123</sup>

#### §449. Menelaos and Hektor fighting over the dead Euphorbos

In the *Iliad* (17. 59) in the fight over the dead Patroklos, Menelaos kills Euphorbos, despoils him of his armour, and 'would easily have carried away the famous arms' (70 ἔνθα κε ῥέϊα φέροι κλυτὰ τεύχεα) had not Apollon sent Hektor to defend them. After carefully considering the situation, Menelaos retreats, leaving behind the dead Patroklos, and of course Euphorbos and his armour. It was immediately noticed that our plate **DOH 1** shows a different version in that Menelaos and Hektor do fight. Dümmler (1891: 267 with n. 10) brought into the discussion the contrasting tradition which, according to Pausanias (2. 17. 3), was told in Argos. In the Heraion a shield was shown which was said to be Euphorbos' and to have been brought back from Troy by Menelaos. It is not known how old this version is, but we may argue that it goes back to a time when the transmitted version of the *Iliad*, which is very clear on this point, was not yet so canonical as not to allow of certain 'patriotic' modifications.

Despite the discussion over the true background to this painted scene, which still continues (see Schefold (1964), 84, and (1966), 90; Friis Johansen (1967), 77 ff.; Simon-Hirmer (1981), 54 f.; and Schefold (1993), 17 f.), our plate cannot in my opinion contribute anything to the solution of the problem. Some arguments pro and contra, which have recently been brought forward, may be briefly discussed. Friis Johansen argues that the plate must represent the *Iliad* since the attitude of Menelaos 'seems less aggressive' than that of Hektor (i.e. the former seems to be retreating). This is not at all obvious to me; in fact the composition is as symmetrical as we can possibly expect it to be. Friis Johansen also finds that it is 'probably not a coincidence' that Euphorbos is still wearing full armour (by which he means that the vase-painter wanted to make clear that Menelaos was not going to get the armour). I doubt this too. For had he wished to express this detail, the painter could, for example, have painted Euphorbos naked, with

his armour piled up on Hektor's side of the scene. As these are weak arguments, Schefold argued for the opposite, namely that Euphorbos is deliberately painted the wrong way round, i.e. with his head towards his enemy, in order to make it clear that Menelaos will eventually get the armour (by which he means that the version depicted on the vase is the 'Argive' one given by Pausanias, as opposed to the one in the *Iliad*). This opinion, favourably mentioned by Simon-Hirmer (1981), would seem to get good support from the fact that in the *Iliad* there is *no* fight between Menelaos and Hektor over the dead Euphorbos, and Menelaos therefore does not get the armour. However, no support can be gained from this observation. For what we have on our plate is an ordinary and canonical representation of the frequent motif 'fight over the dead body of a warrior'. Without inscriptions no archaic painter could have rendered the scene in such a way as to enable us to recognize the characters involved. (This is, I believe, the very reason why painters started adding labels.) On the other hand, for a vase-painter it was perfectly justifiable to add these three particular names to such a standard three-warrior group. For Euphorbos *was* killed by Menelaos, and Hektor immediately afterwards *did* protect his armour and dead body against Menelaos. The fact that Euphorbos' head is towards Menelaos had no special significance as far as the painter was concerned. After all, it is perfectly reasonable that a warrior hit by his opponent should fall forward on his face rather than backwards (there are more representations of this motif where the dead warrior's head lies in the 'wrong' direction).<sup>1124</sup>

Since the answer to the question, '*Iliad* or the "Argive" tradition?', is therefore so equivocal, the 'Argive' lambda (see ad loc.) cannot be used as evidence in any solution—nor can its Argive origin be supported by the vase-painting.

What we *can* conclude from our plate is that the painter knew the story of Menelaos' killing of Euphorbos and of Hektor's being involved in the struggle over the dead hero's armour. Now, Mühlestein (1972) has plausibly argued in the way of 'neo-analysis' (see §456) that Euphorbos was an invention by the poet of the *Iliad*, who modelled him on two figures in the *Aithiops* story: (1) on the herdsman Paris, who was also helped by Apollon in the killing of a great Greek hero, namely Achilles, much as Euphorbos was helped to bring about Patroklos' death; (2) on

<sup>1124</sup> The dead warrior's head can lie in either direction: (1) To the l. (apart from here): e.g. on a PC vase (Payne (1931), pl. 1. 8–11; Amyx, p. 38, no. 6; no names), COR 24A (Antilochos), COR 25 (ph. Amyx, pl. 83. 1b; no names), COR 61 (one Hippolytos, in an unspecified scene), COR 82 (Sarpedon), COR 93 (Antilochos), on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (Antilochos; see n. 783), *ABV* 675, 'Stroibos', no. 4 (Patroklos). (2) To the r.: e.g. on the reverse of COR 12 (no names), on COR 114A (Antilochos), LAK 4 (unnamed, non-heroic), CHA 5 (Antilochos), PCH 1 (Antilochos), *ABV* 145. 19 (Patroklos), *ABV* 148. 9 (no names). (The dead man's head is (a) towards his opponent on COR 24A and 114A, on the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, on *ABV* 145. 19, and on *ABV* 675, 'Stroibos', no. 4. It is (b) away from his opponent (apart from here) on COR 12 ? (compare the shapes of the helmets), COR 82, COR 93 (helmets 'correctly' distinguished), CHA 5, and PCH 1.) For more on this topic see also Brinkmann (1985), 119 (bibl. n. 143), and A. Zimmermann (1986), 10 with nn. 24 ff. (bibl.). There are no rules. Also, the head of Aias after he has committed suicide can lie in either direction (see §458).

<sup>1122</sup> For the son of Antenor see COR 74, §441.

<sup>1123</sup> Glaukos on CHA 8 could be either of the two. The same is true for (Γ)λαῦκος, written retrograde, *vac.* ΛΑΥΚΟ? (for the reduction of the cluster [gl-] to [l-] see Kretschmer, pp. 170 f.) on an Attic bf. vase (*ABV* 85, bottom, no. 1; phs. Friis Johansen (1967), 220, Boardman (1974), fig. 54, Schefold (1993), fig. 326), together with Κεβρίων(ς) (with loss of final [s], see §204) and *Ἡέκτωρ*, in a neutral departure scene.



Memnon, who likewise killed a great Greek hero (Antilochos) and was in turn killed by a Greek (Achilleus). If this is correct, and this would make Patroklos and Hektor ‘new’ characters too<sup>1125</sup> (but see §503), our plate does in fact reflect the *Iliad*. But we must also duly emphasize that the painter writes Menelaos’ name in the non-epic form with only three syllables. This argues against a *direct* reflection of the epic, either in writing or in an oral recitation, and suggests a widespread knowledge of the story from other, non-epic versions.<sup>1126</sup> It is then likely that different traditions eventually developed.<sup>1127</sup>

#### §450. *Aiante and Aineias*

This fight is shown on **COR 30** (alongside Achilleus and Hektor, and Dolon too). See §446.

#### §451. *Thetis and the elders with the mourning Achilleus*

In considering the scene on **COR 88** with Achilleus lying on his *kline*, mourning his dead friend, Robert (1919: 156–8) assumed contamination of three incidents from *Iliad* 19: (1) the lament over Patroklos of Briseis, whom he sees in the nameless woman to the left (282–300),<sup>1128</sup> (2) only the noblest of the Greeks—Agamemnon, Menelaos, Odysseus, Nestor, Idomeneus, and Phoinix—are allowed to be with Achilleus and to try to comfort him when he is mourning over Patroklos (309–13); (3) Thetis brings the new armour (1–23), here shown hung up above Achilleus (her comforting of her son, however, is from the previous book<sup>1129</sup>). The scene, as Payne (1931: 136) has stressed, can certainly not be said to reflect the *Iliad* very closely.

<sup>1125</sup> Mühlestein (1972: 84), ‘Demgegenüber schafft Homer in Patroklos dem Achill einen andern Freund, der nicht für seinen Vater stirbt, sondern an dessen Tod Achill selber mitschuldig wird wegen seines unversöhnlichen Grolls gegen Agamemnon. Und dem neuen Freund gibt Homer in Hektor einen neuen Gegner als Ziel für Achills Rache. Patroklos und Hektor überbieten Antilochos und Memnon, und Homers Achill wird den Groll fallen lassen, um den Freund zu rächen, endlich auch die Rache aufgeben und Hektor lösen.’ And (p. 85), ‘Als Freund, der fällt und gerächt wird, ist Patroklos zwar ein anderer Antilochos, aber als siegreicher Held, der trotz Warnungen voranstürmt und fällt, der geborgen, beweint, bestattet und mit Leichenspielen geehrt wird, ist er ein anderer Achill’ (referring to the earlier scholars Scheliha, Heubeck, and Schadewaldt (1951: 194 f.), who had originally made some of these observations).

<sup>1126</sup> See Burkert (1984: 47), ‘I feel sure the vase-painter had not read about this in a book, but more or less exactly remembered what he had heard.’ Although names in *-λαῖς* are frequent, we would expect the name in its epic form, had it been known exclusively and directly from epic recitations.

<sup>1127</sup> Mühlestein (1972: 88 f.) accepts Schefold’s theory that Euphorbos’ position indicates the eventual seizure of his armour by Menelaos (i.e. the non-Iliadic, ‘Argive’ version). He therefore assumes that the text of the passage in the *Iliad* (whose source he has plausibly explained) was given its final form with Menelaos not getting Euphorbos’ armour by a late reviser working after the time of our plate. Yet not only are Schefold’s observations unacceptable, but we may also ask why a later reviser should have introduced such a change. On the other hand, I can see no problem in believing the story (such as it is) to have been set up by Homer.

<sup>1128</sup> This identification of the woman by Robert is of course not certain. Even more doubtful is that of the two women to the r. with Diomedes and Iphigeneia (*Il.* 9. 664–8).

<sup>1129</sup> *Il.* 18. 70 ff. I do not think we should assume with Robert (1919: 157) and Payne (1931: 136) that the figure named Thetis should really be Athena. The latter, it is true, arrives after the new armour has been brought (*Il.* 19. 352–6). But she does not exactly comfort Achilleus, as the woman on the vase does, but only distils a few drops of nectar into his heart and leaves again immediately.

As the writer could hardly write and must have been copying the inscriptions from some original (see ad loc.), we should modify the statement that he ‘mit dem Inhalt der *Ilias* . . . wohlvertraut und keineswegs literarisch so ungebildet war, wie es von seinesgleichen häufig angenommen wird’ (Robert (1919), 158). Our painter himself was indeed illiterate. But either he or, perhaps more likely, the painter of the original evidently knew the story very well, though for want of linguistic indications of a literary background we cannot safely argue that this vase reflects the *Iliad* as a poetic work rather than just a story.

#### §452. *Achilleus and Hektor*

This fight is shown on **COR 30** (alongside the two Aiante and Aineias, and Dolon too). See §446. The two heroes also face each other on **COR 57** (as riders; see §462).

#### §453. *Achilleus and Penthesileia (?)*

This scene has been conjectured in the unidentified battle of Amazons on **COR 1A**. In my view, Herakles’ fight with the Amazons is just as likely (see §413).

#### §454. *Achilleus and Memnon (mostly shown fighting over the dead Antilochos)*

This famous fight, which was the central motif of the *Aithiopis*, has furnished the labels on a considerable number of vases (**PCO 4**, **PCO 5**; **COR 24A**, **COR 80**, **COR 93**, **COR 114A**; **CHA 5**; **PCH 1**). Normally the dead warrior (i.e. Antilochos) over whose body the fight takes place, and the opponents’ divine mothers, Thetis and Eos (the latter sometimes shown in distress), are present too. Less frequently the charioteers are also shown.

Achilleus’ charioteer is Automedon. He had been Patroklos’ charioteer (*Iliad*, books 16 f.) and succeeded as Achilleus’ charioteer (*Il.* 19. 395–7) after his master Patroklos, who had been Achilleus’ charioteer (*Il.* 17. 426–8, 437–9), was killed (see also §448). The name of Memnon’s charioteer, on the other hand, is a problem, since it is either broken off (**COR 93**, **CHA 5**) or illegible (**COR 80d** [. . .] s), or has been exchanged for an ethnic name (**PCO 5b** *Αἰθίοψ*). The same problem occurs with Eos’ name, more examples of which would be welcomed for linguistic reasons.

Not all the scenes need to be discussed. In the case of **COR 80**, Lorber (p. 91) observed that the name of Achilleus’ charioteer, Automedon, is wrongly placed on the left side, where we see the falling Memnon.<sup>1130</sup> Indeed, Memnon’s charioteer is turning his head and watching the scene (as if fearing for his master), whereas the charioteer on the right is not (as if preparing for departure with the victor), which may support Lorber’s theory of an originally correct concept of the scene but a later mislabelling. A third indication of such mislabelling may be that (if our

<sup>1130</sup> He also assumes that the gesture of the woman on the l. expresses concern (i.e. she would be Eos), but I can see no difference in gesture between the two women on this vase.

suspicion (ad loc.) of (e) *Tállōv* reflecting Eos' name is correct) this name too is on the wrong side of the scene.

The name of Eos on **PCH 1** makes it clear that the painter must have been an Ionian from Asia Minor (see ad loc.). The same name (in a different dialect form) on **CHA 5** may reflect epic-Ionic language (see ad loc.).

§455. *Funeral scene after Memnon's death (?)*

On the fragment **CHA 24** there is no sign of any human figure from whose head or body the name *Μεμν[. . .]* could have started. Nor are these letters a likely beginning for a potter's or painter's name. Therefore Iozzo's idea that the birds on the fragment are Memnon's companions, who were turned into birds, seems attractive. Hence the reading *Μεμν[ονίς or -ίδες]*.<sup>1131</sup>

§456. *Fight over the dead Achilles*

On the great vase **CHA 4**, whose present whereabouts are unfortunately unknown, and which is only accessible to us through a (very good) nineteenth-century drawing, two closely related scenes are shown: the fight over Achilles' body, and to the left, clearly separated from the battle scene, the wounded Diomedes being treated by Sthenelos. The main scene is unusually 'four-dimensional' in that it relates five different duels that have already involved, are now involving, or will involve, the monolithic Aias in his defence of Achilles' body: the duels are (1) with the Trojan (*h*) Leodokos (hit, collapsing; see below); (2) with the archer (*f*) Paris (retreating after having shot Achilles, but still shooting back); (3) with (*e*) Glaukos, son of Hippolochos<sup>1132</sup> (being killed while trying to escape); (4) with (*g*) Aineias and another—unnamed—Trojan (both coming to help Glaukos); (5) with yet another Trojan, (*i*) Echippos (also approaching). The scene as far as the Trojans are concerned has therefore to be read from right to left and back again to the right. The vase's second scene makes particularly good sense in that Sthenelos and Diomedes are, respectively, the second-in-command and leader of the Argives.

The general composition of the main scene makes it clear that (*h*) *Λεόδοκος* is a Trojan who is hit by Aias before the latter notices Glaukos' stratagem with the noose. Hirt (1833) has already noted that one of Priamos' sons was called Laodokos (Apollod. 3. 12. 5), though he was killed by Agamemnon, according to Dictys (3. 7). Preferable therefore is the son of Antenor: he is mentioned in the *Iliad* (4. 87), though of his death nothing is known from literature (but see below). At least we have no reason in this case to assume with Rumpf (1927: 51) that the vase-painter invented the name. The form of the name, however, is not the epic one (*Λεῶ- or Λεῶ-*, as opposed to non-Ionic *Λᾱo-* in Homer), but it may simply have been modernized to proper Ionic like (*g*) *Αἰνέες* (see ad loc.).

(*i*) *Ἐχιππος*, a Trojan, is not known from literature. Luckenbach (1880: 497), who claims that the entire main scene is a faithful representation of the myth as told in the *Aithiopis*, stresses the fact that Echippos is the last character to the very right of the scene (for similar cases see COR 74*m* and COR 30*h*, §441 and §446, respectively), and therefore particularly likely to have what we should call a horsey name (see §238). On the other hand, the painter seems to have had such a thorough knowledge of the myth that he could easily have found a suitable name without having had to invent one (see on COR 66*s*; §425). Moreover, there are no horses present in the scene. However, for want of a detailed literary account of the relevant story, we cannot make an informed judgement on this name.

Although the non-epic dialect forms (*g*) and (*h*) warn us against claiming that our painted scene is a *direct* reflection of poetry,<sup>1133</sup> the composition is nevertheless one of our best sources for early accounts of the story, since the whole scene is so detailed and corresponds so well with everything else that we know about the myth of Achilles' death. Probably the best confirmation of its fidelity has been gained by 'neo-analysis' (see also §439 n. 1101 and §449), which was able to make very successful use of this vase, together with literary data, to prove that the myth as contained in the *Aithiopis* must have been the model for the *Iliad*.

The principle of the theory of 'neo-analysis', which was established by Pestalozzi (1945) and propagated by Schadewaldt (1951) and Kullmann (1960), and which is not, it should be added, based purely on parallels between the *Iliad* and the *Aithiopis*, is to demonstrate that one early epic is the model for another by means of identifying certain motifs which make better sense in the context of the model than in the copy. Other parallel motifs which fit the two contexts equally well are less decisive but can, once it is established which is the model and which the copy, corroborate the relation. The theory was later slightly modified when the theory of oral poetry at last became more widely accepted in German scholarship.<sup>1134</sup> Nowadays the conclusion of neo-analytical observation is no longer that e.g. the *Aithiopis* by Arctinus as an accomplished (and written-down) epic poem must be older than the *Iliad*, but rather that the story it contains was already part of the oral poetic tradition in pre-Iliadic times.

In the story of the battle over Achilles' body the following are some important points of comparison between the representation on our vase and the text of the *Iliad*: Paris is shooting at Aias while retreating, which agrees perfectly with his Iliadic character of a shirker (6. 523) and coward (6. 352), successful in shooting from behind (11. 369 ff., 505 ff., 581 ff.) but reluctant to risk a duel with a major hero (Menelaos 3. 30 ff., Diomedes 11. 386 f.); Glaukos is trying to pull the body of Achilles away by means of a noose and is killed by Aias (to be compared with

<sup>1131</sup> Johnston (1990: 455) writes *Μεμν[νόν]*.

<sup>1132</sup> The same Glaukos appears on COR 82. For the other Glaukos, son of Antenor, see COR 74.

<sup>1133</sup> On the other hand, the name Paris is not frequent on vases. The use of this name may nevertheless be a hint to us that the painter's knowledge of the story was ultimately based on some literary source (see §448 ad COR 82).

<sup>1134</sup> See e.g. Dihle (1970), 9 ff.; also Wachter (1990*a*) and (1990*b*).

Hippochoos in *Il.* 17. 288 ff.; see Schadewaldt (1951), 170, 191; Kullmann (1960), 328; the wounded Diomedes is healed by Sthenelos (to be compared first with *Il.* 5. 112 where he is treated by Sthenelos, and secondly with *Il.* 376 ff. where he is hit in the foot by Paris' arrow; see Schadewaldt (p. 161, briefly), and see below).

We may add to these motifs (which are already sufficiently decisive for us to recognize the *Aithiopis* plot as the model and the *Iliad* as the copy) another detail which makes obvious sense in the *Aithiopis* but is used in a less straightforward way in the *Iliad*, namely the combination of (1) Diomedes being wounded by some Trojan and treated by Sthenelos and (2) Diomedes leaving the battlefield. It is important for our purpose to remember that he was one of the three best Achaians, together with Achilles and Aias Telamonios.<sup>1135</sup> In the *Iliad* the motif of Diomedes being wounded is brought in twice, as mentioned above. On the first occasion (5. 112), when he is hit in the shoulder by an arrow from Pandaros and Sthenelos pulls the arrow out, the scene is on the battlefield itself and Diomedes—by the miraculous help of Athena—immediately continues fighting. The motif of his absence from the battle while Aias remains appears when he is wounded for the second time (*Il.* 376 ff.), on this occasion in the foot by an arrow from Paris.<sup>1136</sup> But at that stage not only he, but also Agamemnon, Odysseus,<sup>1137</sup> Eurypylos, and the healer Machaon are wounded and forced back to the ships, and so the motif of Diomedes' absence is incorporated in the general retreat of the Greeks who are getting into greater and greater difficulties. In the scene of Achilles' death from the *Aithiopis*, however, the two motifs are much more closely and logically linked in that Diomedes' being wounded and having to be treated by his friend Sthenelos was not in itself an important point but simply a means of getting him out of the way, for his absence from the battle at the moment of Achilles' death was crucial for two reasons. First, the continuation of the story required Aias to be at the centre of the events, since it had to be Aias who carried Achilles' body back to the ships while Odysseus was keeping the Trojans off—thus opening the way for the quarrel and competition between Odysseus and Aias over the right to Achilles' armour, and ultimately for Aias' suicide (this motif, already presupposed in *Od.* 11. 542 ff., must have been a very old one). Secondly, Diomedes had to be away from the scene because at this moment Glaukos, son of Hippolochos, was killed (by Aias of course) when he tried to drag Achilles' body away with a

noose, and Diomedes, we can be sure, could never have allowed Glaukos' death, let alone have killed him, had he been present in the fight over Achilles' body, because he was a guest-friend of Glaukos' family (*Il.* 6. 144 ff.). It seems obvious that the two motifs concerning Diomedes are much more closely related here than in the *Iliad*, where the motif of his being wounded, originally less important but of course more dramatic, is doubled, and the reason for his leaving the battle while Aias stays is less obvious and taken from the more general and less colourful motif of a global retreat of the Greeks.

From the parallelism established by neo-analysis we may also get an argument for (*h*) Leodokos on our vase being the son of Priamos (despite Dictys' version). Although he is shown not dead but gravely wounded and collapsing, he must in reality have been the last victim of Achilles, rather than a victim of Aias; for he is the first in the chronological series of Trojans who are shown passing by Aias and (the dead) Achilles as described above. This means his fight and defeat took place when Achilles was still alive, since Paris, who killed Achilles and is shown running away, is second in the series. Now, in the *Iliad* Hektor too was roused to the final duel with Patroklos because the latter had just killed his charioteer and half-brother Kebriones, son of Priamos (*Il.* 16. 737 f.). It seems possible therefore that the stabbing of Laodokos by Achilles prompted the fatal shot by Laodokos' brother Paris (with the aid of Apollon).

#### §457. *Lamentation over the dead Achilles*

The names (*d*) *Ἡμαθῶι* and (*e*) *Ὀῦματοῦ* make it clear that the scene on **COR 77** represents Thetis and her sister Nereids mourning over the dead Achilles (first seen by B. Graef *apud* Kretschmer (1888), 170). But it seems odd that no names are given to the hero and his mother (no doubt the seventh woman from the left, whose position as the first of those facing left and the one who embraces the head of the corpse<sup>1138</sup> is clearly marked), while other figures have such trivial and stereotyped names as (*a*) *Διῶι*, (*c*) *Φιῶι*, (*f*) *Φιῶι*.

It should be noted that one of the women holds a lyre, demonstratively holding it out over the dead body towards the spectator. Did the painter want to indicate that she was a Muse? This would agree with the *Aithiopis* (see Procl. *Chr.*)<sup>1139</sup> and *Od.* 24. 60. The fact that she is named *Ἡμαθῶι*, i.e. with a Nereid's name (see below), could be due to the strange and negligent way in which the figures are labelled on this vase.

The name (*d*) *Ἡμαθῶι* is certainly related to the Homeric *Ἀμάθεια* (*Il.* 18. 48), both names deriving from *ἄμαθος* and meaning 'sandy'. Still, it is not identical, and therefore is not taken directly from Homer; see also below, on (*e*). Indeed, its extension *-ῶι* is very common in feminine hypocoristics, notably in the Nereids'

<sup>1135</sup> See *Il.* 6. 98 f. where Diomedes is ranked equal with, if not above, Achilles, and 2. 768 f. where Aias is said to be the second best after Achilles.

<sup>1136</sup> May we assume that in the *Aithiopis*, when Paris (and Apollon) shot Achilles, monologues similar to those by Paris (*Il.* 11. 380–3) and the fierce reply by Diomedes (384–95) were included? (The continuation would have been different of course: 'but suddenly Achilles felt that the pain was flowing through his limbs and black night began to cover his eyes . . .').

<sup>1137</sup> In the light of the events after Achilles' death, with the quarrel between Aias and Odysseus and the defeat of Aias, it is a particularly piquant detail that Homer makes Aias stay in the battle longer than Odysseus and even rescue him (11. 485–8).

<sup>1138</sup> See *Il.* 23. 136 f. (Achilles with the dead Patroklos), 24. 724 (Andromache with the dead Hektor).

<sup>1139</sup> See also the Tabula Iliaca (*Aithiopis*, test. 8 *PEG* = 3 *EGF*) with: *Αἰ[θ]ιοπῖς . . . Ἀχιλλέως σῶμα, Μοῦσα, Θέτις*.

names in Homer and Hesiod (see §236), whereas the extension *-εἰᾶ* of *Ἀμάθεια* is not the first form we would think of for a feminine from a stem in *-o-*. Could it be that Homer ‘reshaped’ the name, so that it would fill up the last line of his list of Nereids?

For the Nereid’s name (*e*), Kretschmer (pp. 200 f. with n. 2) lists six Attic instances, to which in the mean time only two more seem to have been added. These are the forms: *Κυμαθόη*,<sup>1140</sup> *Κυμαθόε*,<sup>1141</sup> *Κυμαθέα*,<sup>1142</sup> *Κυμοθέα*,<sup>1143</sup> *Κυμοθέα*,<sup>1144</sup> *Κυματοθαῖ*,<sup>1145</sup> *Κυματοθέα* twice.<sup>1146</sup> From the epic tradition we know this name as *Κυμοθόη* (*Il.* 18. 41; Hes. *Th.* 245; Apollod. 1. 2. 7; see also Wachter (1990a), 42). As all Nereids have speaking names (see §239), the form must originally have been formed with *-θόη*, i.e. ‘rushing over the waves’. Now, *θοός* is an archaic and poetic word (see LSJ) hence it is understandable that eventually *-θόη* was replaced by *-θεᾶ*, which yielded a new meaning, ‘goddess of the waves’.<sup>1147</sup> But this can hardly be as old as Homer, for this kind of ‘Determinativkompositum’ is very weakly represented in archaic Greek.<sup>1148</sup>

Neumann (1980: 298) stressed that on our vase the first element is *Κυματο-*, not *Κυμο-*, and claimed that *Κυματολήγη* (Hes. *Th.* 253) is closer to our name than *Κυμο-θόη*. This is only partly true. We have to ask why *Κυμο-* exists alongside *Κυματο-*. This must be due to the metrical demands of (Ionic) dactylic poetry.<sup>1149</sup> For we observe that it is always the first syllable of the second element of the compound that decides which form the first element will take. Although only *κυματο-* is ‘correct’ from the (synchronic) point of view of formation, *\*Κυματοθόη* and *\*Κυματοδόκη* were metrically impossible and the alternative *Κυμο-* had to be used: *Κυμοθόη* (above) and *Κυμοδόκη* (Hes. *Th.* 252 and *Il.* 18. 39); on the other hand, for *-λήγη* the variant *Κυμο-* was impossible and *Κυματο-* had to be used. Now, the variety of forms of this name on Attic vases shows clearly that the form *Κυμο-* was not wholly acceptable; therefore either *Κυματο-* was restored at the cost of the dactylic rhythm, or the

prosodic shape of the name was retained by changing the first element to *Κυμα-*, which in view of the following dental [t<sup>h</sup>] could be felt as being due to haplology *Κυματοθ-* > *Κυμαθ-* (as in *ἀμφιφορεύς* > *ἀμφορεύς*).<sup>1150</sup>

However, the advantage of retaining the rhythm in this name could also be obtained by restoring *Κυματο-* and syncopating the short first syllable of the second element, for example *-θαῖ*. This would be the easiest explanation of our Corinthian form, but we must see whether such a contraction is in line with the phonological processes known for this dialect and whether the starting-point could be *-θο-* rather than *-θε-*, which, as explained above, would be less suitable for reasons of semantics and formation.<sup>1151</sup> Indeed, the contraction [oā] > [ā] is the regular development in a dialect which preserves long [ā], such as Doric,<sup>1152</sup> whereas in most non-Attic dialects [eā] is not normally contracted. Our Corinthian form therefore poses no problems. Still, we are grateful to have a second attestation of this form, namely *Κυματοθαῖ* on an Attic vase mentioned above (Epeleios P., late 6th cent.).<sup>1153</sup> Of the two uncontracted versions *-θόη* and *-θεᾶ* only the second could undergo contraction in Attic, and it would yield *\*-θῆ* as the result.<sup>1154</sup> Therefore—and especially since *-θόᾶ* not *-θεᾶ* is the starting-point we would favour—the form *Κυματοθαῖ* must be considered the non-Attic contracted (and so dactylic) representation of *\*Κυματοθόᾶ*, i.e. the form is the same as our Corinthian. That a non-Attic form occurs on an Attic vase is nothing uncommon, and, indeed, on this very vase we find other non-Attic features, namely the label *Σιλᾶνός Τέρπων*<sup>1155</sup> and the nymph-name *Καλύκᾶ* (see ad COR 25b). In view of the fact that Terpon speaks Attic while pouring wine—“*ἡῆδὺς ἡδῶνος*” (not *ἡᾷδὺς*), which reveals the real dialect spoken by the painter—we may assume a non-Attic source for the *ᾶ*-forms outside the sphere of conversational talk, and it is tempting to think, for instance, of some kind of choral lyric in the first years of comedy and tragedy.

To return to our Corinthian vase (COR 77): we may think of a poetic background for this also, and here too it should be non-Ionic, i.e. not from the epic tradition known to us. (Another instance where this painter may have drawn on a poetic source

<sup>1140</sup> Kretschmer, no. 3; *ARV* 992. 69; Immerwahr, no. 746.

<sup>1141</sup> Kretschmer, no. 9; not in *ARV*; Heydemann (1872), 599–601, no. 3352.

<sup>1142</sup> Kretschmer, no. 6; *ARV* 192. 106.

<sup>1143</sup> Kretschmer, no. 10; *ARV* 1251. 41; Lezzi-Hafter (1988), 352, no. 285.

<sup>1144</sup> Kretschmer, no. 13; *ARV* 1250. 32; Lezzi-Hafter (1988), 346, no. 253; Immerwahr, no. 797. This vase bears a quotation from Homer, see Wachter (1990a), 36 f. (and (1990b), 21).

<sup>1145</sup> Kretschmer, no. 2; *ARV* 146. 2. See below.

<sup>1146</sup> Neither in Kretschmer. One is *ABV* 77. 8 (Immerwahr, no. 87, only mentioned). The other is *ABV* 84, bottom, no. 3 (= Immerwahr, no. 988, only mentioned); Boston 21. 21 (phs. Schefold (1964) and (1966), pl. 71a; Johansen (1967), 94 fig. 23, dr. 96 fig. 25; *CVA* USA, 14, pls. 16, 17. 3–4; Schefold (1993), fig. 324) with *Ἀχιλλ(α)εύς* (the final *-ς* was never written, see §204), *Θέτις*, *Κυματοθεᾶ*, *Πανόπῃ*, *Νεοπτολέμῃ* (see §212), *Καλλ(λ)ιόπῃ*.

<sup>1147</sup> Compounds with the verb *θέω* as their second element are always formed on the *o*-grade (for Homeric examples, mostly proper names, see Risch, p. 202). The forms with *-θεᾶ* therefore are not likely to have a meaning connected with *θέω*. We are reminded of the—wrong—etymology of *θεός* < *θεῖν* at Plat. *Crat.* 397d.

<sup>1148</sup> In Homer *θεός* as a second element occurs only in *ἡμίθεος* *Il.* 12. 23, used as an adjective. See Risch, pp. 214 f. (and Risch (1944), 9).

<sup>1149</sup> In this kind of poetry, Nereids were a traditional constituent; see Wachter (1990a) and (1990b).

<sup>1150</sup> The result may have looked like a univerbation (‘Zusammenrückung’) of *κύμα* + the simple adjective *θοός*, ‘swift on the wave’ (see n. 342).

<sup>1151</sup> That we have no direct attestation of *Κυματοθόᾶ* but only of *-θεᾶ* is not so serious a problem as Amyx (p. 577) makes out: he is too negative as to the importance and weight of *Κυμοθόη* and *Κυμαθόη* which, as we have seen, are well attested.

<sup>1152</sup> Examples are the month-names *Βᾶδρόμιος* (Arkadia), *Βᾶδρομίων* (south-east Ionia from the nearby Doric regions) < *\*Boā-* (normal Ionic *Boη-*), and *Πρᾶράτιος* (connected with the festival-name *Προηρόσια* at Eleusis); see Trümper (1997), 31 (§§27), 129 f. (§106), and 140–2 (§117). For the Corinthian cases in which this contraction has not taken place (*Πολυνόφα* and *Ἀλκυνόφα*), and the reason for it, see §506.

<sup>1153</sup> See n. 1145. The ending *-αι* is slightly odd. It seems to be dat., whereas all other names on the vase in question are in the nom. We should not assume that the last two letters are exchanged, since this is a rare mistake on vases (see §110), and does not yield the right result either (*-θαῖ*?). Therefore we must accept contraction, and either assume dat. or an accidental stroke with the brush.

<sup>1154</sup> e.g. fem. adjective *χρυσή* < *-εᾶ* (see Lejeune, §295).

<sup>1155</sup> Ph. Boardman (1975), fig. 106. See also ad ETR 1.

is COR 79.) It is interesting to note that this case is in a way the opposite of COR 4 Ἀλκινόφᾱ, where for different reasons we may assume a poetic source. There a digamma was inserted to prevent contraction and a non-dactylic shape –˘–; here contraction was allowed, since the dactylic shape –˘˘– could be regained with the full and more correct stem *Κυματο-* used in the compound.

One could still argue that our form might be a case of A.W. (see §111): *Qṽματοθ(έ)ᾱ*. It is true that this would agree with the two Attic bf. occurrences of the name. But are we to believe that both the kylix by the Epeleios P. (which shows other Doric-looking labels) and our Corinthian vase present the name in a form which makes less sense semantically and which—to judge from the epic tradition—is younger,<sup>1156</sup> and that both, moreover, show the same kind of accidental mistake? I favour the other explanation.

#### §458. Suicide of Aias

None of the four scenes with the suicide of Aias needs discussing. On COR 12 there is also the scene of Herakles at Oichalia. COR 14 is a mixed scene (see §402). COR 23 is the most elaborate of the four. On COR Gr 9 the inscription is incised. It is a strange coincidence that none of the vases belongs to the LC period. No indications of literary language can be found.

Cahn–Berger–Haas–Perry (1969: 23), referring to Kunze (1950: 156), observe that on COR 23 the dead Aias lies with his head to the left, whereas in the other representations of the story his head is to the right. Yet from the many other representations listed at LIMC i, ‘Aias’ i. 115–31, we can see that both positions are equally possible (see also our n. 1124).

#### §459. Aineias threatening Helene

Arena (pp. 76 f.), in first publishing COR 76, suggests the abduction of Helene, and since Paris–Alexandros is not shown, he supposes a non-Homeric version of the tale. This interpretation is certainly wrong, for the presence of Hekabe (as well as of Andromache, not read by Arena) and the fact that Aineias is fully armed make no sense in this context. The figures present (Andromache, Helene, Aineias, Hekabe) are all among the survivors of the sack of Troy (for Aineias see already *Il.* 20. 307 f.), whereas Hektor whom we expect with Andromache, Paris whom we expect with Helene, and Priamos whom we expect with Hekabe, all died before the sack.<sup>1157</sup> An occasion after these heroes’ deaths therefore seems a more plausible context, and here also we could make good sense of the name (*e*) *Περίλιπός*, about which Amyx (p. 577) remarks ‘= left surviving, but the sense is hard to justify’.

<sup>1156</sup> In Hes. *Th.* 245 two MSS present *Κυμοθέα*. But even though, in the light of our vases, this form may look as if it goes back to classical Greece, it is less well attested, does not occur in Homer and Apollodorus, and is not a *lectio difficilior*, far from it.

<sup>1157</sup> They died in the order in which their wives occur on our vase. Is this a coincidence?

Now, in the context of the sack of Troy, a warrior who is moving fiercely towards Helene reminds us of someone else: there are very many representations of Menelaos threatening his unfaithful wife.<sup>1158</sup> Admittedly, he is sometimes shown depicted with his sword falling from his hands at the sight of her beauty, but these representations only start in the last quarter of the sixth century and may be due to Ibycus’ version of the story, fr. 296 PMG).<sup>1159</sup> And of course, our vase shows Aineias, not Menelaos; moreover, it dates from about 570 BC or slightly earlier.<sup>1160</sup> Provided the context of the sack of Troy is correct, could we possibly argue that the painter committed such a blunder? Or was there indeed an encounter between Aineias and Helene, the cause of the war and disaster, when he may have threatened her and considered killing her?

Let us look at the relevant accounts of the events. A scene like this would certainly not make sense until the destruction of the city was virtually complete. As Priamos seems to be no longer present, we should place our scene after his death, and since Helene is represented we have to place it before she was led away by Menelaos.<sup>1161</sup> Proclus (?) in his short résumé (*Chr.*) of Arctinus’ *Iliupersis* (see PEG and EGF) does not mention any encounter between Helene and Aineias, and indeed does not mention Aineias at all during the actual conquest of the city. The moment for our scene would fall right in between the following two events, which are told in immediate succession: καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα. Μενέλαος δὲ ἀνευρὼν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κατάγει, Δηίφοβον [her new husband after Paris’ recent death] φονεύσας. As for Aineias, he had left Troy after the portent of the snakes devouring Laokoon’s sons: ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέρατι δυσφορήσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ὑπεξήλθον εἰς τὴν Ἰδην (Procl., three paragraphs before Priamos’ death).

There is, however, another, slightly more detailed but very similar account of the events at that stage of the story, namely Apollod. *Epit.* 5. 21 f.: καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρκείου Διὸς βωμοῦ καταφεύγοντα Πρίαμον ἀνείλεν. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ καὶ Μενέλαος Γλαῦκον τὸν Ἀντήνορος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν φεύγοντα γνωρίσαντες μεθ’ ὅπλων ἐλθόντες ἔσωσαν. Αἰνείας δὲ Ἀγχίσην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας ἔφυγεν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν εἴασεν. Μενέλαος δὲ Δηίφοβον κτείνας Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγει. Here Aineias is therefore in the city during the sack. A scene such as we seem to need, of Aineias encountering Helene and almost killing her, would fit very well after Odysseus and Menelaos’ saving of Glaukos, to whom they were bound by

<sup>1158</sup> See Brommer (1973), 404–11; L. Kahil, LIMC iv, ‘Helene’ 210 ff.; see also n. 389 above.

<sup>1159</sup> At least Ibycus or Lesches, the author of the *Little Iliad*, whose date is disputed (fr. 19 PEG, EGF), are the earliest authors for whom this version is attested. It is told in Eur. *Andr.* 629 f. (where the scholiast refers to Ibyc.) and Ar. *Lys.* 155 (where the scholiast refers to Ibyc., to the *Little Iliad*, and Eur.); see also Σ Ar. *Vesp.* 714.

<sup>1160</sup> MC is generally dated 595/90–570, and this vase seems to belong towards the end of the period.

<sup>1161</sup> This latter fact is of course presupposed in *Odyssey* 4.

ties of hospitality from the time of their embassy to Troy, when his father Antenor had entertained them in his house and pleaded for the surrender of Helene (an event mentioned in the *Iliad*, see COR 74). No doubt the aversion for Helen, the cause of the war and the city's fall, was shared by Glaukos. We should thus have two adjacent scenes expressing a Trojan hatred of Helene, first that felt by Antenor's family, and secondly that felt by Aineias as shown on our vase, which is in line with his general dislike of Priamos and his family (see *Il.* 13. 460 f.) and could have been another reason why the Greeks let him go. Only after this final threat to her life did Helene fall into the hands of her first husband, Menelaos, who eventually brought her back home safely.

Now, Apollodorus hardly ever names his sources, and one could of course argue that his mentioning the departure of Aineias is a later insertion of a detail that was not contained in the *Iliupersis* by Arctinus. Indeed, it would be odd for Proclus to have omitted the story had it in fact been included, given its celebrity in Roman times<sup>1162</sup> (we should not place the *Chrestomathy* earlier than that). Also, there is the problem that according to Arctinus (as reported by Proclus), “οἱ περὶ Αἰνείαν” were long out of town, while the *Little Iliad* requires Aineias to be in the city when it is finally sacked; for in this epic (which also differs from the *Iliupersis* in that Neoptolemos drags Priamos away from Zeus' altar before killing him (fr. 16 PEG = 17 EGF)) Aineias together with Andromache is given to Neoptolemos as a captive (fr. 21 PEG = 20 EGF). Obviously there was some uncertainty in the archaic period over the fate of Aineias.<sup>1163</sup>

The main question is therefore: Can we assume that at the time of our vase there were versions which described Aineias as being in the burning city, moving freely around, possibly before rescuing his family, and conceivably having an encounter with Helene?

In later times such an encounter between Aineias and Helene is of course attested, namely in Virgil's *Aeneid* (2. 567–88), where Helene is hiding and Aineias observes her, and for a moment considers whether it would be the right thing to kill her.<sup>1164</sup> And, indeed, this occurs immediately after the death of Priamos and before Aineias goes to his house and saves his family, i.e. exactly at the moment we need it.

There is one author who was writing at the right time and who seems to have described the emigration to the West by Aineias and his family: Stesichorus.<sup>1165</sup> From his *Iliupersis* we have frs. 196–205 PMG and frs. S 88–132 SLG (*P. Oxy.* 2619), and, as a ‘table of contents’, we also have the so-called Tabula Iliaca (of early imperial date), which expressly names Stesichorus as

its source.<sup>1166</sup> The value of the Tabula Iliaca as evidence for the contents of Stesichorus' poem has recently been attacked by Horsfall (1979), in my view unsuccessfully.

These are Horsfall's (here abbreviated H.) arguments. (1) On the Tabula, Menelaos is shown threatening Helene with a sword, which is a reflection of the widespread version (mentioned above) that Menelaos dropped his sword on seeing her. But Stesichorus in fr. 201 PMG (= Σ Eur. *Or.* 1287) reports that at the sight of Helene the stones fell from the hands of those who wanted to stone her: οἷόν τι καὶ Στησίχορος ὑπογράφει περὶ τῶν καταλείναι αὐτὴν μελλόντων. φησὶ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφεῖναι τοὺς λίθους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. This for H. is a discrepancy: ‘The actual citation of fr. 201 does not state explicitly that Menelaos was himself armed with a stone, but the scholiast on Euripides draws so marked a contrast between the Euripidean version of the story and Stesichorus' that we can hardly suppose the Stesichorean Menelaos to have been wielding a solitary sword’ (p. 38). Now, it is not only the stones vs. a sword which are unexpected, even stranger is the multitude of people instead of Menelaos alone. Is it certain that this report alludes to the scene at Troy when Helene is found by her former husband? Would any ancient reader ever have thought of the famous Menelaos–Helene scene when reading this strange story? Certainly not. And, after all, the scholiast is explaining a scene from the *Oresteia*, when the characters in question were long since back home in Greece, and he mentions neither Menelaos nor Troy. The most straightforward assumption in my view would be that the scholiast took this scene from the same context as the event that he wants to explain (or rather contrast). Stesichorus did indeed write poems called *Oresteia* (frs. 210–19 PMG).<sup>1167</sup> This was H.'s strongest argument against the Tabula Iliaca being a reflection of Stesichorus' *Iliupersis*. It seems by no means conclusive to me. H. further argues (2) that the expression “εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν” on the Tabula could not be Stesichorean (p. 39). But of course none of the inscriptions on the Tabula are either epic or Stesichorean wording, but simply Koine.<sup>1168</sup> Therefore we cannot draw any conclusions from such an observation. (3) On the Tabula Iliaca Misenos is embarking with Aineias. This character is not attested as one of Aineias' companions before Virgil. But although it is of slightly earlier date, the testimony that he was a companion of Odysseus together with Baios (Strabo 1. 26, from Polybios) is by no means more trustworthy as evidence of an origin in archaic times. For we know much better who were Odysseus' companions in early literature from the *Odyssey*, where Misenos and Baios are not even mentioned. Therefore H.'s conclusion (p. 40): ‘the only economical

<sup>1162</sup> He might more plausibly have passed over Odysseus and Menelaos' saving of Glaukos, a story which we have no reason to believe was not contained in the *Iliupersis*.

<sup>1163</sup> The general fact that Aineias would survive the sack of Troy is clearly foretold by Poseidon in the *Iliad* (20. 337–9 . . . οὐ μὲν γὰρ τίς σ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν ἐξεναρῖξει, sc. ‘if you survive Achilleus’—which he did).

<sup>1164</sup> The much-discussed problem as to which stage in the elaboration of the text these lines belong need not concern us here.

<sup>1165</sup> Ibycus is most likely to be too late for a MC vase.

<sup>1166</sup> Accepted as Stesich. fr. 205 PMG. For a drawing of the relief see LIMC i, ‘Achilleus’ 543 (with bibl.).

<sup>1167</sup> Today the *communis opinio* is that Euripides invented the relevant part of the story. What makes us believe that?

<sup>1168</sup> See e.g. *Ἀνδρομάχη, Πολυξένη, Ἑκάβη, Κασσάνδρα*. Davies (1978: 556) has already rightly reminded us that εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν cannot be used as ‘a deterrent to our acceptance of the Stesichorean origin of this particular portion of the myth’.

explanation of these attestations is that Misenus was not named in Stesichorus and that he was first described as a trumpeter and a companion of Aeneas in the Roman antiquarians', is not justified. Indeed, it is hardly conceivable that the whole elaborate, but in the main unimportant, story as told by Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 149 ff.) was such a late invention. We may, at any rate, more safely argue that Misenus is a character already figuring in Stesichorus than that his presence on the Tabula Iliaca is a sign against Stesichorean authorship of what is represented. (4) On the Tabula Iliaca the *ἑπά* taken from Troy are depicted and named three times, whereas elsewhere they are attested only on an Etruscan scarab of c.490 BC.<sup>1169</sup> H. may well be right to feel that the artist of the Tabula over-emphasized the importance of these *sacra* (p. 40) and of Aeneias' exodus in general, which he placed right in the centre of the relief (p. 38). But this is just Augustan propaganda and irrelevant to the question of whether Stesichorus told the story of Aeneias' exodus or not. The first representation of this exodus scene is a fragment of an Attic bf. amphora by Exekias in Reggio Calabria (*Para.* 61, from Lokroi Epizephyrioi) of c.545–530 (Boardman (1974), 57). This is Ibycus' period, and we may assume that he knew and told the story, just as he told the one about Menelaos dropping his sword at the sight of Helene. However, Ibycus, particularly in his earlier works, drew largely from Stesichorus, and the Tabula refers not to Ibycus, but to Stesichorus. (5) H. (p. 41) argues that Anchises sitting on Aeneias' left shoulder on the Tabula disagrees with most vase pictures and representations from Hellenistic times. But an Etruscan rf. amphora of about 470 and an early fifth-century coin from Aineia on Chalkidike show him in that position<sup>1170</sup> and (according to H.) probably reflect an earlier type different from the later canonical tradition. I do not see how H. can take this as an argument against the Tabula reflecting Stesichorus; if anything, it is one in favour. (6) In the gate scene on the Tabula, Kreusa seems to be in the background, and she is certainly no longer present in the scene where the family embarks. Other traditions have her going with Aeneias (see H. with his n. 118). In fact in the *Cypria* (fr. 31 *PEG*, 23 *EGF*) and the *Little Iliad* (fr. 22 *PEG*, *EGF*) Aeneias' wife is not Kreusa but Eurydike (both attestations from Paus. 10. 26. 1; see also Enn. *Ann.* 37). Virgil does not draw on these traditions, but he agrees perfectly with the version on the Tabula Iliaca, which names Stesichorus as its source. In view of all this it seems to me that H.'s point should be reversed; all relevant facts speak in favour of, not against, Stesichorus being reflected in this relief.<sup>1171</sup>

<sup>1169</sup> See pl. 3b to H.'s article; *LIMC* i, 'Aeneias' 95.

<sup>1170</sup> The amphora: H., pl. 3a; *LIMC* i, 'Aeneias' 94\*. The coin: *LIMC*, *ibid.* 92.

<sup>1171</sup> The following point may be worth mentioning: the fact that on the Tabula Iliaca Menelaos holds his sword in his hand, whereas representations of the sword falling to the ground exist from much earlier times, must mean that—provided the scene is Stesichorean—Stesichorus' version did not include the detail (given in the later version) of Menelaos' dropping his weapon at the sight of Helene. This may therefore be Ibycus' or the *Little Iliad*'s invention, whichever is earlier (see above, with n. 1159). But Helene is depicted naked on the Tabula, and

H. (pp. 41 f.) also adduces an important detail of the Tabula that does not agree with Virgil's account: Hermes leads Aeneias and his family out of the city. H. lists both literary and pictorial parallels (the latter from c.40–30 BC), and the point is particularly valuable since it shows that the artist of the Tabula did not just reproduce Virgil's famous narrative.

To sum up, we have no reason to disbelieve that Aeneias' flight to the West as shown on the Tabula Iliaca formed part of Stesichorus' *Iliupersis*.<sup>1172</sup> (In fact, could we possibly imagine a reputable Augustan artist mendaciously adding such a title to a relief, and this at a time when everybody knew or at least could go and read<sup>1173</sup> Stesichorus' poem?)

In view of Apollodorus' account, cited above, Aeneias' flight must have taken place between Priamos' death and the recovery of Helene by Menelaos. The *Aeneid* at this stage of the story describes how Aeneias saw Helene and pondered whether he should kill her or not. We know of several features that are common to both Virgil and Stesichorus, but not shared by other versions of the story, and which therefore suggest that Virgil drew upon Stesichorus. Several other features too *could* be taken from Stesichorus. Now, our vase shows the surviving ladies of the Trojan aristocracy, two of whom, namely Andromache<sup>1174</sup> and Hekabe, are also represented together on the Tabula Iliaca, where they are sitting at Hektor's tomb together with Polyxene and Helenos.<sup>1175</sup> At the centre of the vase-painting is Helene with a fully armed and grim-looking Aeneias facing or even threatening her. It seems very likely to me that our vase is evidence for the existence of the Virgilian version more than half a millennium before the composition of the

some erotic element in the plot could therefore stem from Stesichorus. (See also above for the difference between the *Little Iliad* and Arctinus' *Iliupersis* over the murder of Priamos by Neoptolemos: the Tabula—and therefore Stesichorus—agrees with the older Arctinus.)

<sup>1172</sup> This is also the conclusion of the short but well-balanced discussion of the problems by Davies (1978). See p. 555: 'I cannot understand why the a priori assumption that Aeneas cannot have been connected with Italy as early as S(tesichorus) has exerted such a pertinacious grip on scholars' minds' (pointing to West (1966: 432) on Hes. *Th.* 1008 and, for the date of that part of the *Theogony*, *ibid.*, p. 398); also, p. 556: 'The Tabula Iliaca's strong implication that S's *Iliupersis* represented that hero as rescuing the *sacra* and carrying them into exile is no longer unacceptable.' Very plausible too is Davies's claim that Stesichorus did not mention the name of Rome, maybe not even Italy, as Aeneias' final destination. Otherwise our poet would have been the major authority of the Roman historians, and his relevant passage would be cited many times.

<sup>1173</sup> As admitted by H., pp. 37 f. with nn. 76 f.

<sup>1174</sup> Her upper part is not preserved on our vase, so that we cannot be sure whether she had little Astyanax with her or not.

<sup>1175</sup> In Stesichorus, Hekabe was eventually brought to Lycia by Apollon, fr. 198 *PMG*. Virgil, who does not report Hecuba's fate, nevertheless tells us (*Aen.* 3. 294 ff.) that Andromache eventually got Helenos as her new husband and lived in a land called Chaonia. (It seems a surprising coincidence that this land had a river called Xanthos (3. 350), just like the main river of Lycia.) Secondly, in her account to Aeneas, Andromache immediately compares her fate with that of Polyxene, who was allowed to die at Troy (3. 321 ff.). Now, Virgil's story of Helenos and Andromache and Andromache's recalling Polyxene remind us of the group depicted at Hektor's tomb on the (Stesichorean) Tabula Iliaca. At least this second coincidence should probably be considered another piece of evidence in favour of the assumption that Virgil drew upon Stesichorus.

*Aeneid*.<sup>1176</sup> Whether our vase reflects Stesichorus, or some other contemporary or even older tradition (of which we know nothing), is not certain. But Stesichorus in this case is certainly the best guess (see §504).

On our vase Andromache and Hekabe are watching, so they may well have been present in the original version. At any rate, they fit the scene, indeed they would probably both have encouraged Aineias to kill Helene. He did not do it, though. Why? Well, Helene was a beautiful woman, and what happened to Menelaos according to the *Little Iliad* and Ibycus, as well as to a number of men probably on another occasion in Stesichorus (see the discussion of Horsfall's first argument, above), and is suspected of happening to Orestes and Pylades by the chorus in Eur. *Or.*, may have saved her from this danger also. After all, even in the *Aeneid* (2. 589 ff.) Aineias' mother Aphrodite-Venus (none other!) has to come and awake her son from his contemplative absorption, reminding him of his duty towards his family.

#### §460. *Odysseus and Kirke*

In view of the fact that five representations of the scene with Odysseus and Kirke are preserved on Kabiran vases, among which is our **BOI 22**, this story must have been popular in the land of the 'Boiotian Pig'.<sup>1177</sup> Our *Κίρκᾱ* is the only label in these scenes, which are self-explanatory.

#### §461. *Odysseus and Boreas*

Ever since its publication by Fröhner, **BOI 18** has been compared with *Od.* 5. 296. There Boreas is one of the winds roused by Poseidon, who churned the ocean up with his trident (l. 292) so as to drown Odysseus on his raft. Bieber (1920: 154) explains the comical falsification of the scene: instead of being on a raft laden with two skins, one of water and one of dark wine (ll. 265 f.), the hero is on one made from two amphorae; instead of being terrified by Poseidon and the winds, he has stolen his enemy's trident and is leaping across his raft to catch a fish (which he misses).<sup>1178</sup> This scene presupposes a theatrical performance (partly in local dialect?; see §§254, 503) rather than something merely conjured up from the imagination of the painter (see §475 on **BOI 16**).

### Unspecified Scenes from the Trojan Cycle

#### §462. *Unspecified scenes from the Trojan Cycle*

Taking the main characters in alphabetical order, we have two scenes with Achilles and others (**COR 57** (see §452), also showing

<sup>1176</sup> The same scene with Aineias threatening to kill Helene as she sits on an altar, while Aphrodite stands behind him about to call him to his duty, has been suspected on a 4th-cent. Greek bronze mirror (*LIMC* i, 'Aineias' 203a\*, iv, 'Helene' 373\*). There are no inscrs., so we cannot be sure. But the interpretation seems plausible.

<sup>1177</sup> The other four vases (uninscribed) are Braun-Haevernick (1981), 65 ff., cat. nos. 363, 376, 402, 405. All other myths on Kabiran ware are preserved only twice (Bellerophon, Judgement of Paris) or once (six more scenes, plus some dubious ones). For the Boiotian Pig see Sparkes (1967).

<sup>1178</sup> See also **COP 25** for a figure catching fish with a trident.

a painter's signature, and **CHA 8**); one scene with Aineias (**COR 15**) and one with Menelaos (**AIG 1**), both alone; and two with Patroklos (alone on **COR 3**, with others on **COR 46.4**). Only the scenes with several characters will be discussed here.

In the scene on **COR 57** it is puzzling that Hektor is mounted not on his horse Aithon (who is carrying Memnon) but on a horse which bears the name Orion. The latter name is normally thought to be a 'mistake' for Areion (see also ad loc.), yet Areion is not a horse that had any part in the Trojan War as far as we know: he belonged to Adrastos and is mentioned only once in Homer (*Il.* 23. 346; also *Thebais*, fr. 7 *PEG* = 6A *EGF*). On the other hand, the writer seems to have been well-informed about mythical figures and their names, for there is a perfect distribution of Greeks and Trojans (including their horses) between the two sides, and Xanthos the prophet-horse and Balios are ridden by their master Achilles and his closest friend.<sup>1179</sup> We should not therefore be too eager to reject the name Orion as that of a horse.

As regards the chronological aspect of the myth represented on this vase, there are indeed a few oddities. First, the presence of Palamedes is remarkable. This hero is never mentioned in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but he *is* mentioned in Hesiod (fr. 297 M–W, from Apollod. 2. 1. 5), and his drowning by Diomedes and Odysseus when he was fishing (see §254) was described in the *Cypria* (fr. 30 *PEG* = 20 *EGF*; see §254, end). Apollodorus elsewhere (*Epit.* 3. 8) repeats that Palamedes was killed during the siege of Troy; according to this version he was stoned.<sup>1180</sup> This figure therefore places the scene very early in the Trojan context. The same is true for Protesilaos, who in fact could never even have mounted a horse in the Trojan War, for he was the first Achaian to lose his life—immediately upon landing (*Il.* 2. 701 f.; he is also mentioned at 13. 681). On the other hand, Memnon appeared only much later in the story, a point already noted by Robert (1919: 177): 'als Memnon in Troja eintrifft, ist Sarpedon bereits gefallen, und von den dargestellten Griechen sind Protesilaos und Palamedes schon lange tot'.

The horse-names on our vase are interesting too. Three of them (Xanthos, Podargos, Aithon) are the names of three of Hektor's horses in *Il.* 8. 185 (Lamos is the fourth). Yet since the rider of our Podargos is Protesilaos, we may remember that there is also a Greek horse called Podargos, belonging to Menelaos (23. 295) and mentioned along with Agamemnon's mare Aithe. The name Podargos also reminds us of the passages 16. 149 f. and 19. 400 where Xanthos and Balios, Achilles' horses, are said to be the Harpy Podarge's sons. It seems that the combination of such horse-names as *Ξάνθος*, *Ποδάργ-*, and *Αἰθ-* was somehow canonical in the epic tradition (see also §468).

<sup>1179</sup> I cannot see the reason for Lorber's suggestion (p. 57) that Balios and Xanthos are taken from everyday life rather than from an epic scene here (see §506 with n. 1286).

<sup>1180</sup> This version includes the writing of a letter (as in the story of Bellerophon with the famous line *Il.* 6. 169, the only mention of writing in Homer).



On the whole, Lorber and Amyx are right to say that this scene cannot just be called an ‘echo of Homer’ (Friis Johansen (1967), 83). Amyx (p. 570) says that ‘there is no reason to believe that Chares did more than add names to his poor painting, in the hope of making it more attractive’ (see the similar case of COR 30). Nevertheless, he did it in a way which by its very carelessness reflects an almost natural knowledge of the characters and groups of characters in the well-known epic myths. And it has to be stressed that *Πρῶτεσι λᾶς* with its long [o] (see ad loc.) is a non-Corinthian form (though adapted to everyday language as far as its second element is concerned) and must have been known at Corinth, and finally come to the ears of our painter, from the Ionic epic tradition (see §503).

The battle scene CHA 8, published by Trendall (1958), is also difficult to place in the epic cycle. First, we may conjecture that since Automedon is Achilles’ charioteer, the scene is from a context when Achilles has returned to the battle after Patroklos’ death, i.e. from *Iliad* 20 onwards. On the other hand, Asteropaios was killed by Achilles soon afterwards (*Il.* 21. 179). In principle our scene should fall in between. But there are problems. Asteropaios here kills *Περικλῆτα*, who, according to *Il.* 15. 636–52, was Hektor’s victim. At least the manner of Periphetes’ death was similar to that shown in our picture: he was stabbed after having fallen on his back while running away; here he is on his knees (trying to stand up again?).

Beazley (1957a: 239 n. 1) pointed out that the Eurymachos who is here stabbed by Achilles cannot be the same Eurymachos as on COR 74, who was the son of Antenor and fiancé of Polyxene, and was still alive at the sack of Troy (Paus. 10. 27. 3 on Polygnotos’ painting at Delphi).<sup>1181</sup> In fact no Eurymachos is named in the *Iliad*. In view of its frequency and its suitable meaning (‘fighting widely’) Schefold (1978: 210) thinks that the name is chosen at random; see also below on COR 46Ac.

Respecting Hippolochos, Charops, Diomedes, and Glaukos, Trendall (p. 7) observes: ‘According to Homer (*Iliad* vi 206) Hippolochos was the father of Glaucus, who appears in the centre of the picture, but it was Odysseus not Diomedes who slew Charops (*Iliad* xi 426).’ But since Hippolochos, Glaukos’ father, was not present at Troy, here Hippolochos the son of Antimachos will be meant; he, however, was killed by Agamemnon (*Il.* 11. 122 ff.) a short while before Charops’ death and cannot have helped him any more.

Speaking of Menestheus, Trendall remarks that in the *Iliad* (12. 329–32) Menestheus and Glaukos, son of Hippolochos, appear together. (Although the former is on the wall.) But as our Glaukos and Hippolochos are probably not related, the possibility cannot be excluded that the painter had in mind Glaukos, the son of Antenor (see COR 74), who is not named in the *Iliad*.

As for Odysseus and *Με[...]*, Trendall points out: ‘Melanippos would be a possibility, although he is not specifically associated

by Homer with Odysseus.’ Brommer (1983: 118) reminds us that although eighteen victims of Odysseus are named in the *Iliad*, this name (Melanippos) is not among them.

The form (k) *Ὀδυσσ(σ)εύ[ς]* is the epic form of the name (see §254) and should be taken as a slight hint that the painter had literature in mind (see §503). Yet he must be censured for making a very careless mix-up of things, for we can hardly assume the existence of some literary account that was parallel to our *Iliad* but different in so many details.

On COR 46A the well-known names (b) Patroklos, (f) Aias, and (h) Diomedes make it clear that the Greeks are fighting to the right, and the Trojans to the left. If the fight did reflect a known scene from the epic, it would have to be placed before the start of the *Iliad*, since Patroklos is still alive and there are several names not mentioned in the *Iliad*. But it is more likely that no specific scene is intended.

The first name, (a) Eumelos, is anyway somewhat strange in that the character is facing left. He was a Greek, famous for his participation in the chariot-race (*Il.* 23. 288 ff.) and for his—or rather his father Admetos’—fast horses (2. 763–7). This would suit his being on horseback on our vase. But we should have to assume that he is driving some captured horses back to the camp in order to justify his facing left, and this seems far-fetched.

(c) Eurymachos is being stabbed by Patroklos and is therefore a Trojan. As we saw on CHA 8 (see above), where one Eurymachos is stabbed by Achilles, our man cannot be the son of Antenor and Theano, mentioned by Pausanias (10. 27. 3) and represented on COR 74, because that hero was still alive at the sack of Troy. (It was not usual for people to be merely wounded by Patroklos or Achilles.) Eurymachos is also a historical name (Bechtel, p. 180), and here it seems close to a throwaway name (see §237).<sup>1182</sup>

(d) *Δαίπυλος* is facing left and is therefore a Trojan, which makes it impossible to identify him with Sthenelos’ friend (*Il.* 5. 325), a very minor figure in the *Iliad*. Is this perhaps yet another half-successful attempt to reproduce the name of Hektor’s brother *Δηίφοβος*, who occurs as *Δαίφῶν* on COR 24 and *Δαίφονος* on COR 70 (see §439)? The name *Δαίπυλος* recurs—twice—on another vase (COR 107) in a non- or pseudo-heroic setting, where it seems to be a choice of a name that was more stereotyped than we may now be inclined to believe (for names with *Δηι-* see Bechtel, pp. 121 f., with *-πυλος*, rare, p. 390); see §237.

(g) Andromachos lies dead on the ground, while Aias and a Trojan whose name is unfortunately lost are fighting over his body. According to Q. Smyrnaeus (who is known to reflect early sources, see e.g. above on CHA 8), a Greek called Andromachos was killed by Aineias (Q. Smyrn. 11. 41), but since Patroklos is still alive on our vase, we cannot possibly have here either the same scene or the same man (Q. Smyrn., furthermore, does not mention Aias in the context). Andromachos is also a historical

<sup>1181</sup> The Trojan Eurymachos, whom Trendall (1958: 5 f.) cites from Q. Smyrn. 11. 130 ff. (where the character must have been taken from an earlier source), is no better a choice, since he is identical with the one in Pausanias.

<sup>1182</sup> It is curious to note that this name occurs also on COR 53 (non-heroic) together with one *Δ[...]* . . . 3–4 . . .]os which could be restored *Δαί[πυλ]ος* like our name (d), but this may be coincidence.

name (Bechtel, p. 48), and with its second element it has a dull, throwaway quality (see §237).

As our warrior (*i*) [. . .]όνᾱς is facing left, fighting Diomedes, the Greek Μηριόνης is out of the question. A good guess would be Hektor's charioteer Kebriones, although we know nothing about a fight between him and Diomedes.

This fight presents a strange mixture of well-known heroic names (three Greeks and a likely Trojan) and other names that cannot be attributed to any characters from the Trojan War, viz. (*a*), (*c*)–(*e*), and (*g*). It will have to be considered a mixed, if not pseudo-heroic scene (see §402).

### Unidentified Scenes from the Trojan Cycle

#### §463. *Unidentified scenes from the Trojan Cycle*

The scenes listed here are all fragmentary. Achilles occurs on **COR 72** and **CHA 7**, Aias and Diomedes on **COR 38**, Aineias on **COR 44A** (probably with Paris), and Paris on **CHA 25**. Perhaps also belonging here is **COR 9**, where [. . .]ῶρ may represent Hektor. On **CHA 26**, the combination of the names (*a*) Εὐρύμ[αχος?] and (*b*) Γλαῦ[ος] reminds us both of **CHA 8** (see §462), with its two Trojan warriors Eurymachos and Glaukos in an indistinct Trojan context, and of **COR 74** (see §441), on which there are two sons of Antenor who are well known from literary sources. But as we should not a priori expect the two brothers to be represented as a warrior and his page, and Eurymachos is also used as a throwaway name on our vases (see §237), the precise setting, and even the Trojan context, must remain uncertain.

### Other Unspecified or Unidentified Heroic Scenes

#### §464. *Unspecified heroic scenes*

Only **ETR 4** and **ETR 2**, unspecified scenes with Amazons and Erotes, need be mentioned here. They may have an erotic connotation (see §307).

#### §465. *Unidentified heroic scenes*

**COR 1A** with an Amazon may be part of a scene showing Herakles' battle against the Amazons (see §413; Achilles and Penthesileia does not strike me as being a more likely subject). The fragment **IOD 2** has also been thought to be from an Amazonomachy. The fragment **CHA 23** with two Centaurs may again be from the context of Herakles' deeds (see §412). On **AIG 2** a fragmentary label which may be read Ἀγ[. . .] or Ἀλ[. . .] could be from a heroic context (Agamemnon or Alexandros?).

Two equally fragmentary scenes, **COR 41** and **CHA 17**, contain the name Oineus, which argues for a heroic context. The latter, which also preserves part of a horse-name but is known only from an old engraving, is possibly a departure or wedding-procession scene (the man Φοινεύς has the same position as e.g. **COR 66i**, or the man with a spear behind the boy **COR 71e**). The

feminine horse-name would corroborate the mythical impression, since female horses are only attested on vases of heroic context (see §244). If my reading of the name as [᾽Ο]ρθίῃ is correct, we may refer to Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 36, where the adjective ὀρθίος is used of donkeys slaughtered for Apollon, who γελᾷ θ' ὀρώων ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων. The word seems to evoke at one and the same time both their shrill voices and their wanton behaviour (which one may not only hear, but also ὀρᾶν) and would seem appropriate for a horse.

### GENRE SCENES (NON-HEROIC AND PSEUDO-HEROIC)

### Scenes Relating to War

#### §466. *War-preparation scenes*

The arming of warriors who are obviously about to go to war is shown on **COR 85** (see also below, §467, on **CHA 3** where arming and departure are combined). On **COR 53**, warriors are shown standing around as if waiting for orders (see §425 with nn. 1067 ff. for a similar scene in a sporting context).

#### §467. *Departure scenes*

The departure of one or several warriors for war is a stereotyped non-heroic subject on Corinthian vases. It is also transferred to the epic sphere (see §§428, 444). The following are our labelled examples: **COR 64B**, **COR 67**, **COR 78**, **COR 79**, **COR 119**, **CHA 3**, **CHA 6**, perhaps also **COR 81B** and **CHA 17**. Three of these, **COR 79**, **COR 119**, and **CHA 3**, require a short discussion of the structure of the scene.

**COR 119** was analysed by Lorber (pp. 64 f.) as a composition with two scenes (I am not considering Schefold's heroic connection (1993), 283 f.): (1) chariot and charioteer, warrior and woman (as in **COR 45**); (2) two women and a long-robed man, as on several other vases (none of which is inscribed). And indeed the fact, stressed by Lorber (n. 410), that we can hardly imagine two warriors and a driver in a single chariot speaks strongly in favour of an interpretation as two separate scenes. But he has to admit that the other figures—a warrior heading for the chariot and a boy—are extras who do not readily fit into two such stereotyped scenes as he proposes.

The following analysis, which seems to find parallels in **COR 70** (see §444), **COR 79** (see below), and **CHA 3** (see below), may therefore be easier. If label (*c*) is meant to be the boy's name, we can interpret the double scene, ingeniously composed as it is, by means of a chronological split: in scene (1) the warrior takes leave of, probably, his parents, his wife, and his son; in scene (2) he gets into his chariot, while his wife (?) waves to him. The warrior and one woman, perhaps his wife, would then be painted twice, but named only in the later scene to the right. If this interpretation is correct, all characters would be named, and each would be labelled only once.

The distribution of the names between men and women is perfect. Yet almost all are extremely colourless throwaway names: *Fâxvs*, *Διδί*, *Fιδόν*, *Fιδί*, *Διδόν* (see §237). Only the warrior, *Ἀντιμαχίδας*, doubtless the most important person in the scene (like the warrior in the chariot scene on COR 89, see §468 below), bears a somewhat more imaginative name; though even he is hardly to be understood as a mythical figure and his name is formed from very dull components (see §237). In view of the character of the names and the prevailingly impersonal character of these scenes, it is probably not of much importance that the ‘two’ warriors wear slightly different helmets.

COR 79 shows a warrior labelled (a) [*ἈῶF?*]*οδ(ά)μᾶς* (?) and an unnamed woman walking towards a *quadriga*, into which a warrior (c) *ἈῶFοδᾶ[μας]* is climbing. As the two warrior-names may be the same, the character may also be identical, i.e. shown twice. Beyond the chariot are two other unnamed women.

The scene on CHA 3 reminds us very much of the Corinthian vases, although the lively combination of arming and departure makes this painting less stereotyped. The Corinthian impression is supported by a likely lapse in the writing system (‘blue’ chi) in label (c) *Τύχ[ο]ς*, as well as by the Corinthian parallels to labels (g) *Πόλυδος*, (h) *Ξάνθος*, and (i) *Qρῶπιος*. See §259. As on COR 119 and 79 (see above), the unnamed warrior putting his helmet on and setting off for war (the third figure from the left) may be the same as (a) to the extreme left, but at a later stage of the ‘story’.

#### §468. Chariot scenes

Chariot scenes are also frequent on Corinthian vases, sometimes combining with another stereotyped scene from the war context. The horse-names are often the most ‘heroic-sounding’ parts of these otherwise non-heroic scenes. I tend to count such cases among the pseudo-heroic ones, although it is not inconceivable that heroic-sounding horse-names were a more common feature of contemporary Corinthian life than we may think. We have COR 64 (with a riding scene), COR 68 (pseudo-heroic), COR 83<sup>ter</sup> (again with a riding scene), COR 86, COR 87 (probably pseudo-heroic), COR 89 (probably pseudo-heroic), COR 90 (probably pseudo-heroic), and COR 94.

Because of the naming of Hektor and Kebriones on COR 68, the scene is clearly meant to give a heroic impression. As the movement is all to the left, we would expect all participants to be on the same side in battle. Yet, although several names occur in mythological contexts, no plausible setting can be found. For (a) *Εὐρύμας* none of the heroic characters fits (see ad loc.): the Eurymas killed by Polydeukes does not suit the Trojan allusions on our vase, and the two Trojans named Erymas do not fit the form of our label. As for (b) Eurymedon, Lorber (with n. 507) observes that all the men of this name in the *Iliad* are non-Trojans. Moreover, our label must be attributed to a horse, but although we have other very grand-sounding horse-names on our vases (see §244), the name (‘Wide-ruling’) does not really fit; there are also other Eury- names which make a dull impression (see §237).

(c) Hippos is attested as a personal name, but is very rare<sup>1183</sup> and would be odd if used of a man when horses are present. But it could also be the label of one of the horses, and although it must be deemed a very pedestrian ‘horse-name’, we should accept it as such. Two labels (d) *Δαμ[...]* (a horse) and (f) *Δάμδον* (a warrior) convey the notion of ‘taming horses’; the first, however, would be very unusual as a horse-name, whereas the latter is a common throwaway name (see §237). Also (e), probably to be read *Fιδόν*, is a throwaway name, although its use for a horse seems as odd as that of (b). The horse-names (i) Leukos and (j) Glaukos are plausible, but the first is unattested in myth and the second is only attested (as mentioned by Arena, p. 113) for one of Poseidon’s horses (Σ *Il.* 13. 23, together with the much more imaginative name *Ἐριώλης*, ‘Hurricane’); apart from that, Glaukos is of course attested on our vases for two Trojans<sup>1184</sup> (one COR 74i, the other COR 82h and CHA 4e). As for (k) Eurylochos, Lorber (p. 80 with n. 509) refers to Odysseus’ friend in the *Odyssey*, i.e. a Greek. As far as the last name, (l) *Ἡπιπόλυτος*, is concerned, Amyx (p. 573) rightly doubts that this occurrence in combination with COR 24i (the only character who does not fit the heroic scene) and COR 61 (isolated) amounts to sufficient evidence to make this name heroic. Hippolytos is also a historical name (Bechtel, p. 220; 4th cent.), and we should consider it a horsey name (§238) here.

Amyx (p. 573) concludes that the labels on this vase are an ‘afterthought, added merely to give greater importance to a conventional subject’. Indeed, if we analyse the labelling, we find the following features. (1) The painter (who will also have been the writer) forgets to complete the figure of a warrior to the left of the scene (see ad loc., *Scene*). (2) He gives very unusual labels to some of his figures, viz. (c), (e), and also (b), (d), (j). (3) He mixes mythical names of well-known Trojans, (g), (h), and perhaps (j), with throwaway and horsey labels, viz. (e), (f), (l), and with other dull labels, namely (c), the *Εὐρυ-* sequence (a), (b), (k), and the sequence (i)–(j), both colour adjectives used of horses (see §§237 f. and 444, respectively). (4) He is guilty both of inaccuracies in letter-forms in (c) and (f) and of making more serious mistakes—some of which he corrects, rightly in (b), wrongly in (h), some of which he does not, (i) and (j). Nevertheless, the inscriptions on the whole make sense, and the names of the two men in the first chariot go well together. The impression we get of this artist is one of slight incompetence in writing, to judge from (h) and (j), combined with an extreme lack of care. It just seems as if our man had produced this kind of scene so many times that he no longer paid any attention to what he was writing.

As far as we can tell from the documents available to us, (a) *Ἀκάμας* on COR 87 is not a frequent historical name in archaic and classical times, but on the evidence of CEG 372 *Ἀκμᾶτιδᾶς* (a 6th-cent. Olympic champion from Sparta) such names may have

<sup>1183</sup> Bechtel (p. 225) cites Paus. 6. 3. 5. Another occurrence is given by Fraser–Matthews: *IG* xii/9. 246A. 149. The use of the noun as a label of a Satyr in CHA 14c is of course a different matter.

<sup>1184</sup> Not for ‘a Trojan hero of that name’, as Amyx (p. 573) writes.

been in wider use (particularly in Doric regions?). (b) and (e) *Qύλλαρος* was the name of Kastor's horse, attested as *Kύλ(λ)αρος* on an amphora by Exekias *ABV* 145. 13 (as pointed out by Kretschmer (1888), 156), and mentioned by Stesichorus in his *Games for Pelias* (fr. 178 *PMG*; Polydeukes' horse was Xanthos, also a frequent Corinthian horse-name). Alcman, on the other hand (according to fr. 25 *PMG*), assigned Kyllaros to Polydeukes, and Xanthos to Kastor (the ancients had similar trouble with the twins' brides, see §438). As Kyllaros is not very flattering ('Club-foot', 'Bandy-legs'), it was hardly an everyday horse-name. Also, the formation in -ἄρος from *κυλλός* is attested only once elsewhere, namely in Aristotle's *HA* (530a. 12) as the name of a certain type of crab (see LSJ), chosen presumably because of the creature's crooked legs. It seems more likely, therefore, that this name is a reminiscence of some epic tale, rather than being in wider use. However, why it occurs on our vase as the name of a horse (or indeed two horses) together with a charioteer called Akamas, is hard to see.<sup>1185</sup> I therefore detach the name of the man from myth. Nevertheless, it is striking that we have here two names of which one is known to have figured in a poem by Stesichorus (*Kύλλαρος* in the *Games for Pelias*, fr. 178. 2 *PMG*) and the other is very likely to have done (*Ἀκάμας* in the *Iliupersis*), although the unimaginative—or rather, inadvertent? (see §112 with n. 722 on the visibility of fresh paint)—repetition of *Qύλλαρος* testifies to some carelessness on the part of the painter. Also, (d) *Λυσίπολις* seems too grand for an everyday horse-name, and may be from a poetic source (see §509; for horse-names see §244); yet we do not know whether the painter may have had Stesichorus in mind here too.

An interesting case of pseudo-heroic labelling is **COR 89**, where four of the five names evoke the literary sphere. (a) *Φέρῆς* is well attested in mythology (see **COR 66m** with §425). (d) *Λᾶφοπτόλεμος* is probably no more than a speaking name (§239), yet with its digamma it has a certain literary solemnity (see §506)—though we should not assume direct influence of any specific poetic source. (c) *Ξάνθος* together with (e) *Βάλιος* is certainly an epic reminiscence, viz. of Achilles' famous horses (see §506 with n. 1286). (b) *Ἄνιοχίδας* is a speaking name of a current, but non-epic formation (see ad loc.).

On **COR 90**, which is fragmentary, there are, besides Xanthos, two horse-names which can be restored with some probability as Qyllaros and Podargos. Both would evoke the epic sphere (see above and §462 on **COR 57**).

#### §469. Riding scenes

Simple riding scenes are also frequent. Sometimes the context of war is not certain, and a sporting or training ride seems conceivable. This topic is one of the most unpretentious, as is evident

from the frequent throwaway names (§237). Also, it is often combined with other topics, mostly of an unpretentious nature too. Combinations including riding scenes are **COR 70** (with the departure of Hektor), **CHA 15** (with the departure of Hektor and Paris and a non-heroic running scene), **COR 101** (with Perseus freeing Andromeda), **COR 64** and **COR 83ter** (with chariot scenes), **COR 83bis** (with a marching scene), **COR 99** (with a pseudo-heroic battle scene), **COR 92** (with a banquet scene), **COR 104** (with a boar-hunt scene), **COR 105** (with a dancing scene). Apart from these we have **COR 58**, **COR 62**, **COR 63**, **COR 83**, **COR 84**, **COR 100** (pseudo-heroic), **COR 103**, **COR 108**, **COR 111**, and the pinax **COP 79**.

Lorber (p. 77) characterizes the inscriptions for the riding scene on **COR 92**, viz. (h) *Λᾶδάμαφος*, (i) *Λᾶδάμᾰς*, and (j) *Ηιπ(π)οτίων*, as merely decorative, comparing a similar scene with nonsense labels,<sup>1186</sup> and the position of labels on Attic vases. Amyx (p. 625, with bibl.) mentions another Atticizing feature in the decoration (lotus-palmette chain).

On **COR 100**, a Gorgon, properly named *Σθεν(ν)ότι*, is shown together with two riders labelled *Εὐφᾶμος* and *Πόλυς*. For the Gorgon-name, Payne (1931: 86) cites Hes. *Th.* 274–6, where *Σθενώ*, *Εὐρυάλη*, and *Μέδουσα* are named as the three Gorgon sisters (see **COR 106**). For other (rare) representations of Gorgons between riders see Krauskopf (*LIMC* iv. 307, with bibl.). We may wonder whether the combination of riders with a supernatural monster should not perhaps evoke the sphere of youths being sent on an adventure trip in connection with their initiation (see §§307 and 472 with n. 1198).

Euphamos is not identifiable with any mythical bearer of this name that we know (e.g. the one on **COR 66**). We shall have to interpret the name here (as well as on **COR 114**) as a semi-throwaway name; there are other names of this dull type with the *Εὐ-* or *-φᾶμος* elements (see §237). *Πόλυς* must be judged similarly. Arena gives a historical parallel, *CIG* 3140. 22 (gen. *Πόλυος*);<sup>1187</sup> another example is *IGDS* 142c (Gela, 6th cent.), and two more are found in Fraser–Matthews. Arena suggests that it is a hypocoristic ('abbreviazione') for *Πολύστρατος* (was he thinking of the one on **COR 102**?). At any rate, it is a *Πολου-* name (see §237), i.e. a semi-throwaway name like Euphamos.

The name of the Gorgon offers several possible readings. For Hes. *Th.* 276 the manuscripts have both *Σθενιώ* and *Σθεννώ*. West (1966 (text and comm.)) prefers the latter. But the name was certainly felt to be connected with *σθένος* 'strength', as can be seen from Perseus' son *Σθένης-λος*, who had a daughter *Μέδουσα* (see e.g. Apollod. 2. 4. 5), both names alluding to Perseus' adventure with the Gorgons. We should therefore expect neither a geminate [nn] nor a long vowel [ē] in the first instance, nor would the hypocoristic formation in *-ώ* require them (for the formation of these names see §236). Indeed, the occurrence of two forms in the manuscripts is understandable as the result of two—equally

<sup>1185</sup> The most important bearer of the name Akamas ought not to have a horse belonging to his grandmother Aithra's kidnappers. As horses of Akamas and Demophon we know only *Φάλιος* (see §506 n. 1286) and *Καλ(λ)ιφόρᾰ* from another amphora by Exekias (cited by Lorber, n. 446; see also his n. 449), *ABV* 143 f., no. 1 = Immerwahr, no. 132 (bearing *CEG* 436).

<sup>1186</sup> Lorber, no. 98 = Amyx, p. 601, no. 8 (see §403).

<sup>1187</sup> *SGDI* 5616. 22 in Bechtel (p. 379), added by Amyx, is the same.

plausible—attempts to reconcile the original form \*Σθενώ with the dactylic metre,<sup>1188</sup> and suggests that the name of the Gorgon in everyday speech was also \*Σθενώ.<sup>1189</sup> As to the question of the original form in the Hesiodic text, we have to remember that in Hesiod's time geminates were not necessarily expressed in writing. The form on our vase does not help, since it could, but need not, be meant to contain a geminate. And since it may be taken from a poetic source, it could also be meant to represent Σθενώ; for, although in Corinthian we may perhaps expect \*Σθενόι with Ε for the lengthened [e] (see however §219), we cannot exclude the possibility that in a written source the spelling was not <ει> but <ε>, which would automatically have been rendered with Β by a Corinthian (such a case may be COR 70k Πολυξένᾱ, see §503).

One unidentified riding scene, viz. COR 37 with (a) Κάσστωρ and (b) [. . .]ολ[. . .] (probably not Polydeukes' name; see ad loc.), may be pseudo-heroic (see §402).

#### §470. *Marching and running scenes*

Apart from driving in chariots and riding horses, warriors are also shown on foot—marching beside their horses (COR 7, COR 83bis, similarly perhaps on the pinax COP 78), or running (COR 59, no horses being present; CHA 15, alongside the departure of Hektor and Paris and a non-heroic riding scene).

#### §471. *Battle scenes*

Probably the most popular topic for non-heroic and pseudo-heroic scenes, particularly on Corinthian vases, are the battle scenes, of which we have the following labelled examples: COR 5, COR 21, COR 54, COR 61, COR 64A, COR 99 and COR 107 (these two both pseudo-heroic, each with a riding scene on the reverse), COR 112, COR 114, COR 115, COR 115A (pseudo-heroic?), COR 116, COR 117 (pseudo-heroic), also LAK 4 and CHA 13. On COR 61 and LAK 4 the fight over the dead body of a warrior is shown; this is normally a heroic scene on the labelled vases, and at Corinth is usually labelled as the fight over the dead Antilochos (see §454), but once as the fight over the dead Sarpedon (§448). Elsewhere, we also come across the fights over the dead Euphorbos (see §449) and Achilles (§456). One or more of three fragmentary and unidentified battle or war scenes may be from a genuinely heroic context: COR 9 (Hektor?), COR 35 (Thrasymedes?), COR 130 (Aias or Aineias?).

Little need be said about these scenes. Some may reflect historical people depicted in a war context, for example COR 5 (for which see §472 just below). COR 114, on the other hand, seems to reflect a slightly 'nationalist' atmosphere. On COR 107 (pseudo-heroic) two characters called Eurytion and Iphitos are fighting each other. Müller (in *CVA*, ad loc.) referred to COR 12, where Eurytios (expected: -τος) and Iphitos occur together in the myth of Herakles at Oichalia, whereas at LIMC v, 'Iphitos' i. 9,

our Iphitos is identified with the one at the games for Pelias (see above, n. 1067). It seems very doubtful to me, however, that the painter had either of these myths in mind, for in both cases it is difficult to see why the two characters should be opponents. In the first case they are father and son. In the second case the reference should probably be to Iphiklos (see n. 1069), and even if we accept that it was at the prompting of some old tradition that Apollodorus (1. 9. 16) included Iphitos, son of Naubolos, and Eurytos, son of Hermes, among the Argonauts (see, however, n. 1081 above), then again, we would not expect them to fight each other. Labels (d) and (f) are identical: Δαίπυλος. Clearly, Δηίπυλος, the friend of Sthenelos (*Il.* 5. 325) and a very minor figure in the *Iliad*, does not fit. And the fact that this name is used twice indicates that the writer did not care too much about the choice of names (Müller). The name is also attested on COR 46A, where it occurs in a setting which is more heroic, but not consistently so. Most names which occur twice on the same vase are throwaway names (see §237).<sup>1190</sup> The name on COR 107 is not precisely of that kind, but has nothing particularly heroic about it either (see Bechtel, pp. 121 f., 390; both parts of the compound are used in historical names). The horse-name (e) *Qpouπίος*, on the other hand, is unusual, although in view of CHA 3i *Qpóπιος* it may have been more widespread than we may now be inclined to think (see §244).

Equally, COR 99, showing Aias and some (partly miswritten) throwaway names (§237), and COR 117, with a heroic fight which never happened and a clearly non-heroic fight, have to be considered pseudo-heroic (see ad locc. and §402).

Apart from the many Corinthian battle scenes, we have two other documents which closely resemble them. In the case of LAK 4 (of Spartan manufacture according to Simon-Hirmer (1981: 58)), Lane (1933/4: 43) has already remarked that the scene is very similar to the one on COR 61. (But note that on LAK 4 all the human figures except the dead man are labelled, whereas on COR 61 only the dead man has a label.) CHA 13 is particularly important because of the close relationship of some of its labels to Corinthian, as stressed by Rumpf (1927: 52), 'Auch die Kampfszenen der Hydria 9 sind ohne bestimmte epische Beziehung. Neben den von korinthischen Vasen bekannten Kriegernamen *Fάχυς* und *Πολύδωρος* ist der Mythos in *Άνταίος*, das Epos mit *Άντίοχος* vertreten. *Άνταίος* kehrt auch neben einem Mantelmann auf 8 wieder [our CHA 18, by a different painter], dessen Nebenmann einen auch korinthischen Namen: *Ψών* führt.' Collinge (1985: 126) notes that a Medon is named several times in the *Iliad* and is killed by Aineias (15. 332), while Polydoros, the youngest son of Priamos, is killed by Achilles (20. 407–18, etc.).<sup>1191</sup> But neither of these characters fits our scene, since on

<sup>1188</sup> This may have been a secondary, 'philological' attempt since originally the first syllable of a hexameter could be short too (see §222).

<sup>1189</sup> See Wachter (1991b: 108–12) for the parallel case of the Muse Κλέω, but Κλειώ in literature.

<sup>1190</sup> Amyx (p. 587) lists most of the relevant vases: apart from this they are COR 77, 78, 87 (a horse), 99, 102, 105, 109. (COR 14, 23, and 30 with the two Aiantes, and COR 66, on which the figure of Amphiaraios is painted twice in clearly individualized scenes, are a different matter.)

<sup>1191</sup> Another Polydoros, who did not take part in the fighting at Troy, is mentioned in *Il.* 23. 637.

the vase they are fighting on the same side. We also know of a Trojan Medon (17. 216, *hapax*) who was addressed by Hektor together with other leaders of the Trojan allies and may, like most of the others in that list, have been a more widely known character. But in view of the speaking (and almost throwaway) names (*a*) and (*b*) ('Opponent'), the possible *Πολυ-* name (*c*), and the throwaway name (*d*) (see §237), we need not look for any epic connection.

#### §472. Scene of return (?)

On an early MC Corinthian aryballos, **COR 16**, a very unusual scene is shown which cannot be linked to myth and part of which reminds us of the riding scenes (above, §469). Here the function of the aryballos as a container of perfumed oil, which is frequently underlined by inscriptions pointing to daily life, may be of some help. Other Corinthian aryballoi bear labels that are non-heroic (**COR 5**, 7, 17) or mixed (**COR 6**, 14); inscriptions showing human ownership or dedications to sporting champions or lovers (**COR 17** being a prize for excellent dancing, **COR 18** a gift to a hetaira, **COR 47–50** and **50A** bearing owners' names); the Troilos myth with an abecedarium (**COR 51**, see §442); and a grotesque, probably erotic scene (**COR 52**, see §480). In addition, we may compare the Boiotian aryballoi and other oil-containers, and the homoerotic sphere that their inscriptions often point to (see §307). Therefore for **COR 16** too, a setting in the sphere of daily life, sport, and love-gifts seems likely.

The scene to the left shows two horsemen, (*a*) *Κάστωρ* and (*b*) *Ἰπ(π)ομαχιδᾶς*, the latter's horse being named (*c*) *Ἀἰθών*. Kastor's name is taken for non-heroic by Amyx (p. 560, referring to Bechtel, p. 574, and Pape-Benseler, s.v.), but it is hard to believe that a pair of riders (see Burkert (1985), 17), one of whom is called Kastor, should have nothing to do with the Dioskouroi. Also, the name of the second rider's horse, (*c*) *Ἀἰθών*, which is the name of several mythical horses,<sup>1192</sup> seems to point to the heroic sphere. On the other hand, the second rider, who, like Kastor, is holding a spear, has no more than a speaking name (see §239), *Ἰπ(π)ομαχιδᾶς*, which at the same time is of the horsey type (§238) and with its component *-μαχ-* even evokes the semi-throwaway names (§237). He is very likely a human figure, for it is simply inconceivable that the painter could remember only Kastor's name and not that of his immortal twin.<sup>1193</sup> This suggests a mixed or pseudo-heroic scene (see §402). May we imagine Kastor *ἱππόδαμος* (*Il.* 3. 237) as the patron of young riders, one of whom, labelled with an *ad hoc* speaking name, is here represented? (See **COR 37** for a possible parallel.)

Similarly, the two figures next to the great vessel on the ground will be humans.<sup>1194</sup> (*e*) *Ῥαστυπότᾶς* means either 'City-drinker'

or 'Lord of the city' (see *ad loc.*).<sup>1195</sup> The vessel in front of the man may be adduced as an argument in favour of the first interpretation, the bearded and distinguished look of the figure as one in favour of the second. The first version would suggest a speaking name (see §239) or a nickname. The second version would suggest an otherwise unattested title of very archaic formation, since *δεσπότης*<sup>1196</sup> (originally 'lord of the house') was of an isolated type and its first element was no longer understood in historical times.<sup>1197</sup> For (*d*) *Φορβός* 'Eater' (a nickname) or 'Food-officer' (some unknown title) are equally possible.

Given the facts that (1) there is a huge krater between the two figures, (2) the combination of the two names certainly evokes drinking and eating, and (3) our *Φορβός* is playing the lyre, a festive context seems most likely to me. This is supported by the speaking name of the rider (*b*). If the krater scene to the right belongs with that of the two riders (which from the composition of the whole picture seems very likely), may we interpret the whole as a scene of return, with the arrival at the common meal (with its music and song) of a young rider—maybe one just back from an adventure trip in the context of his initiation, given the likely erotic touch of the aryballos?<sup>1198</sup>

### Hunting and Sporting Scenes

#### §473. Boar-hunt scenes

Four Corinthian vases show a boar-hunt, all are non- or pseudo-heroic: **COR 33** (probably pseudo-heroic), **COR 102** (perhaps pseudo-heroic), **COR 104** (non-heroic, alongside a riding scene), and **COR 109** (non-heroic).

Apart from non-heroic names, **COR 33** includes the labels Agamemnon and *Δωρίμαχος*, of which the latter, for phonological reasons, is likely to be from the literary sphere (see *ad loc.* and §503).

In the boar-hunt on **COR 102**, a character labelled *Πολύφᾶμος* is taking part. This name may of course be a dull *Πολυ-* name (see §237). But as it is almost exclusively known as the name of the famous Cyclops and of a Lapith, and since the latter, the son of Elatos, was one of those particularly distinguished Argonauts (Apollod. 1. 9. 16) who had taken part in the Kalydonian Boar-hunt (Apollod. 1. 8. 2), our boar-hunt scene may nevertheless have a (pseudo-)heroic connotation. Polyphemos the Lapith, who must have been a very famous character (Nestor in *Il.* 1. 264 counted him amongst the greatest men he had ever met), founded

<sup>1195</sup> His name reminds us of the choir leader with an equally speaking name, *Ἀστυμέλεια*, in Alc. fr. 3. 64 *PMG* (fr. 26 in Calame (1983); see also Stoessl (1987), 67).

<sup>1196</sup> See Frisk and Chantraine, s.v.; Trümper (1986), 46 f.

<sup>1197</sup> Other titles of officials beginning with *ἄστυ-* are e.g. *-αρχος*, Homeric *-βοώτης* (< *-βοῦτᾶς*, see Chantraine (1942), 82; this would be *\*-βᾶτᾶς* in Doric and is out of the question in our inscr.), *-νόμος*.

<sup>1198</sup> For the initiation see Burkert (1985), 260–4. As hunting was a major component of these rites, we may also compare scenes like **COR 102** (see §473), where even some literary background may be suspected (see also §506). See also **COR 100** (§469). For the Dioskouroi in a similar context see §307.

<sup>1192</sup> Those of Hektor (see **COR 57**), Helios (e.g. *Ov. Met.* 2. 153), Ares (*Q. Smyrn.* 8. 242), and Eos (*Serv. ad Aen.* 11. 90).

<sup>1193</sup> Polydeukes was a famous fighter, it is true, but with his fists not on his horse; therefore *Ἰπ(π)ομαχιδᾶς* does not fit him.

<sup>1194</sup> Amyx (p. 560) states: 'In fact, the five names on this vase appear to have been chosen at random, yielding no clue as to any possible relationship among them.'

*Klios* in Mysia, which curiously fits the character (*j*) *Φρύξ* on our vase. Here we may remember, first, that on COR 70 a woman named *Klavís*, i.e. ‘Woman of *Klios*’, is standing in a Trojan heroic context next to a horse called *Qóραξ*, while on our vase *Φρύξ* is sitting on a horse of that name. Secondly, on the François Vase (*ABV* 76. 1), in the part with the Kalydonian Boar-hunt, there is not only a figure called *Qóραχς* (a dog) but also several exotic archers (called *Εἰθθύμαχος*, *Κιμ(μ)έριος*, and *Τόχσαμυς*) with ‘Phrygian’ caps, and some of the labels show phonological features which seem to point to ‘Phrygian’-type languages (see Wachter (1991*b*), 93–5). Is all this mere coincidence, or does it—however vaguely—reflect some kind of historical or literary context (or both)?<sup>1199</sup>

#### §474. *Sporting scene(s)*

On a LC piece, COR 131, two boxers are shown, and the label (*b*) *πύκτα* (dual) refers to them both; the one who has the upper hand bears the label (*a*) *Φιδόκε*, the other one (*c*) *φεύγε*. The vase shows strong Attic influence (see ad loc.). Among the earlier pieces, some of the riding scenes (see §469) and perhaps the isolated scene of return (§472) may have to do with sport.

### Scenes of Festivity

#### §475. *Sacrificial processions*

The scene on the fragment COR 26 is usually and plausibly interpreted as a sacrificial procession.<sup>1200</sup> As Amyx (p. 563) says, ‘One would like to believe that these are real people, living at the time of the vase-painting.’ There comes to mind the parallel of the wooden pinax from Pitsà (COP App. 1*A*) and the Boiotian vases from the Kabirion with sacrificial processions (see BOI 8, BOI 20, and especially BOI 16, below); on some of these children are present—as is likely to be the case on our vase too.

The scene on BOI 16 needs some detailed discussion. Kern (1890) interpreted it as a depiction of an Orphic anthropogony myth closely linked to the mysteries in the Kabirion, with figures representing ‘the first man’ (on the vase this is in fact a boy (*c*) *Πρατόλαος*) and his mythical parents (a man (*a*) *Μίτος* and a woman (*b*) *Κράτεια*). This interpretation—with some variations—

soon became widely accepted.<sup>1201</sup> Lapalus (1935) modified it, suggesting a comic theatrical performance of a *hieros gamos* with grotesque masks that took place in the sanctuary.<sup>1202</sup> This was taken up by Wolters–Bruns (1940: 43) and Braun–Haevernick (1981: 62). Both interpretations take as the central point of the scene the fact that the woman has her face very close to the man’s, as if about to kiss him.

Kern’s theory of an Orphic background is based on a special meaning of the word *μίτος* (‘thread’) in *Orph.* fr. 33, where it is used for *σπέρμα*, which he took for the sexual force of the mythical first man’s father. Most recently Moret (1991: esp. 233) has tried to corroborate Kern’s theory, with the observation that on four vases from the Kabirion, Kirke is shown with her loom (one of the vases is our BOI 22, for which see §460; another is the reverse of our BOI 18). Yet this does not seem a strong argument to me: first, because of the very many Kabiran vases on which no allusion to weaving is made, secondly, and more specifically, because on BOI 16 no such scene was depicted (the fragment with (*f*) *Σατύ[ρα]* gives us some idea of the missing side).<sup>1203</sup> Moreover, in the Orphic fragment in question, *μίτος* is simply used in an allegorical way for ‘seed’, exactly as two other weaving terms are used for agricultural activities: *κερκίσι* ‘weaver’s shuttle’ (*καμπυλόχοισι* ‘with curved carriage’) is used for “*ἀρότροις*”, and *στήμοσι* ‘warp’ for “*αὔλαξι*”. But when it came to describing “*ὄμβρον*”, the poet quickly abandoned this imagery and switched over to something more obviously suggestive of moisture, which he found in *δάκρυα Διός*. All this part of the fragment is evidently from a context of farming, and the same is true for what follows: images of various kinds for times of the day and month, for the seasons, and for the right moment to sow. To conclude from this fragment that *μίτος* was an Orphic *terminus technicus* for (human!) *σπέρμα* seems to me to press the argument too far. Secondly, Kern held that *Κράτεια* expressed the notion of (human) female sexual force, which to my knowledge is true neither of *κράτος* nor of any of its derivatives (not even *Πασικράτεια*).<sup>1204</sup>

<sup>1201</sup> Though at first not everybody seems to have been convinced: in Roscher (1884–1937: ii. 2538) the scene is considered not a representation of the Kabiran cult but the spontaneous idea of a worshipper who was perhaps inclined to Orphism; Perrot–Chipiez (1914: 296) do not mention Kern’s theory at all. Independently of Kern (1890), as it seems, Reinach (1890: 344 f.) made a similar, although more cautious, allusion to *μίτος* in Orphic myth.

<sup>1202</sup> Moret (see below) refers to Bieber (1920), who does not, however, include this vase in her discussion of theatrical representations.

<sup>1203</sup> We should also take note of the fact that the scene on BOI 18 is centred not on Kirke with her loom, but on Odysseus.

<sup>1204</sup> O. Kern, *RE* x (1919), 1441. 23 ff., puts much weight on G. Kaibel’s linking of Alexis’ comedy *Κράτεια ἢ Φαρμακοπώλης* with Orphism (pp. 98 f. of the same vol. of *Hermes* as Kern (1890)), using it as evidence in favour of his theory. This, however, is circular, since Kaibel’s theory had been based on this vase. In fact Kaibel says: ‘Cratae sane quanam in fabula partes fuerint, dici non potest’; there is no indication of anthropogony. Kern’s claim (17 ff.) that ‘der Einfluß orphischer Lehre . . . auf einem Vasenbilde attischer Herkunft nicht auffallend sein kann . . .’, cannot enforce this link with Alexis either, since its presupposition is wrong. The form of the bowl (which is typical of Kabiran ware), the bf. technique, and the form *Πρατόλαος* prove that the vase is Boiotian, not Attic. (*Κράτεια*, too, is fully acceptable for Boiotian, see e.g. from Thespieae (soon after 424, *LSAG* 95. 19a) *DGE* 478 (C) 8 *Σαυκράτῆς*, (D) 2 *Ἀνφικράτῆς* alongside 5 *Πολύστροτος*, (E) 2 and (F) 6 *Ἐπικράτῆς* alongside (E) 8 *Καλλίστροτος*, (H) 4 *Δεικράτῆς* and 9 *Ἀριστοκράτῆς* (also *DGE* 479. 1).)

<sup>1199</sup> See §472 (with n. 1198) on the possible background of what seems to be a scene of return, and §506 on some departure scenes with literary features. *Φρύξ* is also attested as the last name among Aineta’s admirers on the slightly older vase COR 18, i.e. it is used of a contemporary Corinthian. Was he the same character as the one shown here (see §241)?

<sup>1200</sup> Milne (1942*b*: 222) thought that name (*a*), which she restored to *Κα(λ)ιόπα*, might designate a hetaira in a procession for Aphrodite, referring to Ath. 13. 573c–e. Amyx (p. 563) duly doubts this specification (for women carrying trays with food on their heads see Jucker (1963), 53 with bibl.). Indeed, Milne’s argument in favour of a hetaira, on the basis that names in *-όπη* are rare in archaic times (which may be true) because they suggested a dubious reputation, seems circular to me. In addition, the mythical character named *Καλλιόπη*, i.e. ‘woman with a beautiful voice’ (see ad COR 24*A*c), is not precisely a loose character. Finally, Milne’s restoration of our name is not certain; we may also suppose e.g. \**Καλλιόμ[φᾶ]*, \**Καλλιώτ[ᾶ]*, \**Καλλιόρ[γᾶ]*, \**Καλλιόχ[ᾶ]*.

Thirdly, he interpreted *Πρατόλαος* as ‘the first man’, but no Greek would ever have understood the name in this way,<sup>1205</sup> nor as ‘littéralement le Premier Peuple’ (Moret). The real meaning of this compound name is ‘the first amongst his people’, or better ‘the first in the army’<sup>1206</sup> (occasionally perhaps ‘the one with the first people/army’). Finally, Kern’s Orphic connection for (e) *Kabiros* and (d) *Pais* also seems far-fetched.<sup>1207</sup>

Any reasonable attempt to interpret this scene must (1) start from the other vases with similar scenes, (2) try to find plausible interpretations of the labels, and (3) take into consideration the fact that only part of the picture is preserved. There are but two other vases where *Kabiros* is shown within a broader context. Both show a sacrificial procession to him and bear no inscriptions. One is a big vase (Athens, Nat. Mus. 10466)<sup>1208</sup> on which a boy, a man, and a woman, carrying gifts such as a vase like that on which the scene is painted, are approaching a seated *Kabiros* (next to whom a bull is standing), while another figure, probably an old woman, her chiton pulled over her head, seems to be left behind. Of the other vase, only three fragments are preserved.<sup>1209</sup> The first shows a boy walking to the right with a bull behind him, the second a hand stretched out to the left and holding a kantharos (surely *Kabiros*), and the third a section of the body and head of a seated man facing left (probably *Kabiros* again). It is highly likely that this vase also shows a sacrificial procession.<sup>1210</sup> And there are examples of such processions from Corinth too (see above on the vase COR 26 and the wooden pinax COP App. 1A from Pitsà, also with children; and see below).

As for the labels of *Mitos*, *Krateia*, and *Pratolaos*, it is safer to assign them to humans. We may think of a family who ordered a particularly beautiful vase as a gift for *Kabiros* and *Pais*, and had not only a procession scene but also their names—as labels to the figures—painted on it. This of course was the interpretation of the scene given by its first editor, Winnefeld (1888: 421), who knew and compared the above-mentioned vase Athens 10466. Names of worshippers (which in such cases we should call donors) frequently appear on vases. The dedicatory inscriptions are often incised,<sup>1211</sup> which was quicker (and probably cheaper), but we have

a painted example too from the Kabirion, viz. BOI 20. On the neck of this big vase (showing the remains of an offering-procession including a bull) a square field was reserved specifically for the insertion of such an inscription;<sup>1212</sup> and there are several other probable examples (BOI 25–9). It seems reasonable to assume that one could go into a shop, choose a beautiful vase partly or fully painted and ready for firing, make some special request for a painted inscription, and collect the whole on the following day. Or else we could argue that such painted dedicatory inscriptions might be by, and in the name of, the potters themselves (see §302).

In considering the names themselves, we may note that *Κράτεια* is a very common one (fem. form of the hypocoristic name *Κράτης*),<sup>1213</sup> and so is *Πρατόλαος*.<sup>1214</sup> Only *Μίτος* is unattested elsewhere as far as I know (as is not infrequently the case with Boiotian names), but there is the feminine counterpart *Μίτα* from Boiotian Orchomenos.<sup>1215</sup> Another example of the last name, *Σατύρα*, is later attested at the Kabirion itself.<sup>1216</sup>

The wearing of grotesque masks by some of the participants in such processions would not be unusual.<sup>1217</sup> As for the physical closeness of *Mitos* and *Krateia*, why should they not kiss each other (to the joy of little *Pratolaos*) in an orgiastic procession where a great deal of wine must have been involved?

Of course there could still have been some kind of theatrical performances in this sanctuary at the period in question. The strongest indications are probably the vases with *Odysseus* on the raft (BOI 18, see §461) and the *Kadmos* vase, where the local hero of Thebes falls over backwards in terror at the dragon instead of fighting it bravely.<sup>1218</sup> If so, it would seem that such performances were about mythological subjects.

There are several features of the Kabiran cult at Thebes that are reminiscent of the Athenian festival of the *Anthesteria*<sup>1219</sup> as well as of pubertal initiation.<sup>1220</sup> Perhaps the most conspicuous finds are the numerous toys dedicated in the Kabirion, e.g. peg-tops,<sup>1221</sup>

<sup>1205</sup> No support comes from Braun–Haevernick (1981), 6 n. 43: LSJ do not give ‘man, soldier’ as the meaning of *λαός*, but ‘men, soldiers’!

<sup>1206</sup> As e.g. *Ἀγαθός*, *Ἀμεινός*, *Ἀριστός*, *Δεινός*, *Καλλίστος* + *-λαός* (all in Bechtel, pp. 281 ff.), or *Πρωταγόρας* and *Πρωτό-* + *-δημος*, *-λοχος* (ibid. 386 f.).

<sup>1207</sup> He compares them with *Phanes*, who—as the representative of an older generation—was swallowed by *Zeus*, and *Dionysos*, to whom his father *Zeus* gave power over the gods. This is hardly suitable for a cult where *Kabiros* is obviously imagined to exist together with *Pais*.

<sup>1208</sup> Wolters–Bruns (1940), 96 f., no. K. 2, drs. pls. 6 f. = Braun–Haevernick (1981), 62, cat. no. 297.

<sup>1209</sup> Braun–Haevernick (1981) plausibly claim that they are from one and the same piece (see pp. 12 and 40, frs. 40, 39, 38, phs. pl. 2. 7, 9, 12). The style appears to be very similar to that of our inscribed vase.

<sup>1210</sup> See also our fr. BOI 20, on which the back of a bull is visible, probably from a similar procession scene; see below.

<sup>1211</sup> From the Kabirion e.g. *IG* vii. 3968 (Wolters–Bruns (1940), 45, no. 61), 3967 (= p. 45, no. 62), 3956 (= p. 47, no. 82), 3962 (= p. 47, no. 83), 3963 (= p. 47, no. 84), 3961 (= p. 48, no. 86), 3958 (= p. 48, no. 87), 3965 (= p. 48, no. 88), 3960 (= p. 48, no. 90), 3964 (= p. 48, no. 91); these are only some of the examples with *Καβίρων* and *ἀνέθεκε*.

<sup>1212</sup> See Perrot–Chipiez (1914: 296), who in view of this vase argue for local potters’ workshops.

<sup>1213</sup> Examples in Fraser–Matthews and Pape–Benseler.

<sup>1214</sup> Or of course *Πρατόλας*, *Πρωτόλαος* and *-λεως*. Examples in Bechtel, p. 284; *SGDI* 4440. 4, 5, 11, and 4444. 25; Fraser–Matthews.

<sup>1215</sup> *IG* vii. 3214, recalled by Kern (*RE* x. 1441. 15 f.); masc. names that may be from the same stem are listed in Bechtel, p. 608.

<sup>1216</sup> *DGE* 474. 17/18 (= Wolters–Bruns (1940), 21–6, no. 2, late 3rd cent.), perhaps also *IG* vii. 3670 (= Wolters–Bruns (1940), 62, no. 224). More examples of this name, as well as of masc. *Σάτυρος* and its derivatives, in Fraser–Matthews. See also the Athenian oligarch *Satyros* (late 5th cent.), *Xen. Hell.* 2. 3. 54–6.

<sup>1217</sup> See Braun–Haevernick (1981), 25, e.g. the *mystai* (with twigs in their hair) on pl. 1. 5 and 10.

<sup>1218</sup> See Bieber (1920), 153 f.; (1961), 48 f. with ph. fig. 207; Wolters–Bruns (1940), 100, no. K. 22, dr. pl. 27. 1 = Braun–Haevernick (1981), 64, cat. no. 356. See also Schmaltz (1974: 123 f.) on contemporary Kabiran terracotta figurines, and pp. 126–35 on small terracotta masks.

<sup>1219</sup> This is stressed by Burkert (1985), 282 with n. 16.

<sup>1220</sup> Burkert (1985), 281, and 70 with n. 30.

<sup>1221</sup> See *DGE* 474. 21/22 = Wolters–Bruns (1940), 21–6, no. 2, where a whole play-set is recorded with four dice and a peg-top with the whip. For the finds see Wolters–Bruns (1940), 112–14; Braun–Haevernick (1981), 36 f., 61, cat. no. 280. 2, ph. pl. 19. 4, etc.



glass pearls in quantities hitherto unknown, a yo-yo, little bells,<sup>1222</sup> and, possibly to be included in the same category, the many miniature bulls and other bronze objects<sup>1223</sup> (see also §307 on ETR 3). Two other pieces of evidence suggest that children were involved. (1) There is the Pais, who played an important role in this cult. (2) On the vase Athens 10466 mentioned above it is a boy that leads the procession and is closest to Kabiros; the same is true for a procession towards (or, eventually, past?) a Herm on another vase,<sup>1224</sup> presumably for the above-mentioned fragmentary vase (see n. 1209) with a boy walking in front of a bull, and is indeed the case on our vase. (We may also compare COP App. 1A where the smallest boy, at the head of the procession, is leading the sacrificial lamb, preceded only by a woman (the priestess?), who carries the utensils on a tray on her head and is pouring a libation.) If children took part in the Kabiran cult, in which wine-drinking must have been an important point,<sup>1225</sup> they would have been particularly pleased by the grotesque and humorous figures on the drinking vessels, for instance poor little Achilles being brought to his new teacher by his father,<sup>1226</sup> Kadmos being terrified by the dragon (see above), or Odysseus having stolen Poseidon's trident (BOI 18); they certainly would be nowadays. As for the bulls, which, in addition to wine, must have played an important part in this family-centred cult, we may imagine them to have been the contribution of wealthy individuals for the festival.<sup>1227</sup>

I would also draw attention to the similarity with which Kabiros is represented on all the six vases that show him with certainty.<sup>1228</sup> They differ only in that Kabiros sometimes has a wreath on his head and sometimes does not, and now holds a kantharos, now a drinking-horn in his right hand. In only one of these representations does he hold the vessel close to his mouth, seemingly about to drink from it. In the others he holds it away from him, as if waiting for it to be refilled or offering it to someone;<sup>1229</sup> but

only on our vase is the Pais there to refill it. On the big vase in Athens, where it is a bull that stands next to Kabiros, the situation looks very odd. Should we not assume that these representations refer to the actual cult statue in the sanctuary, towards or past which the processions filed and which of course could be equipped and adorned in various different ways? That the statue was probably seated was suggested by W. Doerpfeld,<sup>1230</sup> in view of the long rectangular base (1.2 × 4 m.) found in the temple. This interpretation would also make better sense for the processions of humans shown together with the god in one and the same painting—as is the case with the vase Athens 10466, with the fragmentary one, and (in my view) with ours. As for the Pais, could it be that he was not a god at all (παῖς need not mean 'son') but some sort of child-priest or a child in temple service,<sup>1231</sup> no doubt highly honoured?<sup>1232</sup>

#### §476. *Wedding scenes*

Two labelled non-heroic wedding scenes are preserved on Corinthian vases: **COR 71** and **COR 81A**. On **COR 71** such unimaginative labels as 'friends' (φίλοι) and 'horses' (ἵπποι) occur together with a throwaway name and an incomplete and very dull name for the bridegroom (see §237). Only one label is interesting, though probably no more imaginative than the others: *ho lōiws* 'the good (boy)' (?), see ad loc. For **COR 81A**, Arena (p. 119) suggested a scene from the *Iliad*, where in g. 667 a certain Iphis is a concubine of Patroklos. The horse-name Xanthos would suit such an interpretation, but it is anyway a widespread and often stereotyped horse-name in Corinthian (see §244). Lorber (p. 84 with n. 539) notes the similarity between the woman holding the necklace and the representation of Eriphyle on the Amphiaraios krater (**COR 66**). Amyx (p. 578 f.) notes that Hippomedon 'is the name of one of the Seven Against Thebes (hardly apt here)'. If the scene is a wedding scene, as is strongly suggested by the man and woman in the chariot, the necklace held by one of the women may simply represent a gift to the bride. At any rate, no mythological connection puts itself forward.

Both vase-paintings contrast unfavourably with what we might normally expect for wedding festivities, i.e. an ambience of poetry, music, and dance (see Hes. *Scut.* 272 ff., Sappho fr. 44 L-P).

#### §477. *Conversation scene*

Men and women bearing throwaway names (§237) are shown standing around and chatting together on **CHA 18**.

#### §478. *Banquet scene*

Only one labelled banquet scene in a non-heroic setting is preserved, viz. **COR 92** (along with a riding scene). For the

<sup>1222</sup> Glass pearls: Wolters-Bruns (1940), 97, 99–110. Yo-yo: Wolters-Bruns (1940), 84, drs. pl. 24. 1–3. Bells made of clay: Braun-Haevernick (1981), 34–6, 61, cat. nos. 283 f., phs. pl. 19. 5, 9, 10; made of bronze: Wolters-Bruns (1940), 41, no. 49, with dedicatory inscr. to Kabiros and Pais.

<sup>1223</sup> The objects with inscs. are listed in Wolters-Bruns (1940), 36–43, nos. 17–52. All are bulls except nos. 26 (statuette of a discobolos), 45 (stilus), 46 (small wheel), 49 (bell, listed above). See also Schmaltz (1980), where many more bulls (mostly uninscribed) are recorded.

<sup>1224</sup> Wolters-Bruns (1940), 101, no. K. 25, dr. pl. 33. 2 = Braun-Haevernick (1981), 62, cat. no. 290; perhaps also on Wolters-Bruns (1940), 101, no. K. 26, with fig. 4 and phs. pl. 51. 5–6 = Braun-Haevernick (1981), 66, cat. no. 389.

<sup>1225</sup> See Burkert (1985: 237) on children taking part in wine-drinking on the second day of the Anthesteria.

<sup>1226</sup> Braun-Haevernick (1981), 67, cat. no. 399, ph. pl. 23. 4. For this subject in connection with initiation see also §307.

<sup>1227</sup> See Burkert (1972), 10.

<sup>1228</sup> These are the one treated here (BOI 16), the two mentioned above (Athens 10466, almost completely preserved, and the fragmentary one (see n. 1209)), and three more on which just Kabiros is preserved: Wolters-Bruns (1940), 97, no. K. 3, dr. pl. 8. 1; *ibid.*, p. 97, no. K. 4, ph. pl. 50. 7; *ibid.*, p. 66, no. 264 (our BOI 25, *rf.*).

<sup>1229</sup> Most of the terracotta figurines of seated and bearded men found at the Kabirion hold their vessel in a steady l. hand which leaves the r. one free for gesticulating. These figurines represent a standard type of drinker at a symposium. They were probably simply considered ideal gifts for Kabiros without being specific representations of him (Schmaltz (1974), 90–8).

<sup>1230</sup> *apud* Wolters-Bruns (1940), 14 (bottom).

<sup>1231</sup> See Burkert (1985), 98 with nn. 35–41.

<sup>1232</sup> That he received gifts would not be an obstacle to this assumption: see Burkert (1985: 96 f.) for gifts being given to priests. Only very few gifts with dedicatory inscs. are exclusively for him and not for Kabiros too.

interpretation of the women (a)  $\Delta\sigma\rho\acute{o}\iota$ , (d)  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\tilde{\iota}\nu\acute{o}\iota$ , and (f)  $\text{Ἐρατῶν}$  as hetairai see Lorber (pp. 76 f. with nn. 477 and 485; pp. 23 f. n. 130). This indeed seems likely from their names as well as from the context of the scene. The names of the men (b)  $[\Xi]\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tilde{\nu}$  (?), (c)  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , (e)  $H(\epsilon)\rho\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ , and (g)  $\Sigma\phi\acute{o}\rho\tau\omega\varsigma$  are not of the throwaway type either (unlike those on the reverse of the vase (§237)). Both men and women on this vase may therefore be contemporaries (see §243).

See also §472 for a scene which may have been followed by a banquet.

#### §479. *Dancing scenes*

Four or five non-heroic Corinthian dancing scenes bear labels: **COR 17**, **COR 19** (along with Herakles and the Hydra), **COR 105** (along with a non-heroic riding scene), **COR 110**, and probably the unpublished vase mentioned in the introduction to Pt. I. 5 above (COR). A different type of dancing scene, connected with a labelled scene probably from everyday life, is shown on **COR 40** (for which see §480). COR 96A has been taken for a dancing scene too, but a heroic setting seems more likely to me (see §433).

**COR 17** shows a flute-player, labelled Polyterpos, and a dancer leaping high and followed by a group of other dancers; he bears the label 'Pyrrhias the leading dancer', completed to a hexameter by 'whose vase (this is)'. To judge from the place it was found, the vase was finally dedicated to Apollon. Originally, a third party probably had it made for Pyrrhias. The form and function of the vase, an aryballos, and the youthful appearance of the boy or young man Pyrrhias also suggest that the vase was given to him as a love-gift (see ad loc. n. 174 and §472). For the kind of dance see Petersmann (1991), 76 n. 8 (the name of our leading dancer, moreover, evokes  $\pi\upsilon\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\eta$ , *ibid.* 81).

On **COR 19**, alongside Herakles' struggle with the Hydra,<sup>1233</sup> we see a merry dance involving five padded men,<sup>1234</sup> one of whom is plunging his hand into a large dinos (presumably dipping in a cup to get himself a drink). Their names,  $\Lambda\acute{o}\rho\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\Phi\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\Pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\chi\nu\iota\omega\varsigma$ ,  $Q\acute{o}\mu\iota\omega\varsigma$ , and  $[\cdot]\acute{o}\xi\iota\omega\varsigma$  are from the appropriate sphere: 'the man who throws back his head [when drinking]' (i.e. 'toss-pot'), 'pleasure-giver', 'joyful dancer', 'merry reveller'; the last is not clear. I do not think the two scenes on this vase are related (see §480 n. 1249).

**COR 105** shows a dance of padded men and nude women. Their names are not all clearly legible: first come two men,  $\Sigma\cdot\varphi\omega\varsigma$  and  $M\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ , then a woman  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\tilde{\alpha}$  and a man  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\tilde{o}\nu$ , next a man  $F\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$  and a woman  $K[a]\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  (?), and finally two men,  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\tilde{o}\nu$  and  $M\acute{\upsilon}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$  (the riders' names on the other side of the vase are  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , probably  $F\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$  again, and  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\tilde{o}\nu$ ). Webster (1961: 455)

finds that the vase has daemonic character because nude women, according to him, are Maenads. Amyx's view, on the other hand, is the following (p. 585): 'Although on the Chalcidian vases the subject represented is a bacchic thiasos, the dancers on the Corinthian vase are purely human [referring to his pp. 651 f., see also pp. 620 f.], and, contrary to a once-held but long-abandoned belief, the Corinthian is earlier than the Chalcidian vases. It is also of some interest that this is the only inscribed one of several Corinthian vases with representations of padded men and nude women dancing.' (The last statement is now out of date, see below, on COR 110.) Amyx goes on to say (p. 586): 'The fact that some of these names are given to satyrs and maenads on two Chalcidian vases [our CHA 1 and CHA 14, where, according to our reading, we may compare less than Amyx thought, viz.  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\varsigma$  and  $M\upsilon\rho\acute{o}$  only] can only mean that the antecedent Corinthian revel (the priority is crucial) provided the Chalcidian Inscriptions Painter with names to apply to his satyrs and maenads. It does not make satyrs and bacchantes of the Corinthian dancers.' The throwaway names (§237) on our vase, the combination with one of the unpretentious riding scenes (see §469), and the non-heroic women's names on COR 110 (see below) do not indeed suggest a heroic setting. Nevertheless, I would stress that  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\varsigma$ , which is very widespread as a Satyr-name (see ad CHA 1k), occurs on COR 118 (a Satyr with Dionysos), and is reflected on the vase under discussion (COR 105), where the woman  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\tilde{\alpha}$  (whose name is also used of a Maenad on an Attic vase, see ad loc.) appears alongside padded dancers; and there is perhaps another occurrence on COR 110, where a dancer is probably labelled  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\varsigma$ . It seems likely, therefore, that in contemporary Corinth padded dancers and Satyrs were in some way seen to belong to a similar context, perhaps because of a crossing of different traditions.

Also, the fragments of **COR 110** show a non-heroic dance involving padded men and—not so far noticed—nude women. One man is probably labelled  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\varsigma$ . One woman bears the name  $\text{Ἐρατῶν}$ , which is not unexpected for such a dancer, or—if we argue the other way round—is an unequivocal indication of the erotic character of these Corinthian dancing scenes. Her name is also attested for a hetaira in a non-heroic banquet scene, COR 92f. The other woman preserved is  $\Pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tilde{\alpha}$ . Is this euphemistic? Or a joke? Or should it be, or evoke,  $*\Pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  (to be compared with  $\text{Ἐρατῶν}$ )? A similar euphemism may be seen in the dancer's name  $T\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{o}\iota$  on the unpublished vase mentioned in the introduction to Pt. I. 5 above (COR). The scene on COR 110 can therefore hardly be called heroic (see above, on COR 105).

### Everyday and Working Scenes

#### §480. *Everyday scenes*

I group together here some heterogeneous scenes from everyday life. On **BOI 10** we find women occupied with domestic activities like washing their hair, spinning, and grinding. **BOI 11A** and

<sup>1233</sup> Stoessl (1987: 104) claims that the dancers are singing of the Hydra adventure. How can he claim this while denying an analogous connection in the case of COR 40 (see n. 1249)?

<sup>1234</sup> Stoessl (1987: 104) identifies them with Satyrs. This is very dubious. Burkert (1972: 82 f. with n. 51) has pointed out that the padded belly and buttocks give these dancers a strong female touch whereas the ithyphallic Satyrs are clearly male.

**11B** show cock-fights. On **COR 52**, an aryballos (see §472), we see, in a grotesque scene (probably with a touch of the erotic), a man, a donkey, and a woman. **COR 40**, a much-discussed vase, shows two men carrying a krater of wine. Finally, on each side of **ETR 3** is a depiction of a man and a dog (see §307).

Only **COR 40** needs a few words here. The discussion about the meaning of the scene (or scenes) on this vase is unlikely ever to come to an end. The best, most thorough, and most cautious discussion is that of Hampe (1975).<sup>1235</sup> The main suggestions as to how the scene(s) on this vase should be interpreted are the following. (1) Daemons.<sup>1236</sup> (2) Scene from a farce: slaves as wine thieves, detected, and—on the other side of the vase—punished.<sup>1237</sup> (3) Slaves in a potter's shop carrying a krater, and being punished for some unknown reason.<sup>1238</sup>

The following conclusions seem sound to me. (1) The assignment of the inscriptions to the figures is as I give it (see ad loc.; they obey the starting-point principle, see §104).<sup>1239</sup> (2) The fact that one of the two men carrying the krater<sup>1240</sup> looks back at the musician and dancer is meant to indicate that the two scenes on this side of the vase are closely related to each other (as most scholars agree<sup>1241</sup>). (3) Since the two men are being physically punished, or at least threatened by the overseer with his rods,<sup>1242</sup> they can—as Fränkel (1912b: 105) pointed out—hardly be daemons but are likely to be slaves.<sup>1243</sup> (4) The fact that the krater

is being carried by two men means that it is full of wine, which makes Greifenhagen's potter's-shop hypothesis (1929: 102 n. 128) less likely than the wine-stealing one. The presence of wine is plausible in view of the merry dance.<sup>1244</sup> (5) The main characters on this side of the vase are the two men carrying the krater and the one who threatens them with his rods, i.e. the labelled figures, whereas the unnamed musicians are less important. (6) The long phallos of the overseer does not necessarily mean a non-human scene, since there are other cases like this in Corinthian vase-painting.<sup>1245</sup> I suppose a long phallos could also have been added to make fun of the overseer (a vase-painter may also have worked under the eye of such men).

It has often been assumed that there is a connection between the scenes on the two sides of the krater. This seems possible to me, but by no means as certain as some have thought,<sup>1246</sup> for it is not evident that the two men on the second side are identical with the 'wine-stealers'.<sup>1247</sup> Nor is the fact that kraters play a role on both sides a strong argument (first claimed as such by Fränkel (1912b)) for a connection between the two sides; it has rightly been stressed that wine is not stored in kraters, i.e. the six kraters in the cellar must be empty, whereas the one carried by the two men on the inscribed side is likely to be full.

It is a fact (stressed by Breitholtz (1960), esp. 180 f.) that we have no certain record of a scenic theatre production with one player, let alone several players, in a Doric setting at such an early date as this. Also Webster's (1961: 456) interpretation of the scene as merely illustrating whatever episode the diaulos-player and the padded dancer<sup>1248</sup> are performing (which presupposes different layers of reality and fiction in the painting) is most unlikely, as Hampe (1975: 95 f.) has said; the main argument against Webster's view is precisely the fact that the men with the krater are watching the flute-player and the dancer (see above with n. 1241).<sup>1249</sup>

Like most others, I have no doubt that the dancing and wine-carrying scenes on the first side are on the same level of reality and directly connected. If we accept this, we should, however, be clear about one point: we have not the slightest hint in favour of the view that what is painted on our vase was the subject of some theatrical play. The vase just tells us that there were three

<sup>1235</sup> His aim is 'die Interpretation dieses vielgeplagten Denkmals der korinthischen Kunst auf ein dem Stand der Forschung entsprechendes Maß zurückzuführen'. Some of his own ideas, however, seem implausible to me (see below). For other brief discussions see especially Fränkel (1912b), Bouzek (1963), and Lorber (pp. 38–40; his arguments were in fact known to Hampe).

<sup>1236</sup> Körte (1893: 90 ff.) and his followers, in recent times Webster (1961: 455 f.), Arena (1966: 477 ff.), Simon (1972: 42 f.), Zwierlein-Diehl (1975: 67–9). Brommer (1937: 20 f.) suggested Satyrs.

<sup>1237</sup> Mainly Fränkel (1912b: 100 ff.) and Payne (1931: 122). Trendall–Webster (1971: 19) refer to Epich. fr. 148 CGF. The following literary parallels of burlesque plays have also been compared: Sosib. *apud* Ath. 14. 621d; Epich. fr. 42 CGF; Pollux 4. 104 f. As these pre-theatrical performances seem to be locally based (Sosib. and Poll. speak about Lakonia, Epich. was active in Syracuse, an 8th-cent. colony of Corinth), how far back do we have to assume they go? One may also compare the report of clandestine wine-drinking in the cellar in Plaut. *Mil.* 818–62.

<sup>1238</sup> Greifenhagen (1929: 102 n. 128), Breitholtz (1960: esp. 178 ff.), Bouzek (1963). For a similar scene of punishment Greifenhagen pointed to our BOI 19.

<sup>1239</sup> Correct Dümmler (1885); after him all three names were wrongly attributed by Körte and his followers; in recent years correct also Webster, Bouzek, Arena, Lorber, Hampe (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>1240</sup> Hampe (1975: 96) is incorrect to argue that this is not a krater but some other, slimmer type of vessel. It is just partly covered by Eunos' figure.

<sup>1241</sup> The parallel adduced by Trendall–Webster (1971: 19) in support of their view that the padded dancers are 'detached from the rest of the scene' is not convincing. Stoessl (1987: 92), too, denies this connection, but his explanation, 'Da er rückwärts geht, hat er seinen Kopf rückwärts gedreht, nicht um die Gruppe des "Silens" zu sehen, sondern um seinen Weg zu überblicken', is no more plausible. For if we assume that the men with the krater want to make their way to precisely the spot where the flute-player and the bearded and padded dancer are performing, should we not then propose an even closer connection between the two scenes?

<sup>1242</sup> Hampe (1975: 97) suggests that the overseer's rods are for measuring oil, and that he is only pointing out to the men where to put down the krater because he fears they might be about to start dancing and could drop it. This is implausible.

<sup>1243</sup> Webster (1961: 455) objects that we do not know what Corinthian slave-names were like at the time. But do we know any more about names of daemons?

<sup>1244</sup> One has often thought of the *κόρδαξ*, known from Attic Old Comedy.

<sup>1245</sup> Greifenhagen (1929: 102 n. 128) pointed out a miner on a Corinthian pinax, Berlin F 871 (*AntDenkm* i, no. 8. 7; uninscribed), probably a slave.

<sup>1246</sup> Here, Stoessl's critical view concerning a connection between the scenes (see n. 1241 above) seems more justified.

<sup>1247</sup> It has long been remarked that they are not as similar to the latter as is often assumed: neither of them has a beard, the one lying on the ground wears a chiton, and the full hanging breast of the one who is standing can here be explained by the horizontal position of the upper part of his body. The fact that they are not named is of course not sufficient as an argument for their identity.

<sup>1248</sup> According to Pottier (1897: 55) the dancer wears a mask, which is possible but not certain (Stoessl (1987: 91) takes it for granted).

<sup>1249</sup> Stoessl's view (1987) on this point is in sharp contrast to his view on **COR 19** (see §§411, 479). Whereas here (p. 94) he postulates three episodes in a series of short theatrical sketches, i.e. three actions on the same performative level, he does not hesitate to connect the two scenes on **COR 19**: 'ein . . . Chor von dickbauchgestalteten Satyrn . . . erzählt . . . das Hydraabenteuer des Herakles.'

events: some festivity with music and dance, some wine-carrying under the eyes of an overseer, and—as I would prefer to assume—the punishing of two men in a cellar. These three episodes may be connected thus: during a feast (indicated by the musician and dancer), where no doubt a lot of wine was provided, two slaves stole a krater of wine and were detected by their superior. They were punished by being locked in a dungeon-like room, where the kraters (including the stolen one) were stored after the festivities.<sup>1250</sup> This may of course have been the subject of a popular literary piece; it may also have been a real event that was the talk of the town; or it may have been both: first the latter, then the former. We shall probably never know.

The three names, as has long been acknowledged, do not add much to the understanding of the pictures. The meaning of *Ὀφέλανδρος* is clear: ‘useful to men’. For an overseer of slaves the name sounds somewhat grand, although its meaning would suit his actual function well. I fancy the idea that the vase-painter chose this name ironically, in the same spirit as the long phallos that he gave to the figure. He may have chosen it as a nickname, or because he did not know the real name of the thief-catcher. The names of the two ‘heroes’, *Ὀμριφός* and *Εὐνός*, could even so be real ones. Their etymology is unclear (see the discussion ad loc.) and cannot tell us anything which might clarify the meaning of the whole scene.

Although no firm decision about the character of the scene(s) is possible from the names, we may still add that at least the names of the ‘thieves’ are neither mythical, nor throwaway or horsey names, nor, apparently, ‘speaking’ names (see §§237–9). In other words, they are most likely to have been taken from

everyday life (see §243); hence I tend to prefer the interpretation, suggested above, of a funny event in town.

#### §481. *Working scenes*

A few labelled working scenes, mostly including kilns, are preserved on the pinakes from Penteskouphia, which were mostly dedicated to Poseidon (and Amphitrite). **COP 81** shows a man (his name is lost) working at a kiln, labelled *κάμινος*. Likewise, on **COP 63** there is a kiln probably labelled *κάμ[ινος?]*, with a man *Λόκρως* working at it. On **COP 64**, where part of a kiln is visible, a (lost) man will have had the label *Δέρως* or *Δέρως*. On **COP 65** one side shows a man *Ὀνύμων* chopping wood, the other a man *Σόρδως* working at a kiln (no doubt firing it with the wood chopped by his colleague). On **COP 66** a man working at a kiln is named *Στέπων*. On **COP 62** two men walking to the right (towards a kiln?) are labelled *Φύσφοδν* and *[Ἀ]ρνέσιος*. In some cases it is less certain that the names are labels to workers, namely on **COP 23** (with a kiln scene on one side), **COP 34** (with a man holding an instrument), **COP 52** (perhaps with a kiln), and **COP 82** (a name?; a kiln scene?). In view of these and many other kiln scenes on these pinakes (see §302), I have no doubt that the names given as labels to workmen are in general the names of donors of the respective tablets—just like the names contained in the frequent dedicatory inscriptions (see, again, §302).

An unusual working scene is shown on **LAK 3**, King Arkesilas of Kyrene being present.

#### Unidentified Scenes of Unclear Sphere

##### §482. *Unidentified scenes of unclear sphere*

Owing to their fragmentary state of preservation, a number of labelled scenes cannot be identified: **BOI 24**, **COR 39**, **COR 42**, **COR 129**, **LAK 1**, **IOD 3**, **NAU 1Eb**; also **COP 67**, where it is not certain that the inscription is a label.

<sup>1250</sup> Hampe (1975: 95) imagines two separate localities, the treasury from which the two stole a precious metal krater, and the prison. This is not an easy assumption, since the scene with the six kraters (treasury) and the two men undergoing punishment (prison) is undivided. It is unnecessary too; for the material of which the kraters are made is probably not an important point (a clay vessel such as the krater on which our scenes are painted seems a priori more likely); more important is the contents.

## CHAPTER 5

# Literary Language

### GENERAL PROBLEMS

#### §501. Possible kinds of reflections of literary language

Truly individualized scenes are rare on vases, particularly on the Corinthian ones, which form the greater part of this study. The generally stereotyped character of the paintings and the frequency of scenes related to war is no doubt part of the reason for the comparatively frequent occurrence, if we have labels of heroic characters, of scenes from the Trojan War, and for the almost complete lack of subjects from, for instance, the *Odyssey*. Even rarer among the vases with mythical scenes, or at least heroic labelling, are the cases where we can adduce any positive arguments to indicate a poetic work, for example the *Iliad*, as the inspiring source for the vase-painter. Hitherto, as mentioned in the Introduction, scholars have tried to establish such links to literature using iconographical arguments (notably Friis Johansen (1967)). Arguments of this kind are normally not strong enough, however, since the vase-painters—as has been rightly objected—may have known those popular tales from simple story-telling (but see §509). It seemed worth while therefore to look for reflections of *literary language* in our vase inscriptions, since these would provide much more reliable hints of a literary background.

If we want to establish such reflections we must ask what model is most likely for which topic. In the seventh and most of the sixth century we should mainly expect the language of epic, or perhaps that of choral lyric, for heroic topics. Only in the late sixth and the fifth centuries may drama be considered too. Literary prose, on the other hand, seems an unlikely source in the period with which we are concerned, and even where it existed, we would hardly be able to distinguish its reflections from *ad hoc* prose, since prose was mainly written in the epichoric language.

For epic poetry the question is: In which dialect should we expect it to be? First, we may expect the Homeric poems to have been in the East Ionic dialect if performed by an Ionian rhapsode in any part of the Greek world. But it is not a priori impossible that a Dorian would ‘translate’ the *Iliad* or some other East Greek epic poem into local Doric if he had to perform it, say, for a Corinthian public (see §504 on COR 82 and CHA 3A).<sup>1251</sup>

<sup>1251</sup> When people from the Zurich region sing a Bernese folk-song, all forms which are metrically equivalent in both dialects are ‘translated’, except end-rhymes and words that are obsolete in the Zurich dialect; also excepted, in part, are characteristic words, names, or short passages (e.g. the beginning of a song).

Secondly, it seems likely that non-Ionic language could be used in epic poems composed by non-Ionians for a non-Ionian audience. An example may be Eumelus at Corinth, although his epic fragments have come down to us in Ionic.<sup>1252</sup> Indeed, there are direct indications of epic poetry in non-Ionic dialect, namely in inscriptions, notably CEG 326 and 334 from Boiotia, and CEG 143–6 from Kerkyra (for which see §§505–7); also those from the Chest of Kypselos (see §425), transmitted partly in Doric by Pausanias (5. 17. 5 ff.).

Whenever we come across non-epichoric forms on our vases, we must therefore consider whether features of Ionic dialect could be explained as reflections of Ionic literature, and features of non-Ionic dialect as reflections of non-Ionic literature. As we know so little about the literature of the archaic period, particularly in non-Ionic dialects, we may, however, turn the argument round, and postulate Ionic *or* non-Ionic texts as the sources of our vase inscriptions when we find features which can be plausibly taken as reflections of literary language. The distribution of Ionic and non-Ionic features may even be significant for the region in which a particular topic was popular.

In the following sections I shall not reconsider in detail the whole question of whether non-Ionic or ‘mainland’ epic poetry was originally independent of, or dependent on, the East Greek tradition,<sup>1253</sup> but argue only on the basis of the forms on the vases examined in this study. This evidence, however, is sufficient to prove that in post-Homeric times the influence of East Greek epic poetry in the West was very strong.

The most direct reflections of literary language are of course the metrical inscriptions (see §502), some of which show clear reminiscences of epic style and language, while others show innovations. Their content is not normally related to epic themes, however, but refers to everyday life.

The opposite is true for the labels to heroic scenes. These are not metrical texts as such, since they are just isolated names. But they *are* taken from epic tales and some of them show various

<sup>1252</sup> It should however be noted that in fr. 8 PEG = 12 EGF alongside *κούρης* there is *Λαμίās* (which Bernabé ‘corrects’ to *-ίης!*). Whether this is original Corinthian or Attic (as *φυλάττειν* in Tzetzes’ version of fr. 3 PEG = 2A EGF) is not important; in any case the form is not Ionic. In the case of Hesiod, should we not perhaps assume that his writing in Ionic was partly or primarily due to his—at least occasional—Ionic audience (as expressly stated, *Op.* 650–60)?

<sup>1253</sup> See e.g. recently Mickey (1981 (with earlier bibl. p. 59 n. 19)) and (1982); West (1988).

linguistic features which point to literary language, as we shall see in the sections below (§§503–8, and 510).

### §502. Metrical inscriptions

We have come across a fair number of vase inscriptions which are certainly or probably conceived in metrical shape. Most are dactylic hexameter, a few iambic trimeter lines (? = ‘metrical structure not certain’):

- (1) The potters’ inscriptions (and probably dedications, see §302), BOI 3 and IOD 4A (?).
- (2) The dedications (and probably potters’ inscriptions, see §302): to gods, AIG 3E (? iambic), COR Gr 26(1) (?), COP 1A–D, 2A–C, 3, 4, 11b (?), 50 (?), COP App. 1A (?), DOC 3 (?), 6 (?), NAU 1B and Gd (?); to humans, BOI 4C, COR 17b (at the same time a label).
- (3) The owner’s inscription (or dedication to a human), COR Gr 2 (? iambic; see §505).
- (4) The victors’ inscription, COP 85 (? iambic).
- (5) The labels of a goddess, wife of the recipient of the object, COP 5a and 6.
- (6) The praise of a beautiful woman, DOH 3a (iambic).
- (7) The inscription of unclear content, ITH 1.

Some of the hexameter inscriptions here display clear reminiscences of the epic style. We have a formula that was obviously already current in the language of prayer in pre-Homeric times (COP 1 τὸ δὲ δὸς χάρις(σ)αν ἀμοιβῆάν, *vel sim.*, see ad loc. and §303). Another phrase has no precise equivalent in our literary texts but is formed from epic components (BOI 4C Αὐτ[ὰ]ρ ἡ δὸς φέρων, see ad loc.), which testifies to a good knowledge and easy handling of epic language on the part of a Boiotian potter (or a friend of his) in the sixth century.

The non-epichoric dialect or spelling features which point to literature (epic or other) in these inscriptions will be mentioned again below: COP 1A [ἐ]παγγελίας in §§503 and 505; COP 1B [δίδ]δοι in §508; COP 2 ff. Ποτῆδ’ ἄφ’ ὄνι *vel sim.* in §506; COP 6 ἄρ’ οἷτις and ITH 1 ἐταῖρος in §503.

However, other metrical inscriptions contain modern linguistic features, notably BOI 3 with ἐποῖσε counted ~~~ (see ad loc. and §221).

### NON-EPIC HORIC DIALECT OR SPELLING FEATURES POINTING TO LITERARY SOURCES

#### §503. Origin in East Ionic epic of unexpected East Ionic forms

There are a few forms on our vases which show features that are alien to the relevant (mostly the Corinthian) dialect but are found in the East Ionic dialect of epic (but see §508). All these forms occur in a context for which a poetic source is possible or even likely. The first example below concerns the spelling only, the others concern both spelling and audible features of language.

(1) In COP 1A [ἐ]παγγελίας, in a hexameter line containing a highly archaic formula too (see §502), the spelling of the velar nasal points to the East (see §114). Moreover, the spurious diphthong spelling <ει> points to a written poetic source (see §505).

(2) Our next case is Hektor’s name. It was explained above (§§210, 250) that we would expect it to have an initial [h] in Corinthian. Only once, however, is this [h] written,<sup>1254</sup> whereas it is omitted in ten inscriptions, including one by the Chalcidian Inscription P. (who is likely to have been a Corinthian, see §259) and one from Rhodes (DOH 1, which is likely to reflect a scene from the *Iliad*, see §509). To me the only plausible explanation is to assume that the Corinthians came to know the figure of Hektor from the psilotic East Ionic epic.<sup>1255</sup> This is, incidentally, an additional point in favour of the widespread theory that Hektor is not an archaic figure in the epic tradition. Whether he was an actual invention of Homer<sup>1256</sup> is, however, doubtful,<sup>1257</sup> but he seems at any rate to have been created in eastern Greece.

(3) The same argument applies to COP 6 ἄρ’ οἷτις, which is a highly poetic word, occurs in a typically epic formula, and shows an unaspirated (i.e. East Greek) form (see ad loc.).<sup>1258</sup>

(4) Digamma after a nasal (or liquid) is normally present in Corinthian at the time of our vase inscriptions, even for non-heroic characters (see §209). Only in COR 70c Πολυξένᾱ is it absent; therefore this name must be considered a non-Corinthian form (see also §444). The later example LSAG 132. 31 (see §209) Ξενοκλῆς, still written in the local alphabet (with B-type epsilon but straight iota; c.500–475? according to Jeffery), suggests that the result of the later loss of this [w] was not a closed [e] but a normal [e] or open [e]; this vowel was short (as e.g. in Attic), as we can see from even later inscriptions in the Ionic alphabet (see Thumb–Kieckers, p. 130), i.e. the name of our later man was Ξενοκλῆς. Our form Πολυξένᾱ is too early for this development; therefore we have to look for a different explanation. As the vase in question shows the departure of Hektor with a number of well-known Trojan characters, a poetic background seems the most likely solution. Polyxene is not mentioned in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, but she occurred in the *Iliupersis* (see Procl. *Chr.*) and must have been mentioned in the *Cypria* (see fr. 34 PEG = 27 EGF). She too, like her brother Ἐρπτορ (who of course is also present: COR 70c), will therefore have been introduced to Corinth

<sup>1254</sup> COR 60b Ἐρπτορ, owing to direct Attic influence (see ad loc.).

<sup>1255</sup> Heubeck (1980: 285), who also noted the exceptional lack of [h] in this form, strangely concludes: ‘In der Umgangssprache der Korinther scheint also die (unrichtige) psilotische Form gebräuchlich gewesen zu sein; nur ein Schreiber [i.e. the writer of COR 60b] hat sich nach dem epischen Vorbild gerichtet.’

<sup>1256</sup> As e.g. Schadewaldt (1951: 177) assumes (see also §449 with n. 1125).

<sup>1257</sup> It is well known that the name is attested in Mycenaean, *e-ko-to* (the script is ambiguous about the aspiration). It seems to have been obsolete in alphabetic times; at least there is no archaic case of a historical person so named (had the name been popular we would expect the Corinthians to have added [h] even if they borrowed the hero’s figure from the East). A third point is the formula κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ. We can therefore hardly assume that the name (and the hero) was first created by Homer. How much older he was (one, two, or ten generations of poets), it is, however, impossible to say.

<sup>1258</sup> On the aspirated and unaspirated forms in the Homeric text see Wackernagel (1916), 40–53; ἄκοιτις, p. 43.

through East Ionic epic, though not through one of the preserved poems. The [e] would have to be long to guarantee the epic long syllable.<sup>1259</sup> We may still slightly wonder why the secondary [ē] is written β [e] not ε [ē]. But as the normal spelling of this sound is not clear (see §219) and we know neither the exact pronunciation of the Ionic and Corinthian sounds in question, nor whether the vase-painter used an oral or a written source (the normal East Ionic spelling would have been Πολουξενη, i.e. with ‘normal’ ε epsilon which was known to correspond to Corinthian β), we are not in a position to judge what our painter should have written. At least there seems to be no reason why he should not have spelled the form as he did. It is important to note, however, that on the same vase there are also non-Ionic forms of important Trojan characters, viz. (b) *Ἑκάβα*, (h) *Κεβριόνᾱς*, (j) *Δαίφονος*, (l) *Κεσάνδρᾱ*. Of these, (h) and (j) were easily transferable into the Corinthian dialect and are not significant, but (l), a form which recurs on a South Italian vase, and (b), which recurs on another Corinthian vase (COR 76f, written with *Ḥ*), cannot be argued to have an East Ionic origin (see §504)—the first because it has the character of a *lectio difficilior* (*Κασσάνδρη* can be explained by assimilation), the second because of its digamma (see ad locc.).

(5) Another heroic name which shows a non-epichoric feature is COR 57c *Προτεσίλας*. Although its second element is as expected, its first element should start with \**Πρατ-* in Doric (see ad loc.). We may therefore conclude that the Corinthians got to know this name via some foreign, most likely East Ionic, epic.

(6) Also, COP 77c *Ἀθᾱναεᾱ* (in an Iliadic scene), despite its long [ā]s, may be argued to reflect a poetic Ionic source, since the normal form of the goddess’s name at Corinth was *Ἀθᾱνᾱ* (see §247).

(7) A similar case is COR 33c and 114e *Δορίμαχος*, which we would expect to be written with a digamma (see ad COR 33c and §209). Why this name, which occurs both in a pseudo-heroic and in a non-heroic scene, has a non-Corinthian (but probably East Ionic) form, we cannot say.

An uncertain case is COR 23g *Τεδορος*, which looks like an East Ionic spelling (see §225), but, in view of the similar rendering of the diphthong in COR 30c *Ἀχιλλεύς*, is perhaps more likely a Corinthian feature.

A few literary, and presumably East Ionic forms may be suspected in non-Corinthian inscriptions:

(8) In an Ithakan hexametrical inscription (ITH 1) we have come across the word *ἐταῖρος*, which in the relevant dialect—as well as in many others where this form is attested in dactylic inscriptions—should have at least an aspiration: it is therefore likely to be borrowed from East Ionic epic (see §§206, 210).

(9) As far as Boiotian is concerned, there is BOI 18a *Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς* with unexpected [ss] (see §§213, 254), probably reflecting literature; and BOI 18b *Βοριάς* shows a secondary Boiotian spelling (see §221).

<sup>1259</sup> There is no reason why we should assume e.g. Attic influence. Hektor’s name, too, is written in the non-Attic way on our vase (see (2) above and §250), and the same is true for many other names (see below).

There are a few unexpected forms on Chalcidian vases (for Hektor’s name see (2) above). CHA 9e *Περσεύς* is a non-epichoric form (we would expect [rr], see §214); however, the special case of the Inscription P. (see §259) makes it impossible to decide whether the form should be considered epic or Corinthian.

(10) On the other hand, Odysseus’ name in CHA 3Ac *Ὀδυσ(σ?)εύς* and CHA 8k *Ὀδυσ(σ?)εῦ[s]* is clearly not Corinthian and, as a form originally created in a poetic—though not necessarily Ionic—context (see §§254, 510), cannot a priori be expected for the epichoric Ionic dialect of the city where the Inscription P. worked.

(11) A similar case is CHA 5a *Ἐός*, which lacks the initial aspiration expected in the West Ionic dialect (see §249). That this is due to the Inscription P.’s likely Corinthian origin (as with Hektor’s name) seems improbable; at any rate the initial [e] is Ionic. Here too, the influence of East Ionic epic may therefore be responsible, particularly since the name occurs in a Trojan scene (see §§504, 506), viz. the slaying by Achilles of Eos’ son Memnon (as told in the *Aithiopis* by Arctinus).<sup>1260</sup>

(12) Lastly, on a vase probably from Athens but with non-Attic inscriptions, the form IOI 2b *Ἡ<sup>(ε)</sup>πιδάτῃς* may also be of East Ionic epic origin because of the [p] instead of [p<sup>h</sup>] that is expected both for the home dialect of the painter and that of the place where he was working (see ad loc.).<sup>1261</sup>

#### §504. *The origin of foreign forms other than East Ionic*

In §503 we have seen examples of non-epichoric forms in Corinthian vase inscriptions which are likely to be from East Ionic epic, namely the form used for Hektor and probably also that for his sister Polyxene. The forms which we shall now examine point to a similar literary background, but here we cannot argue that it was East Ionic. What the sources were in these cases, is a matter for speculation.

(1) Another Trojan figure whose name must have been introduced to Corinth through a foreign tradition is *Ἥλένᾱ* (COR 24d and COR 76c; see §251). Helene was a Lakonian, and in Sparta her name had an initial [w] (see §251),<sup>1262</sup> which should be preserved and written with a digamma in Corinthian (see §206). It seems understandable that the epic stories made her more famous than she was as a heroine in her local cults.<sup>1263</sup> But we cannot argue for direct influence of East Greek epic here, since Helene’s name is always written with an initial [h] in Corinthian (also in CHA 15a *Ἥλένῃ* by the Inscription P., no doubt reflecting the Corinthian tradition in the same way as (d) *Ἑκτορ* does; see §259). The origin of this form in Corinthian is not easy to say. An Attic intermediary seems not impossible,

<sup>1260</sup> On the other hand, CHA 4g *Αἰνέες* and (h) *Λεόδοφος*, in a scene by the same painter and also from the *Aithiopis*, are likely to be non-literary forms.

<sup>1261</sup> On Etruscan forms which may reflect the East Ionic epic see §§210, 251, 254, and 257 with n. 924.

<sup>1262</sup> We have no reason to believe that the archaic Lakonian attestations cited in §251 have a spurious digamma.

<sup>1263</sup> For these see e.g. Burkert (1985), 205 with n. 19.



although this cannot be supported by our Helene vases with their many non-Attic forms (e.g. COR 24b *Ἑκτῶρ* as against Attic *Ἡέκτῶρ*; see §503 with n. 1254). Both the Corinthian vases show Helene in clearly epic scenes—COR 24 at her wedding with Paris, COR 76 in a thrilling scene from the sack of Troy. In COR 24 the very unusual horse-name (f) *Πολυπένθα* is another indication of a poetic background, and so may be the grand name (e) *Ἀντομέδουσα* (see §509). On the other hand, (a) *Δαίφῶν* (see §510), which stands for *Δηίφοβος* in Homer, is not epic since it does not fit the dactylic metre—at least not in the nominative case.<sup>1264</sup> On COR 76 there is (f) *Φεκάβ[α]*, which cannot be from East Ionic epic either (see §503); and (e) *Περλιπύει*, a speaking name (§239), again does not fit the dactylic metre. These arguments seem to point to a poetic, but non-hexametrical (i.e. non-epic) background to these scenes. It should be remembered that we know of an *Iliupersis* by Stesichorus,<sup>1265</sup> and also the theme of Paris and Helene's wedding would suit a Stesichorean poem very well.<sup>1266</sup>

(2) A similar case will be COR 113d *Ἡυσμένᾱ*, for which, because of the initial [h], both an East Greek epic tradition and Mimnermus, who knew the myth (see §429), are also out of the question; where the name comes from, we do not know, but the sentimental story would suit the genre of Stesichorus and his follower Ibycus.

There are of course many other Corinthian forms of heroic names which cannot be taken from East Ionic epic. This is the case (3) with the frequent label *Αἴφας*, because of its digamma (see §209); (4) with the distinctive form *Ὀλισ(σ)εύς*, also well attested (see §254); (5) with COR 74k *Φτλιόνες*, because of its initial digamma and its stem (see §§233, 441); (6) with COR 30a and 82f *Σαρπαδῶν*, because of its long [ā] (see §448); and (7 and 8) with the Nereids COR 77d *Ἡαμαθῶι* and (e) *Κῶματοθα*, because of their non-Homeric forms—notably the initial aspiration and the non-Ionic contraction, respectively (see §457; for the latter see also §223). For these cases, as well as for (9 and 10) COR 70b *Φεκάβᾱ* and (l) *Κεσάνδρᾱ* (already mentioned in §503), one must assume one or several traditions independent of Homer the Ionian. Almost all are important figures, can claim great age in the epic tradition, and are not specifically tied to the Trojan context. This is obvious for Aias, Odysseus, and Sarpedon; and the Nereids too are likely to belong to a tradition older than Homer (see Wachter (1990a) and (1990b)). Even Iliones of COR 74k seems to have been a more important figure than his single appearance in the *Iliad* might lead us to believe, for the relevant scene (14. 489–505), namely his death, is very spectacular; and the form of his name on the Corinthian vase, with its ending

–ēs instead of –εύς (see §233) and its initial digamma, clearly points to a source other than East Ionic.<sup>1267</sup>

A slightly different situation is presented by COR 82. The scene on this vase is in my view the clearest reflection of the *Iliad* (such as we know it) to be found on any vase of the early sixth century (see §§448, 509), though it does show most of the names in a non-Homeric form, namely (c) *Αἴφας*, (d) [K] *Λεῖβουλος*, (f) *Σαρπαδῶν*, and (g) *Πυραίχμας*. Of course (d) is just a matter of spelling (but see §505), and in (g) it was easy to adjust the ending; but for (c) (see §209) and (f) (see §448) we cannot claim their East Ionic equivalents as the source. May we take this example as evidence for a non-Ionic, ‘translated’ recitation of the *Iliad* in non-Ionic regions (see §501), while still assuming a source other than Homer for the names themselves?

The name of Achilles' horse, *Βάλιος*, is a special case. It is neither an East Ionic nor a Doric form, since for etymological reasons we would then expect a Φ- (see n. 1286 for its likely North Greek origin). We therefore have to take it as a name which reached Corinth from the epics built around Achilles, though we cannot say whether it came via East Ionic epic or some other tradition.

For other features of non-Ionic epic poetry in Corinthian vase inscriptions see below, §§506–8.

Only a very few signs of a literary background other than East Ionic can be found in the inscriptions on non-Corinthian vases.

BOI 15b *Ἡερακλῆς*, although a normal-looking form, is not quite right for the Boiotian dialect of the late fifth century. In several inscriptions of that time names in \*-klewēs are not yet contracted (see Thumb–Scherer, p. 28; see §223). Examples are found in the inscriptions from Tanagra, DGE 451 (C) 8 *Ἀμυνοκλέες*, (D) 10 *Φισοκλέες*, and Thespiai, DGE 478 (A) 5 *Ἀρξικλέες*, (B) 2 *Πολυκλέες*, (F) 7 *Προκλέες* (soon after 424 BC, see LSAG 95. 19b and 19a). We may therefore regard our Boiotian *Ἡερακλῆς* as a literary form (see §506), although hardly an East Ionic epic one in view of the almost total absence of the nominative form from Homer and Hesiod.<sup>1268</sup> Yet any Boiotian at the time will have known that almost everywhere else in Greece these names were contracted; therefore we cannot be certain.

More interestingly, the two Satyr-names CHA 1a *Ἀντίες* and (i) *Ὀφατίες* seem to be taken from some literary, i.e. poetic, source—the former because of its archaic formation and meaning, the latter because of its lack of contraction. What the Inscription P. had in mind, we can only guess; at any rate, the theme does not fit the epic sphere (see §407).

On CHA 3A with the Rhesos story, the same painter uses—alongside (c) *Ὀδυσ(σ?)εύς* (poetic, non-Corinthian; see §503)—a form (b) *Φρεσος*, which is non-Ionic, but probably poetic too.

<sup>1264</sup> The other cases may have been in -φον-, -φῶν-, or -φῶντ-.

<sup>1265</sup> The Stesichorean text likewise does not have the original form of the name with initial [w], but may of course have had the aspiration originally; the form we read is *Ἐλένα* (fr. 209. i. 2 PMG, pap.).

<sup>1266</sup> According to Proclus' summary (*Chr.*), the wedding was also recounted in the *Cypria*: *Ἀλέξανδρος . . . ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Ἴλιον γάμους τῆς Ἑλένης ἐπετέλεσεν*.

<sup>1267</sup> It should be noted, however, that the horse-name *ἱβίς* (*h*) *Ἡαρματίδης* cannot be considered particularly ancient (see §240). But see §506 on (a) *Μενελάφος*, which is clearly a poetic form.

<sup>1268</sup> The fact that Hesiod uses the nom. (*Th.* 318, 527, -κλεῖς codd., probably monosyllabic; see n. 1038) but Homer does not, may hint at a slightly lower date for the former's work(s).



As explained in §446A, this may be another hint of ‘translated’ recitations or close imitations of the *Iliad* in non-Ionic regions (see §501).

§505. *Secondary [ē] and [ō] rendered with a digraph:  
a literary feature?*

Not only at Corinth, but everywhere in Greece down to the fifth, partly even to the fourth century, the normal rendering of a ‘spurious diphthong’, i.e. an *e*-vowel that was long by compensatory lengthening, as, for example, in the aorist participle [angēlās] < \*angelsants, was by means of <ε>, not the digraph <ει> that we are used to from the literary and later epigraphical texts and as we have it in COP 1A -αγγελίας, dated to the late sixth century. The question here is not whether the respective pronunciation of the secondary long vowels [ē] and [ō] and the original real diphthongs [ei] and [ou] was similar enough to produce confusion or a deliberate change in writing (for this problem see §§219 f.). At least in Corinth there is no doubt that this was so at a very early stage, and indeed it is presupposed by the very representation of the secondary long vowels with two characters. But we should ask why their rendering was changed at all and why a two-character form was adopted, for it was not only more cumbersome (it would have been possible to simplify all <ει> and <ου> renderings to single-character ones!), but odd too (one did not pronounce two sounds, let alone two different ones). Could we imagine any context in which such a reform, which made it possible to differentiate some of the long vowels in writing, could have had advantage enough to justify itself? In everyday life a minor change like this did not increase the comprehensibility of texts very much (in the case of [a], [i], [u], where there was no such ‘easy’ way to distinguish quantity, no one bothered, although there, too, many cases of confusion existed). But there was one situation where a form which rendered quantity as accurately as possible was of great advantage: in reading metrical poetry written in a difficult idiom. This was of course the case with the epic texts. We know that the Homeric poems became generally known probably in the second half of the sixth century (see Burkert (1987), 45). Our tablet COP 1A, which is of precisely that period and shows the word -αγγελίας in a hexameter line containing a highly archaic formula also attested in epic (see §303), therefore testifies to the presence of epics in written form in sixth-century Corinth; moreover, its rendering of the velar nasal with <γγ> indicates a source written in an East Greek alphabet (see §503).

Yet there are much earlier hints of such written poetic sources for vase inscriptions. First, there is an example on the François Vase (ABV 76. 1) made in Athens (c.565 BC).<sup>1269</sup> Secondly, in Corinth itself we have hints of a much earlier spurious-diphthong spelling, especially with secondary [ō] (see below). As for Corinthian secondary [ē], there are hardly any cases and we do not even know what would be the ‘normal’ representation of this sound (see §219). The digraph form at least can hardly have been the normal one

in view of what has been said above, particularly since in the Corinthian alphabet even an old real diphthong was rendered not by <ει> but by a single sign, Ε. The most likely early case of compensatory lengthening is COR 70k Πολυξένᾱ, which is not written with a digraph. This form is non-Corinthian because of the lack of [w] and is likely to be taken from an epic work probably in East Ionic dialect (see §§503, 508), though probably not from a written source. A puzzling case is COR 24Ba Εἰάσων, since we expect a short [i], not an *e*-sound (although there are attestations with <e> and <ei> in Etruscan too, see ad loc.). Nevertheless, we may compare its exceptional <ει> spelling with the later case COP 1A -αγγελίας.

This seems all the more justified, since the same vase (COR 24B) shows the form (d) Πο<sup>ν</sup>λυδ(ε)ύκ(ε)ς with its added upsilon in the first syllable, a feature that can hardly be interpreted as other than a secondary attempt to create the metrically lengthened form of the first element, Πολυλ-. This is a spurious-diphthong rendering of a long vowel which had no reality in speech outside metrical texts. It is therefore a strong indication that this form originated in, or at least was closely associated with, poetry. We may assume that Iason’s name was also imagined by the painter to have a long [ī] (maybe popular etymology was involved, see ad loc. and §510); for a long [ī] must have been very similar to the monophthongized successor of a former real diphthong [ei] such as we have, for example, in Poseidon’s name, which was normally written Ε, but also with simple Ξ (iota), or indeed ΕΞ and ΒΞ (see §255). As the last two forms are probably attributable to foreigners working at Corinth, we may assume the same for the painter of our COR 24B.

The other cases of spellings with spurious diphthong <ou> at Corinth are easier to explain, since all are most likely taken from a poetic source. There is COR Gr 2 Χοιράσου ἡ ῥοτύλλα ἐμί . . . , which may be an iambic trimeter with a father’s name of the shape ≈- at its illegible end. Next we have COR 24e Ἀντομέδουσα, which is a grand end-of-hexameter name from a heroic scene (see §§504, 509). In a scene with the wedding of Herakles and Hebe, COR 28A, there is (b) Μοῦσαι (for other occurrences of the Muses which are even more clearly from a poetic context, see §508). And lastly, on COR 82, in a scene which directly reflects the *Iliad* (see §§448, 509), we have (d) [Κ]λέβρυλος. Of course, on COR 28A there is (a) Μῶσαι too, and on COR 82 the name (a) Πολυδάμας does not show a spurious diphthong for its first vowel, which is always lengthened in the epic language.<sup>1270</sup> Similarly, the poetic form COR 96B Πνδοτομέδοισα (see §508), probably containing an original real diphthong in its first part, and the genitive αὐτῶ in the hexameter line COR 17b are spelled with <ο> only. But these are no arguments against the origin of the spurious-diphthong spelling in poetic contexts, for they only show that the two spellings were equally acceptable in Corinth at the time of our documents.

<sup>1269</sup> See Wachter (1991b), 108–12.

<sup>1270</sup> The vase-painter may have pronounced it short, i.e. in its prosaic form, of course, but we cannot check (see n. 1119).

It is very interesting that digraph renderings of secondary long [ē] and [ō] also occur in a number of inscriptions from Kerkyra that are partly earlier still and are all hexametrical, viz. CEG 143 (c.625–600?), 144 (c.650–600?), 145 (c.600?), and 146 (c.575–550?). In CEG 143 we read *hυιοῦ* and *δᾶμον*, as well as *ἐποίει*. In CEG 144 there is [. . .] *τίμου* but also *Πολυνόφᾶς*, which probably just shows that the spurious-diphthong spelling was optional there too.<sup>1271</sup> In CEG 146 we have a genitive *τοῦ*.<sup>1272</sup> Since Kerkyra had very close contacts with Corinth, we may count these examples among the Corinthian ones (although the Kerkyraian script did not contain a special sign for the monophthongized diphthong [ei]; see §107). And it is not inconceivable that this particular type of spelling, which seems to have originated as an aid to recitation, was first introduced in a Corinthian context; though this is by no means certain, given that even in the seventh century there already existed close contacts among poetic circles from all over the Greek world (see also §§506–8).<sup>1273</sup>

§506. *The writing of intervocalic digamma as a hiatus marker*

In the initial position [w] is regularly preserved in Corinth (see §206). It is not certain whether we should count COR 66c *Δᾶμοφάνας(σ)α* among these cases, since the fact that [w] was preserved in the nouns *φάναξ* and *φάνασσα* could in theory help to preserve it at the morphemic juncture. Yet the analogous case COR 28Ac *Καλλιόπα*, older than COR 66, does not show a digamma. It seems therefore justifiable to count COR 66c among the cases of intervocalic [w] discussed below.

A special case is the position after an *i*-diphthong, since digamma is always written in the name *Αἴφας* (*passim*), and the case of COP 1A *ἀμοιφᾶν* may also be noted (see ad loc.). It looks as if this position should be counted alongside postconsonantal [w], which is not normally lost (see §209).

The most interesting case is [w] in the intervocalic position, where it is sometimes written, sometimes not. In the latter case contraction seems regularly to have occurred. These are the attestations of written digamma on our Corinthian vases: COR 4b *Ἀλκινόφᾶ* (but (e) *Φιόλας*, (d) *Ἡερακλῆς*), COR 6d *Φιόλαφος* (but (c) *Ἡερακλῆς* and (e) *Ἀπυθος*), COR 8 *Φιόλαφος*, COR 12c *Διδᾶίφον* (with (i) *Αἴφας*, but (g) *Ἡερακλῆς*, (h) *Δ[ι]ομέ[δ]ῆς*, (f) *Φιολᾶ*), COR 13b *Φιόλαφος* (but (a) *Ἡερακλῆς*), COR 57i *Ὀρίφον* (but (c) *Πρότεσιλᾶς*), COR 66c *Δᾶμοφάνας(σ)α*, COR 74a *Μενέλαφος* (but (e) *Δία*), COR 79c *Ἀφωδά[μας]* (with uncertain (a) *[Λᾶφ?]οδ(ά)μᾶς*), COR 89d *Ἀφωπτόλεμος*. Dubious cases are COR 27f *Τρό. ιλος* (probably not with a digamma; see §257) and COR 92h *Ἀδᾶμάφος* (perhaps a mistake; alongside *Ἀᾶ-* without digamma in (i) *Ἀδᾶμάς* on the same vase; see ad loc.); very dubious is COR 14f.

<sup>1271</sup> A short first syllable at the beginning of the line was allowed, though it is rare (see §222).

<sup>1272</sup> Also in CEG 146, *Μηείσιος* (gen., see §§231, 507) has a real diphthong, and *εἰμ(ι)* is uncertain in this respect (see §219). The name *Ξενφάρεος* (gen., the nom. would have been *-ᾶρες*) shows that [w] was preserved after nasal (and liquid) as in contemporary Corinth; see §209 and COR 70k, mentioned above.

<sup>1273</sup> See also §257 on the spelling of Troilos' name, and §259 with n. 928.

On the other hand, apart from those instances just cited in brackets (for COR 4, 6, 12, 13, 57, 74, 92), intervocalic digamma is not written in the following cases. (1) In some names with *-ᾶς* from *-ᾶως* as their second element, viz. COR 19d *Φιόλας* with (a) *Ἡερακλῆος* and (c) *Ἡερακλῆς*; probably also COR 129 [. . .] *σίλᾶς*. (2) In the names in *-κλῆς* from *\*-klēmēs*, viz. *Ἡερακλῆς*,<sup>1274</sup> COR 30h *Ἡιπ(π)οκλῆς* (but (e) and (f) *Αἴφας*), and COP 43 *Ξενφοκλῆς*. (3) In COR 77b *Κλεοπ[.]τᾶ* with (a) *Διόι*. (4) In the names derived from *-ᾶω-*, viz. COR 54 *Πολυᾶιδᾶς*, frequent *Ἀᾶιδᾶς*,<sup>1275</sup> and COR 64c *Ἀᾶδος* (mistake?) with (d) *Διόν*. (5) In the names beginning with *Διο-*, viz. *Διομέδῆς*,<sup>1276</sup> COR 86b *Διονύσιος*, COR 118c *Διονύσος*, and in the throwaway (§237) hypocoristics *Διόν* and *Διόι*.<sup>1277</sup> (6) In COR 28Ac *Καλλιόπα* just cited (n. 1274). (7) Probably in COR 39 *Ἀλκ(ᾶ)θλᾶ* (from *-awet<sup>h</sup>l-*). Otherwise, the digamma is also unwritten on the pinakes COP 1A–C *χαρίεσ(σ)αν* (but *ἀμοιφᾶν*, preserved in 1A), and in the graffiti LSAG 130. 1 (= Lorber, no. 2a; Amyx, no. Gr 5: 7th cent.) *Σοκλῆς*, LSAG 132. 28 (= Amyx, no. Gr 17; Arena, no. 93: c.510–500) *Ἀνθεσίλας*, and LSAG 132. 31 (see §§209, 503) *Ξενοκλῆς*.

If we consider the relative chronology of the evidence just listed, it is clear that the first examples of lost [w] are very early, more or less contemporary with the earliest examples of written digamma. This obviously raises the question of whether a written intervocalic digamma corresponds to a real pronunciation of [w]. If COR 6 and 13 (EC–MC) both have *Ἡερακλῆς*, where not only the intervocalic [w] of *\*-klēmēs* is lost but also contraction has taken place, can their *Φιόλας* reflect the contemporary speech at Corinth? The fact that in the latter name the [w] is in a different environment can hardly be held responsible for the difference. First, there is COR 19 *Φιόλας* on an only slightly younger vase (MC) which shows both loss of the intervocalic digamma and contraction. (In this connection we may also mention AIG 1 *Μενέλας* from nearby Aigina (c.650; see ad loc.), and the same form on DOH 1 (Rhodian, late 7th cent.; see ad loc. and §449).<sup>1278</sup> Secondly, we must consider the name of Poseidon. The earliest occurrences of this name in Corinthian seem to be the pinakes COP 3 with the hexameter line *Σῆμιδν μ' ἀνέθ(ε)κε Ποτῆδᾶφν[ι] φά[ρα]κτι*,<sup>1279</sup> dated to 650/40–625, and COP 20 with contracted *[Π]οτῆδᾶν* as a label to the god's figure, dated to c.625–600. It is a well-known fact that in this name the digamma

<sup>1274</sup> COR 19c just cited, COR 28Ac with (c) *Καλλιόπα*, COR 32a with kappa missing, COR 73.

<sup>1275</sup> COR 67b, COR 99d with *Διόν* (two or three times, namely (a), (c), (f)) but *Αἴφας*, COR 105i with *Διόν* (two or three times, namely (d), (g), (k)), COR 111a, COR 115a.

<sup>1276</sup> COR 14c *Διομ[έ]δῆς*?, and COR 23a, COR 38b, COR 464h *Διομῆδῆς*, all four with *Αἴφας*.

<sup>1277</sup> COR 59a, COR 64d, COR 77a, COR 99a/c/f and 105d/g/k, all just cited; also COR 81Aa *Διόι*, COR 83ter.d *Διόν*, and *Διόν* in COR 84, COR 102f, COR 109a (also b?), COR 78b with (a) and (e) *Διόι*, and COR 119e with (b) *Διόι*.

<sup>1278</sup> Kretschmer (p. 9) has already stressed the early loss of [w] and the contraction in the Rhodian form (at the time he was writing he could not have known AIG 1).

<sup>1279</sup> For the Homeric occurrences of the formula see ad COP 2A with n. 420.

is etymologically unexpected.<sup>1280</sup> The question is whether the [w] was ever pronounced in everyday speech or was occasionally written for some other reason (i.e. as a hypercorrection). If it did belong to the spoken form at some stage, then COP 20 shows that the [w] was lost and contraction had already taken place in the late seventh century, and *FiólaFos* of COR 6 and 13, which are slightly later (c.610–595), does not represent the contemporary pronunciation. If [w] did not belong in the spoken form of the god's name, the contracted form of COP 20 does not tell us anything about the time of the loss of [w], but we need to find an explanation for the fact that both on COP 3, which is slightly older, and on the later (6th-cent.) COP 4 and COP 6 (see below), not only is [āo] uncontracted but a digamma too is written. Likewise, we need an explanation for the lack of contraction and the spelling with digamma in forms such as COR 74a *MeνέλāFos* (c.560), which are later than COR 19 with *FiólaS*.

As these chronological observations show that [w] was no longer pronounced in normal speech, we need not for the moment distinguish between etymologically justified and unjustified cases when we look for an explanation as to why contraction had not taken place in these cases. But the distinction becomes important again when we ask why it was a digamma, precisely, that was written in between the uncontracted vowels.

For the name of Poseidon, which is mostly written *Ποτῆδᾶν* (viz. on COR 97 and *passim* on the pinakes; see §255), Kretschmer (p. 45 with n. 1) observed that the uncontracted form was used only on pinakes with inscriptions that are either certainly metrical, such as COP 3, just cited, and COP [— — — Π]οτῆδᾶFῶνος ἄρῳιτις,<sup>1281</sup> or at least *could* be metrical, such as COP 4 [— — — μ' ἀνέθεκε ΠοτῆδᾶFῶνι Fάνακτι. The uncontracted form, on the other hand, is never used in a label to the god's figure, i.e. *Ποτῆδᾶν* was the normal form of the name of this deity at Corinth.

Kretschmer (p. 46) then suggested: 'Aus demselben Gesichtspunkt, wie *ΠοτειδάFων*: *Ποτειδᾶν* wird nun auch sonst das Nebeneinanderliegen von F-losen und von F-Formen auf den korinthischen Vasen zu beurteilen sein.' He did not pursue this thought,<sup>1282</sup> but we should do so now, since we have more material and better dates at our disposal.

In order to verify Kretschmer's idea that the writing of (intervocalic) digamma is linked to poetry, we should try to find other features in the relevant inscriptions which support this view. Two additional examples are in themselves metrical texts, viz. COP 2A [— — — μ' ]ἀνέθεκε ΠοτῆδᾶFῶνι Fάνα(τ)ι etc., which has long been wrongly read (see ad loc.), and COP 2B [— — — μ' ἀνέθεκε

*ΠοτῆδᾶFῶνι Fάνακτι* etc., which is a clear parallel to the former in view of their identical continuation (see ad loc.). The other forms in question are labels, and we have to adduce external evidence for their links to poetry.

An indication of a metrical background is provided by ten vases with mythical topics. This is the case with (1) COR 74a *MeνέλāFos* (for *—laS*), who is shown in a particular scene from the *Cypria* context (there are no other hints of a literary background on the vase, though the scene agrees perfectly with what we know and expect of the story; see also §504). (2–4) COR 6d, COR 8, and COR 13b *FiólaFos* (but *—laS* in COR 19d), who occurs in scenes of Herakles slaying the Hydra. (To my knowledge this is the first concrete indication of an archaic poetic treatment of this labour apart from Hes. *Th.* 313–18, although it is a matter of common sense that such poetry will have existed; see §509).

Another such case is (5) COR 4b *ἈλκινόFā*, an Amazon fighting Herakles. Although we have no more attestations of names in *—vōā*, we would expect contracted \**Ἀλκινᾶ* in Doric (see Lejeune, §298c; an analogous case is COR 77e *Qῡματοθᾶ*, see ad loc. and §457). In this case, the exact parallel CEG 144 *ΠῶλυνόFas* (Kerkyra, c.650–600?) in a hexameter line speaks for a poetic background (see also below). Whether the digamma is etymologically justified in names in *—vōā*, is another question (see below). Somewhat awkward is the fact that the vase in question also shows (e) *FiólaS* with contraction. This may be because Iolaos was a more familiar character than *ἈλκινόFā* and had a name of more common formation (for one likely Iolaos designating a historical Corinthian see COP 37).

We are now left with two names of warriors, one in a departure scene, the other in a chariot scene (which may at least occasionally have had the same underlying meaning): (6) COR 79c *ΛᾶFοδᾶ[μαS]* by the Damon P. (also (a) [*ΛᾶF?*]οδ(ά)μαS?; normal departure scene with women) and (7) COR 89d *ΛᾶFοπτόλεμος* (only a *quadriga*). May we claim a poetic background for these scenes too, both normally and rightly regarded as non- (or pseudo-)heroic (see §§402, 444)? We should take note of two things in this context. (i) On both vases there is a horse called *Ξάνθος*, and COR 89 also has a *Βάλιος*. It is true that Xanthos as a horse-name occurs very frequently on Corinthian vases and in many non-mythical contexts.<sup>1283</sup> However, the other horse-name, Balios, is rare and shows a non-Greek phonological feature which makes a literary origin a priori likely (see §504 and, below, n. 1286). It occurs only together with Xanthos,<sup>1284</sup> and on only three of our vases, namely COR 89 itself, COR 78, a departure scene with throwaway names (also by the Damon P., like COR 79 with

<sup>1280</sup> See Myc. nom. *po-se-da-o*, gen. *po-se-da-o-no*, dat. *po-se-da-o-ne* and *po-se-da-o-ni*, never with *-wo-*.

<sup>1281</sup> For ἄρῳιτις see §503 and ad loc.

<sup>1282</sup> Nor did Heubeck (1980), 282. However, in seeking parallels for *ΔιδαίFῶν* (see below) which he thought to contain an etymologically unjustified digamma, he mentioned much of the relevant evidence: Poseidon's name in Corinth when used in metrical texts (duly referring to Myc. *po-se-da-o-ne* without [w], see §255), as well as *TlāσίāFo* (instead of expected *Tlāσίā*) and *ΠολυνόFās* and *ἈλκινόFā* (referring to Myc. *wi-pi-no-o* without intervocalic [w]), for which see below.

<sup>1283</sup> Apart from our two cases there are COR 24g (one of Hektor's horses; see §439), COR 27e (one of Troilos', who was Hektor's brother; see §442), COR 67e (departure scene with throwaway names), COR 70i (Hektor's departure; see §444), COR 81Af (wedding scene with mainly throwaway names), COR 85f (arming scene with some throwaway names), COR 90a (pseudo-heroic chariot scene), COR 103b (scene with throwaway-name horse-men). The scene on COP 56 cannot be judged.

<sup>1284</sup> As it does in the *Iliad*: 16. 149, 19. 400.

*Λᾱφοδά[μας]*, mentioned just above), and COR 57, a meeting of Greek and Trojan heroes, mostly on horseback (Achilleus on Xanthos, Patroklos on Balios). So Xanthos could be any horse, even a Trojan one,<sup>1285</sup> but Balios is much more individualized, and in one case (COR 57) is clearly the one we know from the *Iliad*. Therefore it seems justifiable to judge the occurrence of Balios on COR 89 as a general reflection of epic stories, which supports our interpretation of *Λᾱφο-* as signalling the sphere of poetry.<sup>1286</sup> (ii) Although the names in the departure scenes are mostly non-heroic,<sup>1287</sup> on some vases such a scene can be given a mythological flavour. The clearest example is COR 70 where Hektor takes leave of his family; yet on this vase too some labels are non-heroic and suggest a mixed scene (see §402); see, moreover, CHA 15 and COR 45. This transfer of an everyday scene into a mythical context (or vice versa) is best understandable if there was some tradition behind it. Should we, for instance, assume a ceremony with lyric or epic recitals when Corinthian warriors departed for war, for which occasion the pottery industry (e.g. our Damon P.<sup>1288</sup>) produced the vessels?<sup>1289</sup>

There is also an intervocalic digamma in (8) COR 57i *Ῥορίῳν*. Although it is an unsolved problem why Hektor (meeting Achilles on Xanthos and Patroklos on Balios, as mentioned above) should be mounted on a horse of this name, there is—as we have seen (§462)—no doubt that this scene shows close knowledge of the Trojan myths. The writing of the digamma fits well into the picture gained from the other examples, whether the digamma here is itself etymologically justified or not.<sup>1290</sup> Therefore this indication of a poetic background is only slightly less strong than the preceding ones, although it is true that [io] would not have contracted and a contracted form, (c) *Προτερίλας*, occurs on the same vase.

<sup>1285</sup> Apart from Achilles' famous and intelligent horse, another of this name was attributed to Hektor: *Il.* 8. 185 (see above, n. 1283).

<sup>1286</sup> See also §244. Besides *Βάλιος*, one of Achilles' horses, *Φάλιος* too is an epic horse-name, attested (together with *Καλ(λ)ιφόρα*) on an Attic amphora by Exekias (*ABV* 143 f., no. 1 = Immerwahr, no. 132, bearing *CEG* 436) as one of Akamas and Demophon's horses (see §468 n. 1185). It is an adjective, equivalent to *φάλαρος* (see LSJ) 'with a white spot'. Chantraine, s.vv. *βαλιός* and *φαλιός*, thinks that they may be connected, which is plausible. Should we remember, in view of the difference between the two names, that Balios' master was a North Greek (see §504)? It is a well-known fact that in Macedonian \*[b<sup>h</sup>] developed into [b] (see e.g. Schwyzler, p. 68 n. 3; Kallérís (1976), 358 f., with references to Kallérís (1954)), not into [p<sup>h</sup>] as in Attica, home of Akamas and Demophon, and in the rest of Greece. As Macedonian was obviously closely related to Greek (or is indeed a Greek dialect, as Kallérís tries to prove), its special treatment of the voiced aspirates may have influenced a wider part of northern Greece in the second millennium, e.g. parts of Thessaly. It is worth mentioning that the stem of *ξανθός* also existed in Macedonian, viz. in the month-name *Ξανδικός* (see Kallérís (1954), 237 f. with n. 3); month-names are usually a very conservative feature in ancient Greece, see Trümper (1997), *passim*. See §§244, 504.

<sup>1287</sup> Other warriors in non-heroic departure scenes: COR 119f *Ἀντιμαχιδᾶς*, COR 78b *Δῖον*, COR 67b *Λαῖδᾶς*, COR 85c *Ἀγανῶρ*, COR 64Bb [ . . . a] *νδρος*.

<sup>1288</sup> See also COR 79A, which seems to be close to this painter stylistically and shows the departure of Paris.

<sup>1289</sup> See also §§472 f. for similar contexts, §303 on the dedicatory, and n. 963 on the funerary inscs.

<sup>1290</sup> We can judge neither *Ῥορίων* (*Ῥορίων* in Pind., see ad loc.) nor *Ἀρείων* in this respect, and neither formation is necessarily the same as *Ἀρίων*, attested in Myc. *a-ri-wo(-ne)* PY Cn 655 and 131.

Similarly a digamma is written between [i] and [o] in (9) COR 12c *Διδᾶῖῳν*, where it is very likely to be etymologically unjustified (see ad loc. and §416).<sup>1291</sup> The scene shows particularly close links with hexametrical poetry (see §416), even if there are forms on this vase where intervocalic digamma is not written, viz. *Ἡερακλῆς*, *Δ[ι]ομῆ[δ]ῆς*, and *Φιολᾶ* (for the latter see §416).

Finally, we must consider (10) COR 66c *Δᾱμοφάνας(σ)α*. As we have seen above, a slight doubt remains as to whether the digamma here is due to analogy with the simplex *Φάναξ* / *Φάνασσα*. If that is not the case, we have to ask why we do not have a contracted *Δᾱμόνασσα*, the form expected in the epichoric dialect at the time and metrically almost equivalent (— — — instead of — — —), at least in dactylic metre. That both the name and the scene in which it occurs—another heroic departure scene on a vase—can be suspected of reflecting a poetic background, is obvious. The fact that the uncontracted form is used and a digamma is written when the epichoric form would have been metrically almost equivalent appears to be a particularly strong piece of evidence in support of our view that it reflects a poetic text.

A link between the forms with intervocalic digamma and poetry now seems to be established and it is also understandable that a poetic tradition would preserve uncontracted forms. But how are we to understand the spelling with a digamma, observed in all three cases of *Ποτεδᾶῖῳν*- and in the intervocalic instances just discussed, whether etymologically justified or not? Certainly the 'normal' epic tradition as we know it from East Ionia does not contain any such digammas.

Here it may be useful to look at comparable cases of etymologically unjustified digamma.<sup>1292</sup> Besides *Ποτεδᾶῖῳν*- and the names in *-νόφα* (*CEG* 144 in a hexameter, and COR 4b), the etymology of which is uncertain,<sup>1293</sup> I know of only two: *CEG* 143 *Τλασιᾶφο* (Kerkyra, c.625–600?),<sup>1294</sup> *IGDS* 128 = *LSAG* 278. 49 (ph. pl. 53) *Πασιάδαφο τὸ σᾶμα. Κράτης ἐποίε* (Gela, c.525?; complete; probably the beginning of a hexameter, as suggested by C. D. Buck<sup>1295</sup>).

The first two genitive endings in *-ᾶφο* are called 'wahrscheinlich künstlicher Archaismus' by Schwyzler (p. 560 n. 8; see also p. 840 with bibl.), who (on p. 222) accepts only them (apart from the cases next to <υ>) as a glide, whereas for "*Ποτεδᾶῖῳν*" he rejects

<sup>1291</sup> It does not follow a diphthong as in *Αῖφας*, for there is here a hiatus between the [a] and the [i], see ad loc.

<sup>1292</sup> See Mickey (1981), 46 f. I shall not go into the Cyprian examples, which are likely to be independent. See *ICS*, pp. 187 and 239 with bibl., and most recently Morpurgo Davies (1988).

<sup>1293</sup> It is, however, 'only' our two *-νόφα* names which cause trouble. Chantraine, s.v. *νόος*, would like to group Myc. *wi-pi-no-o* with them (see also above, n. 1282)—a most tempting suggestion—but tries to explain them by means of assuming a 'phonème de transition', which seems not very plausible phonetically.

<sup>1294</sup> This example has already been discussed by Kretschmer (p. 46), who expressly—and in my view rightly—rejects the possibility of a phonological development of a [w] between an [a] and an [o] (i.e. Chantraine's 'phonème de transition').

<sup>1295</sup> See *DGE* 302 = *GD* 105 (*sic*) with Buck (§105. 2b), whose suggestions that the digamma may represent a glide before [o] (again the 'phonème de transition') or may be analogous to other forms with [wo] (which ones?) are of no help either.

this possibility: ‘kaum blosser Übergangslaut’ (p. 560 n. 8). Such a distinction is artificial and implausible, and it would be better to find an explanation that is valid for all cases. An interesting suggestion is that the Corinthian digamma in this god’s name could be analogous to the one in *Παιήων*,<sup>1296</sup> where it is justified (see Myc. *pa-ja-wo-ne*). But of course, in view of *Ἡερακλῆς* and *Ποτῆδῶν* etc., earlier *Παιῶν* must already have been *Παιῶν* in Corinth at the time of our pinakes and vases. So this analogy could only have been current some time before our inscriptions and would not solve the question of why the form with digamma was preserved in Poseidon’s name. Furthermore, it can explain neither *-νόφα* nor the genitive forms in *-ᾠφο*.

But it is striking that of the ten cases of unjustified digamma eight are in hexameters<sup>1297</sup> and two are likely to have links with hexametrical poetry, namely example (9) COR 12c *Διδᾶίφῶν*, for which we have a closely related Hesiodic fragment, and example (5) COR 4 *Ἀλκινόφα*, a label of a mythical figure from the labours of Herakles, which had already been mentioned in the *Iliad* and will no doubt have been the theme of extended poetic endeavours, as mentioned above. We might expect that by the time in question all [a] + [o] and [o] + [a] cases among our ten cases had contracted in everyday speech. If so, we must consider the unexpected digamma spelling to be a poetic convention of some sort.<sup>1298</sup> This was of course possible only in some Greek regions, namely those which had the (inherited) [w]-sound in some environments at least.

But once again what poetic tradition are we thinking of? East Ionic is out of the question, but it is a natural thought that it was the same, or of the same kind, as that envisaged in §504 (and §505). Here are various possibilities. First, a continental version of the East Greek epic tradition which had rules of its own both in spelling and recitation; secondly, an independent epic tradition of mainland Greece; and finally, other traditions such as choral lyric, Arion’s dithyramb, or the paean.<sup>1299</sup> Yet the dactylic structure of

the names, the hexameter lines in which some of them occur, and the general thematic range seem to argue in favour of epic poetry (see also below, §508).

It is interesting to note that the heroic names with an inter-vocalic digamma are almost exclusively from non-Trojan contexts. This is true for COR 6d, 8, and 13b *Φιόλαφος* from Herakles’ struggle with the Hydra, COR 4b *Ἀλκινόφα* from his fight with the Amazons,<sup>1300</sup> and COR 12c *Διδᾶίφῶν* from his adventure at Oichalia.<sup>1301</sup> COR 66c *Δᾰμοφάνασ(σ)α* is from a poem about the Seven against Thebes.<sup>1302</sup> Finally, COR 57i *Ὀρίφῶν* is the wrong name for Hektor’s horse (at least the name is not used for any of Hektor’s horses in Homer). Only in the case of COR 74a *Μενέλαφος*, shown in a scene from the *Cypria* context, could we argue for an origin in a Trojan (and therefore plausibly an East Ionic) epic; yet, first, it is most likely that the hero had much wider fame in the Peloponnese as a member of the house of Atreus, the winner of Helene, etc.,<sup>1303</sup> secondly, his name was easy to adapt even from an East Ionic source, by analogy with *Φιόλαφος* etc.; and thirdly, the scene cannot be argued to reflect East Ionic epic anyway (see §504).<sup>1304</sup>

We would like to know more about this literature. The tradition behind the vases seems to be mainly connected with mythical scenes. Yet there are also scenes showing contemporary heroes making ready for battle (COR 89d *Λαφοπτόλεμος* and COR 79c *Λαφοδά[μας]*),<sup>1305</sup> and, as mentioned above, we may perhaps venture to assume the existence of some kind of recital of epic or lyric texts as an encouragement to warriors going to war, describing both them and their mythological exemplars.

In such a tradition the preservation of [w] that was otherwise no longer pronounced is easily imaginable. But we still have to find an explanation for the etymologically unjustified digammas. It is probably not important to discover whether the vase-painters had their spelling from an oral source or from a written one: in all cases, these digammas, justified or not, would have had a spoken reality, since otherwise it would be strange that the unjustified ones were ever written at all. Indeed, the widespread occurrence of this anachronistic and sometimes even spurious digamma among the Corinthian pinakes and vases, as well as among inscriptions on stone from Kerkyra and Gela, suggests a strong tradition.

days. The name occurs also as the name of a god of medicine in *Il.* 5. 401, 899 f., *Od.* 4. 232, and Hes. fr. 307 M–W (here next to Apollon, who has the same function).

<sup>1300</sup> As mentioned above, Herakles’ labours for Eurystheus are not related, but are several times alluded to, in the *Iliad*. We have no concrete evidence for whole epics on this subject (see also §509).

<sup>1301</sup> The *Oichalias Halosis*, which is said to be by a Samian (*Κλεόφυλος*) and must have been in East Ionic, would not be suitable here.

<sup>1302</sup> The *Thebais* is said to be by Homer and is therefore equally unsuitable.

<sup>1303</sup> It is important to note that even in 7th-cent. Sparta he was already known to be Helene’s husband (see §251).

<sup>1304</sup> A difficult case is PCO 5a *Αφος* on a vase of Corinthian style but inscribed in a non-Corinthian alphabet (see the discussion ad loc.). If we accept the form as Corinthian, the digamma will be archaizing and may point to a poetic background (the scene shows the death of Memnon).

<sup>1305</sup> Less suitable is the strange name COR 92h *Λαδάμαφος* of a banqueter (see ad loc.).

<sup>1296</sup> See Chantraine, s.v. *Ποσειδών*. This name was earlier adduced as a parallel by Kretschmer (1909: 28) and Ruijgh (1967: 13 with n. 31).

<sup>1297</sup> Five instances of *Ποτῆδᾠφῶν*-, one of *Πολυνόφα*, two of gen. *-ᾠφο*. The form *Ποτῆδᾠφῶνος* also occurs on a bronze pail (Isthmia Mus. 2807), dated to not much before 520 and mentioned by Boegehold (1983). *SEG* 22 (1967), no. 208 (bibl.), writes *Ποτῆδ-*, but as the ε epsilon is used together with san, and this epsilon is the expected letter-form in this name in the Corinthian alphabet also, our transcription is to be preferred. Nothing else was written, i.e. the inscr. is a dedicatory inscr. with property formula (see §301). The date is adduced from a similar vessel from Mantinea which belongs to c. 520 and is thought to be slightly later. In this case poetic influence cannot be supported by other facts, but the poetic form certainly sounded grand and therefore commended itself for a precious dedication. Or should we remember the prayer-like dedicatory inscrs. of COP 1 and 2 (see ad loc. and §303), which are likely to reflect an archaic tradition of oral prayers said in the course of a dedication to gods?

<sup>1298</sup> On different grounds, Mickey (1981: 47) reached a similar conclusion: ‘We would suggest that digamma . . . sounded somewhat archaic and, for this reason, could have a “high” stylistic value—whence its occurrence in forms and formulae primarily associated with hexameter poetry.’

<sup>1299</sup> This kind of hymn, best known from Pindar, is earlier attested (as a hymn to Apollon sung and danced to by a group of youths) in the *Iliad*, 1. 472 f. οἱ δὲ πανηγύριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο καλὸν αἰδόντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν. It is certainly legitimate to claim a continuity. One wonders in what sort of literary dialect the paean, later part of choral lyric, was composed in Homer’s

The explanation for the spreading of [w] could be the frequent desire to avoid hiatus both in speech and in writing. In the actual recitation of poetic texts the advantage of such a glide between two vowels was that it accounted for an easier syllabification and prevented the possibility of diphthongization or contraction in rapid delivery. Again, in writing, where syllabification was an essential part of the whole process, the use of a consonantal glide helped with spelling (the easiest syllables are the ‘minimal’ ones consisting of consonant + vowel, for example in *Πο-τε-δα-φο-νι*; see §§111 f.). It also helped the reader to avoid taking combinations of vowel + ε or vowel + ο as diphthongs (as they do have to be taken e.g. in COR 47 *Ἀέσφυλινος*, COR 23g *Τεόρορος*, or COR 30c *Ἀχιλλεύς*; see §225). Forms like Kerkyraian CEG 145 *στονόφεισαν* (not \**στονοισαν*), *ibid.* *ἄφῦτάν* (not *αὔτάν*), or our Corinthian *Ποτεδάφονι* (not \**Ποτεδαυνι*) clearly avoid this risk (see also §221).

In considering the examples from CEG 145 (all, including *ρφοφαῖσι*, with etymologically justified digammas), we must note that the forms CEG 143 *Τλασῖαφο* and CEG 144 *Πολυνόφας* (both earlier and with etymologically unjustified digammas; see above) show that an intervocalic digamma was no longer pronounced in everyday Kerkyraian speech at the time in question any more than it was in Corinthian. These digammas are therefore all poetically motivated as described above, and are in line with the spurious-diphthong spellings in the same inscriptions as discussed in §505, although there we cannot be as positive about an origin of the convention outside the East Ionic poetic tradition.

§507. *The addition of <h> to initial liquids, nasals, and digamma*

Another spelling feature which may be taken to have its origin in poetry, or at least to be closely linked with it, is the addition of <h> to a liquid, nasal, or digamma at the beginning of a word, as discussed in §211. These are the instances on our vases:<sup>1306</sup> COR 66h *Ἀη(ε)ον[τ]ίς*, CHA 16b *Μηῆδ[εσικιάστῃ]*, CHA 10b *Μηόφσος*, COR 123 *Νηέσ[σος]*, COR 19f *Φηδέσιος*, COR 76f *Φηκάβ[α]* (but COR 70b *Φεκάβᾱ*).

Apart from these attestations, it is surprising how many of the rare occurrences of this spelling are to be found in metrical inscriptions: CEG 451 *λθαβόν* (Aigina, c.475–450?), CEG 145 *ρφοφαῖσι* (Kerkyra, c.600?), CEG 146 *Μηείξιος* (Kerkyra, c.575–550?); Attic *μηνεγάλο* (CEG 190, 215, 248, late 6th to early 5th cent.), *μνέσ(σ)οι* (CEG 304, 528–514 BC), and perhaps *μνόνος* (not in CEG; Immerwahr, no. 152, c.540). It is even applied to forms in which we do not expect an aspiration from an etymological point of view—as, for example, in the three *μηνε-* forms cited—and it is virtually confined to the word-initial position (for the details see §211). On the other hand, it is never used to help the metre—for instance to lengthen a preceding syllable (indeed, in CEG 145 the previous syllable is short).

Now, a spelling with an extra sign always requires an additional effort. And even if the <h> was in some cases etymologically justified, its rather sporadic occurrence, which gives us the impression of something dispensable, contrasts with its wide geographical diffusion and even more so with its analogical transfer to a position in which we do not expect it. Could we not therefore link the phenomenon with poetry?<sup>1307</sup> For only through a Panhellenic movement like the literary tradition could such a spelling be canonized and spread. But what could have been the reason for it, and what advantage comparable with that of the spurious-diphthong spelling (see §505) and intervocalic digamma (see §506) could it be supposed to have had? On the phonetic side, the reason will have been the conservative character of careful pronunciation in a still strong oral tradition of recital, combined with a possible tendency to hypercorrection in such a tradition.<sup>1308</sup> (We may compare the pronunciation [hw-] of English words beginning with *wh-*, which is historically correct in *what*, *wheel*, *which*, etc., but may occasionally be heard too in *water*, *wind*, *wit*, etc. as a mannerism). Any advantage for a reader is less easy to imagine, but as a signal for the beginning of a word—which was generally an important characteristic of the letter heta where it was used for [h]—it would not seem entirely useless.

If we return to the occurrences on our vases, we find a confirmation of the suspected link between this spelling and poetry in the fact that at least five of the six<sup>1309</sup> are from clearly heroic scenes. If our interpretation is correct, this convention—and particularly its occurrence in two of the four Kerkyraian hexametrical inscriptions (CEG 143–6)—is well in line with the conventions described in §§505 f. And like the latter it cannot lay claim to an East Ionic origin.<sup>1310</sup>

§508. *Secondary [oi] instead of [ō] from compensatory lengthening at Corinth*

Two labels on Corinthian vases show <oi> instead of the secondary [ō] expected in the local dialect. One is COR 36a *Μοῖσαι* in a scene with the Muses following their master (b) [*Ἀπέλλ*]όν (see §406).<sup>1311</sup> The second is COR 96B *Πνδοτομέδοισα*, a Nereid in an unidentified scene (see *ibid.* and §433). Both contexts are heroic and, since the result of compensatory lengthening is normally represented by <o> or <ou> in Corinth (see §§220, 505),<sup>1312</sup> it is

<sup>1307</sup> This would not mean, of course, that we could expect it exclusively in metrical inscriptions.

<sup>1308</sup> What the precise pronunciation was, it is difficult to say. Lejeune (§112) assumes a ‘nature sourde de ces sonantes initiales’, which seems not implausible.

<sup>1309</sup> Or may we assume some such tradition even for the merry dancer *Φηδέσιος* and his companions on COR 19?

<sup>1310</sup> We may also consider the spelling with geminates, e.g. in CEG 145 *πολλόν* and *Ἀράθθοιο*, to have a particularly strong tradition in written poetry as a reading aid, as was the opinion of Heubeck (1979: 115) in the case of the Nestor cup (CEG 454). Yet in CEG 145 there is also *στονόφεισ(σ)αν*. And our vase inscriptions themselves do not allow us to establish a clear tendency in this respect either (see §113). Equally uncertain is the glide digamma (see §207). See also §209.

<sup>1311</sup> Apollon was obviously a very important deity at Corinth, as is shown by his (later) temple dominating the agora. We may assume that he played an important role in the city’s life as patron of music from early times.

<sup>1312</sup> See also CEG 356, *παῖσι* not *παῖσι*.

<sup>1306</sup> I have not come across any words beginning with an [r].

therefore more reasonable to assume a reflection of a particular poetic context, rather than an exceptional dialectal treatment that is otherwise well attested as an epichoric feature only on the island of Lesbos. What the sources of our two labels were, we cannot decide, but some choral lyric, where this feature is also well attested,<sup>1313</sup> seems a possibility.

On the other hand, COP 1B [δῖ]δοι, which represents present imperative δίδου, occurs in a dactylic hexameter, and more precisely in an archaic prayer formula which is also known from the *Odyssey* (3. 58) although not borrowed from there (see ad loc. and §303). Since this imperative δίδου was widespread (also occurring twice in Boiotia (CEG 326 and 334, both hexametrical) and five times in Pindar) and must also be interpreted as a Lesbian feature (see ad COP 1B), we should envisage the possibility of a Lesbian dactylic-hexametrical tradition of prayers, probably combined with hymns to gods, which influenced the archaic Greek world in general. This is supported by a tiny fragment of an inscription on stone from Perachora near Corinth, CEG 352 (c.650?), where the letters [. . .] μενειοισα ηυποδ[. . .] occur, plausibly restored and interpreted as [ε]υμενειοισα ηυποδ[εξαι . . .], i.e. part (probably the beginning) of a hexameter line with a ‘Lesbian’ [oi].<sup>1314</sup> There is another such likely ‘Lesbian’ participle in a hexameter line from Boiotia, CEG 114 (line 4) [. . .]οισα τον ηνιον Καφι[. . .] (479 BC?). And lastly, we may add the ‘patchwork’ hexameter line of indistinct literary genre shown on a writing-tablet in an early fifth-century school scene by the Attic vase-painter Douris (Beazley (1948), 337 f.; *ARV* 431. 48; *Para.* 374; *Add.* 237; Immerwahr, no. 533): Μοῖσα μοι | ἀ(μ)φὶ Σκάμανδρον | ἐύρ(ρ)ων ἄρχομαι | ἀεὶ{ν}δέν (to be read ἐύρρουν ἄρχομ’, see nn. 768 and 814).

Apart from these secondary *i*-diphthongs, we may have another Lesbian feature in the fragmentary name [. . .]ιανερα of COR 96A, for which we would expect the spelling -άνερα in epichoric Corinthian (see ad loc. and §219). As the label is likely to belong to a Nereid in a scene similar to that on COR 96B with Πνδοτομέδοισα, we may prefer to interpret the form as ‘Lesbian’ -άνερ(ρ)α (see §433).

In the context of our Corinthian attestations it is tempting, of course, to think of Eumelus, the earliest poet whom we know to have written epic and other poems at Corinth. His fr. 696 *PMG* does indeed contain our Lesbian diphthong, viz. Μοῖσα and probably ἔχοισα, duly referred to by Arena (ad our COR 36a), and Hansen (ad CEG 352). Moreover, its genre, a processional song, written in hexameters, fits our epigraphical fragments very well. After Eumelus, who is a century or more earlier than our vases and other evidence, Arion from Methymna on Lesbos came to Corinth. He was working at the court of Periandros in about 600 BC, i.e. closer in time to our documents, and is said to have raised the dithyramb to a high artistic level.

The tradition of poetry we are tracing here, which could have been, perhaps mainly was, in the epic hexameter metre and

included prayers (hymns) and processional songs, must have spread from the Aeolic island of Lesbos to many or all parts of Greece in very early times (CEG 326 from Boiotia is dated to 700–675). We can recognize it in strikingly parallel examples from Boiotia and Corinth. It is likely to have been spread by poets travelling widely within the Greek world (it was the busy colonial era), and settling where they were well received and given opportunities to show their skills. Of course, the use of the dactylic hexameter makes it difficult to distinguish between this genre and epic, but the Ionic Homeric hymns too have very close links with ‘proper’ epic, i.e. Homer and Hesiod. It seems natural that certain such typical features of our non-Ionic tradition as the Lesbian [oi] were preserved for a longer time in Boiotian and Doric contexts than in Ionic regions or Attica, where the strong Ionic tradition of Homer—who of course had built upon an earlier Aeolic layer himself—must have taken over much more quickly.<sup>1315</sup>

We may also suppose that certain of the features discussed above (§§503–7)—of which some are only orthographic, others also phonological, but all seemingly linked to poetry—may have originated in poetic circles descending from this tradition, perhaps in Corinth itself. Even the Corinthian script, which must be due to a—very remarkable—secondary reform of the original writing system whereby it was turned from an ‘Achaian’ type into the ‘East Ionic’ type (see §106), may have had its origins in poetic circles around people like Eumelus in the late eighth century. In that case, the ‘East Ionic’ label of the new system may of course have to be changed to ‘East Aeolic’, but since the writing system of Lesbos, as far as we can see, was principally the same as that of East Ionia (see Jeffery, pp. 359–61, with *Addenda*, p. 378), no decision can be made.

Nevertheless, not all the dialect features grouped under the headings ‘unexpected East Ionic forms’ and ‘foreign forms other than East Ionic’ of §§503 and 504 can be classed as Aeolic imports. That is not feasible for COR 82d [K]λεῦβρυλος (see ad loc.) and COP 1A [ε]παγγείλας, which in Lesbian should both have had a short vowel and geminate [ll], not a long vowel (i.e. a spurious diphthong) and single [l] (see Thumb–Scherer, pp. 95 f.). The same is true for the other cases of spurious-diphthong spelling for which we may claim a literary background (see §505), viz. COR 24e Αὐτομέδουσα and COR 28Ab Μοῦσαι (alongside (a) Μῶσαι), which would have -οισα in Lesbian (as COR 36a and 96B discussed above); and COR 70k Πολυξένᾱ (see §§503, 505), in view of (a) Πρίamos not Πέρ(ρ)amos and (h) Κεβριόνᾱs not \*Κεβεppονᾱs (see §256), is not Lesbian either (it would be -ξένᾱ, *ibid.*, pp. 93 f.). In particular for COR 82 (see §509) and for COP 1A with its East Greek <γγ>, but also for the Trojan characters Πολυξένᾱ etc. of COR 70, it therefore remains justifiable to assume too a certain degree of influence from the ‘Homeric’ Ionic tradition that was present though not yet dominant in Corinth at the time of our vases.

<sup>1315</sup> The same seems to be true for the preservation of -οισα etc. in choral lyric, which may have been spread from Lesbos in much the same way, e.g. by Alcman and even earlier by Terpander, who both went to Sparta from the East Aeolic area in the 7th cent. See again Trümper (1986), 137.

<sup>1313</sup> See Trümper (1986), 137, with n. 93.

<sup>1314</sup> That the elided [a] is written, is a frequent phenomenon (see §224).



OTHER REFLECTIONS OF LITERATURE IN THE  
SCENES AND LABELS§509. *Style of the inscriptions and content of the scenes*

Sometimes it is not a linguistic or orthographic feature but the style of a label that suggests poetic provenance. This is particularly true for the horse-names COR 24*f* Πολυπένθα (< -πενθής, see §228) and COR 87*d* Λυσίπολις. The first is actually feminine, which is very unusual for horses in heroic contexts (see §244), and it occurs in a scene that is not only heroic in content (the wedding of Paris and Helene, see §439) but also carries other reflections of a literary background: (b) Ἐκτόρ (see §503), (d) Ἡλένη (see §504), and the elaborate name (e) Ἀυτομέδουσα (see §505). The second horse-name is from a pseudo-heroic scene with three other grandiloquent horse-names partly known from myth (see §468), but we cannot link the scene to any precise heroic tale. What the painter had in mind we are therefore unable to say, but there seems to be a literary context. Various other horse-names are on the grand scale too, but occur on vases without further positive hints of poetry (see §244).

As mentioned in the Introduction, the painted and even labelled heroic scene without additional linguistic support is mostly insufficient to demonstrate a direct literary reflection. The reason for this may be our ignorance of relevant literature: an example is the case of COR 66, for which two poems by Stesichorus may, but need not, be the source. Only a few scenes—all pointing to the *Iliad*—seem to offer features distinctive enough for a sufficiently firm conclusion to be reached, namely COR 82 with the death of Kleoboulos in the presence of Pyraichmes (§§448, 504 f.), perhaps DOH 1 with the fight over Euphorbos' body (§449; see also §503), COR 30 with several Iliadic episodes on one vase (see §446), and CHA 15 with a very subtle rendering of the departure of Hektor and Paris (see §444). A possible case is the scene on INC 1 which depicts the Cyclops' household gear (see ad loc.). Another famous scene, CHA 4, seems to reflect a lost literary text very closely, as far as we can judge, but shows non-epic dialect forms and is therefore less certain (see §456 and §503 n. 1260).

An interesting case is the story of Herakles and Iolaos fighting the Hydra. This scene on four inscribed Corinthian vases (COR 6, 8, 13, 19) and one Lakonian vase (LAK 6) shows certain details and common features which make us suppose a strong iconographical convention (see §411). On the other hand, the name of Iolaos on three of the four vases (COR 6, 8, 13) shows a feature which seems to point to poetic language (see §506). Apart from Hes. *Th.* 313–18, which cannot be the source since certain iconographical details are lacking (see §411), we have no indication of an epic treatment of this topic, but can there be any doubt that Herakles' labours were the subject not only of paintings and stories but also of poems (see §506)?

§510. *Popular etymology and similar changes to heroic names*

We have come across a fair number of cases where a name was slightly changed or reinterpreted through popular etymology. Although such cases may occur in everyday language (examples may be COR 114*e* and CHA 1*f*, see ad locc. and §237 at the end), they seem to have been particularly frequent in poetry, and indeed in epic (see §254 *ad fin.*).<sup>1316</sup> The names in question are Chiron (§248), Odysseus (§254), Troilos (§257), Ampyx (n. 1078), CHA 28*a* Ἀρί[πυια] (see ad loc.), CHA 16*b* Μῆ[ε]δ[ε]σικ[ά]στ[ε] (§211), COR Gr 13 Τέλαφος (see §440), and perhaps also the names of Amphiaraios (see ad COR 66*f/r*), Ariadne (see n. 566 ad CHA 11*c*), Iason (see ad COR 24*Ba* and §505), Ismene (see ad COR 113*d*), Kalais (see §425 n. 1068), Cassandra (see ad COR 70*f*, with n. 306), Persephone (see ad COR 124*B*), Phorkys (see ad COR 106*a* and §408), and Zeus or rather Xeus (see §258). In the case of Odysseus' name we know that the change had already taken place in epic and was not the idea of the vase-painters who used the altered form. But in the other cases too the most plausible assumption is that the change goes back to a source used by the vase-painter, i.e. that it reflects poetry.

Similar changes concern elements of compounds, or even whole compound names. This procedure too has a tradition in epic, though it has to be attributed to the inattentiveness rather than inventiveness of the poets. We have come across COR 113*b* Περιφλύμενος, where Mimnermus has Θεοκλύμενος (see §429), in the scene with Tydeus killing Ismene. The Nereid COR 96*B* Πνδοτομέδοισα is attested as Πρωτο-μέδεια or Ποντο-μέδουσα in literature (see §433). Hektor's brother is COR 70*j* Δαίφονος (see §444) and COR 24*a* Δαίφον (see §439), both forms in clearly heroic scenes with other clues pointing to poetry (see §§503 ff.).<sup>1317</sup> but the Homeric name is Δηϊφόβος. The Amazon queen fighting Herakles is named COR 4*c* Ανδρομέδα in a scene which also seems to reflect poetry (see §506 for Ἀλκινόῳ); on Attic vases she is called Ανδρομάχῃ and in literature Ἰππολύτη (see ad COR 4*c* and ETR 4).

The most significant feature of such changes is that they yield forms with the same (or at least an equivalent) prosodic shape as the original names (this works for all variants cited except COR 24*a* Δαίφον, for which see §504). This is a clear indication that the phenomenon is a matter of poetic language: indeed, is part of the technique of oral poetry. The question as to which forms are the 'original' ones, those transmitted in literature or those on our vases, is impossible to answer and would probably have seemed slightly sophistic to an archaic Greek.

<sup>1316</sup> See also ad COR 66*f/r* on Amphiaraios, and §248 on Chiron.

<sup>1317</sup> See also the Attic example Δεΐθυνος, cited §439.



## APPENDIX

# Microcatalogue

EUB 1	θεῖ. Unspecified scene with goddesses (label).	BOI 14	(a) αβγδεζήθικλμ   νοπρστυξφχ, (b) αβγδεζήθικλ   μνοπρστυξφχ. Abecedaria.
EUB 2	(a) Πῆλ[εύς], (b) Θέτ[ις], (c) [Nῆ]ρεύς. Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (labels).	BOI 15	(a) Ἀρεῖς, (b) Γᾶγενῆς, (c) Ἡερακλῆς, (d) Ἀθᾶνᾶ. Herakles and (a) Gegenes (labels).
EUB 3	(a) Καλλιμει[. . . ?]   νς καλᾶ. (b) K[αλλι]μέλεια κ[α]λᾶ. Kalos-inscriptions.	BOI 16	(a) Μίτος, (b) Κράτεια, (c) Πρᾶτόλαος, (d) Πάις, (e) Κάβιρος, (f) Σατύ[ρᾶ]. Probably a sacrificial procession (labels).
BOI 1	(A) Γρύτων ἐποίῃσε. (B) Γρύτων ἐποίῃσε. Potter's signatures.	BOI 17	(a) Πά[ρι]ς, (b) Ἡερμῆ[ς] (rather than Ἡερμέ[ας]), (c) [H]ῆρᾶ, (d) Ἀθᾶν(ᾶ), (e) Ἀφρο[δίτᾶ]. Judgement of Paris (labels).
BOI 2	(A) Μεναιδᾶς ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε Χάροπι. (B) Μεναιδᾶς ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε Χάροπι. (C) Μεναιδᾶς ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε Χάροπι. (D) Χάροπι ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε Μεναιδᾶς (a different and more careless hand later incised: Γοργίᾶς τὸ πόλ(λ)όνι). Potter's signatures and dedications (to a human?; (D) later to Apollon).	BOI 18	(a) Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς, (b) Βορίᾶς. Odysseus on his raft, and Boreas (labels).
BOI 3	Ἐπίχ' ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε θειοῖς περικαλδεῖα δόρα. Metrical potter's signature (and dedication?).	BOI 19	Σίβων καλός. Kalos-inscription.
BOI 4	(A) Μνασάλκῃς ποίῃσε. (B) Μνασάλκ' ἐποίῃσε. (C) (a) Μνασάλκῃς ποίῃσε vac.] Ἐμπεδιόνδᾶι. (b) Ἀντ[ά]ρ ἡ δόκε φέρων φιλοτάσιον Αἰσχύλοι ἀντό. Potter's signatures; (C) with additional dedications (one metrical) to humans.	BOI 20	Σμίκρος ἀνέθεκε Καβίρῳ. Dedication.
BOI 5	(A) Φιθαδᾶς ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε. (B) Φιθ' ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε. Potter's signatures.	BOI 21	(a) Ἡῆρᾶ, (b) Ἀ(. . .). Probably the Judgement of Paris (labels).
BOI 6	(A) Πόλῶν ἐμ[. . .] or ἐμ' ἐ[. . .]. (B) Πόλῶν ἐπόῃσε. (C) Πόλῶν ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε. (D) Πόλῶν ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε. (E) Πόλῶν ἐμ' ἐποίῃσε. (B)–(E) Potter's signatures; (A) less certain.	BOI 22	Κίρκᾶ. Odysseus and Kirke (label).
BOI 7	(A) (a) and (b) Γᾶμέδῃς ἐπόῃσε. (B) Γᾶμέδῃς ἐπόῃσε. (C) [. . .]ς ἐπο[ι(ί)ῃσε . . . ?]. Potter's (or potters'?) signatures.	BOI 23	Κέφαλος. Kephalos and the Termessan fox (label).
BOI 8	Περσεύς. Perseus pursued by the Gorgons (label).	BOI 24	[. . .]κύων. Unidentified scene (label).
BOI 9	(a) Πολυτίμειδᾶς καλός, πάνχυ τοε καλός. (b) Πολυτίμειδᾶς καλός, πάνχυ τ[οε κ]αλό(ς), να[έ. ?]. Kalos-inscriptions.	BOI 25	[. . .]Καβίρῳ. (?) [. . . ?]. Dedication.
BOI 10	(a) . . . α, (b) [. . . ἔδ?]ῶκε [. . . πο?]τέρια[. . . ?]. γα-σ[. . . ?], (c) Εὐφάρα, (d) Εὐφροσύνᾶ, (e) Φιλοφῆρα, (f) Εὐφάρα, (g) Εὐφάρα, (h) Οδομά. (a) and (c)–(h): Toilet and domestic scene (labels). (b) Not clear, perhaps a dedication.	BOI 26	[Εὐν]οσσιδᾶς τῷ Παιδ[ί. . . ?]. Dedication.
BOI 11	(A) and (B) (a) Κρίτων, (b) νίκᾶ, (c) [. . .]αφ[. . . ?] or [. . . ?]φα[. . .] (twice each). Cock-fight; (a) and (c) labels, (b) comment: '(with him is) victory', or invocation: '(with him be) Victory!'. (A) Beauty label to one of the (female) figures, or statement by the vase (fem.). (B)–(E) Dedications, (E) perhaps metrical. (F) Not clear.	BOI 27	Λέων ἡ λι[αρεὺς (?) . . . ?]. Not clear.
BOI 12	(a) Κοενης, (b) Κοης. Labels or nonsense inscription?	BOI 28	[. . . Παι]δὶ τῷ Κα[βίρῳ. . . ?]. Dedication.
BOI 13	Δανάα. Danae receiving the gold rain (label).	BOI 29	[. . .]ωρος κα[λός] or [. . .]ωρος Κα[βίρω. . . ?]. Kalos-inscription or dedication.
		BOI 30	(a) (←) ΑΒΕΞΙΒΓΤΞΦ (b) ΦΘΕ. Nonsense inscription.
		AIG 1	Μενεᾶς. Unspecified scene with Menelaos (label).
		AIG 2	Ἀγ[αμέμνων] or Ἀλ[έξανδρος] (?). Unidentified scene, perhaps heroic (label).
		AIG 3	(A) καλή εἰμ[ι]. (B) (1) [. . . ἀνέθ]ηκε . . . . (2) [. . . ἀν]έ-θηκε[. . .]. (C) [. . .]τῇ φαίη[ι . . . ?]. (D) [. . . ἀνέ]θη-κε[. . .]. (E) Ἀριστόφαντος καὶ Δαμωνιδᾶς ἀνέθετᾶν. (F) (only one or two letters). (A) Beauty label to one of the (female) figures, or statement by the vase (fem.). (B)–(E) Dedications, (E) perhaps metrical. (F) Not clear.
		INC 1	Ἀριστόνοθος (or Ἀρίστον{ο}φος?) ἐποί(ε)σεν. Potter's signature.
		INC 2	Καταπύγῳν ἡ ποιέσᾶς καὶ ἡ φέρων. Erotic inscription, probably by a potter-lover.
		PCO 1	ἀπλοῦν (?). Not clear.
		PCO 2	(a) Ἀλ[έξανδ]ρος, (b) Ἀθᾶναῖα, (c) Ἀφροδ[ίτᾶ]. Judgement of Paris (labels).

PCO 3	[. . . ?]σφε [. . .] or [. . .]. εφσ[. . . ?]. Not clear.	COR 22	Χάριτες. Unidentified scene with Charites (label).
PCO 4	(a) Ἀχιλλ(λ)εύς, (b) Μέμνων. Achilles and Memnon (labels).	COR 23	(a) Διομέδης, (b) [Ἵλ(λ)]σεί(ς), (c) Φοῖνιξ, (d) Αἴψας, (e) Νέστορ, (f) Ἀγαμέμνων, (g) Τεόγρος, (h) Αἴψας. Suicide of Aias (labels).
PCO 5	(a) ἈΨός, (b) Αἰθίοψ. Achilles and Memnon (labels).	COR 24	(a) Δαΐφον, (b) Ἐκτόρ, (c) Ἀλέξανδρος, (d) Ηελένᾱ, (e) Αὐτομέδουσα, (f) Πολυπένθᾱ, (g) Ξάνθος, (h) Ηιππῶι, (i) Ηιπ(π)όλυτος. Wedding of Paris and Helene (mixed) (labels).
PCO 6	Ζεῦ[ς]. Birth of Athena (label).	COR 24A	(a) Μέμνων, (b) Ἀντί(ο)χος, (c) Ἀχιλλ(λ)εύς, (d) Θέτις. Achilles and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).
COR Introd.	(a) Τῦμῶι, (b) Πυρρῆς. Non-heroic dancing scene (labels).	COR 24B	(a) Εἰάσων, (b) Φῖνις, (c) Τῦμᾶνδρᾱ, (d) Ποῦλυδ(ε)ύκ(ε)ς. (e) [Κ]άλα[αῖς]. Argonauts visiting Phineus (labels).
COR 1	(a) [. . .]ριναρ[. . .], (b) Σαοθ[. . .], (c) Η[. . .] (or perhaps (c) + (b) Η[. . .]θoας), (d) [. . .]πτελε[. . . ?], (e) στροφοῖ[. . .], (f) [. . .] δῆα[. . . ?], (g) [. . .]ξεί[. . .]. Not clear.	COR 25	(a) Νεβρίς, (b) Κ(α)λύκᾱ. Probably two hetairai (labels).
COR 1A	Ἀμασζόν. Unidentified battle of Amazons (with Herakles or Achilles?) (label).	COR 26	(a) Καλ(λ)ιο [. . .], (b) Δα[μ- . . ?], (c) [Η]ιπ(π)όδιφος or [Η]υπόδιφος. Sacrificial procession (labels).
COR 2	See PCO 2.	COR 27	(a) Πρέαμος, (b) Σωσίθεος, (c) [. . .]β[. . .], (d) Ἀσόβας, (e) Ξάνθος, (f) Τρό . ιλος, (g) [. . .] (h) Τῦμῶνιδᾱς μ' ἔγραψε. (i) Ἀχιλλ(λ)εύς. (a)–(g) and (i): Achilles and Troilos (labels). (h) Painter's signature.
COR 3	Πάτρολος. Unspecified scene with Patroklos (label).	COR 28	See COP 18.
COR 4	(a) Ἀρετμα . . , (b) Ἀλκινόῃᾱ, (c) Ἀνδρομέδᾱ, (d) ΗἙρακλῆς, (e) Φιόλᾱς, (f) Ἰασί[. . ?]ιλογ. Herakles and the Amazons (labels).	COR 28A	(a) Μῶσαι, (b) Μοῦσαι, (c) Καλλιόπᾱ, (d) Ἀπέλλον, (e) ΗἙρακλῆς, (f) ΗἙβᾱ, (g) Ἀθᾶνᾱ, (h) Ἀφροδίτᾱ, (i) Χάριτες, (j) Ξεύς, (k) Ἑρμᾱς, (l) ΗἙρᾱ. Wedding of Herakles and Hebe (labels).
COR 5	Πάρευνος. Battle scene, probably non-heroic (label).	COR 29	[. . . Π]υρρῆα [. . . ?]. Not clear, probably a name.
COR 6	(a) Φους, (b) Ἀθᾶνᾱ, (c) ΗἙρακλῆς, (d) Φιόλᾱφος, (e) Λάπυθος. Herakles and the Hydra (mixed) (labels).	COR 30	(a) Σαρπᾶδων, (b) Ἐκκτόρ, (c) Ἀχιλλεοῦς, (d) Φοῖνιξ, (e) Αἴψας, (f) Αἴψας, (g) Αἰνῆας, (h) Ηιπ(π)οκλῆς. (i) Δόλων. Fights between Achilles and Hektor, the Aiantes and Aineias (with peculiarities); Dolon running (labels).
COR 7	(a) Ηιπποβάτᾱς, (b) Ηιπ(π)οστρόφος. Non-heroic marching scene (labels).	COR 31	(a) [. . .]ξς, (b) [. . .] ᾱ, (c) [Διόν]υσος. (d) [. . .]συλος μ' ἀνέθεκε τ[ᾱ] ΗἙρᾱι[. . ?]. (a)–(c) Unidentified scene with Dionysos (labels). (d) Incised dedication.
COR 8	Φιόλᾱφος. Herakles and the Hydra (label).	COR 32	(a) ΗἙρακλῆς, (b) Φιόλᾱφος. Herakles and the Hydra (labels).
COR 9	[Ἐκτ?]ῶρ. Unidentified battle scene, perhaps with Hektor (label).	COR 33	(a) Ἀγᾱμέμνων, (b) Ἀλκᾱ, (c) Δορύμαχος, (d) σᾱκίς, (e) Ἀνδρῦτᾱς, (f) Λάφον, (g) Φίλδων, (h) Θέρσανδρος. Boar-hunt, probably pseudo-heroic (labels).
COR 10	(a) Αἴψας, (b) Ἐκτόρ or Ἐρτορ. Hektor and Aias (labels).	COR 34	Θέτις[. . ?]. Unidentified scene, perhaps with Thetis in her bridal chariot (perhaps a label).
COR 11	[. . .] (?) ηυλαί[. . .]. Not clear, probably not a label.	COR 35	[Θρα?]συνμῆ[δῆς?]. Unidentified battle scene (label).
COR 12	(a) Τόξος, (b) Κλύτιος, (c) Διδᾶτῶν, (d) Εὐρύτιος, (e) Φύφιος, (f) Φιολᾱ, (g) ΗἙρακλῆς. (h) Δ[ι]ομή[δ]ῆς, (i) Αἴψας, (j) Ὀλισ(σ)εύς. Herakles at Oichalia (labels). Suicide of Aias (labels).	COR 36	(a) Μοῖσαι, (b) [Ἀπέλλ]ων. Unidentified scene with Apollon Musagetes (labels).
COR 13	(a) ΗἙρακλῆς, (b) Φιόλᾱφος. Herakles and the Hydra (labels).	COR 37	(a) Κάσσορ, (b) [. . .]ολ[. . .]. Unidentified (pseudo-heroic?) riding scene with Kastor (labels).
COR 14	(a) Αἴψας, (b) Αἴψας, (c) Διομή[δῆς?], (d) Θρ . . υμες, (e) Νίκιπ(π)ος, (f) Ποδ . . . ος, (g) Π[. . .]. Suicide of Aias (mixed) (labels).	COR 38	(a) Αἴψας, (b) Διομέδης. Unidentified scene with Aias and Diomedes (labels).
COR 15	Αἰνέας. Unspecified fight involving Aineias (label).	COR 39	Ἀλκ(ᾱ)θλᾱ. Unidentified scene (label).
COR 16	(a) Κάσσορ, (b) Ἰπ(π)ομαχίδᾱς, (c) Αἰθῶν, (d) Φορβός (Φόρβος?), (e) Φαστυπότᾱς. Scene of return (?), probably non-heroic (i.e. pseudo-heroic) (labels).	COR 40	(a) Εὐνός (or Εὐνός), (b) Ὀμριγός, (c) Ὀφέλανδρος. Men carrying a krater (labels).
COR 17	(a) Πολύτερος, (b) Πυρρῆας προχορευόμενος· αὐτὸ δέ Φοι ὀλπᾱ. Non-heroic dancing scene. (a) Label. (b) Label and—at the same time—dedication (metrical, with property formula) to a human artist.	COR 40A	See COP 62.
COR 18	(a) Αἰνέτᾱ ἐμί. (b) Μεν(ν)έας, (c) Θέρων, (d) Μυρμιδᾱς, (e) Εὐδιγός, (f) Λῶσανδρίδᾱς, (g) Χαρικλίδᾱς, (h) Δέξι(λ?)ός, (i) Ξένων, (j) Φρύξ. Probably a love-gift. (a) Label of the woman represented. (b)–(j) List of men's names.	COR 41	Φοινεύ[ς]. Unidentified scene, possibly heroic (label).
COR 19	(a) ΗἙρακλῆος, (b) [Ἀθᾶν]ᾱ, (c) ΗἙρακλῆς, (d) Φιόλᾱς. (e) Λόρδιος, (f) Φηαδέσιος, (g) Παίχινος, (h) Qόμιος, (i) [.]όξιος. Herakles and the Hydra (labels). Padded men dancing (labels).	COR 42	(a) [. . . ε?]ς, (b) [Η?]ιππολύτᾱ. Unidentified scene (labels).
COR 20	Ἀπέλλον. Unidentified scene with Apollon (label).	COR 43	See PCO 4.
COR 21	Τόνιος. Battle scene, probably non-heroic (label).	COR 44	(a) Τρόιλος, (b) Ηίπ(π)ιχος, (c) Πυραίχμᾱς, (d) Αἰνέας, (e) Ἐρτορ. Achilles and Troilos (labels).

- COR 44A (a) Πάρ[ις], (b) Αἰνέας. Unidentified fight involving Aineias (and probably Paris) (labels).
- COR 45 (a) Ἀθάνα, (b) ρ . ες. Unspecified departure scene with Athena (label).
- COR 46 (A) (a) Εὐμῆλος, (b) Πάτροκλος, (c) Εὐρύμαχος, (d) Δαίπυλος, (e) Δι(ὸ)νυμος (?), (f) Αἴφας, (g) Ἀνδρόμαχος, (h) Διομῆδης, (i) [Κεβρι?]όνᾱς. (B) (a) Χαρῖλόι, (b) Χίρων. (A) Unspecified battle scene with Patroklos etc. (mixed) (labels). (B) Chiron receiving the baby Achilleus (labels).
- COR 47 Αἰσχύλῳ Περσέῳ. Probably a dedication to a human (name in the nominative).
- COR 48 Κένις. Probably a dedication to a human (name in the nominative).
- COR 49 Φιδίᾱς. Probably a dedication to a human (name in the nominative).
- COR 50 Ουλ(λ)ῖᾱς. Probably a dedication to a human (name in the nominative).
- COR 50A Ἀγρᾱνῶ. Probably a dedication to a human (property formula).
- COR 51 (a) Τρόειλος, (b) αβγδεζζηθικλμνοπρστυφψ:χε. Achilleus and Troilos (label). Abecedarium (also label?).
- COR 52 ἴσ(σ)α! Exclamation (?) in a non-heroic scene with a woman chased by a donkey and a man.
- COR 53 (a) Δᾱί[. . . 3-4 . .]ος, (b) Εὐρύμαχος, (c) Πρόμαχος. Preparation for war (waiting for marching orders?), probably non-heroic (labels).
- COR 54 Πολυλαῖδᾱς. Non-heroic battle scene (label).
- COR 55 Περσεύς. Perseus running, probably with Medusa's head and pursued by the Gorgons (label).
- COR 56 Χάριτες[ς?]. Unidentified scene with Charites (label).
- COR 57 (a) (Παλαμῆδης), (b) (Νέστορ), (c) Πρῶτεσίλᾱς, (d) Πόδαργος, (e) Πάτροκλος, (f) Βάλιος, (g) Ἀχιλλεύς, (h) Ξάνθος, (i) Ὀρίων, (j) Ἑκτόρ, (k) Μέμν[ων], (l) (Ἀθῶν). (m) Χάρες μ' ἔγραψε. (a)–(l) Unspecified riding scene with characters from the Trojan Cycle (labels). (m) Painter's signature.
- COR 58 (a) Νέων, (b) Ἄντι(. .). Non-heroic riding scene (labels).
- COR 59 (a) Δίον, (b) Χάρων, (c) Φίον. Nine warriors running, non-heroic (labels).
- COR 60 (a) Αἴφας, (b) Ηέφτορ, (c) Αἰνέας. Aias about to vanquish Hektor (labels).
- COR 61 Ηιππόλυτος. Fight over the body of a dead warrior, probably non-heroic (label).
- COR 62 Πόλυδος. Non-heroic riding scene (label).
- COR 63 Φάχως. Non-heroic riding scene (label).
- COR 64 (a) Πολυδόριδος, (b) Κίσιππος. (c) Λαῖδος, (d) Δίον. Non-heroic chariot and riding scenes (labels).
- COR 64A Φίον. Non-heroic battle scene (label).
- COR 64B (a) Φιδίνος (?), (b) [. . . α]νδρος. Departure scene, probably non-heroic (labels).
- COR 65 Ἐράτᾱ. Perhaps a love-gift to a hetaira (label).
- COR 66 (a) Ἐριφύλᾱ, (b) Αἰνίππᾱ, (c) Δᾱμοφάνας(σ)α, (d) Εὐρυδικᾱ, (e) Ἀλκμ[α(ί)ων], (f) Ἀμφιάρεος, (g) Βάτων, (h) Λη(ε)ον[τ]ίς, (i) Ηιπποτίων, (j) Χαλμῆδης. (k) Ἀκ(α)στος, (l) Ἀργεος, (m) Φέρης, (n) Εὐφᾱμος, (o) Κάστορ, (p) Ἀδμᾱτο[ς], (q)
- COR 67 Ἀλάστορ, (r) Ἀμφιάρεος, (s) Ηίπ(π)ασος, (t) Πελεύς, (u) Ηίππαλγμος. Departure of Amphiaraios for the Theban War (labels). Funeral games for Pelias (labels).
- COR 68 (a) Φάχως, (b) Λαῖδᾱς, (c) Φίον, (d) Πόλυβος, (e) Ξάνθος. Non-heroic departure scene (labels).
- COR 69 (a) Εὐρύμας, (b) [Εὐ]ρυμῆδων, (c) ήίπ(π)ος, (d) Δαμ[. . .], (e) Φίον, (f) Δάμων, (g) Κεβρι[ι]όνᾱς, (h) Κετορ corrected from Ἑτ(τ)ορ, (i) Λεῦφ(ο)ς, (j) Γ(λ)αῦφος, (k) Εὐρύλοχος, (l) Ηιππόλυτος[ος]. Pseudo-heroic chariot scene (labels).
- COR 70 Κῦργ[ος]. Probably Herakles and Kyknos (label).
- COR 71 (a) Πρίαμος, (b) Φεκάβᾱ, (c) Ἑφτορ, (d) Αἰνῶι, (e) Κιᾱνίς, (f) Οόραξ, (g) Ηιππόμαχος, (h) Κεβριόνᾱς, (i) Ξάνθος, (j) Δαίφονος, (k) Πολυξένᾱ, (l) Κεσ(σ)άνδρᾱ. (m) Φίονις. Departure of Hektor (mixed?) (labels). Non-heroic riding scene (label).
- COR 72 (a) φίλοι, (b) Εὐρύβα(ς), (c) Φίῶι, (d) ήίπ(π)οι, (e) ho λῶις (?). Non-heroic wedding scene (labels).
- COR 73 Ἀχιλλεύς. Unidentified fight of Achilleus (label).
- COR 74 Ηῆρακλῆς. Unidentified scene with Herakles (label).
- COR 75 (a) Μενελάφος, (b) Ὀλισ(σ)εύς, (c) Ταλθύβιος, (d) Θεᾱνῶι, (e) Δία, (f) Μᾱλῶι, (g) τροφός, (h) Ηαρματιδᾱς, (i) Γλ(α)ῦφος, (j) Ε(ῦ)ρύμαχος, (k) Φιλίονῆς, (l) [. . .] τᾱς, (m) Πολυφ[. . .]. Embassy to Troy about Helene (Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις) (labels).
- COR 76 [. . .]θυβί[. . .]. Not clear.
- COR 77 (a) Ἄν[δρο]μάχᾱ, (b) [. . .] [. . .], (c) Ηελένᾱ, (d) Αἰνέας, (e) Περιλιπῶι, (f) Φεκάβ[ᾱ], (g) Λεῦφ[ος]. Aineias threatening Helene at the Sack of Troy (labels).
- COR 78 (a) Δίῶι, (b) Κλεσπ[. . .] τᾱ, (c) Φίῶι, (d) Ηαμαθῶι, (e) Qῶματοθᾱ, (f) Φίῶι. Lamentation over the dead Achilleus (labels).
- COR 79 (a) [Λᾱφ?]οδ(ά)μᾱς (?), (b) Ξάνθος, (c) Λᾱφοδά[μᾱς]. Non-heroic departure scene (labels).
- COR 79A (a) Λεῦφος, (b) Πάρις, (c) Ζε(υ)ξίππᾱ, (d) Πρίαμος, (e) Βάτων. Departure of Paris (labels).
- COR 80 (a) Ἀπομῆδων, (b) Μέμνων, (c) Ἀχιλλεύς, (d) [. . .] . s, (e) Τάδων. Achilleus and Memnon (labels).
- COR 81 (A) (a) Δίῶι, (b) Φίῶι, (c) Δῶροῖ, (d) Ὀλ[. . .] τῶι, (e) Φίφης, (f) Ξάνθος, (g) Λαδάμας, (h) Ηιπ(π)ομέ[δων]. (B) (a) [. . .] ᾱδοφος, (b) Φᾱχῶι. (A) Non-heroic wedding scene (labels). (B) Perhaps a non-heroic departure scene (labels).
- COR 82 (a) Πολυδάμας, (b) Πάρις, (c) Αἴφας, (d) [Κ]λεῦβουλος, (e) Ἀλκιμος, (f) Σαρπᾱδων, (g) Πυραίχμᾱς, (h) Γλαῦφος. Fight over Sarpedon's body (labels).
- COR 83 (a) Λάλας, (b) Λάλας. Non-heroic riding scene (labels).
- COR 83bis Λάλας. Non-heroic riding and marching scene (label).
- COR 83ter (a) Λάλας, (b) Λάλα(ς). (c) Λάλα[ς?], (d) Δίον. Non-heroic riding and chariot scene (labels).
- COR 84 Δίον. Non-heroic riding scene (label).
- COR 85 (a) Δῶροῖ, (b) Εὐμαχος, (c) Ἀγᾱνῶρ, (d) [. . .] . as, (e) Δάμας, (f) Ξάνθος. Non-heroic arming scene (labels).
- COR 86 (a) Μελάνᾱς, (b) Διονῦσιος, (c) Εὐφορβος. Non-heroic chariot scene (labels).

- COR 87 (a) *Ἀκάμας*, (b) *Ὀύλλαρος*, (c) *Φοῖτον*, (d) *Λῦσίπολις*, (e) *Ὀύλλαρος*, (f) *ἀσκάλαβος*. Chariot scene, probably pseudo-heroic (labels).
- COR 88 (a) *Ὀλισ(σ)εύς*, (b) *Θέτι{ε}ς*, (c) *Ἀχιλλεύς*, (d) *Φινγρ.ς*. Thetis and the elders with the mourning Achilleus (labels).
- COR 89 (a) *Φέρῃς*, (b) *Ἄνιοχιδᾶς*, (c) *Ξάνθος*, (d) *Λᾶφοπτόλεμος*, (e) *Βάλιος*. Chariot scene, probably pseudo-heroic (labels).
- COR 90 (a) *Ξάνθος*, (b) [. . . ?]οσριος (i.e. [Π]όδαργος?), (c) *Ὀύ[λλαρος]*. Chariot scene, probably pseudo-heroic (labels).
- COR 91 (a) *Ἀθᾶ[νᾶ]*, (b) *[Η?]ιπ(π)ονίκα*. Probably Herakles and the Amazons (labels).
- COR 92 (a) *Δῶρῶι*, (b) *[Ξ]ένῳ* (?), (c) *Δᾶμαγόρᾶς*, (d) *Σελῆνῶι*, (e) *Η(ε)ρμαῖος*, (f) *Ἑρατόι*, (g) *Σφόρτος*. (h) *Λᾶδᾶμαφος*, (i) *Λυδάμας*, (j) *Ηιπ(π)οτίων*. Non-heroic banquet and riding scenes (labels).
- COR 93 (a) *Ἀντο[μεδῶν]*, (b) *Ἀχιλλεύς*, (c) *[Μ]έμνων*, (d) *Ἀντί[λοχος]*. Achilleus and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).
- COR 94 *[Υ]π(π)αίμω* (?). Chariot scene, probably non-heroic (label).
- COR 95 (a) *Νερεύς*, (b) *Δῶρ[ί]ς*. Herakles wrestling with Nereus (labels).
- COR 96 (A) *[Καλ(λ)?]ιάνερ(ρ)?α*. (B) *Πινδοτομέδοισα*. (A) Unidentified scene, perhaps with Nereids (Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters?) (label). (B) Unidentified scene with Nereids, perhaps Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters (label).
- COR 97 *Ποτῆδᾶν*. Unspecified riding scene with Poseidon (label).
- COR 98 *Πελεύς*. Peleus surprising Thetis and her sisters (label).
- COR 99 (a) *Δίον*, (b) *Αἴφας*, (c) *Δί(ι)ών*, (d) *Λαῖδᾶς*. (e) ?, (f) *Δίον*. Pseudo-heroic battle scene (labels). Non-heroic riding scene (labels).
- COR 100 (a) *Εὐφᾶμος*, (b) *Σθεν(ν)?ῶι*, (c) *Πόλυς*. Pseudo-heroic riding scene with a Gorgon (labels).
- COR 101 (a) *κῆτος*, (b) *Περσεύς*, (c) *Ἀνδρομέδᾶ*. (d) *Εὐφάρχος*, (e) *ὄνος*. Perseus freeing Andromeda (labels). Non-heroic riding scene (labels).
- COR 102 (a) *Πολυφᾶμος*, (b) *Ῥί(ι)ών*, (c) *Ῥί(ι)ών*, (d) *Ῥί(ι)ών*, (e) *κ[ά]π[ρ]ος*, (f) *Δίον*, (g) *Χάρων*, (h) *Πολύστρατος*, (i) *Ὀώραξ*, (j) *Φρύξ*. Boar-hunt, perhaps pseudo-heroic (labels).
- COR 103 (a) *Βί(ι)ών*, (b) *Ξάνθος*, (c) *Ῥάχᾶς*. Non-heroic riding scene (labels, probably in Chalcidian script).
- COR 104 (a) *Πολύδᾶς*, (b) *Ἀντιφάτᾶς*, (c) *Πολύφας*, (d) *Εὐδῶρος*. (e) *Πάντιππος*, (f) *Πολύδωρος*. Non-heroic boar-hunt and riding scenes (labels).
- COR 105 (a) *Σ . ῥος*, (b) *Μύρος*, (c) *Σῆμα*, (d) *Δί(ι)ών*, (e) *Ῥάρις*, (f) *Κ[α]λλίς* (?), (g) *Δί(ι)ών*, (h) *Μύρις*. (i) *Λαῖδᾶς*, (j) *Ῥάρις*, (k) *Δί(ι)ών*. Non-heroic dancing and riding scenes (labels).
- COR 106 (a) *Πόρ[ρ]ος*, (b) *Γοργ[ῶ]ι*, (c) *[Γορ]γ[ῶ]ι* or *[Σθε(ν)?]νῶι*. Perseus pursued by the Gorgons (labels).
- COR 107 (a) *Εὐρυτίων*, (b) *Ῥί(ι)φ(ι)τος*, (c) *[Λαῖδᾶς]*, (d) *Δαῖπυλος*, (e) *Ὀρούπιος*, (f) *Δαῖπυλος*. Pseudo-heroic battle scene (labels).
- COR 108 *Ῥί(ι)ών*. Non-heroic riding scene (label).
- COR 109 (a) *Δί(ι)ών*, (b) *Δί(ι)ών* (?). Non-heroic boar-hunt (labels).
- COR 110 (a) *Σῆμος* (?), (b) *Πανταρέτᾶ*, (c) *Ἑρατόι*. Non-heroic dancing scene (labels).
- COR 111 (a) *Λαῖδᾶς*, (b) *Λαλαπο[. . .]* (?). Non-heroic riding scene (labels).
- COR 112 *Χάρων*. Non-heroic battle scene (label).
- COR 113 (a) *Ὀλύτος*, (b) *Περιφλύμενος*, (c) *Τυδεύς*, (d) *Ηυσμένη*. Tydeus killing Ismene (labels).
- COR 114 (a) *Δῶρ(ν)*, (b) *Μιφροθί(ν)*, (c) *Μίμ(ν)?ῶν*, (d) *Εὐφᾶμος*, (e) *Δῶρ(ν)μαχος*, (f) *Μελάνᾶς*. Non-heroic battle scene (labels).
- COR 114A (a) *Ἀχιλ[λεύς]*, (b) *Μέμνων*. Achilleus and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).
- COR 115 (a) *Λαῖδᾶς*, (b) *Μύριος*. Non-heroic battle scene (labels).
- COR 115A *Μέλαμπος*. Battle scene, probably non-heroic or pseudo-heroic (label).
- COR 116 (a) *Ἡίππασος*, (b) *Χ[οί]ρασος?*, (c) *Ἄγα* [. . .]. Non-heroic battle scene (labels).
- COR 117 (a) *Αἴφας*, (b) *Δόλ(ν)*, (c) *Πύλιος*, (d) *Τάρας*. Pseudo-heroic battle scene (labels).
- COR 118 (a) . ολ[. . .], (b) *Σῆμος* (?), (c) *Διόνῆσος*. Unidentified scene with Dionysos, Satyrs and Maenads (labels).
- COR 119 (a) *Ῥάχως*, (b) *Δι(ι)ῶι*, (c) *Ῥί(ι)ών*, (d) *Ῥί(ι)ῶι*, (e) *Δί(ι)ών*, (f) *Ἀντιμαχιδᾶς*. Non-heroic departure scene (labels).
- COR 120 See COP 41.
- COR 121 (a) *Ἀλεξ(ί)μαρος* (?), (b) [. . . ε]μ[ι] *Ἀλκα[. . .]* (?), (c) [. . . ολ[. . .]ν[. . .]σχετα (?), (d) *καλὸ ἔμ τὸ ποτῆριον καυ*, (e) *κα[νκα]υκαυκαυκαυ*. Similar to a *kalos*-inscription, moreover perhaps object praising itself (alongside other inscriptions, which are not clear).
- COR 122 *Ἡῆρᾶ*. Unidentified scene with Hera (label).
- COR 123 *Νήεσ[σος]*. Herakles and Nessos (label).
- COR 124 (A) (a) *[Σθ]εν(ν)?ῶι*, (b) *Ἡ[. . .]*, (c) [. . . ον[. . .]. (B) *Φερσ[εφ- . . .]* or *Φερ(ρ)ι[φ- . . .]*. Labels. (A) Unidentified scenes, (a) with Gorgons (probably Perseus), (b) perhaps with Hermes, (c) with an altar (perhaps Achilleus and Troilos). (B) Unidentified scene with Persephone.
- COR 125 *[Ῥᾶ]ς Δᾶματ[ρος . . .]*. Probably a dedication (property formula).
- COR 126 *Ῥᾶς ἐρῶσᾶς* [. . .]. Probably a dedication to a human (property formula).
- COR 127 *Ῥα* [. . . c.12 . . . Ἀρτά?]μ[ι]τι *ἀνεθέτᾶν*. Dedication.
- COR 128 [. . . ? Ῥᾶς Ἡῆρᾶ]ς *Ῥᾶς Λιμενίᾶς ἔμ[ι]*. Dedication (property formula).
- COR 129 [. . . σι]λᾶς. Unidentified scene (label).
- COR 130 *Αἴ[φας]* or *Αἰ[νέας]*. Unidentified war scene, probably heroic (label).
- COR 131 (a) *Ῥί(ι)κῆ*. (b) *πύκτᾶ*. (c) *φεύγῃ*. Non-heroic sporting scene (labels, partly verb-forms).
- COR Gr 2 *Χοιράσου ἡᾶ Ῥοτύλλα ἔμ[ι]* . . . (the rest is unclear). Owner's inscription or dedication to a human (perhaps metrical).
- COR Gr 6 (a) *Αἴφας*, (b) *Ἑ(τ)ρῶρ*. Fight between Aias and Hektor (labels).
- COR Gr 9 *Αἴφας*. Suicide of Aias (label).
- COR Gr 13 *Ῥέλαφος*. Telephos (label).

COR Gr 15	(a) <i>Ῥιόπαᾶ</i> , (b) <i>Ἡῒμερῶι</i> , (c) <i>Χαρίπα</i> . <i>Hetairai</i> (labels).	COP 16	[... <i>Ποτεδᾶ(Ῥῶ)ν</i>   <i>Ῥάνα[κτι ... ?]</i> . Dedication to Poseidon.
COR Gr 23	<i>Ἀπέ[λ]λόνος ῑμι</i> . Dedication (property formula).	COP 17	[... <i>Ῥάν</i> ]ακτ[ι]. Probably a dedication to Poseidon.
COR Gr 25	[ <i>Ῥά</i> ]s <i>ῬόρῬά</i> [s ...]. Probably a dedication (property formula).	COP 18	(a) [... <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> τῷ <i>Ποτεδάν</i> ]. (b) <i>Τῖμονιδᾶς</i>   <i>ἔγραψ</i>   <i>ἔ(μ)βια</i> (hitherto: <i>ψε Βία</i> ). (a) Dedication to Poseidon (probably not by the painter). (b) Painter's signature.
COR Gr 26(1)	[... <i>λαβέ</i> , <i>δι</i> ° <i>Ἐρμᾶν</i> , [... !]. Dedication (metrical?).	COP 19	[... <i>μ</i> °] <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> <i>Ποτεδάν</i> [ι ... ?]. Dedication to Poseidon.
COP 1	(A) [– ≍ – – – – – – – – – – <i>δόρον</i> ? <i>ἔ</i> ]παγγέλιας· τὸ δὲ <i>δὸ</i> [s] <i>χα</i> ]ρίεσ(σ)αν <i>ἄμοιῖάν</i> . Metrical dedication. (B) [... <i>ῶ</i> Ῥ] <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀν</i> [έθεκε ... – – – – – τὸ <i>δί</i> ]δοι <i>χαρίεσ(σ)αν</i> [ <i>ἄμοιῖάν</i> ]. Metrical dedication. (C) [– –]. <i>ς</i> · τὸ δὲ <i>δὸς</i> <i>χαρίεσ(σ)αν</i> [ <i>ἄμοιῖάν</i> ]. Metrical dedication. (D) [... <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέ</i> ]θεκε <i>Ποτ</i> [ε?] <i>Ῥάν</i> ι <i>Ῥ</i> [άνακτι – – – – –]τὸ δὲ <i>δ</i> [ὸς] <i>χα</i> ]ρίεσ(σ)αν <i>ἄμοιῖάν</i> . Dedication to Poseidon (at least partly metrical).	COP 20	(a) [ <i>Π</i> ]οτεδάν, (b) <i>Ἀμφιτρ</i> [ίτᾶ]. (c) [... <i>ἀνέθε</i> ]κε <i>Ποτεδᾶ</i> [(Ῥῶ)ν] <i>Ῥάνακτι</i> ]. (a)–(b) Labels (Poseidon and Amphitrite). (c) Dedication to Poseidon.
COP 2	(A) [– – – – – <i>μ</i> °] <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> <i>Ποτεδᾶ</i> Ῥῶνι <i>Ῥάνατ(τ)ι</i> <i>αὐτό</i> <i>ποκ</i> ° <i>ῖᾶ</i> [...]. Metrical dedication to Poseidon. (B) [– – – – – <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> <i>Ποτεδᾶ</i> Ῥῶνι <i>Ῥάνακτι</i> <i>αὐτό</i> [...]. Metrical dedication to Poseidon. (C) (a) <i>Ποτειδάν</i> , (b) <i>Ἀνφιτρίτᾶ</i> . (c) [... <i>Ῥ</i> ] <i>ἄνακτι</i> <i>αὐτ</i> [ό ...]. (a)–(b) Labels (Poseidon and Amphitrite). (c) Metrical dedication (to Poseidon).	COP 21	[... <i>τῶ</i> ?]ι <i>Ποτεδάν</i> ι τ[...]. Dedication to Poseidon.
COP 3	(a) <i>Ποτεδᾶ</i> [ν]. (b) <i>Σῖμῶν</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθ(ε)κε</i> <i>Ποτεδᾶ</i> Ῥῶνι <i>Ῥάνακτι</i> . (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Metrical dedication to Poseidon.	COP 22	[... <i>Πο</i> ]τεδάνι[... ?]. Dedication to Poseidon.
COP 4	[– – – – – <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> <i>Ποτ</i> ]εδᾶῬῶνι <i>Ῥάνακτι</i> . Metrical dedication to Poseidon.	COP 23	(a) <i>Δᾶμο</i> [...]. (b) [... <i>Π</i> ]οτε[ι]δᾶ[(Ῥῶ)ν] <i>Ῥάνακτι</i> ]. (c) [... ]ο (?). (a) and perhaps (c): Probably label(s) (of workmen?). (b) Dedication to Poseidon.
COP 5	(a) <i>Ἀ(μ)φι(τ)ρίτᾶ</i> <i>ἔμ</i> ι <i>Ποτε</i> ῖδᾶῬῶνος <i>ᾗ</i> Ῥοιτις]. (b) <i>Θεο</i> [...]. (a) Metrical label (Amphitrite). (b) Probably a dedication.	COP 24	[... ? <i>Ποτεδ</i> ]άνο[ς] <i>ἔμ</i> [ι ... ?]. Probably dedication to Poseidon (property formula).
COP 6	[ <i>Ἀμφιτρίτᾶ</i> <i>ἔμ</i> ι <i>Π</i> ]οτεδᾶῬῶνος <i>ᾗ</i> Ῥοιτις. Metrical label (Amphitrite).	COP 25	<i>Ἀῖσιμέλλῃς</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀν</i> [έθεκε ... ?]. Dedication.
COP 7	[... ?] <i>Θρασύμα</i> [χος ? <i>ἀνέθε</i> ]κε τῷ <i>Ποτεδάν</i> [ι ... ?]. Dedication to Poseidon.	COP 26	[ <i>Ἀέ</i> ]οῖνι[νος <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> ... ?]. Probably a dedication.
COP 8	(a) [ <i>Π</i> ]έρ[ι]λ(λ)ος <i>μ</i> [° ...]. (b) <i>Ποτεδᾶ</i> [ν(?)]. (c) <i>ποεμεμ</i> (etc.). (d) [...]. [...]. (a) Dedication. (b) Perhaps a label (Poseidon). (c) Probably nonsense inscriptions. (d) Not clear.	COP 27	(a) <i>Ποτεδάν</i> . (b) <i>Ἀντιφίᾶς</i> <i>μ</i> [° <i>ἀν</i> ]έθ(ε)κε. (Or <i>Ποτεδάν</i> [ι] <i>Ἀντιφίᾶς</i> etc.) Dedication to (and label of?) Poseidon.
COP 9	<i>Πολίτᾶς</i> <i>μ</i> ε <i>ἀνέθ(ε)κε</i> τῷ <i>Π</i> [οτεδάνι ... ?]. Dedication to Poseidon.	COP 28	<i>Ἀριστόφιλος</i> [... ?]. Probably a dedication.
COP 10	<i>Ῥύλα</i> ᾶς <i>Οὐ</i> · [ι]ν [ <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> ] <i>Ποτεδᾶ</i> [νι <i>Ῥ</i> ]άνακτι. Dedication to Poseidon.	COP 29	(a) <i>Ἄσοπόδορος</i> <i>ἔμ</i> ε <i>ἀνέθ</i> [έκε]. (b) <i>Π</i> . (?). (c) <i>Ποτ(ε)δᾶ</i> (ν) <i>εῖ</i> (?). (a) Dedication. (b)–(c) Note of destination (?).
COP 11	(a) <i>Ποτεδάν</i> . (b) <i>Ῥυλοῖδᾶς</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> <i>Πο</i> [τεδᾶῬῶνι <i>Ῥάνακτι</i> ?]. (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Dedication to Poseidon (metrical?).	COP 30	<i>Δᾶμόφι</i> [ος ...]. Probably a dedication.
COP 12	[ <i>Φλέ</i> ]βῶν <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> <i>Ποτεδάν</i> ι <i>Ῥάνακ</i> [τι]. Dedication to Poseidon.	COP 31	<i>Δόρκων</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> [ε ... ?]. Dedication.
COP 13	(a) [... <i>ῶν</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> <i>Ποτεδάν</i> ι <i>Ῥάν</i> [ακτι]. (b) [ <i>Ἀ(μ)φιτ</i> ]ρίτᾶ. (a) Dedication to Poseidon. (b) Label (Amphitrite).	COP 32	<i>Ἐδ</i> [...]. Perhaps a dedication.
COP 14	[... <i>ἀνέ</i> ]θεκε <i>Ποτε</i> [(ι)δᾶ(Ῥῶ)νι <i>Ῥάνα</i> ]κτι. Dedication to Poseidon.	COP 33	<i>Εῤθε</i> · (?) [... ?]. Not clear, perhaps a dedication.
COP 15	[... <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> <i>Ποτεδᾶ</i> (Ῥῶ)νι <i>Ῥάνακτι</i> . Dedication to Poseidon.	COP 34	<i>Εὐκρίνῃς</i> [... ?]. Dedication or label (workman).
		COP 35	(a) <i>Ποτεδάν</i> . (b) <i>Εὐρυμέδῃς</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> . (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Dedication.
		COP 36	<i>Εὐστρατος</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> . Dedication.
		COP 37	(a) <i>Ἀ(μ)φιτρίτᾶν</i> . (b) <i>Ῥιό</i> [λᾶς ? ... ?]. (a) Label (Amphitrite). (b) Probably a dedication.
		COP 38	(A) (a) <i>Ποτ</i> ῖδᾶν. (b) <i>Ἰγρῶν</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> . (B) (a) <i>Ποτ</i> ῖδᾶν. (b) <i>Ἰγρῶν</i> <i>μ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> . (a) Labels (Poseidon). (b) Dedications.
		COP 39	<i>Κανθα</i> [ρ- ...]. Probably a dedication.
		COP 40	<i>Ἀῦσιᾶδᾶς</i> <i>μ</i> [° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> ...]. Probably a dedication.
		COP 41	<i>Μιλωνιδᾶς</i> <i>ἔγραψε</i> <i>κ</i> ° <i>ἀνέθεκε</i> . Painter's signature and dedication by the painter.
		COP 42	(a

- COP 50 [. . .]ἔς : ἀνέθεκε | [. . .]. ροσ . α . ι . [. . .] (perhaps: [. . . τῷ δ] ἐδὸς χαρίε[σ(σ)αν . . .]?). Dedication (metrical?).
- COP 51 (A) [. . .]ς μ' ἀνέθεκε[. . .]. (B) [. . .]ς μ' ἀννέ[θεκε]. Dedications.
- COP 52 (a) [. . .]ς μ' ἀνέθεκε. (b) [. . .]. ἰδᾶς. (a) Dedication. (b) Label (of workman?).
- COP 53 [. . .-δ]ν ἀνέθεκε. Dedication.
- COP 54 [. . .]. πος [. . .]?. Probably a dedication.
- COP 55 [. . .]μ' ἀνέθεκε[. . .]. Dedication.
- COP 56 (a) Ξάνθ[ος]. (b) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (a) Label (a horse). (b) Dedication.
- COP 57 (A) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε[. . .]?. (B) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε[. . .]?. (C) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (D) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (E) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (F) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (G) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (H) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (I) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (J) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (K) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (L) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. (M) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε. Dedications.
- COP 58 (a) Ποτῆδᾶν. (b) Τᾶι Ἀθ[ηναίῃς]. (a) Label (Poseidon). (b) Probably a dedication to Athena.
- COP 59 Ἀθῆν[αί]ας ἐμί. Dedication to Athena (property formula).
- COP 60 [. . .]ἔργ[ος] αφε ταδῆ (?). Perhaps a painter's signature.
- COP 61 [Σ?]ἰμὸ ἐμί. Probably a potter's (and donor's) signature (property formula).
- COP 62 (a) Φύσ[ος] (?) (b) [Ἀ]ρνέσιος. Labels (probably workmen).
- COP 63 (a) [. . . c.7 . . .]φοκα, (b) κᾶμ[ῖνος], (c) Λόκρις. (a) Not clear. (b)–(c) Labels (workman and probably the kiln).
- COP 64 Δέρις or Δέρις. Probably label of a workman.
- COP 65 (a) Ὀνύμων. (b) Σόρδης. Labels (workmen).
- COP 66 (a) Στίπων. (b) νι[ός]. (a) Label (workman). (b) Nonsense inscription.
- COP 67 [. . .]ἀγαθος. Perhaps a label (unidentified scene; seafaring?).
- COP 68 Ἀμφιτρίτᾶ. Label (Amphitrite).
- COP 69 (A) [Ἀ]μφιτρίτᾶ. (B) [Ἀ(μ)φιτρίτᾶ]. Labels (Amphitrite).
- COP 70 (a) Ποτῆδᾶν, (b) Ἀ(μ)φιτρίτᾶ. Labels (Poseidon and Amphitrite).
- COP 71 Ποτῆδᾶν. Label (Poseidon).
- COP 72 Ποτῆδᾶν. Label (Poseidon).
- COP 73 (A) Ποτῆδᾶν. (B) Ποτῆδᾶν. (C) Ποτῆδᾶν. (D) Ποτῆδᾶν. (E) Ποτῆδᾶν. (F) Ποτῆδᾶν. (G) [Πο]τῆδᾶν. (H) [Ποτῆδᾶν]. (I) [Ποτῆδᾶν]. (J) [Ποτῆδᾶν]. (K) [. . .] Π[οτῆδᾶν]. (L) [Ποτῆδᾶν]. (M) [. . .] Π[οτῆδᾶν]. (N) Π[οτῆδᾶν]. (O) Π[οτῆδᾶν]. Labels (Poseidon).
- COP 74 Ποτῆδᾶν. Probably a label (Poseidon).
- COP 75 Ξεύς. Label (Zeus).
- COP 76 Ἀθ[ηναίᾶ]. Label (perhaps Athena).
- COP 77 (a) Τεῦ[χος], (b) [Σ]θένελος, (c) Ἀθᾶναεᾶ, (d) Διο[μῆδης], (e) [Πάνδα]ρος. Labels (fight of Diomedes, perhaps with Aineias).
- COP 78 (a) Δεύς. (b) Λύσιπ(π)ος. (a) Note of destination (?). (b) Label (probably a non-heroic marching scene).
- COP 79 (a) Πύρρος, (b) Ταχύδρο[μος]. Labels (horses in a non-heroic riding scene).
- COP 80 [. . .]σος. Probably a label (horse, probably belonging to a *quadriga*, perhaps of Poseidon).
- COP 81 κάμινος. Label (kiln).
- COP 82 (a) [. . .]νος. (b) [. . .]κραν[ος]. (a) Label (unidentified scene; workman?). (b) Not clear.
- COP 83 Ποτῆδᾶν δ' ἐμί. 'Label' of imaginary Poseidon (?).
- COP 84 (A) Ποτῆδᾶν. (B) Ποτῆδᾶν. (A) 'Label' of imaginary Poseidon (?). (B) Note of destination (?).
- COP 85 Πῆραεόθεν νῆρ[ος] ἐμί. Victor's inscription (metrical?), perhaps followed by a dedication.
- COP 86 [αβγδ]εζήθικλμνοπξρστ[υφψχ]. Abecedarium.
- COP 87 Θε[ο]νυθ[ος]. Nonsense inscription.
- COP 88 [. . .]οσφ or [. . .]ομφ. Nonsense inscription.
- COP 89 [. . .]ροη ho π. Nonsense inscription.
- COP 90 (A) (a) αοοιετ, (b) αβοιετθριλοβαββ. (B) [. . .]οεο . . . (C) No text. Nonsense inscriptions.
- COP 91 Αγαμε. Not clear.
- COP 92 Ἀριστ(. . .). Not clear.
- COP 93 [. . .]ροκαμια. Not clear.
- COP 94 [. . .]ανοτοδεονε (perhaps [. . .]ανο τῷ(ν)δεόνε(ν) ?). Not clear.
- COP 95 [. . .]μμελ . σν . θ . [. . .]. Not clear.
- COP 96 [. . .] . . τε. Not clear.
- COP 97 (A) [. . .]σφ[ος] (B) — (C) [. . .]ν (D) . . . κ . σ[ος] (E) ? (F) [. . .]ε. Not clear.
- COP App. 1 (A) (a) Εὐθυδικᾶ, (b) Εὐφολίς. (c) [. . .]ἀνέθεκε ταῖς Νύμφαις ἐθελῶν (?) χε . . . (?) [. . .], (d) [. . .] . . . ἡο Κορίνθιος. (B) (a) θαε . . ., (b) ha . . ., (c) καχ . . . ο ., (d) . λυ, (e) . η . (?), (f) τελεσοιο. (C) [. . .] . τα . . . ἀνέθεκε ταῖς Νύμφαις[ος] . . . . (D) [. . .]εν Ἀπ[ε]λλῶν[ος] . . . . Sacrificial procession and festival scenes. (A) Labels and dedication (metrical?). (B) Nonsense labels. (C) and (D) Dedications.
- ARG 1 [. . .-α]νδρός : με ἀν[έθεκε] . . . ?]. Dedication.
- LAK 1 [Ἀρ?]χίτ[η]μος[ος]. Unidentified scene (label?).
- LAK 2 ΗἩ[ρακλῆς]. Unidentified scene with Herakles (label).
- LAK 3 (a) Ἀρκεσίλας, (b) Σόφορτος, (c) [. . .]σ[ος]αθμος, (d) [. . .]ιρμοφόρος, (e) Ὀρν[ι]σ(ς), (f) Σι[ν]δ(ι)όμαΨος, (g) φύλακος, (h) Ε . . ., (i) Μαεν. Non-heroic working scene (labels, partly nonsense?).
- LAK 4 (a) Ἀνιοχίδας, (b) Ἀρχιλοχ[ί]δης, (c) Δεῖνομαχος, (d) Σύνις. Non-heroic fight over the body of a dead warrior (labels).
- LAK 5 εμσιβινος. Nonsense inscription.
- LAK 6 Φιόλας. Herakles and the Hydra (label).
- LAK 7 Ἀφελ[λ]ός. Boread chasing a Harpy (label).
- LAK 8 (a) Παρθενοπαῖος, (b) [. . .]ος. Peacemaking scene with some of the Seven against Thebes (labels).
- LAK 9 Ἀρχεπλ[ος] . . . (?). Not clear.
- ELI 1 δᾶμόσιον. Measuring vase.
- ELI 2 ἄλς or ἄλς. Measuring vase.
- ELI 3 καρπόμετρον (?). Measuring vases.
- ELI 4 [δᾶ]μόσια (?). Measuring vases.
- ELI 5 Ὀλυμπ[ία] . . . ?]. Measuring vases.

ITH 1	<i>Ηός [μοι εἴ ? ξ]ένφος τε φίλος καὶ π[ισ]τὸς ἑταῖρος</i> [— — — — — — — — — —] μάλιστα [— — — — — φ?]ἰλᾶ ἐνπ[. . . . . c.14 . . . . .]οι τῆνα (?) π[. . . . .]π[. . . . .] Of unclear location: [. . .] ο .[. . .] and [. . .]οτ[. . .] Metrical inscription of unclear content (perhaps a dedication to a human).	CHA 14	(a) Σ(ι)μος, (b) Ξανθός, (c) Ηίπ(π)ος, (d) Φιός, (e) [“Ο]σμις (?), (f) Μέξās (?), (g) Φοίβε, (h) Δόρκις, (i) Νᾶίς, (j) Πόρις (?), (k) Δ[ὸ]ρῶ. Unspecified scene with a dance involving Satyrs and Maenads (labels).
ITH 2	<i>Καλ(λ)ικλέās ποιᾶσε.</i> Potter’s signature.	CHA 15	(a) <i>Ηελένῃ</i> , (b) <i>Πάρι[s]</i> , (c) <i>Ἀνδρομάχῃ</i> , (d) <i>Ἐκτορ</i> , (e) <i>Κεβριόνῃς</i> . Departure of Hektor and Paris (labels). Non-heroic running and riding scenes (no labels).
ITH 3	Not clear.	CHA 16	(a) <i>Τρ[ό]ξιλος</i> , (b) <i>Μηῆδ[εσικάστῃ]</i> . Achilles and Troilos (label).
EUC 1	[. . .]νος μ’ ἐποίησε[ν . . . ?] (or [. . .]νος με ποίησε[ν . . . ?]). Potter’s signature.	CHA 17	(a) [“Ο]ρθίῃ (?), (b) <i>Φοινεύς</i> . Unidentified scene (pos- sibly a heroic departure or wedding-procession scene).
EUC 2	<i>Ἀεξ(ι)θῶ (?)</i> . Probably an owner’s inscription or a dedication to a human.	CHA 18	(a) <i>Δ[ί]ων</i> , (b) <i>Φίον</i> , (c) <i>Ἀνταῖος</i> . Non-heroic conversa- tion scene (labels).
EUC 3	<i>Πύρ(ρ)ος μ’ ἐποίησεν</i> (or <i>με ποίεσεν</i> ) <i>Ἀγασιλέφο</i> . Potter’s signature.	CHA 19	<i>Ηἔρα{ρα}κλ[ῆ]ς</i> . Unidentified scene with Herakles (label).
CHA 1	(a) <i>Ἀντίῃς</i> , (b) <i>Μόλπῃς</i> , (c) <i>Δάσων</i> , (d) <i>Κλυτός</i> , (e) <i>Ἡπιπαῖος</i> , (f) <i>Ξανθός</i> , (g) <i>Δόρκις</i> , (h) <i>Χορός</i> , (i) <i>Ὀφατίς</i> , (j) <i>Μυρός</i> , (k) <i>Σ[ί]μιος</i> , (l) <i>Φιός</i> . Unspecified scene with a dance involving Satyrs and Maenads (labels).	CHA 20	(a) <i>Η[ἔρα]κλῆς</i> , (b) <i>Κύρνος</i> . Herakles and Kyknos (labels).
CHA 2	(a) <i>Ἀθῆναιῃ</i> , (b) <i>Ἡρακλῆς</i> , (c) <i>Γάρυφόνῃς</i> , (d) <i>Εὐρυτίων</i> . Herakles and Geryones (labels).	CHA 21	(a) <i>Πολυδεύκῃς</i> , (b) <i>Φοίβε</i> . The Dioskouroi and the Leukippides (labels).
CHA 3	(a) <i>Δεμόδορος</i> , (b) <i>Ἡπολύτῃς</i> , (c) <i>Τύχι[ο]ς</i> , (d) <i>Τοξ[. . .]</i> , (e) <i>Κλυτός</i> , (f) <i>Περίφας</i> , (g) <i>Πόλυδος</i> , (h) <i>Ξάνθος</i> , (i) <i>Κρόπιος</i> , (j) <i>Γλαῦρος</i> . Pseudo-heroic departure scene (labels).	CHA 22	(a) <i>Λετός</i> , (b) <i>Ἄρτεμις</i> . Unidentified scene with Artemis and Leto in a chariot (labels).
CHA 3A	(a) <i>Διομέδῃς</i> , (b) <i>Φρέσος</i> , (c) <i>Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς</i> . The slaughter of the Thracians (labels).	CHA 23	(a) <i>Ἐλάτιος</i> , (b) <i>Μάρφσος</i> . Unidentified battle of Centaur, perhaps with Herakles (labels).
CHA 4	(a) <i>Σθένελος</i> , (b) <i>Διομέδῃς</i> . (c) <i>Ἀχιλλεύς</i> , (d) <i>Αἶας</i> , (e) <i>Γλ(α)ῦρος</i> , (f) <i>Πάρις</i> , (g) <i>Αἰνέες</i> , (h) <i>Λεόδορος</i> , (i) <i>Ἐχιππος</i> . Fight over Achilles’ body (labels).	CHA 24	<i>Μεμν[ονίς]</i> or <i>-ίδης</i> ]. Funeral scene after Memnon’s death (?) (label).
CHA 5	(a) <i>Ἐδός</i> , (b) <i>Μ[έ]μν[ον]ος</i> , (c) <i>Ἀ[ν]τιλοχος</i> , (d) <i>Ἀχιλλεύς</i> , (e) <i>Θέτις</i> , (f) <i>Ἀ[ν]τομέδων</i> . Achilles and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).	CHA 25	<i>Πά[ρ]ος</i> . Unidentified battle scene, probably with Paris (label).
CHA 6	(a) <i>Φιός</i> , (b) <i>Πόλυβος</i> , (c) <i>Δρό[μ]ος</i> , (d) <i>Π[ο]λύδορος</i> . Probably a non-heroic departure scene (labels).	CHA 26	(a) <i>Εὐρύμ[α]χος</i> ?, (b) <i>Γλαῦ[ρ]ος</i> . Unidentified riding scene, probably with Trojans (labels).
CHA 7	<i>Ἀχιλλεύς</i> . Unidentified fight of Achilles (label).	CHA 27	(a) [. . .]όμαχος, (b) <i>Τυδ[ε]ύς</i> , (c) <i>Ἀδρεστός</i> . Tydeus and Polyneikes with Adrastus (labels).
CHA 8	(a) <i>Ἀντομέδων</i> , (b) <i>Ἀχιλλεύς</i> , (c) <i>Εὐρύμαχος</i> , (d) <i>Περίφᾶτας</i> , (e) <i>Ἀστεροπαῖος</i> , (f) <i>Ἡπ(π)όλοχος</i> , (g) <i>Χάροφς</i> , (h) <i>Διομέδῃς</i> , (i) <i>Γλαῦρος</i> , (j) <i>Μενεσθέ[ν]ος</i> , (k) <i>Ὀδυσ(σ)εύ[ς]</i> , (l) <i>Με[. . .]</i> . Unspecified battle scene with Achilles, etc. (labels).	CHA 28	(a) <i>Ἀρί[π]υια</i> , (b) <i>[Ζεῦ]τ.ς</i> , (c) <i>Κάλαῖς</i> , (d) <i>Ἡδρα</i> . [. . . ?], (e) <i>Φ[ί]νε[ν]ος</i> , (f) <i>Ἐρ[ι]χθ[ό]ς</i> . (g) <i>Διώνυσος</i> , (h) <i>Ἀρ[. . .]</i> . Argonauts (Boreads) visiting Phineus (labels). Dionysos and Ariadne (labels).
CHA 9	(a) <i>Ἀθῆναιῃ</i> , (b) <i>Ἡρακλῆς</i> , (c) <i>Γερύωνῃς</i> . (d) <i>Νεῖδε[ς]</i> , (e) <i>Περσεύς</i> , (f) <i>Ἀθῆν[α]ῖ</i> . Herakles and Geryones (labels). Perseus receiving wings, cap and bag (labels).	CHA 29	Not clear, perhaps nonsense inscription.
CHA 10	(a) <i>Ἀταλάντῃς</i> , (b) <i>Μηρόφσος</i> , (c) <i>Πελέης</i> , (d) <i>Κλύτιος</i> . (e) <i>Ζεύς</i> . Before the wrestling match of Atalante and Peleus at the funeral games for Pelias (labels). Zeus fighting Typhon (label).	PCH 1	(a) <i>Ἐώς</i> , (b) <i>Μέμνων</i> , (c) <i>Ἀντίλοχος</i> , (d) <i>Ἀχιλλεύς</i> , (e) <i>Θέτις</i> . Achilles and Memnon fighting over the dead Antilochos (labels).
CHA 11	(a) <i>Θεσεύς</i> , (b) <i>τ[α]ύρος Μινώιος</i> , (c) <i>Ἀριάδῃς</i> , (d) <i>Μίνως</i> . Theseus and the Minotaur (labels).	PCH 2	<i>θ . χ</i> . Nonsense inscription.
CHA 12	(a) <i>Ἀδρεστός</i> , (b) <i>Τ[υ]δεύς</i> , (c) <i>Ἀμ[φ]ιάρῃος</i> ?. Peacemaking scene with some of the Seven against Thebes (labels).	ETR 1	(a) <i>Πέλει</i> , (b) <i>Ἀχιλλεύς</i> , (c) <i>Χίρων</i> . (d) <i>Πρᾶξιās</i> . (e) <i>Ἀρθε</i> . (a)–(c) Chiron receiving the baby Achilles (labels). (d) Probably painter’s (and donor’s?) name. (e) Probably (human) recipient’s name.
CHA 13	(a) <i>Ἀνταῖος</i> , (b) <i>Ἀντίοχος</i> , (c) <i>Πολύδορος</i> , (d) <i>Φάχως</i> , (e) <i>Μέδων</i> . Non-heroic battle scene (labels).	ETR 2	<i>Ἐρῶτο(ς)</i> . Unspecified scenes with Erotes (label).
		ETR 3	(a) <i>Μεῖ αἰτᾶι εἰ (?)</i> . (b) <i>Διὸς κῶρον</i> . Dedications to humans and gods (?), added to non-heroic domestic scenes with men and dogs.
		ETR 4	<i>Ἀνδρομάχῃ</i> . Unspecified scenes with Amazons (label).
		ACC 1	(A) [. . .]ανκ[. . .]. (B) [. . .]ος ἀνέ[θεκε . . .]. (A) Not clear. (B) Probably a dedication.
		ACC 2	<i>αβγδεζζηθικλμνοπρστυφχξξξ</i> . Abecedarium.
		ACC 3	(a) <i>Ἀπολλόδορος</i> <i>Εὐλλᾶς</i> <i>ἔραται</i> , (b) <i>Φόλῃς</i> <i>ἀ(μ)πνυγίζε</i> <i>Ἀπολλόδορον</i> , (c) <i>Ὀνάτας</i> <i>Νιξῆς</i> <i>ἔραται</i> , (d) <i>Ἡύβριχος</i> <i>Παρμῆνιος</i> <i>ἔραται</i> . Love statements. <i>Γανυμῆδῃς</i> . Zeus and Ganymedes (label).
		ACC 4	



DOC 1	(a) <i>Αἰνίᾱς</i> , (b) <i>Ἀφροδίτᾱ</i> . (c) <i>Καπαν[ε]ύς</i> . Diomedes and Aineias (labels). Punishment of Kapaneus (label).	IOD 9	<i>Καλή</i> εἰμι. Object praising itself.
DOC 2	(a) <i>Γελόιος Ἀκᾱς ἔραται</i> , (b) <i>Γελόιος Ἀκᾱς ἔραται</i> , (c) <i>[Ε]ῦμαχος δὲ μισθὸ τ[. . .]</i> . Love statements (with added specification).	IOD 10	<i>Κοτυλ</i> . . . . Not clear (name of the vase?).
DOC 3	[. . . ἄγ]αλμα <i>ho Qorúnthios</i> . . . [ . . . ?]. Probably a dedication (metrical?).	NAU 1	(A) (a) <i>Αἰγυπτις ἀνέ[θηκεν . . . Ἀφ]ροδίτῃ[ι]</i> . (B) (a) <i>Δημοφ[ά]νῃ[ς] (μ') ἀνέ[θηκεν ὁ Χίο[ς] τῇ</i> <i>Ἀ[φροδίτῃ]</i> . (C) (a) [ . . . -γ?]ήθης ἀν[έθη]κεν τῇ <i>Ἀ[φροδίτῃ]</i> . (D) (a) <i>Ἐρμόμανδρος[. . .] ἔγραψεν ? κἀνέθηκ[εν] τῇ</i> <i>[Ἀφ]ροδίτῃ[ι]</i> . (E) (a) <i>Μίκ(κ)ις (μ') ἀνέθηκεν[. . .] τῷ Ζηνὶ τῷ</i> <i>Ἑλ(λ)ηνίῳ[. . .]</i> . (b) [ . . . ] <i>ις</i> . (c) [ . . . ] <i>ς</i> . (F) (a) [ . . . ] <i>νῆς μ' ἀνέθηκεν τῇ</i> <i>Ἀφρο[δίτῃ]</i> . (b) [ . . . ] <i>ων[. . .]</i> . (G) (a) <i>Ζώιλος(ι) (μ(ε)) ἀν(έ)θηκεν(ι) τῇ</i> <i>Ἀφ[ρ]οδίτῃ</i> and <i>-τη[. . .]</i> . (b) <i>[Ζώιλος] ὁ Χίο[ς] . . .</i> . (c) [ . . . ] <i>τωι</i> . [ . . . ]. (d) [ . . . ] <i>μ' ἔθηκεν . . .</i> . (H) (a) <i>Ζώι(ι)λος (μ(ε)) ἀν(έ)θηκεν</i> <i>Ἀ[φροδίτῃ]</i> . (b) <i>[Ζώιλος (μ(ε)) ἀν(έ)θηκεν . . . ]</i> <i>ῃ[ι]</i> . . . ?]. (I) (a) [ . . . ] <i>μ(ε) ἀνέθηκεν(ι) (τῇ) Ἀφροδίτῃ</i> . (b) [ . . . ] <i>φορ[. . .]</i> . (c) [ . . . ] <i>εν τὰφ[. . .]</i> . (d) [ . . . ] <i>τῇ</i> <i>Ἀφο(ρ)δίτῃ[ι]</i> . (e) [ . . . ] <i>ἀνέθηκεν</i> <i>Ἀφο(ρ)δίτῃ</i> . (J) (a) <i>Ἀντ[. . .]</i> . (b) <i>Θυμογῆ[θ]ης : μ' ἀν(έ)θηκεν . . .</i> . (c) <i>Κλέαρχος[. . .]</i> . (d) [ . . . ] <i>αικ[. . .]</i> . (e) [ . . . ] <i>-δ]ῆμι[. . .]</i> . (f) [ . . . ] <i>ης μ' ἀν(έ)θηκεν . . .</i> . (g) [ . . . ] <i>ίδης :</i> <i>μ' ἀνέθηκεν . . .</i> . (h) [ . . . ] <i>ιδώρη[. . .]</i> . (i) <i>[Κ]λενπ[. . .]</i> . (j) [ . . . ] <i>λος ἀν(έ)θηκεν . . .</i> . (k) <i>[Ἐρ?]μόλ[ω]ς[. . .]</i> . (l) [ . . . ] <i>μος ἀνέθηκεν . . .</i> . (m) [ . . . ] <i>νῆσις ἀνέθηκεν . . .</i> . (n) [ . . . ] <i>ος ἀνέθηκεν . . .</i> . (o) [ . . . ] <i>όστρα[τος . . .]</i> . (p) [ . . . ] <i>νπις ἀν(έ)θηκεν . . .</i> . (K) (a) [ . . . ] <i>ὁ Χίο[ς] . . .</i> . (b) [ . . . ] <i>ἀνέθηκεν ὁ</i> <i>Χί[ος] . . .</i> . (c) [ . . . ] <i>ἀνέθηκεν ὁ[Χίος . . .]</i> . (d) [ . . . ] <i>ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Χί[ος] . . .</i> (?). (e) [ . . . ] <i>ἀνέθηκεν</i> <i>ὁ[Χίος . . .]</i> . (L) (a) [ . . . ] <i>ῆμι τῶν[. . .]</i> . (b) [ . . . ] <i>τῶν[. . .]</i> . (c) [ . . . ] <i>Ἑλλή]νων</i> . (d) [ . . . ] <i>τῇ φά[ι]ν ? . . .</i> and [ . . . ] <i>ἀν-</i> <i>έ]θηκεν[. . .]</i> . (e) [ . . . ] <i>Ἑλλή]ν[. . .]</i> . (f) [ . . . ] <i>Ἑλλή]ν[ι-</i> [ . . . ]. (g) <i>Ἐρμολύ]ης . . .</i> (?). (h) [ . . . ] <i>τις θε(ε)οῖσι[. . .]</i> . (i) [ . . . ] <i>θεοῖσι[. . .]</i> . (j) [ . . . ] <i>θεοῖσι[. . .]</i> . (M) (a) <i>Ποδάνικος</i> . (b) <i>Μόσα[ι?]</i> . (N) (a) [ . . . ] <i>έθ(ε)οῖσι[. . .]</i> (?). (b) [ . . . ] <i>καλ?]ή εἰμι[ι</i> [ . . . ]. (c) [ . . . ] <i>-κ/Κ]αλ(λ)ιστ[. . .]</i> . (d) [ . . . ] <i>ῆ]δωκεν[. . .]</i> . (O) (a) [ . . . ] <i>τῇ Ἀφ[. . .]</i> . (b) [ . . . ] <i>θε]οῖσι[. . .]</i> . (c) <i>Ἀρισ[το- . . .]</i> ; [ . . . ] <i>Ἀριστο[. . .]</i> . (A)–(L)/(O) Mostly dedications, (B) and (Gd) perhaps metrical. (Eb), (Ec?)/(M) Labels. (N) Not clear. [ . . . ] <i>ο</i> [ . . . ] <i>Ἀφροδίτῃ : τῇ ἐν (N) αὐκρατι</i> . Dedication.
DOC 4	[ . . . ] <i>ς : με ἐποίησε</i> . Potter's signature.	CAE 1	(a) <i>Ἵδιος</i> , (b) <i>Αἰᾱς</i> , (c) <i>Νέστωρ</i> . Embassy to Achilles (labels).
DOC 5	<i>Ἀρχέκλῳ (?) εἰμὶ τῷ Εὐκλέος</i> . Owner's inscription or dedication to a human.	DOH 1	(a) <i>Μενέλαῶς</i> , (b) <i>Εὐφορβος</i> , (c) <i>Ἑκτορ</i> . Menelaos and Hektor fighting over the dead Euphorbos (labels).
DOC 6	[ . . . ] <i>. εὐχολᾶν ἀνέθεκ[έ] με Ἀάμ[α]τρι . . .</i> ]. Dedication (probably metrical).	DOH 2	(a) [ . . . ] <i>γεναιο . . .</i>   <i>Ἀλκιδ[αμ] . . .</i> . (b) [ . . . ?] <i>Ἀλκιδ[αμ] . . .</i> . Not clear.
DOC 7	<i>Γνόθι</i> . Address to the reader (?).	DOH 3	(a) <i>Καλλίστα γὰς ἡ Βρασία</i> (or <i>ἡβρά (Ἀ)σία</i> ), <i>ἡως</i> <i>ἐμὴν δοκεῖ</i> . (b) <i>Δεὺς, Ἡερμᾱς, Ἄρταμης, Ἀθᾱναῖᾱ</i> . (a) <i>Kalos</i> -inscription (metrical). (b) Not clear (list of gods).
IOI 1	(a) [ . . . ] <i>ιου . . . (?)</i> . (b) [ . . . ] <i>λη μ' ἔδοκεν[. . . ?]</i> . (a) Not clear. (b) Dedication (to a human?).		
IOI 2	(a) <i>Ῥήριβιος</i> , (b) <i>Ἡ[ι]πιάλτῆς</i> , (c) <i>Ἀγασθεύ[ς]</i> , (d) <i>Ζῆν[ς]</i> , (e) <i>Ἡ[ι]ρ[η]</i> , (f) <i>Ἄρπο</i> [ . . . ], (g) [ . . . ] <i>βιος</i> , (h) <i>Ἡ[ι]ρμῆς</i> , (i) <i>Ἀθῆν[α]</i> , (j) <i>Ἡ[ι]κ[λ]αδος</i> , (k) <i>Πολυβότῆς</i> . Gigantomachy (labels).		
IOI 3	[ . . . ? <i>Ἀ]ναχού[ς]</i> . . . ?] (or rather [ . . . - <i>α]να[ς] ὑέ[. . .]</i> ?). Not clear.		
IOI 4	<i>Ἀφρο[δ]ίτῃ</i> . Unidentified scene with Ares and Aphrodite in a chariot.		
IOI 5	[ . . . ] <i>ἔγραψεν</i> . Painter's signature.		
IOI 6	(a) [ . . . ] <i>ναδεῖ</i> [ . . . ] (b) <i>ου[Η]</i> [ . . . ?] (or [ . . . ?] <i>Ηνω</i> ?). Not clear, probably nonsense inscriptions.		
DOI 1	(a) <i>Ἀνδριάς με : ἐποίη</i> . (b) <i>Ἀρκῆ ιδί[κ]ας ἡμὶ ἐγ[ό]</i> . Potter's signature. Owner's inscription or dedication to a human.		
IOD 1	<i>Ἵστροκλῆς με</i> [ . . . ] (or <i>μ' ἐ</i> [ . . . ], or <i>Με</i> [ . . . ]). Probably a potter's or painter's signature, perhaps with a dedication.		
IOD 2	<i>Ἀνίπ[πη]</i> or <i>Ἀνίη</i> . Unidentified scene, perhaps with Amazons (label).		
IOD 3	(a) [ . . . ] <i>νῆς</i> , (b) <i>Πε</i> [ . . . ]. Unidentified scene (labels).		
IOD 4	(A) <i>Νικήσερμος την[δ]ί ? τῇν Ῥύλικα ἐποίησεν</i> . (B) <i>[Νικήσε]ρμ[ος] ἐποίησεν . . .   . . . ἀνέθηκεν Ἀρτέ-μ[ιδι] . . .   . . . ῃ καιρητ[. . .]</i> . (C) [ . . . ] <i>αιμι[. . .   . . . Νικήσε]ρμος ἐποίησεν . . .</i> . (A) Potter's signature (perhaps metrical). (B) Potter's signature and dedication. (C) Potter's signature.		
IOD 5	(A) [ . . . ] <i>ρ[. . .]</i> . (B) [ . . . ?] <i>κύδρῳ</i> . (C) <i>Ἀθηνάη[ι]</i> . . . . (D) [ . . . ] <i>ἀν[έθη]κεν . . .</i> . (E) [ . . . ] <i>ἀν[έθη]κεν[. . .]</i> . (F) [ . . . ] <i>ἀν[έθη]κεν[. . .]</i> . (G) [ . . . ] <i>πυ[. . .]</i> . (H) [ . . . ] <i>μοσ[. . .]</i> . (I) [ . . . ] <i>ς ἀν[έθη]κεν . . .</i> . (J) [ . . . ] <i>ίππ[. . .]</i> . (K) <i>μν[. . .]</i> . (L) [ . . . ] <i>πυ[. . .]</i> . Probably mostly dedications.	NAU 2	
IOD 6	(A) [ . . . ] <i>τῇρτέμ[ιδι] . . .   . . . ῖα</i> . (B) [ . . . ] <i>Ἀπόλλω[ν]</i> . (C) <i>Δημ[ο- . . .]</i> . (D) [ . . . ] <i>ἀν[έθηκεν]</i> . . . . (E) [ . . . ] <i>ἀν[έθη]κε τῷ[. . .]</i> . (F) [ . . . ] <i>τῷπόλ(λ)ων[ι] or -ος . . .</i> . (G) [ . . . ] <i>Μενεκά(ρ)τ[ης] . . .</i> (?). (H) [ . . . ] <i>παιδ[. . .]</i> . (I) [ . . . ?] <i>Φαναῖ[ο]</i> . . . ?]. (J) [ . . . ?] <i>Φ[αναῖ]</i> . . . ?]. (K) [ . . . ?] <i>Φ[αν]</i> <i>αἰ[ο]</i> . . . ?]. (L) [ . . . ?] <i>Φαν]</i> <i>αἰ[ο]</i> . . . ?]. Probably all dedications.	CAE 1	
IOD 7	[ . . . -θ] <i>ή μ' ἀνέθηκεν ? . . .   . . . Σ?]άμω[. . . ?]</i> . Dedication (?).	DOH 1	
IOD 8	[ . . . ?] <i>Ἀθηναγόρη</i> <i>ε</i> . . . . <i>ι</i> . . . ?]. Not clear.	DOH 2	



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See also the Abbreviations List, p. xvii

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# 1. INDEX OF WORDS

Words and names from inscriptions are given in their original form. The alphabetical order is as follows: α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ ρ λ μ ν ξ ο ω π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ. As we are dealing with local scripts mostly from Mainland Greece, pre-velar nasal is listed under <ν> (i.e. ἀγγέλλω under ἀνγ-), η and ει under ε, ω and ου under ο (heta for [h], however, remains in its normal place). Epigraphical forms are listed under initial digamma if so written. Words beginning with [h] appear under <h> (i.e. Ὑπέρβιος under *h*υπ-). The rough breathing (ˆ) in epigraphical forms is used only if written in a local script that could not express initial [h]. Postconsonantal aspiration signs are disregarded (e.g. *Φαδέσιος* appears under *Φαδ-*). Unexpected spellings are normally listed at the position of the expected version.

## A. NON-ATTIC GREEK VASE INSCRIPTIONS

Nouns and verbs are always given in the nom. sing. or the 1st person sing. present, respectively. Fully preserved attestations precede the damaged, incomplete, and unusual or faulty instances of each form. If different forms occur, all are collected under one lemma, for which the most archaic form is chosen (often Corinthian); no cross-reference is given if the dialect difference is just that between [ā] and [ē].

αβγδεζζήθικλμνοπρρσττυφψ:χρ (COR 51*b*)  
[αβγδ]εζζήθικλμνοπρρστ[υφψ]χρ (COR 86)  
αβγδεζζήθικλμνοπρρσττυφψ:χρ (BOI 14*a* and *b*)  
αβγδεζζήθικλμνοπρρσττυφψ:χρ (ACC 2)  
Άγα .[. . .] (COR 116*c*)  
[. . .]. άγαθος (COR 67)  
[Ḅγ]αλμα (DOC 3), Ḅγαλμα (see introd. to Pt. I. 6 (COP), n.)  
Άγαμέμνων (COR 23*f*, COR 33*a*), Άγ[αμέμνων?] (AIG 2)  
Άγανῶρ (COR 85*c*)  
Άγασθεύς[ς] (IOI 2*c*)  
Άγασιλέφο (gen., EUC 3)  
-αγορās, see Δᾱμ-  
-αγορη, see Ἀθην-  
Άγρᾶνῶ (gen., COR 50*A*)  
Ἀδμᾱτ[ς] (COR 66*p*)  
Ἀδρεστος (CHA 12*a*, CHA 27*c*)  
Ἀφελλ[λῶι] (LAK 7)  
Ἀφός (PCO 5*a*), Ἐός (CHA 5), Ἐώς (PCH 1*a*)  
Ἀθᾱνᾱ (BOI 15*d*, COR 6*b*, COR 28*Ag*, COR 45*a*), Ἀθᾱ[νᾱ] (COR 91*a*), [Ἀθᾱν]ᾱ (COR 19*b*), Ἀθ[ᾱ-νᾱ?] (COR 76), Ἀθᾱν(ᾱ) (BOI 17*d*), Ἀθᾱναῖᾱ (PCO 2*b*, DOH 3*b*), Ἀθ(ῆ?)να[ι]ᾱ (COP 44*b*),

Ἀθᾱναῖᾱ (COP 77*c*), Ἀθῆναῖζ (CHA 2*a*, CHA 9*a*), Ἀθῆν[αῖζ] (CHA 9*f*), Ἀθῆνάη (IOI 2*i*), Ἀθῆν[αῖ]ᾱς (gen., COP 59), Ἀθ[.νᾱ] (dat., COP 58*b*), Ἀθῆνᾱη[ι] (IOD 5*C*)  
Ἀθῆναγόρη (IOD 8)  
-ᾱθλᾱ, see Ἀλκ-  
Ἀῖγυπτως (NAU 1*Aa*)  
Ἀῖας (COR 12*i*, COR 14*a* and *b*, COR 23*d* and *h*, COR 30*e* and *f*, COR 38*a*, COR 46*Af*, COR 60*a*, COR 82*c*, COR 99*b*, COR 117*a*, COR Gr 6, COR Gr 9), Ἀῖ[ας] (?) (COR 130), Ἀῖας (COR 10*a*), Ἀῖας (CHA 4*d*), Ἀῖας (CAE 1*b*)  
Ἀῖοψ (PCO 5*b*)  
Ἀῖῶν (COR 16*c*), Ἀῖῶν (COR 57*l*)  
Ἀῖνῆς (COR 15, COR 30*g*, COR 44*d*, COR 44*Ab*, COR 60*c*, COR 76*d* -ς), Ἀῖ[νῆς] (?) (COR 130), Ἀῖνῆς (CHA 4*g*), Ἀῖνῆς (DOC 1*a*)  
Ἀῖνῆτᾱ (COR 18*a*)  
Ἀῖνῆ (?) (IOD 2)  
Ἀῖνῆπᾱ (COR 66*b*), Ἀῖνῆπ[πῆ] (?) (IOD 2)  
Ἀῖνῆ (COR 70*d*)  
Ἀῖσιμῆλλῆς (COP 25)  
Ἀῖσουλῆνος (COR 47), Ἀῖ[σουλῆ]νος (COP 26)  
Ἀῖσχυλοι (dat. sg., BOI 4*C*)  
ἄῖτᾱι (dat.?, ETR 3*a*)  
-αῖχμᾱς, see Πυρ-  
Ἀκᾱς (gen., DOC 2*a* and *b*)  
Ἀκᾱμᾱς (COR 87*a*)  
Ἀκ(α)στος (COR 66*k*)  
ἄρῳις (COP 6)  
Ἀλάστῶρ (COR 66*g*)  
Ἀλεξ(ί)μαρρς (?) (COR 121*a*)  
Ἀλέξανδρος (COR 24*c*), Ἀ[λέξ?]ανδ[ρ]ος (PCO 2*a*), Ἀ[λέξανδρος?] (AIG 2)  
Ἀλκᾱ (COR 33*b*)  
Ἀλκ(ᾱ)θλᾱ (COR 39)  
-αλκῆς, see Μῖνᾱσ-  
Ἀλκῆδαμ[. . .] (DOH 2*a*), Ἀλκῆδαμ[. . .] (DOH 2*b*)  
Ἀλκιμος (COR 82*e*)  
Ἀλκινόφᾱ (COR 4*b*)  
Ἀλκμ[α(ί)ῶν] (COR 66*e*)  
-αλκμος, see Ηῖππ-  
ἄλς or ἄλς (ELI 2)  
-αλ-τῆς, see Ἐπι-  
Ἀμασζῶν (COR 1*A*)  
ἄμοιῶν (acc., COP 1*A*)  
Ἀμφιάρῆος (COR 66*r*), Ἀ(μ)φιάρῆος (COR 66*f*), Ἀμ[φιάρῆος?] (CHA 12*c*)  
Ἀμφιτρ[ίτᾱ] (COP 20*b*), Ἀ[μφιτρ]ίτᾱ (COP 69*A*), Ἀμφιτρῖτᾱ (COP 2*Cb*), Ἀμφιτρῖτᾱ (COP 68), Ἀμφ[ιτ?]ρῖτᾱ (COP 44*c*), Ἀ(μ)φιτρῖτᾱ (COP 70*b*), Ἀ(μ)φιτρῖτᾱν (COP 37*a*), Ἀ(μ)φιτρῖτᾱ (COP 13*b*), Ἀ(μ)φιτρῖτᾱ (COP 69*B*), Ἀ(μ)φι(τ)ρῖτᾱ (COP 5*a*)  
ἄν(α)-, see also Ἀσόςᾱς  
ἄναξ, see *F-*, [. . .-α]ναῖς (?) (IOI 3)

ἀναπῦγίζω: ἄ(μ)πῦγίζῃ (ACC 3*b*)  
ἀνατίθημι (see also τι(θη)μι): ἀνέθεκε (BOI 20), ἀνέθεκε (COR 31*d*), ἀνέθεκε (passim on COP—entire: COP 2*A*, COP 11*b*, COP 12, COP 13*a*, COP 18*a*, COP 19, COP 35*b*, COP 38*Ab* and *Bb*, COP 41, COP 48*A* and *B*, COP 49, COP 50, COP 51*A*, COP 52*a*, COP 53, COP 55, COP 56*b*, COP 57*C* and *D*; fragmentary: COP 1*B* and *D*, COP 7, COP 14, COP 20*c*, COP 25, COP 29*a*, COP 31, COP 45, COP 57*A-B* and *E-M*), [ἄ]νέθεκε (COP App. 1*Ac*), [ἄ]νέθεκε (COP App. 1*C*), [ἄ]νέθεκε (IOD 6*D*), [ἄνέθε]κε (IOD 6*E*), also (-θη- or -θε-) fragmentary on AIG 3*B1*, AIG 3*B2* and *D* (both -η-), ARG 1, ACC 1*B*, DOC 6, IOD 4*B* -ν, IOD 5*D*, *E*, I, NAU 1 (passim, mostly fragmentary: final nu preserved *Ba*, *Ca*, *Da*, *Ea*, *Fa*, *Ia*, *c*, *Ie*, *Kb*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *Ld*; final nu not preserved *Aa*, *Hb*, *Jb*, *f*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*), ἀνέθε(ε)κε (COP 3*b*, COP 9), [ἄν]έθε(ε)κε (COP 27*b*), [ἄν]έθε(η)κε[ν] (IOD 5*F*), ἀνέθε[θε]κε (COP 51*B*), ἀνέθεκε (COP 36), ἀν(έ)θηκεν (NAU 1*Ga*), ἀν(έ)θηκεν (NAU 1*Ha*); ἀνέθεῖαν (3rd person dual, AIG 3*E*), ἀνέθεῖαν (COR 127)  
-αγγεῖλας, see ἔπ-  
-ανδρᾱ, see Κεσ-, Τῖμ-  
Ἀνδριάς (DOI 1*a*)  
-ανδρ-ιδᾱς, see Ἀῦσ-  
Ἀν[δρ]ομάχᾱ (COR 76*a*), Ἀνδρομάχῃ (CHA 15*c*), Ἀνδρομάχῃ (ETR 4)  
Ἀνδρόμαχος (COR 46*Ag*)  
Ἀνδρομέδᾱ (COR 4*c*), Ἀνδρομέδᾱ (COR 101*c*)  
-ανδρος, see Ἀλεξ-, Θερσ-, Ὀφελ-, also [. . .-α]νδρος (COR 64*Bb*), [. . .-α]νδρος (ARG 1)  
Ἀνδρῦτᾱς (COR 33*e*)  
-άνερ(ρ?)α, see Καλλι-  
Ἀνιοχῖδᾱς (COR 89*b*, LAK 4*a*)  
-ᾱνῶρ, see Ἄγ-, also [. . .-ᾱ]νῶρ (COP 1*B*)  
Ἀντ[. . .] (name, NAU 17*a*)  
Ἀνταῖος (CHA 13*a*, CHA 18*c*)  
Ἀντ(α. . .) (COR 58*b*)  
Ἀντίς (CHA 1*a*)  
Ἀντίλοχος (PCH 1*c*), Ἀντί[λοχος] (COR 93*d*), [Ἀ]ντίλοχος (CHA 5*c*), Ἀντί(ο)χος (COR 24*Ab*)  
Ἀντιμαχῖδᾱς (COR 119*f*)  
Ἀντίοχος (CHA 13*b*)  
Ἀντιφᾱτᾱς (COR 104*b*)  
Ἀντιφᾱς (COP 27*b*)  
Ἀπέλλῶν (COP 20, COR 28*Ad*), [Ἀπέλλ]ῶν (COR 36*b*), Ἀπέ[λ]λῶνος (COR Gr 23), Ἀπέλλῶν[. . .?] (COP App. 1*D*), -πόλ(λ)ων[ι or -ος] (gen. or dat. in crasi, IOD 6*F*), -πόλ(λ)ωνι (in crasi, BOI 2*D*), [Ἀπόλλω]νι (IOD 6*B*)  
ἄπλοῦν (?) (PCO 1)  
Ἀπολλόδορος (ACC 3*a*), Ἀπολλόδορον (acc., ACC 3*b*)  
Ἀργῆος (COR 66*l*)

-αργος, see *Ποδ-*  
 -αρῆος, see *Ἀμφι-*  
 Ἀρῆς (BOI 15a)  
 -αρετᾶ, see *Παντ-*  
 Ἀριάδῃ (CHA 11c), Ἀρι [- . .] (CHA 28h)  
 Ἀρί[πνια] (CHA 28a)  
 Ἀριστ(. . .) (COP 92)  
 Ἀριστ[το- . . .] and Ἀ[ριστ]ο[. . .] (NAU 10c)  
 Ἀριστόνοθος or Ἀρίστον[ο]φος (INC 1)  
 Ἀριστόφαντος (AIG 3E)  
 Ἀριστόφιλος (COP 28)  
 Ἀρκεσίλας (LAK 3a)  
 Ἀ[ρ]νέσιος (COP 62b)  
 Ἀπθῆ (ETR 1e)  
 Ἀρτεμῖς (CHA 22b), Ἀρταμῖς (DOH 3b), Ἀρτέμι[δι]  
 (dat., IOD 4B), -ρτέμιδ[ι] (in crasi, then completed  
 to Ἀρτ- IOD 6A), Ἀρτάτ[μ]τι (COR 127)  
 -αρχᾶ, see *Εὐφ-*  
 -αρχος, see *Εὐφ-*, *Κλε-*  
 Ἀρχέκλῳ (?) (gen., DOC 5)  
 Ἀρκή ιδίκας (DOI 1b)  
 Ἀρχιλοχ[ί]δᾶς (LAK 4b)  
 Ἀρ[?]χίτιμ[ος?] (LAK 1)  
 (Ἀ)σία (?) (DOH 3a)  
 Ἀσκάλαβος (COR 87f)  
 Ἀσόβᾶς (Ἀν-?) (COR 27d)  
 Ἀσπὸδδῶρος (COP 29a)  
 Ἀστεροπαῖος (CHA 8e)  
 Ἀστν-, see *Ἔ-*  
 Ἀταλάντῃ (CHA 10a)  
 αὐτ[ἀ]ρ (BOI 4C)  
 Αὐτομέδων (COR 80a, CHA 8a), Αὐτο[μέδων]  
 (COR 93a), [Αὐ]τομέδων (CHA 5f)  
 Αὐτομέδουσα (COR 24e)  
 αὐτό: αὐτό (gen., 'his', COR 17b), αὐτό (acc. sg.  
 ntr., 'the same', BOI 4C), αὐτό ('this' or 'the  
 same', COP 2A, B, and C -τ[ό])  
 Ἀφαία: φαίη[ι] (dat., AIG 3C), φαίη[ι] (NAU  
 1Ld)  
 Ἀφροδίτᾳ (COR 28Ah, DOC 1b), Ἀφροδ[ί]τᾳ  
 (BOI 17c), Ἀφροδ[ί]τᾳ (PCO 2c), Ἀφροδ[ί]τη (IOI  
 4), Ἀφροδίτη (dat.) passim, mostly fragmentary  
 and partly uncertain, on NAU 1 (Aa, Ba, Ca, Da,  
 Fa, Ga [-τη], Ha, Ia, c, Oa), Ἀφο(ρ)δ[ί]τη[ι]  
 (NAU 1Id), Ἀφο(ρ)δίτη (NAU 1Ie), probably  
 also [- . .]φορ[. . .] (NAU 1Ib), Ἀφροδί[τη]  
 (NAU 2)  
 Ἀχιλλ(λ)εύς (PCO 4a, COR 24Ac, COR 27i, PCH 1d),  
 Ἀχιλλεύς (COR 57g, COR 72, COR 80c, CHA 4c,  
 CHA 5d, CHA 7), Ἀχιλλεύς (also nom., COR  
 30c), Ἀχιλλεύς (COR 93b), Ἀχιλλ[εύς] (COR  
 114Aa), Ἀχ[ι]λλεύς (CHA 8b), Ἀχιλλ(λ)ῆς (ETR  
 1b), Ἀχιλλεύς (COR 88c); see also COR 51b.  
 Βάλιος (COR 57f, COR 89e), Βάλιος (COR 78h)  
 -βατᾶς, see *Ἡπιπο-*  
 Βάτῶν (COR 66g, COR 79Ae)  
 Βῖα (?) (COP 18b)  
 Βῖν (COR 103a)  
 -βιος ('life'), see *ἐμ-*  
 -βιος ('force'), see *Ἡπερ-*, also [- . .]βιος (IOI 2g)  
 -βουλος, see *Κλεο-*  
 Βορίας (BOI 18b)  
 -βῶτες, see *Πολυ-*  
 Βρασία (?) (DOH 3a)  
 γᾶς (gen., DOH 3a)  
 Γαγενῆς (BOI 15b)  
 Γαμέδῆς (BOI 7Aa and b, B), perhaps [- . .]ς (BOI  
 7C)

Γανυμέδης (ACC 4)  
 Γάρνφόνες (CHA 2c), Γερνόνες (CHA 9c)  
 -γηθης, see *Θυμο-*, also [- . .-γ?]ήθης (NAU 1Ca)  
 Γελόιος (DOC 2b), Γελόιος (DOC 2a)  
 -γενῆς, see *Γᾶ-*, *Ἡερμο-*  
 -γῆτοι-ιδᾶς ([- . .]ο-, COP 49)  
 γιγνώσκω: γνῶθι (imperative, DOC 7)  
 Γλαῦρος (CHA 3j, CHA 8i), Γλαῦρος (COR 82h),  
 Γλαῦ[ος] (CHA 26b), Γ(α)ῦρος (COR 74i,  
 CHA 4e), Γ(λ)αῦρος (COR 68j)  
 Γοργίᾶς (BOI 2D)  
 Γοργῶ[ι] (COR 106b), [Γορ]γῶι (?) (COR 106c)  
 γράφω: [ἔ]γρ[?]αφε (COP 60), ἔγραψε (COR 57m),  
 ἔγραψ[ι] (COP 18b), ἔγραψε (COP 41), ἔγραψε  
 (COR 27h), [ἔ]γραψεν (IOI 5), ἔγραψεν? (NAU  
 1Da)  
 Γρύτῶν (BOI 1A and B)  
 Δάιπυλος (COR 107d and f), Δαῖπυλος (COR 46Ad)  
 Δαῖφῶν (COR 24a)  
 Δαῖφονος (COR 70j)  
 Δαῖ[- . . 3-4 . .]ος (COR 53a)  
 -δαῖ-, see *Ἀλκι-*, also Δα[μ- . .] (COR 26b),  
 Δαμ[. . .] (COR 68d)  
 Δημ[ι]ο- . . . (IOD 6C)  
 [- . . -δ]ημ[. . .] (name?, NAU 1Je)  
 Δῆμαγῶρος (COR 92c)  
 -δαμαFος, see *Δᾶ-*  
 Δάμας (COR 85e)  
 -δάμας, see *Δᾶ(Φο)-*, *Πολυ-*  
 Δάματ[ρος] (gen., COR 125), Δάματ[ρι] (dat.,  
 DOC 6)  
 Δάμο[. . .] (COP 23a)  
 Δεμόδορος (CHA 3a)  
 ΔάμοFάνασ(σ)α (COR 66c)  
 Δάμῶν (COR 78c), Δάμῶν (COR 68f)  
 Δαμονιδᾶς (AIG 3E)  
 δαμόσιον (ELI 1), [δᾶ]μόσια (?) (ELI 4)  
 Δημοφ[ι]ν[η]ς (NAU 1Ba)  
 Δεμόφιλος (COP 30)  
 -δᾶν and -δᾶ(Fῶ), see *Ποτῆ-*  
 Δανάᾳ (BOI 13)  
 Δάσῶν (CHA 1c)  
 δέ (COR 17b, COP 1A, C, D, COP 50?, DOC 2c),  
 δ' (COP 83)  
 Δεμόμαχος (LAK 4c)  
 Δεξ(ι)θέο (?) (EUC 2)  
 Δέξ(ι)λ[ος] (COR 18h)  
 Δέρις or Δέρις (COP 64)  
 -δευκῆς, see *Πολυ-*  
 Δεύς, see *Ζεύς*  
 Δία (COR 74e)  
 Διδάτῶν (COR 12c)  
 διδοῖμι: [δῖ]δοι (imperative, COP 1B), δόκε (BOI 4C),  
 ἔδοκεν (IOI 1b), [ἔ]δο[?]κε (BOI 10b), [ἔ]δωκε[ν]  
 (NAU 1Nd), δός (imperative, COP 1C), δός[ς]  
 (COP 1A), δός[ς] (COP 1D), perhaps also COP 50  
 -δικᾶ, see *Ἀρχι-*, *Εὐθυ-*, *Εὐρυ-*  
 -δικος, see *Εὐ-*, *Ἡπιπο-*, *Ἡυπο-*  
 Διῶι (COR 77a, COR 78a and e, COR 119b), Διῶι  
 (COR 81Aa)  
 Διομέδης (COR 23a, COR 38b, COR 46Ah,  
 CHA 4b), Δ[ι]ομ[ε]δ[ῆ]ς (COR 12h), Διομ[ε]δ[ῆ]ς  
 (COP 77d), Διομ[ε]δ[ῆ]ς? (COR 14c), Διομ[ε]δ[ῆ]ς  
 (CHA 3Aa), Διομ[ε]δ[ῆ]ς (CHA 8h)  
 Δίῶν (COR 59a, COR 78b, COR 84, COR 102f,  
 COR 105d and g, COR 109a, COR 119e), Δίῶν  
 (COR 83terd, COR 99a and f), Δίῶν (COR  
 105k), Δ[ι]ῶν (CHA 18a), Δίῶν (COR 64d),  
 Δ(ί)ῶν (COR 99c), Δί(ῶ)ν (?) (COR 109b)

Δι(ῶ)νυμος (?) (COR 46Ae)  
 Διονύσιος (COR 86b)  
 Διονύσος (COR 118c, CHA 28g), [Διόν]υσος  
 (COR 31c)  
 Διόσκο(υ)ροι, see *Ζεύς*  
 διος: δι' (voc., COR Gr 26(1)), see also Δία  
 -δμᾶτος, see *Ἄ-*  
 δοκεῖ (DOH 3a)  
 -δοκος, see *Δᾶμο-*, *Λεῶ-*, also [- . .]ᾶδορος (COR  
 81Ba)  
 Δόλῶν (COR 30i, COR 117b)  
 -δῶρη[- . .] ([- . .]ι-, NAU 1Jh)  
 -δῶρ-ιδος, see *Πολυ-*  
 Δορίμαχος (COR 33c, COR 114e)  
 Δορί[ς] (COR 95b)  
 Δόρκις (CHA 1g, CHA 14h)  
 Δόρκων (COP 31)  
 Δορῶι (COR 81Ac), Δορῶι (COR 85a), Δορῶι  
 (COR 92a), Δ[ο]ρῶ (CHA 14k)  
 [δῶρον ?] (acc., COP 1), δῶρα (acc. pl. ntr., BOI 3)  
 Δῶρῶν (COR 114a)  
 -δῶρος, see *Ἀπολλο-*, *Ἄσπο-*, *Εὐ-*, *Πολυ-*  
 -δρᾶστος, see *Ἄ-*  
 [Δρῶ?]μος (CHA 6c)  
 -δρομος, see *Ταχυ-*  
 ἐγώ etc.: ἐγὼ (DOI 1b), ἐμίν (dat., DOH 3a), ἐμέ  
 (acc., BOI 2B, C, BOI 6A (?)), ἐμέ (COP 29a),  
 ἐμ' (BOI 2A, D, BOI 5A, BOI 6A [?]), C, D, E),  
 -ἐμ' (in crasi, BOI 3 and BOI 5B), με (COP 9,  
 ARG 1, DOC 4, DOI 1a, IOD 1 [or: μ'?), NAU  
 1Ga, Ha, b, Ia), με (DOC 6), μ' (COR 27h, COR  
 31d, COR 57m, COP 1B, COP 3b, COP 8a, COP  
 11b, COP 12, COP 13a, COP 31, COP 35b,  
 COP 36, COP 38Ab and Bb, COP 43, COP 45,  
 COP 48A and B, COP 49, COP 51A and B, COP  
 52a, COP 55, EUC 1 [or: με?], EUC 3, IOI 1b,  
 IOD 1 [or: με?], IOD 7, NAU 1Ea, Ga, Ha, Ia,  
 Jb, f, g), μ' (COP 25, COP 27b, COP 40, NAU  
 1Fa, Gd), τῷ (COP 27b, COP 40, NAU 1D),  
 Φοι (gen./dat. reflexive, 'of himself', COR 17b)  
 ἐθῆλῶν (?) (COP App. 1Ac)  
 Εἰάσῶν (COR 24Ba)  
 Ἐκτῶρ (COR 24b, COR 57j, CHA 15d, DOH 1c),  
 Ἐτῶρ (COR 44e, COR 70c), Ἐκκτῶρ (COR 30b),  
 Ηέτῶρ (COR 60b), Ἐκτῶρ or Ἐτῶρ (COR 10b),  
 Κετῶρ corrected from Ἐτ(τ)ῶρ (COR 68h),  
 Ἐτ(τ)ῶρ (COR Gr 6)  
 Ἐλάτιος (CHA 23a)  
 ἐμβιος: ἐμβία (acc. pl. ntr., COP 18b)  
 εἰμ[ι] (AIG 3A), ἐμί (COR 128, COP 5a, COP 59,  
 COP 61), ἐμι (COP 83), ἐμι (COR 121d, and b?),  
 ἐμ[ι] (COP 24), ἐμί (COR 18a), ἐμί (COR Gr 2),  
 ἴμι (COR Gr 23), εἰμί (DOC 5), εἰμι (IOD 9),  
 -μι (in crasi, NAU 1La), εἰμ[ι] (NAU 1Nb), ἦμι  
 (DOI 1b); ἔ (subj., ETR 3a)  
 Ἐμπεδιόνδᾳ (dat. sg. masc., BOI 4C)  
 ἐν (NAU 2)  
 Ἡ<sup>(1)</sup>κ<sup>(1)</sup>η<sup>(1)</sup>λαδος (IOI 2j)  
 Ἐως, see ἌFῶς  
 [ἔ]παγγέλλας (aorist participle, COP 1A, COP 1C?)  
 Ἡ<sup>(1)</sup>π<sup>(1)</sup>ιάλτῆς (IOI 2b)  
 Ἐπ<sup>(1)</sup>χ<sup>(1)</sup>- (nom. sg. masc. in crasi, BOI 3)  
 ἐραμαι / ἐραω: ἐραται (ACC 3a and c, DOC 2a and  
 b), ἐ(ε)ραται (ACC 3d), ἐρῶσας (fem. gen. of aorist  
 participle, COR 126)  
 Ἐράτᾳ (COR 65), see also Πανταρέτᾳ  
 Ἐρατῶι (COR 92f, COR 110c)  
 Ἐριφύλα (COR 66a)  
 Ἐρ[ι]χθῶ (CHA 28f)

Ἐρῶτο(ς) (ETR 2)  
 ἑταῖρος (ITH 1)  
 εὔ (?) (COP 29c)  
 Εὔαρχ-, see Εὐρ-  
 Εὔδιρος (COR 18e)  
 Εὔδορος (COR 104d)  
 Εὐφάρχα (BOI 10c and g)  
 Εὐφάρχος (COR 101d)  
 Εὐθυδικᾶ (COP App. 1Aa)  
 Εὐκλέος (gen., DOC 5)  
 Εὐρολῖς (COP App. 1Ab)  
 Εὐκρόνης[. . .] (COP 34)  
 Εὐμαχος (COR 85b), [Ε]ῡμαχος (DOC 2c)  
 Εὔμελος (COR 46Aa)  
 Εὔνος (or Εὔνως) (COR 40a)  
 -εννος, see Παρ-  
 [Εὐ?]οσστίδᾶς (BOI 26)  
 Εὐρύβα(ς) (COR 71b)  
 Εὐρυδικᾶ (COR 66d)  
 Εὐρύλοχος (COR 68k)  
 Εὐρύμας (COR 68a)  
 Εὐρύμαχος (COR 46Ac, COR 53b, CHA 8c),  
 Εὐρύμα[α]χος? (CHA 26a), Ε(ῡ)ρύμαχος (COR  
 74j)  
 Εὐρυμέδης (COP 35b)  
 [Εὐ]ρυμέδων (COR 68b)  
 Εὐρυτιν (COR 107a, CHA 2d)  
 Εὐρύτιος (COR 12d)  
 Εὔστρατος (COP 36)  
 εὐχδᾶν (acc., DOC 6)  
 Εὐφᾶμος (COR 66n, COR 100a), Εὔφᾶμος  
 (COR 114d)  
 Εὐφάρια (BOI 10f)  
 Εὐφορβος (COR 86c, DOH 1b)  
 Εὐφροσύνᾱ (BOI 10d)  
 Ἐφιάτης, see Ἐπ-  
 Ἐχίππος (CHA 4i)  
 Ἐχώ, see Φᾶχῶι

Φηαδέσιος (COR 19f)  
 Φάνακτι (dat., COP 4, COP 15), Φ[ά]νακτι (COP  
 1D), Φ[ά]νακτι (COP 2Cc), Φ[ά]νακτι (COP 3b),  
 Φ[ά]νακτι (COP 10), Φάνακ[τι] (COP 12),  
 Φάνα[ακτι] (COP 13a), Φάνα[ακτι] (COP 14),  
 Φάνα[ακτι] (COP 16), Φάνα[ακτι] (COP 17),  
 Φάνατ(τ)ι (COP 2A), Φάνακτι (COP 2B)  
 -Φανασσα, see Δᾶμο-  
 Φάρις (COR 105e and perhaps (j) Φάρις)  
 Φαστυπτότας (COR 16f)  
 Φᾶχᾶς (COR 103c)  
 Φᾶχῶι (COR 81Bb)  
 Φᾶχυς (COR 63, COR 67a, COR 119a, CHA 13d)  
 Φεκάβᾱ (COR 70b), Φεκάβ[ᾱ] (COR 76f)  
 Φελένᾱ, see Ηελένᾱ  
 Φλιόνῆς (COR 74k)  
 Φῶι (COR 71c, COR 77c and f, COR 78f,  
 COR 81Ab, COR 119d), Φῶ (CHA 1l, CHA 6a,  
 CHA 14d)  
 Φῶκε (3rd person sg., COR 131)  
 Φιολᾶ (COR 12f)  
 ΦιολᾶΦος (COR 6d, COR 8, COR 13b), Φιολᾶς  
 (COR 19d, LAK 6), Φιολᾶς ? (COP 37b),  
 Φιολᾶς (COR 4e)  
 Φῶν (COR 64A, COR 102c and d, COR 108, COR  
 119c, CHA 18b), Φῶν (COR 59c), Φῶν (COR 67c),  
 Φῶν (COR 68e), Φ[ῶ]ν (COR 102b)  
 Φῶνις (COR 70m)  
 Φιόπᾱ (COR Gr 15a)  
 Φῶφινος (?) (COR 64Ba)  
 Φῶφις (COR 81Ac)

Φῶφιτος (COR 12e), Φῶφ(ι)τος (COR 107b)  
 Φοι, see ἐγώ  
 Φοινεύς (CHA 17b), Φοινεύ[ς] (COR 41)  
 Φόλχας (ACC 3b)  
 Φρᾶσος (CHA 3Ab)

[Ζε?]τ.ς (CHA 28b)  
 Ζε(υ)ξίππᾱ (COR 79Ac)  
 Ζεύς (CHA 10e), Ζεύ[ς] (PCO 6), Ξεύς (COP 75),  
 Ξεύς (COR 28Aj), Ξεύς (COP 42b), Δεύς  
 (COP 78a, DOH 3b), Ζῆγυς (IOI 2d), Διός  
 κῶρου (ETR 3b), Ζηγνί (dat., NAU 1Ea)  
 Ζώλιος (NAU 1Ga, Ha), [Ζώιλο]ς (NAU 1Gb),  
 [Ζ]ώιλος (NAU 1Hb), Ζώιλος (NAU 1Ha)

-θᾱ, see Κυματο-  
 Θεανῶι (COR 74d)  
 Θεο[. . .] (name, COP 5b)  
 θεός: θεοῖς (BOI 3), [θεοῖ]σιν (NAU 1Li), [θεοῖ]σιν  
 (NAU 1Lj), [θεοῖ]σιν (NAU 1Oh), [θεοῖ]σιν  
 (NAU 1Lh), [θεοῖ]σιν (?) (NAU 1Na), θεε  
 (nom. sg. fem., EUB 1)  
 -θεος, see Δεξί-, Σῶσι-  
 [. . . -θ]ή (name, IOD 7)  
 -θεῖρα, see -φεῖρα-  
 Θέρων (COR 18c)  
 Θέρσανδρος (COR 33h)  
 Θέρσεύς (CHA 11a)  
 Θέτις (CHA 5e, PCH 1e), Θέτις (COR 24Ad),  
 Θέτι[ς] (COR 34), Θέτι[ς] (EUB 2), Θέτι[ς] (COR 88b)  
 Θρασύμα[χος] (?) (COP 7)  
 [Θρα?]συμ[ε]δῆς? (COR 35)  
 Θυμογῆ[θ]ης (NAU 1Jb)

θαβρά (?) (DOH 3a)  
 Χαλμιῆδες (COR 66j)  
 Χαμαθῶι (COR 77d)  
 ἄνι-, see Ἄνι-  
 Χαμματιδᾶς (COR 74h)  
 Ἄρπο [. . .] (IOI 2f)  
 Ηἑβᾱ (COR 28Af)  
 Ἐκάβη, see F-  
 Ηέφτορ, see Ἐκτορ  
 Ηελένᾱ (COR 24d), Ηελένᾱ (COR 76c), Ηελένῃ  
 (CHA 15a)  
 Ἐλληνες: [Ἐλλή]νων (gen. pl., NAU 1Lc),  
 [Ἐλλή]ν[ι]ν[. . .] (NAU 1Le), [Ἐλλή]ν[ι]ν[. . .] (NAU  
 1Lf)  
 Ἐλ(λ)ηνίωι (dat. sg. masc., NAU 1Ea)  
 Ηέρᾱ (BOI 21a, COR 28Al, COR 122), [H]έρᾱ (BOI  
 17c), Ἡ[ε]ρ[η] (IOI 2e), [H]έρᾱ[ς] (gen., COR 128)  
 Ηερακλῆς (BOI 15c, COR 4d, COR 6c, COR 12g,  
 COR 13a, COR 19c, COR 28Ae, CHA 2b), Ηε-  
 ρακλῆς (COR 73), Ηερακλῆς (CHA 9b), Ηε-  
 ρακλῆς (LAK 2), Η[ε]ρακλῆς (CHA 20a),  
 Ηερακλῆς (COR 32a), Ηερακλῆς[ε]ς (CHA  
 19), Ηερακλέος (gen., COR 19a)  
 Η(ε)ρμαῖος (COR 92e)  
 Ηερμᾶς (DOH 3b), Ἐρμᾶς (COR 28Ak), Ηερμῆ[ς]  
 rather than Ηερμῆ[ας] (BOI 17b), Ἡ[ε]ρμῆς (IOI  
 2h), Ἐρμᾶν (voc., COR Gr 26(1))  
 Ἐρμιογῆ[ης] (NAU 1Lg)  
 [Ἐρ?]μολ[ω]ς (NAU 1Jk)  
 Ἐρμώμανδρος (NAU 1Da)  
 -ερμος, see Νικη-  
 εταῖρος, see ἐτ-  
 η[αρεῖς] (BOI 27)  
 Ηιμερόι (COR Gr 15b)  
 -ιππᾱ, see Ἄνι-, Ζευξ-

[T]π(π)αῖμῶν (?) (COR 94)  
 Ηιππαῖος (CHA 1e)  
 Ηίππαλγμος (COR 66u)  
 Ηίππασος (COR 116a), Ηίπ(π)ατος (COR 66s)  
 Ηίπ(π)ιχος (COR 44b)  
 Ηιπποβάτᾱς (COR 7a)  
 [H]ιπ(π)όδιρος (?) (COR 26c)  
 Ηιππῶι (COR 24h)  
 Ηιπ(π)οκλῆς (COR 30h)  
 Ηιπ(π)όλοχος (CHA 8f)  
 [H?]ιππολύτᾱ (COR 42b), Ηιππολύτῃ (CHA 3b)  
 Ηιπ(π)όλυτος (COR 24i), Ηιππόλυτος (COR 61),  
 Ηιππόλυ[ος] (COR 68l)  
 Ἰπ(π)ομαχιδᾶς (COR 16b)  
 Ηιππόμαχος (COR 70g)  
 Ηιπ(π)ομέ[δων] (COR 81Ah)  
 [H?]ιπ(π)ονίκα (COR 91b)  
 ήιπ(π)ος (COR 68c), Ηίπ(π)ος (name, CHA 14c),  
 ήιπ(π)οι (nom. pl., COR 71d)  
 -ιππος, see Ξε-, Κισ-, Λῦσ-, Νικ-, Παντ-  
 Ηιπ(π)οστρόφος (COR 7b)  
 Ηιπποτιν (COR 66i), Ηιπ(π)οτιν (COR 92j)  
 ho (demonstr., BOI 4C)  
 ho (?) (BOI 27), ho (INC 2, twice), ho (COR 71e),  
 ho (COP App. 1Ad), ho (DOC 3), ὁ (NAU 1Ba,  
 Gh, Kh, d, e), ὁ (NAU 1Ka, c), τὸ (gen., BOI 28,  
 DOC 5), τω- (gen. or dat. in crasi, IOD 6F), τῶ[ι]  
 (IOD 6F), τῶ- (dat. in crasi, BOI 2D), τῶι (dat.,  
 BOI 26), τῶι (COP 18a), [τῶ?]ι (COP 21), τὸ  
 (dat.?, COP 7), τὸ (dat.?, COP 9), τῶι (NAU 1Ea,  
 twice), hā (COR Gr 2, DOH 3a?), [τᾱ]ς (gen.,  
 COR 125), τᾱς (COR 126, COR 128), [τᾱ]ς  
 (COR Gr 25), τῆι (dat. sg. fem., AIG 3C), [τᾱ]ς  
 (COR 31d), τᾱι (COP 58b), [τῆ]ν (dat. in crasi,  
 then completed to [τῆ]ν IOD 6A), τῆι (NAU 1Ba,  
 Ca, Da, Ga, Ia), τῆι (NAU 2), τῆ- (dat. pre-  
 vocalic, NAU 1Oa), τα- (dat. in crasi, NAU 1Ic),  
 τῆι (NAU 1Fa), [τῆ]ν (NAU 1Id, 1Ld), τῆν  
 (IOD 4A), τό (COR 121d), τῶ[ν] (NAU 1La),  
 [τῶ]ν (NAU 1Lb), τᾱς (COP App. 1Ac and C),  
 τα [. . .] (article?, COR 127)  
 ὄδε: τῶνδῶν(ε)ν (?) (COP 94), την[δῶν] (IOD 4A),  
 ταδῖ (?) (acc. pl. ntr., COP 60)  
 Ὀδισ see Ὀδισ  
 Ὡρα [. . .] (CHA 28d)  
 ὁς (nom. sg. relat.?, ITH 1)  
 ὥς (DOH 3a)  
 Ηύβριχος (ACC 3d)  
 Ὑπῆρβιος (IOI 2a)  
 [H]υπόδιρος (?) (COR 26c)  
 Ηυσμένᾱ (COR 113d)

ιάλλω: ἰᾱ[λας] (?) (COP 2A)  
 Ἰάσων, see Εἰάσων  
 Ἰγρῶν (COP 38Ab), Ἰγρῶν (COP 38Bb)  
 Ἰλιονεύς, see F-  
 Ἰώ and Ἰων, see F-  
 Ἰόλαος and Ἰόλη, see F-  
 Ἰππο-, see Ηιππο-  
 Ἰσμηνη, see Ηυσμένᾱ  
 ἰσ(σ)α (COR 52)  
 Ἰστροκλῆς (IOD 1)  
 Ἰφι-, see F-

Κάβριος (BOI 16e), Κα[βίρῶ] (gen., BOI 28),  
 Καβίρῶι (dat., BOI 20), Καβίρῶι (BOI 25),  
 Κα[βίρῶι] (BOI 29)  
 καί (AIG 3E, INC 2), καί (ITH 1), κ' (COP 41)  
 [K]άλ[αῖς] (COR 24Be), Κάλαις (CHA 28c)  
 -καλδεῖα (i.e. -καλλέα), see περι-



[Καλ(λ)ῖ]ιάνερ(ρ)ῖα (COR 96*A*)  
 Καλ(λ)ικλέας (ITH 2)  
 Κ[αλλ]ιμέλεια (EUB 3), Καλλιμε[. . . ?] (EUB 3)  
 Καλ(λ)ιο [. . .] (COR 26*a*)  
 Καλλιόπα (COR 28*Ac*)  
 Κ[α]λλίς (?) (COR 105*f*)  
 [. . . -κ]αλ(λ)ιστ[. . .] (?) (NAU 1*Nc*)  
 καλός (BOI 9*a* twice, and *b* once), [κ]αλό(ς) (BOI 9*b* once), καλός (BOI 19), κα[λός?] (BOI 29), καλὸ (gen.?, COR 121*d*), καλᾶ and κ[α]λᾶ (nom. sg. fem., EUB 3), καλή (AIG 3*A*), καλή (IOD 9), [καλ?]ή (NAU 1*Nb*), καλλίστα (DOH 3*a*)  
 Κ(α)λλικᾶ (COR 25*b*)  
 -καμias, see Ἀ-  
 κάμινος (COP 81), κάμ[ῖνος?] (COP 63*b*)  
 Καθα[ρ- . .] (COP 39)  
 Καπαν[ε]ύς (DOC 1*c*)  
 κ[ά]π[ρ]ος (COR 102*e*)  
 καρπόμετρον (?) (ELI 3)  
 -καρτης, see Μενε-  
 Κασσανδρη, see Κεσ-  
 -καστῆ, see Μεδεσι-  
 Κάστωρ (COR 16*a*, 66*b*), Κάσσωρ (COR 37*a*)  
 -καστος, see Ἀ-  
 καταπύγῳν (participle, INC 2)  
 κανκανκαν etc. (COR 121*d-e*)  
 Κεβριόνᾶς (COR 70*h*), Κεβρ[ι]όνᾶς (COR 68*g*), [Κεβρι?]όνᾶς (COR 46*h*), Κεβριόνῆς (CHA 15*e*)  
 κελαδος, see Ἐν-  
 Κένις (COR 48)  
 Κεσ(σ)άνδρᾶ (COR 70*f*)  
 Κετόρ, see Ἐκτόρ  
 κέτος (COR 101*a*)  
 Κέφαλος (BOI 23)  
 Κιάνις (COR 70*e*)  
 Κίρκᾶ (BOI 22)  
 Κίσιππος (COR 64*b*)  
 Κλέαρχος (NAU 1*fc*)  
 [Κ]λεῖβουλος (COR 82*d*)  
 [Κ]λευπ[. . .] (name, NAU 1*fi*)  
 Κλεοπ[. . .]τᾶ (COR 77*b*)  
 -κλῆς, see Εὐ-, Ἡέρα-, Ἡιπο-, Ὑστρο-, Καλλι-, Ξενφο-  
 -κλ-ιδᾶς, see Χαρι-  
 -κλ-οῖ, see Χαρι-  
 -κλ-ος, see Ἀρχε-, Πατρο-  
 Κλυκα, see Κ(α)λύκᾶ  
 -κλυμενος, see Περι-  
 Κλύτιος (COR 12*b*), Κλύτιος (CHA 10*d*)  
 Κλυτῶ (CHA 1*d*), Κλυτῶ (CHA 3*e*), see also COR 81*Ad*  
 Κλύτος (COR 113*a*)  
 Qό[. .]ρις (man's name, COP 45)  
 Qοδόμᾶ (BOI 10*h*)  
 -κοι-τις, see ἄ-  
 -φολίς, see Εὐ-  
 Qόμιος (COR 19*h*), Qόμ[ι]ος (COP 44*a*)  
 Qόραξ (COR 70*f*), Qόραξ (COR 102*i*)  
 Qόρφα[s] (gen., COR Gr 25)  
 Qοράνθιος (COP App. 1*Ad*)  
 κοῦρος/κόρος, see Ζεύς  
 Qοράνθιος (DOC 3)  
 Qοτύλλα (COR Gr 2), Qοτυλ. . . (IOD 10)  
 Κράτεια (BOI 16*b*), see also -καρτης  
 -κρατις, see Ναυ-  
 -κρινῆς, see Εὐ-  
 Κρίτον (BOI 11*A1a*, 2*a*, *B1a*), [Κρί]τον (BOI 11*B2a*)  
 Qρούπιος (COR 107*e*), Qρόπιος (CHA 3*i*)  
 [. . . ?]κύδρῶ (gen.?, IOD 5*B*)

Qύρ[ι]ος (COR 69), Qύρυνς (CHA 20*b*)  
 Qύλκα (acc., IOD 4*A*)  
 Qύλλαρος (COR 87*b* and *e*), Qύλλαρος (COR 90*c*)  
 Qύλλ(λ)ᾶς (COP 10)  
 Qυλ(λ)ῖας (COR 50)  
 Qυλοιδᾶς (COP 11*b*)  
 Qιματοθᾶ (COR 77*e*)  
 Λᾶδάμαφος (COR 92*h*)  
 Λᾶδάμας, Λᾶδάμας (COR 81*Ag*, COR 92*i*)  
 [Λᾶ?]οδ(ά)μᾶς (?) (COR 79*a*), Λᾶφοδά[μας] (COR 79*c*)  
 Λεόδορος (CHA 4*h*)  
 Λᾶφο-, see Λᾶ-  
 Λᾶιδᾶς (COR 67*b*, COR 99*d*, COR 105*i*, COR 111*a*, COR 115*a*), [Λᾶ?]ιδᾶς (COR 107*c*)  
 -λᾶ-ιδᾶς, see Πολυ-  
 Λᾶδος (COR 64*c*)  
 Λᾶδον (COR 33*f*)  
 Λάλας (COR 83*a* and *b*, COR 83*bis*, COR 83*tera*), Λάλα(ς) (COR 83*terb*), Λάλα[s?] (COR 83*terc*)  
 λαμβάνω: λαβέ (imperative [compound?], COR Gr 26*(1)*)  
 Λᾶπυθος (COR 6*e*)  
 Λᾶφοπτόλεμος (COR 89*d*)  
 -λᾶς etc., see Ἀγασι-, Ἀρκεσι-, Φιο-, Ἡερμο-, Λα-, Μενε-, Πρᾶτο-, Πρῶτεσι-, also [. . .]σιλᾶς (nom. sg., COR 129)  
 -λαστορ, see Ἀ-  
 Λέον (?) (BOI 27)  
 Λη(ε)ον[τ]ίς (COR 66*h*)  
 Λεῶτ (CHA 22*a*)  
 Λεῦρος (COR 79*Aa*), Λεῦ[ρος] (COR 76*g*), Λεῦ[ρο]ς (COR 68*i*)  
 Λεω-, see Λᾶ-  
 Λιμενῖας (gen. sg., COR 128)  
 -λιπ-οῖ, see Περι-  
 λῶιός (?) (nom. sg. masc., COR 71*e*)  
 Λόκρις (COP 63*c*)  
 Λόρδιος (COP 19*e*)  
 -λοχ-ιδᾶς, see Ἀρχι-  
 -λοχος, see Ἄντι-, Εὐρυ-, Ἡιπο-  
 Λῦσανδριδᾶς (COR 18*f*)  
 Λῦσιδᾶς (COR 40)  
 Λῦσιπολις (COR 87*d*)  
 Λῦσιπ(π)ος (COP 78*b*)  
 -λυτᾶ, see Ἡιπο-  
 -λυτος, see Ἡιπο-  
 -μαζῶν, see Ἀ-  
 μάλιστα (ITH 1)  
 Μᾶλοι (COR 74*f*)  
 -μανδρος, see Ἡερμο-  
 Μάρφσος (CHA 23*b*), see also Σιλφιο-  
 -μᾶτῆρ, see Δᾶ-  
 -μαχᾶ, see Ἄνδρο-  
 -μαχ-ιδᾶς, see Ἄντι-, Ἡιπο-  
 -μαχος, see Ἄνδρο-, Δῆνο-, Δῶρι-, Εὐ-, Εὐρυ-, Θρασυ-, Ἡιπο-, Προ-, also [. . .]όμαχος (CHA 27*a*)  
 -μαψος, see Σιλφιο-  
 μεῖ (ETR 3*a*)  
 -μεδᾶ, see Ἄνδρο-  
 -μεδῆς, see Γᾶ-, Γανυ-, Διο-, Εὐρυ-, Θρασυ-, Χαλι-, Παλα-  
 Μηδ[ε]υσικάστῆ (CHA 16*b*)  
 Μῆδον (CHA 13*e*)  
 -μεδον, see Ἄντο-, Εὐρυ-, Ἡιπο-  
 -μεδουσα, see Ἄντο-, Πνῶτο-  
 Μελαμπος (COR 115*A*)

Μελάνᾶς (COR 114*f*), Μελάνᾶς (COR 86*a*)  
 -μελεια, see Καλλι-  
 Μελιταῖς, see μέ-  
 -μελλῆς, see Αἰσι-  
 -μελος, see Εὐ-  
 Μέμνῳν (PCO 4*b*, COR 24*Aa*, COR 114*Ab*), Μέμνων (PCH 1*b*), Μέμν[ων] (COR 57*k*), [Μ]έμνῳν (COR 93*c*), Μ[έμν]ον (CHA 5*b*), Μέμνῳν (COR 80*b*)  
 -μέμνῳν, see Ἀγα-  
 Μεμ[ονίς] or -ιδῆς (?) (CHA 24)  
 Μεναιδᾶς (BOI 2*A*, *B*, *C*, *D*)  
 Μεν(ν?)έας (COR 18*b*)  
 Μενεκά(ρ)τ[η]ς (?) (IOD 6*C*)  
 Μενέλᾶφος (COR 74*a*), Μενέλᾶς (AIG 1, DOH 1*a*)  
 Μενεσθῆ[ς] (CHA 8*j*)  
 Μῆξᾶς (?) (aorist participle as a name, CHA 14*f*)  
 -μετρον, see καρπο-  
 Μίκ(κ)ις (NAU 1*Ea*)  
 Μιροθίον (COR 114*b*)  
 Μιλῶνιδᾶς (COR 41, and see n. 454)  
 Μίμ(ν?)ον (COR 114*c*)  
 Μινῶιος (adjective, CHA 11*b*)  
 Μίνος (CHA 11*d*)  
 μισθὸ (gen.?, DOC 2*c*)  
 Μίτος (BOI 16*a*)  
 Μνᾶσάκῆς (BOI 4*A* and *C* (in crasi?)), Μνᾶσάκῆ- (in crasi, BOI 4*B*)  
 Μόλπῆ (CHA 1*b*)  
 Μόσαι (COR 28*Aa*), Μόσαι (COR 28*Ab*), Μόσαι (COR 36*a*), Μόσα[ι?] (NAU 1*Mb*)  
 Μήφσος (CHA 10*b*)  
 Μύριος (COR 115*b*)  
 Μύρις (COR 105*h*)  
 Μυρμιδᾶς (COR 18*d*)  
 Μυρό (CHA 1*j*)  
 Μύρος (COR 105*b*)  
 να[έ . ?] (BOI 9*b*)  
 Νᾶις (CHA 14*i*), Νεῖδε[ς] (CHA 9*d*)  
 (Ν)αύκρατι (dat., NAU 2)  
 Νεβρίς (COR 25*a*)  
 Νερεῦς (COR 95*a*), [Νε]ρεῦς (EUB 2)  
 Νηέσ[ι]ος (COR 123)  
 Νέστορ (COR 23*e*, COR 57*b*), Νέτωρ (CAE 1*c*)  
 νίκᾶ (nom. sg., BOI 11*A1b* and *2b*, *B1b*)  
 -νίκᾶ, see Ἡιπο-  
 νικάω: νῖρῶμες (present indicative, COP 85)  
 Νικήσερμος (IOD 4*A*), [Νικήσε]ρμ[ος] (IOD 4*B*), [Νικήσε]ρμ[ος] (IOD 4*C*)  
 Νικιπ(π)ος (COR 14*e*)  
 Νίρῳν (COR 58*a*)  
 -νίκος, see Ποδα-  
 Νιξῶς (gen., ACC 3*c*)  
 -νοῖᾶ, see Ἀλκι-  
 -νοθῶς or -νοφος, see Ἀριστο-  
 -νοστ-ιδᾶς, see Εὐ-  
 -νός, see Εὐ- (?)  
 Νύμφαις (COP App. 1*Ac*), Νύμφα(ι)ς (COP App. 1*C*)  
 -νύσος and -νύσιος, see Διο-  
 Ξανθῶ (CHA 1*f*), Ξανθῶ (CHA 14*b*)  
 Ξάνθος (COR 24*g*, COR 27*e*, COR 67*e*, COR 70*i*, COR 78*g*, COR 79*b*, COR 81*Af*, COR 85*f*, COR 89*c*, COR 90*a*, COR 103*b*, CHA 3*h*), Ξάνθ[ος] (COP 56*a*), Ξάνθος (COR 57*h*)  
 -ξῆνᾶ, see Πολυ-  
 Ξενφοκλῆς (COP 43)  
 Ξενφῶν (COR 18*i*), [Ξ]ένφῶν (?) (COR 92*b*)  
 [Ξ]ένφος (ITH 1)  
 Ξεύς, see Ζεύς  
 Ξύλλᾶς (gen., for Σκ-?, ACC 3*a*)



ὁ ὅδε ὅς ὡς etc., see *ho-*  
 Ὅδιος (CAE 1a)  
 Ὁδυσσεύς, see Ὀλι-  
 Ὁφατίς (CHA 1i)  
 οἶ (reflex.), see ἐγώ  
 Οἰνύς, see *F-*  
 Ὀλισ(σ)εύς (COR 12j, COR 74b, COR 88a),  
 [Ὀλι(σ)]σεύς (COR 23b), Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς (BOI  
 18a), Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς (CHA 3Ac), Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς[s]  
 (CHA 8k)  
 ὀλπᾶ (COR 17b)  
 Ὀλυμπ[ία?] (ELI 5)  
 Ὀμριϝος (COR 40b)  
 -ομφος (?), see Ἀριστ-  
 Ὀνάτας (ACC 3c)  
 ὄνος (COR 101e)  
 Ὀνύμδν (COP 65a)  
 -ὄνυμος, see Δι-  
 -οπά, see Καλλι-  
 -οπαίος (?), see Ἀστερ-, see also -οπαός  
 -οπαός (?), see Παρθεν-, see also -παίος  
 [Ὀ]ρθίξ (?) (CHA 17a)  
 Ὀρθο[. . .] (COP 42c)  
 Ὀρίφδν (COR 57i)  
 Ὀρυχο(ς) (LAK 3e)  
 [Ὀ]σμυς (?) (CHA 14e)  
 Ὀφέλανδρος (COR 40c)  
 -οχ-ιδᾶς, see Ἄνι-  
 -οχος, see Ἄντι-  
 -οψ, see Ἀιθι-, Χαρ-  
 πάγχυ, see πάνχυ  
 Πάις (BOI 16d), Παιδ[ί] (BOI 26), [Παι]δί  
 (BOI 28)  
 [. . .]παιδ[. . .] (IOD 6H)  
 -παίος (?), see Ἀστερ-, see also -παός  
 Παίχυνος (COR 19g)  
 Παλαιῆδες (COR 57a)  
 [Πάνδα]ρος (COP 77e)  
 Πανταρέτᾶ (COR 110b)  
 Πάντιππος (COR 104e)  
 πάνχυ (BOI 9a and b)  
 -παός (?), see Παρθεν-, see also -οπαίος  
 Πάρενος (COR 5)  
 Παρθενοπάος (LAK 8a)  
 Πάρις (COR 79Ab, CHA 4f), Πάρις (COR 82b),  
 Πάρις[is] (COR 44Aa), Πάρις[is] (BOI 17a), Πάρις[s]  
 (CHA 15b), Πάρις[is] (CHA 25)  
 Παρμίνιος (gen., ACC 3d)  
 Πάτροκλος (COR 46Ab, COR 57e), Πάτρολος  
 (COR 3)  
 -πεδι-ὄν-δᾶς, see Ἐμ-  
 πείθω, see πιστός  
 Πελεύς (COR 66i, CHA 10c), Πελεύς (COR 98),  
 Πέλι[εύς] (EUB 2), Πέλει (ETR 1a)  
 -πεινθᾶ, see Πολυ-  
 Περαιόθεν (COP 85)  
 περικαλλής: περικαλλεία (acc. pl. ntr., BOI 3)  
 Περιγλύμενος (COR 113b)  
 Περιλιπῶι (COR 76e)  
 [Π]έρ[ι]λ(λ)ος (COP 8a)  
 Περιφας (CHA 3f)  
 Περιφάτας (CHA 8d)  
 Περσεύς (BOI 8, COR 55, COR 101b, CHA 9e)  
 Περάλᾶ (gen., COR 47)  
 π[ι]σ[τ]ός (ITH 1)  
 Πντομμέδοισα (COR 96B)  
 Ποδάνικος (NAU 1Ma)  
 Πόδαργος (COR 57d), [Π]όδαργος (?) (COR 90b)  
 ποιέω: ἐποιέ (imperfect, DOI 1a), ἐποίεσε (aorist,  
 BOI 1A and B, BOI 2B, C, D, BOI 5A and B),

ἐποίεσε (BOI 2A), ἐποίεσε (BOI 3, BOI 6C,  
 D, E, DOC 4), -ἐποίεσε (in crasi, BOI 4B),  
 -(ἐ)ποιέσε (in crasi, BOI 4A), -(ἐ)π[οίεσε] (in crasi,  
 BOI 4C), ἐπόεσε (BOI 6B, BOI 7Aa and b, B),  
 ἐπο[ι(ί)εσε?] (BOI 7C), ἐ[ποιέσε?] (BOI 6A),  
 ποιάσε (ITH 2), ἐποίεσεν (EUC 3), ἐποίεσε[ν?]  
 (EUC 1), ἐποίησεν (IOD 4A), ἐποί[ησεν] (IOD  
 4C), ἐποί(ε)σεν (INC 1), ποιέσᾶς (participle,  
 INC 2)  
 ποκ' (COP 2A)  
 -πολις, see Δῦσι-  
 Πολιτᾶς (COP 9)  
 Πόλδν (BOI 6A, B, C, D, E)  
 Πόλυβος (COR 67d, CHA 6b)  
 Πολυβότεις (IOI 2k)  
 Πολυδάμας (COR 82a)  
 Πολυδάς (COR 104a)  
 Πολυδεύκεις (CHA 21a), Πο'λυδ(ε)ύκ(ε)ς (COR  
 24Bd)  
 Πολυδωριδος (COR 64a)  
 Πολυδωρος (COR 104f, CHA 13c), [Πο]λυδωρος  
 (CHA 6d)  
 Πόλυδος (COR 62, CHA 3g)  
 Πολυλάιδας (COR 54)  
 Πολυξένᾶ (COR 70k)  
 Πολυπένθᾶ (COR 24f)  
 Πόλυς (COR 100c)  
 Πολύστρατος (COR 102h)  
 Πολύτερος (COR 17a)  
 Πολυτίμιδᾶς (BOI 9a), Πολυτίμιδᾶς (BOI 9b)  
 Πολυφ[. . .] (COR 74m)  
 Πολυφᾶμος (COR 102a)  
 Πολύφας (COR 104c)  
 Πόρις (?) (CHA 14j)  
 Πόρ[ος] (COR 106a)  
 -πός (?), see Μελαμ-  
 -ποτᾶς, see *Fαστυ-*  
 Ποτεδᾶν (COR 97). The same form, with normal  
 spelling of the [e], i.e. <e>, passim on COP (nom.:  
 entire COP 11a, COP 27a [or dat.?], COP 35a,  
 COP 47a and b, COP 58a, COP 70a, COP 72,  
 COP 73A, B, C, F [or dat.?], COP 74, COP  
 83, COP 84B, fragmentary COP 3a, COP 20a,  
 COP 73E, G, miswritten COP 84A Ποτεδᾶν,  
 spelling of [e] unknown COP 73H, I, N,  
 O; gen., only fragmentary: dactylic COP 5a  
 Ποτε[δ]ᾶ[ωνος], COP 6 [Π]οτεδᾶ[ωνος], prosaic  
 COP 24 [Ποτεδᾶ[ωνος]s]; dat., mostly fragment-  
 ary: dactylic COP 3b Ποτεδᾶ[ων]ι, COP 4  
 [Πο]τεδᾶ[ων]ι, COP 2B [Ποτεδᾶ[ων]ι] [another  
 dactylic case see below], prosaic Ποτεδᾶνι entire  
 COP 12, COP 13a, COP 18a, COP 21 [COP 27a  
 nom.?], fragmentary COP 19, COP 22, COP 27b,  
 prosodic shape unknown COP 7, COP 10, COP  
 20c [COP 73F nom.?], spelling of [e] and prosodic  
 shape unknown COP 9, COP 11b, COP 15, COP  
 16). Other spellings: <ei> nom. Ποτειδᾶν (COP  
 2Ca), [Πο]τειδᾶ[ν] (COP 73J), [Π]οτειδᾶ[ν?]  
 (or dat.?; COP 73K), dat. [Π]οτειδᾶ[ν]ι  
 (COP 23b); <ei> Ποτειδᾶν (COP 38Ba) and  
 Ποτ[ε]δᾶν (COP 38Aa); <e> Ποτεδᾶ[ν(?)]  
 (COP 8b), Ποτεδᾶν (COP 42a, COP 44d, COP  
 71), Ποτεδᾶν (COP 73D), [Πο]τεδᾶ[ν?] (COP  
 73M); uncertain spelling with an [e]-letter  
 Ποτ[ε]δᾶνι (COP 1D), Ποτε[ι]δᾶ[ν]ι (COP 14);  
 <i>Ποτιδᾶ[ν] (COP 73L), dactylic Ποτιδᾶ[ν]  
 (COP 2A); miswritten Ποτ(ε)δᾶνι (COP 29c)  
 ποτῆριον (COR 121d), [πο]τῆρια (?) (BOI 10b)  
 Πραῖγῖας (ETR 1d)  
 Πραῖτολαος (BOI 16c)

Πρίαμος (COR 70a, COR 79Ad), Πρέαμος  
 (COR 27a)  
 Πρόμαχος (COR 53c)  
 Προτεσγίλας (COR 57c)  
 προχορευνόμενος (COR 17b)  
 -πολεμος, see Λαῖο-  
 -πῦγιζε, see ἀνα-  
 -πῦγδν, see κατα-  
 -πυθος, see Λα-  
 -πυια, see Ἀρι-  
 πύκτᾶ (nom. dual, COR 131)  
 Πύλιος (COR 117c)  
 -πυλος, see Δα-  
 Πυραίχμᾶς (COR 44c, COR 82g)  
 [Π]υρῖα [. . . ?] (COR 29)  
 Πυρῖας (COR 17b)  
 Πυρῖς, see introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR)  
 Πύρφος (COP 79a), Πύρ(ρ)ος (EUC 3)  
 Ρῆσος, see *Fρέσος*  
 σακίς (COR 33d)  
 [Σ?]άμω[. . . ?] (IOD 7)  
 Σαρπάδων (COR 30a, COR 82f)  
 Σατύρα (BOI 16f)  
 Σελῶνι (COR 92d)  
 [Σ]θένελος (COP 77b), Σθένελος (CHA 4a)  
 Σθεν(ν?)όι (COR 100b), [Σθεν(ν?)όι] (?) (COR 106c),  
 [Σθ]ει(ν?)όι (COR 124Aa)  
 -σθ-εως, see Ἄγα-, Μενε-  
 Σίβων (BOI 19)  
 Σιλφ(ι)όμαΨος (LAK 3f)  
 Σίμα (COR 105c)  
 Σίμων (COP 3b)  
 Σίμος (?) (COR 110a), Σίμος (?) (COR 118b),  
 [Σ]ίμος (CHA 1k), Σ(ι)μός (CHA 14a), [Σ?]ίμω  
 (gen., COP 61)  
 Σκύλλα, see Ξύλλας  
 Σλιφο-, see Σιλιφιο-  
 Σμίκρος (BOI 20)  
 -σοβᾶς, see Ἄ(ν)-  
 Σόρδης (COP 65b)  
 Σοσίθεος (COR 27b)  
 Σοτάδ[ας] (see introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR), n. 118)  
 Σόφορτος (LAK 3b)  
 [. . .]σταβμος (LAK 3c)  
 Στίπδν (COP 66a)  
 -στρατος, see Ἐδ-, Πολυ-, also [. . .]όστρα[τος]  
 (NAU 1Jf)  
 -στροφος, see *Ηιππο-*  
 Σύνις (LAK 4d)  
 Σφόρτος (COR 92g)  
 -ταλαντ-ε, see Ἄ-  
 Ταλθύβιος (COR 74c)  
 Τάλδν (COR 80e)  
 Τάρας (COR 117d)  
 [τα]ύρος (CHA 11b)  
 Ταχύδρο[μος] (COP 79b)  
 τε (ITH 1)  
 Τέλαφος (COR Gr 13)  
 τένα (?) (demonstr., ITH 1)  
 -τερπος, see Πολυ-  
 Τεύ[ρος] (COP 77a), Τεόρρος (COR 23g)  
 τίθημι: ἐθη[κεν] (NAU 1Gd), see also ἀνα-  
 Τίμᾶνδρα (COR 24Bc)  
 -τίμ-ιδᾶς, see Πολυ-  
 Τίμῶι, see introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR)  
 Τίμῶνδᾶς (COR 27h and COP 18b)  
 -τίμος, see Ἀρχι-

τοε (adverb, BOI 9a), τ[οε] (BOI 9b)  
 Τόνιος (COR 21)  
 Τοξ[. . .] (CHA 3d)  
 Τόξος (COR 12a)  
 -τρίτᾱ, see Ἀμφι-  
 Τρόιλος (COR 27f), Τρόιλος (COR 44a),  
 Τρόειλος (COR 51a), Τρ[ό]ειλος (CHA 16a)  
 τροφός (COR 74g)  
 τύ, see ἐγώ  
 Τυδεύς (COR 113c), [Τ]υδεύς (CHA 12b), Τυδ[ε]ύς  
 (CHA 27b)  
 Τύχ[ι]ο[ς] (CHA 3c)

-φᾱμος, see Εὐ-, Πολυ-  
 Φαναίω[. . .] (IOD 6I), Φ[αναίω?] (IOD 6J),  
 [Φ]αν[αίω?] (IOD 6K), [Φαν]αίω[. . .] (IOD  
 6L)  
 -φανης, see Δημο-  
 -φαντος, see Ἀριστο-  
 -φάρια, see Εὐ-  
 -φατᾱς, see Ἀντι-  
 -φᾱτᾱς, see Περι-  
 -φῆρᾱ, see Φιλο-  
 Φέρēs (COR 66m, COR 89a)  
 φέρων (participle, BOI 4C, INC 2)  
 Φερ(ρ)[φ- . . .] or Φερσ[εφ- . . .] (COR 124B)  
 φεύγῃ (3rd person sg., COR 131)  
 Φῆδᾱς (COR 49)  
 Φιθᾱδᾱς (BOI 5A)  
 Φίθῃ- (nom. sg. masc. in crasi, BOI 5B)  
 [Φ?]ίλο[. . .] (COP 47c)  
 Φίλῶν (COR 33g)  
 φίλος (ITH 1), φίλοι (COR 71a), [φ]ίλᾱ (?)  
 (ITH 1)  
 -φίλος, see Ἀριστο-, Δᾱμο-  
 φιλοτᾱσιον (acc. sg. ntr., BOI 4C)  
 Φιλοφῆρᾱ (i.e. -θῆρᾱ, BOI 10c)  
 Φῆνῆς (COR 24Bb), Φῆ[νῆ]ς (CHA 28e)  
 Φλέβων (COP 48A and B), [Φλέ]βων (COP 12)  
 Φοίβῃ (CHA 14g, CHA 21b)  
 Φοίνιξ (COR 23c, COR 30d)  
 Φοίτων (COR 87c)  
 -φῶν, see Δᾱι-  
 -φονος, see Δᾱι-  
 [Φ]όξιος (?) (COR 19i)  
 Φορβός (COR 16e)  
 -φορβος, see Εὐ-  
 -φόρος ([. . .]ιρμο-, LAK 3d)  
 -φορτος, see Σῶ-  
 -φρο-συνῇ, see Εὐ-  
 Φρύξ (COR 18j), Φρύξ (COR 102j)  
 -φῶλᾱ, see Ἐρι-  
 φύλακος (LAK 3g)  
 Φύσῳν (complete?, COP 62a)

Χᾱρēs (COR 57m)  
 [χα]ρίεσ(σ)αν (COP 1A), χαρίεσ(σ)αν (COP 1B),  
 χαρίεσ(σ)αν (COP 1C), χα[ρίεσ(σ)αν] (COP  
 1D), also COP 50?  
 Χαρικλιδᾱς (COR 18g)  
 Χαριφλόι (COR 46Ba)  
 Χάριτε (nom. dual, COR 28Ai), Χάριτες (COR 22),  
 Χάριτε[ς?] (COR 56)  
 Χαρίτᾱ (COR Gr 15c)  
 Χάρων (COR 59b, COR 78d, COR 102g, COR 112)  
 Χάροφς (CHA 8g), Χάροπι (dat., BOI 2A, B, C, D)  
 -χθ-ῶ, see Ἐρι-  
 Χῖο[ς] (adjective, NAU 1Ba, Gb, Ka), Χῖ[ος]  
 (NAU 1Kb), Χῖ[ος] (?) (NAU 1Kd)  
 Χῖρῶν (COR 46Bb, ETR 1c)

Χ[οί]ραςος? (COR 116b), Χοιράσου (gen., COR  
 Gr 2)  
 -χορευομενος, see προ-  
 Χορό? (CHA 1h)

### Unintelligible or nonsense:

Ἀ(. . .) (BOI 21b)  
 ΑΒΞΞΙΠΓΤΞΞ (BOI 30a), ΞΘΞ (BOI 30b)  
 αβουετθριλοβαββ (COP 90Ab)  
 Αγαμε (COP 91)  
 Ἀλκα[. . .]ς (?) (COR 121b)  
 ασοιετ (COP 90Aa)  
 Ἀρετιμα . . . (COR 4a)  
 Ἀρχεπλ[. . .] (?) (name?, LAK 9)  
 ε (COP 97F)  
 Ε . . . . (LAK 3h)  
 ε . . . . ι (IOD 8)  
 Ἐδ[. . .] (name?, COP 32)  
 Εῖθῃε . . . (?) [ . . . ?] (COP 33)  
 εμσιβιυος (LAK 5)  
 ἐνπ[. . .] (ITH 1)  
 Fους (COR 6a)  
 θαε [ . . .] (COP App. 1Ba)  
 Θερυνθ[. . .] (COP 87)  
 Θρ . . υμες (COR 14d)  
 Η[. . .] (COR 1c)  
 Η[. . .]θoas (?) (COR 1b-c)  
 ha . . [ . . . ?] (COP App. 1Bb)  
 Ηε[. . .] (COR 124Ab)  
 θ . χ (PCH 2)  
 καιρητ[. . .] (IOD 4B)  
 καχ . . ο . . (COP App. 1Bc)  
 Κοης (?) (BOI 12b)  
 Κοηνης (?) (BOI 12a)  
 Qv[. . .] (COP 46)  
 Λαλαπο[. . .] (?) (COR 111b)  
 Maen (LAK 3e)  
 Με[. . .] (name, CHA 8f)  
 Με [ . . .] (?) (IOD 1)  
 μν[. . .] (IOD 5K)  
 Νασι[. . .]ιελον (COR 4f)  
 νς (EUB 3)  
 Οὐ [ . . ]v (gen.?, COP 10)  
 ο . ες (COR 45b)  
 Ὀλ[. . .]τῶι (COR 81Ad)  
 ωνΗ[. . .] (or [ . . . ?]Huω ?) (IOI 6b)  
 Π[. . .] (COP 14g)  
 Π . (?) (COP 29b)  
 Πε [ . . .] (IOD 3)  
 Ποδ . . . ος (COR 14f)  
 ποεμεμ (etc.) (COP 8c)  
 Σ . ρος (COR 105a)  
 Σαοθ[. . .] (?) (COR 1b)  
 στροφοδ[. . .] (COR 1c)  
 τ[. . .] (COP 21)  
 τ[. . .] (ITH 1)  
 τ[. . .] (DOC 2c)  
 τελεσοιο (COP App. 1Bf)  
 ὕε[. . .] (?) (IOI 3)  
 υι? (COP 66b)  
 Φωνγρ.ς (COR 88d)  
 χε . . (?) (COP App. 1Ac)  
 ? (COP 97E)  
 ? (COR 99e)  
 ? (ITH 3)  
 . . (AIG 3F, CHA 29)  
 . . . . α (BOI 10a)  
 . . . κ . σ[. . . ?] (COP 97D)

. h . (?) (COP App. 1Be)  
 .[. . .] τᾱς (COR 74f)  
 . λιω (COP App. 1Bd)  
 . ο[. . . ?] (IOD 8)  
 . ολ[. . .] (COR 118a)  
 .[. . .]όξιος (COR 19i)  
 .[. . .] (COR 27g)  
 .[. . .] .[. . .] (COR 76b)  
 .[. . .] .[. . .] (COP 8d)  
 .[. . .] . s (COR 80d)  
 .[. . .] . s (aorist participle?, COP 1C)  
 .[. . .] . . τε (COP 96)  
 .[. . .] . ᾱ (COP 31b)  
 .[. . .] . αικ[. . .] (NAU 17d)  
 .[. . .] . αντοδεονε (COP 94)  
 .[. . .] . as (COP 85d)  
 .[. . .] . δῆα[. . . ?] (COR 1f)  
 .[. . .] (?) . hυλα[. . .] (COR 11)  
 .[. . .] . ἰδᾱς (COP 52b)  
 .[. . .] . ινος (name, EUC 1)  
 .[. . .] . ις (NAU 1Eb)  
 .[. . .] . λος (name, NAU 17j)  
 .[. . .] . ναεδει [ . . .] (IOI 6a)  
 .[. . .] . ο [ . . .] (ITH 1)  
 .[. . .] . ορσ . α . ι [ . . .] (COP 50)  
 .[. . .] . πος (name?, COP 54)  
 .[. . .] . τᾱ [ . . .] (COP App. 1C)  
 .[. . .] . ανκ [ . . .] (ACC 1A)  
 .[. . .] . αφ[. . . ?] or [ . . . ?]φα[. . .] (BOI 11A1c)  
 .[. . .] . β[. . .] (COR 27c)  
 .[. . .] . βατις (COR 32b)  
 .[. . .] . γειναιο . . . (DOH 2a)  
 .[. . .] . ἑγ (NAU 1Na)  
 .[. . .] . εν (COP App. 1D)  
 .[. . .] . ηι (IOD 4B)  
 .[. . .] . ηι[. . .] (NAU 1Hb)  
 .[. . .] . ες (COR 31a)  
 .[. . .] . ες (name, COP 50)  
 .[. . .] . ης (name, NAU 17f)  
 .[. . .] . θυβι[. . .] (COR 75)  
 .[. . .] . ιαμ[. . .] (IOD 4C)  
 .[. . .] . ἰδης (name, NAU 17g)  
 .[. . .] . ιονι . . (IOI 1a)  
 .[. . .] . κραι[. . .] (COP 82b)  
 .[. . .] . κύων (BOI 17)  
 .[. . .] . λη (name, IOI 1b)  
 .[. . .] . μελ . σν . θ [ . . .] (COP 95)  
 .[. . .] . μος (name, NAU 17f)  
 .[. . .] . μοσ[. . .] (IOD 5H)  
 .[. . .] . ν (COP 97C)  
 .[. . .] . -ῶν (name, COP 53)  
 .[. . .] . ρασ[. . . ?] (BOI 10b)  
 .[. . .] . νης (name, NAU 1Fa)  
 .[. . .] . νησις (name, NAU 17m)  
 .[. . .] . νος (COP 82a)  
 .[. . .] . ντελε[. . . ?] (COR 1d)  
 .[. . .] . ξε[. . .] (COR 1g)  
 .[. . .] . ο (COP 23c)  
 .[. . .] . ο[. . .]ν[. . .]σχετα (?) (COR 121c)  
 .[. . .] . ο [ . . .] (NAU 2)  
 .[. . .] . ?οεεο (COP 90B)  
 .[. . .] . οι (ITH 1)  
 .[. . .] . ολ [ . . .] (COR 37b)  
 .[. . .] . ὄν (name, COP 13a)  
 .[. . .] . ον[. . .] (COR 124Ac)  
 .[. . .] . ων[. . .] (NAU 1Fb)  
 .[. . .] . ὄρ (COR 9)  
 .[. . .] . ωρος (BOI 29)  
 .[. . .] . ος (LAK 8b)  
 .[. . .] . ος (name, NAU 17n)

[. . .]ος (name, ACC 1*B*)  
 [. . .?]οσριος (COR 90*b*)  
 [. . .]οσφ or [. . .]ομφ (COP 88)  
 [. . .]οτ[. . .] (ITH 1)  
 [. . .]τ[. . .] (ITH 1)  
 [. . .]ππ[. . .] (IOD 5*f*)  
 [. . .]πυ[. . .] (IOD 5*G*)  
 [. . .]πυ[. . .] (IOD 5*L*)  
 [. . .]ρ[. . .] (IOD 5*A*)  
 [. . .]ριναο[. . .] (COR 1*a*)  
 [. . .?]ροή ho π (COP 89)  
 [. . .]ροκαμια (COP 93)  
 [. . .]ς (name, COP 51*A*)  
 [. . .]ς (name, COP 51*B*)  
 [. . .]ς (name, COP 52*a*)  
 [. . .]ς (name, IOD 5*I*)  
 [. . .]ς (NAU 1*E**c*)  
 [. . .]ς (name, DOC 4)  
 [. . .]σος (horse-name, COP 80)  
 [. . .]σφ[. . .] (COP 97*A*)  
 [. . .]συλος (COR 31*d*)  
 [. . .?]σφε[. . .] or [. . .]εφσ[. . .?] (PCO 3)  
 [. . .]της (NAU 1*L**h*)  
 [. . .]τωι[. . .] (NAU 1*G**c*)  
 [. . .]ε[?]ς (COR 42*a*)  
 [. . .]υπς (name, NAU 1*f**p*)  
 [. . .]υσης (IOD 3)  
 [. . .]φοκα (COP 63*a*)

## B. OTHER

*Alphabetic Greek:*

Ά[γ]αμέμμο[ν] (ad COR 114*c*)  
 Άγρ[υ]λ[ον] (ad ACC 1)  
 άγρηγόν (ad COR 50*A*)  
 Αἶθρᾱ (§225)  
 ἄελλα, ἄέλλη (ad LAK 7)  
 ἀεφλοφόρον (§109 with n. 712)  
 Ἀθᾱᾰ, Ἀθᾱᾰᾰᾰ (§247)  
 Ἀθανοδόρο (n. 811)  
 Ἀθᾱᾰᾰᾰ (n. 96, ad IOI 2, §247), Ἀθᾱᾰᾰᾰ (n. 899),  
 Ἀθᾱᾰᾰᾰᾰ (n. 389), gen. Ἀθᾱᾰᾰᾰᾰς (n. 560),  
 Ἀθᾱᾰᾰᾰς (n. 634)  
 [Α]ἰνᾱᾰ, Αἰνᾱᾰ (n. 875), Αἰνᾱᾰᾰᾰ in epic (ad  
 COR 12*f*)  
 Αἰόλαος (n. 123)  
 Αἰσχλᾱβῖοι (ad COR 47)  
 Ἀκάδημος (nn. 306 and 1068)  
 Ἀκμᾱτῖδᾰς (§468)  
 ἄλιος γέρων (ad COR 106*a*)  
 Ἀλκμᾱων (ad COR 12*f*)  
 Ἀλκκονεύ(ς) (n. 734)  
 Ἀμάθεια, ἄμαθος (ad COR 77*d*, §457)  
 Ἀμασις (n. 676)  
 Ἀμφιάρᾱς vel sim. (ad COR 66*f* with n. 280; §425  
 with nn. 1063 and 1067)  
 ἀναπυγίζειν, see ἀπ-  
 ἀνασοβᾱέω (ad COR 27*d*)  
 ἀνατίθᾱμι (§303)  
 ἀνδάνω, ἄδησ- (ad COR 19*f*)  
 Ἀνδρομάχᾱ, Ἀνρομάχᾱ (ad COR 4*c*, n. 246, §510)  
 ἀνᾱίσταμαι (n. 749)  
 ἄνιοχῖον (§210)  
 ἀνκλετέτᾱ (n. 772)  
 ἄντα, ἀντί (§407)  
 Ἀντρώ (n. 883)  
 Ἀνφάρᾱς (§425 with nn. 1067 and 1069)

Ἀνφι-, Ἀόφι-τρίτᾱ vel sim. (§§114, 246)  
 Ἀπέλλ(ι)ος (n. 718)  
 Ἀπέλλων (n. 884)  
 ἄ(μ)πυγίξει (n. 610)  
 ἄρᾱσομαι (ad COR 66*f*)  
 Ἄρεος (n. 560)  
 Ἀρᾱπνια (ad CHA 28*a*)  
 Ἀριᾱνᾱ vel sim. (ad CHA 11*c*), Ἀριᾱήδη, -α (ibid. with  
 n. 565)  
 Ἀρίων (ad COR 57*i*)  
 Ἀρκεσίλᾰς (n. 97)  
 Ἀρταμς (n. 884)  
 ἄρυβαλῖς (n. 179)  
 Ἀρχε-, Ἀρχι-, Ἀρχ(ι?)-κλᾱς (ad DOC 5 with n. 627)  
 Ἀρχελᾱᾰ (ad COR 12*f*)  
 ἄσκαλαβῶτης (ad COR 87*f*)  
 ἄσκός, Ἀσκῶνδᾰς (ad COP 62*a*)  
 Ἀσοποδόρο (n. 811)  
 Ἀσταρίᾰς, Ἀστερίᾰς (n. 783)  
 Ἀστερίᾱν (§425 with nn. 1067 and 1069)  
 ἄστεροπή, ἄστεροπαῖος (ad LAK 8)  
 Ἀστυμέλοισα (n. 1195)  
 Ἀσωπός (ad COP 29*a*)  
 ἄτερπος, ἄτερπος (ad COR 17*a*)  
 Ἄτλας ἡόδε (n. 342)  
 Ἀχιλλ(λ)ᾱς (n. 595), Ἀχιλλ(λ)εῦ(ς) (n. 1146)  
 Βάτᾱν (n. 1063)  
 βᾱμός (ad COR 124*A**c*)  
 Βορ(ρ)ᾰς, Βορρᾰς (ad BOI 18*b*; n. 714)  
 Βρασιᾱτης (n. 684)

Γαῖα, Γαῖος (§237)  
 Γαλήνη (§433 with n. 1092)  
 γαστήρ, γαστρίον, γάστρων (ad COP 62*a*)  
 Γηγενεῖς (§418)  
 γέμμα (n. 717)  
 Γερῡνᾱῖς, [Γᾱ]ᾱᾱᾱᾱᾱ (ad CHA 2*c* with nn. 542 f.)  
 Γλ(α)ύκη (n. 216), (Γ)λαύκος (n. 1123)  
 γλαυκῶπις (n. 219)  
 Γλύκη (n. 216)  
 γράφω: ἔγραφε (n. 516), ἔγρασφεν and ἔγραφσεν  
 (§110 with n. 713)  
 γρύτα (ad BOI 1)  
 Γρύτᾱς (ad BOI 1 and 4*C*)

Δαῖᾱᾱ[ῖ]ρα (n. 389)  
 δαῖω (ad COR 12*c*)  
 [Δ]αῖφονος (n. 1097)  
 δᾱλτος, see δᾱλτος  
 Δάμας (§425 with nn. 1067 and 1069)  
 Δᾱμάτηρ (n. 897)  
 Δᾱμοτίμοι (n. 811)  
 Δεῖθᾱνος (§439 with n. 1098; n. 1317)  
 δᾱμός (ad COR 12*c*)  
 δειράς (ad COP 64)  
 Δηρίφοβος (§§439, 444, 510)  
 δᾱλτος (§111 with n. 717)  
 δᾱμόσιον (ad ELI 1)  
 Δᾱᾱᾱᾰ (gen.; §209)  
 δᾱῖς (§209)  
 (-)δᾱδᾱ (ad COP 1*B*), ἔδᾱκε (ad BOI 1 and 4*C*)  
 Διόνυσος (ad COR 105*c*)  
 δουρι- compounds (ad COR 33*c*)  
 Δόρις (n. 676)  
 δορκᾱς (n. 530)  
 [Δόρ]κῖς (ad CHA 1*g* with n. 533)  
 Δρόμῖς (ad CHA 1*g*)

Ἐκάβᾱ (§444)  
 ἐκάλυσφεν (n. 713)

ἔκιοι (ad COR 64*b*)  
 Ἐκτωρ (§444), Ἐκτρωρ (§212 with n. 768)  
 ἐμ πόλει (§114)  
 εἰμί vel sim. (ad COP 1*A* with n. 403; §219; n. 809;  
 §317 with n. 973)  
 ἔναντα (§407 with nn. 999 ff.)  
 Ἐ(ν)κέλαδος (n. 635)  
 Ἐνπεδίονος (§114)  
 ἔως, see Ηα[ῶ]ς  
 Ἐπιᾱλτης (ad IOI 2 with n. 639)  
 Ἐπᾱῖ[(ρ)τε]ος (gen.; ad NAU 1 with n. 674, §§203,  
 205 with n. 736)  
 Ἐρακλᾱῖς (gen.; §210)  
 Ἐρίων (n. 269)  
 Ἐριφύλλᾱ (n. 1063)  
 Ἐρμαῖᾱ (dat.; ad BOI 1 and 4*C*)  
 Ἐρμαῖος (n. 56)  
 Ἐρμᾱς (n. 884), Ἐρμειᾱς in epic (ad COR 12*f*)  
 εῖταιρος, ἔταρος, ἔτης (§206)  
 Εὔβᾱιος (n. 635)  
 Εὔθυκαρτίδης (n. 736)  
 Εὔθυμαχος (§473)  
 Εὔθυμίδᾱς (§§227, 240)  
 εὔκρηνῖς (ad COP 34)  
 Ε(ῡ)ρυ(σ)θ(ε)ύς (ad COR 74*j*/k with n. 315)  
 Εὔρυτᾱν (ad CHA 2*c* with nn. 542 f.)  
 Εὔρυτος (ad COR 12*f*)  
 Εὔτέρπη (ad COR 17*a*)  
 Εὔχ(ε)ριδᾱς (n. 716)  
 Ἐφιᾱλτᾱς (ad IOI 2 with n. 635)

Ἐφᾱριχος (ad COR 105*e*)  
 (ᾱ)άστν (§206)  
 Ἐλένᾱᾰ (dat.; §251)  
 Ἐῖτᾱς (§206)  
 Ἐκεᾱᾱᾱᾱᾱ (nn. 306 and 1068)  
 Ἐῖσᾱρχος (n. 274)

Ζεῦς: Δῖος (n. 560), Δί (dat., n. 1039)

Ηαιῖδᾰς (§253)  
 Ηα[ῶ]ς (§249)  
 ἡδν-βόςης, -μελῖς, -φθογγος, -φωνος (ad COR  
 19*f*)  
 ηᾱδῡς ἡδῡνος (§457 with nn. 1145 and 1155)  
 Ηεκάβᾱ (§444)  
 Ηεκά[δε]μος (n. 306)  
 Ηεκάτᾱ (§253)  
 Ηέκτᾱρ (ad COR 60 with n. 271; §210; n. 840; §444;  
 n. 1123)  
 Ηελᾱᾰᾰ (§251 with n. 895), Ηελᾱᾰᾰ (n. 1097)  
 Ηελικᾱᾱᾰ (n. 899)  
 Ηᾱᾱᾰς (gen.; n. 560), Ἡρη[. . .] (ad IOD 4*B*)  
 Ηᾱρακλᾱς (ad CHA 2*c* with nn. 542 f.), [Ηᾱ]ρακλᾱς  
 μελαφερές (n. 342), Η(ᾱ)ρακλᾱῖς (n. 899),  
 Ηερακλᾱῖος (n. 734), Η(ᾱ)ρακλᾱῖ (n. 716)  
 Ηερμᾱνος (gen.) vel sim. (ad COR Gr 26(1))  
 Ηερμᾱς (ad IOI 2, §253), Ηερμᾱῖς (n. 899), Ηερμᾱῶ  
 (n. 560)  
 Η(ᾱ)ρμᾱῖᾱ (gen.; n. 716)  
 Η(ᾱ)ρμᾱῖᾱᾱᾱᾱ (n. 716)  
 Ηᾱᾱᾱᾱ (n. 769)  
 Ηᾱμερόπᾱ (ad COR 28*A**c*, ad COR Gr 15*a*)  
 Ηᾱμενᾱᾰ (ad COR 113*d* with n. 375; n. 1085)  
 ἡόρμος (n. 1063)

Θᾱᾱῖς (n. 756)  
 Θεμᾱσθοκλᾱῖς (n. 734)  
 Θεοκλᾱῖμος (§§429, 510)  
 θ(ε)οῖς (n. 670, ? n. 716)

Θερσ(ι)- (ad COR 33*h*)  
 Θέρσιος (gen.; n. 96)  
 Θέτις (n. 1146), *Θετες* (ad COR 88*b*)  
 Θευγένες (ad COR 82*d*, n. 808)  
 θίνγανε, θίγες (ad DOI 1)  
 Θιογιτῶ (n. 806)  
 Θιομνάστα (n. 806)  
 Θουκυδίδης (n. 808)

-τ̄ (ad COP 60)  
 Ὑγρῆς (n. 449)  
 Ὑολέας (gen.; ad COR 12*f*)  
 Ὑόλεος (ad CHA 2*c* with n. 543)  
 Ὑπολύτη (ad COR 4*c*, §510)  
 Ὑσμηνίας Ἀθανίου ἐκ Τυδείας (§429)  
 Ὑφίτος (ad COR 12*f*, §425 with nn. 1067 and 1069)  
 ἰωή (ad COR 6*a*)

Καβρίρι[οῖ] (n. 769)  
 Καλλιμέλεις (ad EUB 3)  
 Καλ(λ)ιόπῃ (n. 1146)  
 Καλ(λ)ίς (ad COR 105*c*)  
 Καλλιστός (gen.; n. 690)  
 Καλ(λ)ιφόρᾱ (n. 1185)  
 Καλύκᾱ (ad COR 25*b*; §457 with n. 1155)  
 Καλύκιον, καλυκῶπις (ad COR 25*b*)  
 Καπ[ανεύς] (§425 with nn. 1067 and 1069)  
 Κάσσωρ (n. 239)  
 κασσῦω (n. 306)  
 Κατάνδρᾱ, Καττάνδρᾱ (ad COR 70*f*, §213, n. 1097)  
 καττῦς (n. 306)  
 [Κε]βριονεύς (n. 840), Κεβριόνῃς (n. 1123)  
 Κεσάνδρᾱ (ad COR 70*f*, §213, n. 1097)  
 Κέλαις (§425 with nn. 1067 *f*.)  
 Κερκύων (? ad BOI 24)  
 Κυμ(μ)έριος (§473)  
 Κυνέας, Κίνων etc. (ad COR 48)  
 κιττόν (ad COR 70*f*)  
 -κλέῖς (§504)  
 Κλειῶ (n. 1120)  
 Κλεομόρτου (n. 735)  
 Κλετόλας (n. 796)  
 -κλύ[μεν]ος (n. 1085)  
 κοδομεύς (ad BOI 10*h*)  
 κόης/κοίης (ad BOI 12)  
 Οόραχς (§444)  
 κόρρᾱν, Οόρρᾱς [s] (acc., gen.; §209)  
 κορίαννον (n. 566)  
 Οορίνθῶ (n. 803)  
 κριθή, Κριθέας (n. 714)  
 Κροέσος (§225)  
 κρόμβιον, κρόμμιον (§212)  
 κρούπεζαι, κρούπανα (ad COR 107*e*)  
 Κύκτος (ad COP 36 with n. 445)  
 Κύλ(λ)αρος (§468)  
 κυλλός (ad COR 50, ad COR 87*b/e*)  
 Κυματοθή (§457 with n. 1140), -θέῃ (ibid. with n. 1141), -θέα (ibid. with n. 1142)  
 Κυματοθαῖ (§457 with nn. 1145 and 1153), -θέα (ibid. with n. 1146)  
 Κυματολήγη (§457)  
 Κυμοδόκη (§457)  
 Κυμοθέα (§457 with nn. 1143 *f*.)  
 κῶμος, Κῶμος, Κῶμαρχος (ad COR 19*h* with n. 206)  
 λαικάζειν (n. 461)  
 λᾶκυθος (n. 179)  
 -λᾶος in epic (ad COR 12*f*)  
 Λάσιος (ad CHA 1*c* with n. 526)

Λᾶχάρῃς (n. 511)  
 (Γ)λαῦκος (n. 1123)  
 [Λ]έακρος (ad COP 82)  
 ληβόν (§§211, 507)  
 λωίων (ad COR 71*e*)  
 λοξός (ad COR 19*g*)  
 λորδόω, Λόρδων (ad COR 19*e*)

μαζός (ad COR 1*a*)  
 Μ(ν)ᾱμόνος (ad COR 114*c*)  
 -μανδρο- (ad NAU 1)  
 μάρπτω (ad LAK 3*f* with n. 501, ad CHA 23*b*)  
 μαστός (ad COR 1*a*)  
 Μελανίον (§425 with nn. 1067 and 1069)  
 μελαφερές (n. 342)  
 μέλος (ad EUB 3)  
 Μενεκάρτης (n. 736)  
 Μενέλας (§251), Μενελάῳ (gen.; §251)  
 Μ(ν)έσιλ(λ)α (ad COR 114*c*)  
 μεηγᾶλῶ (§§211, 507)  
 Μηγαραεύς etc. (n. 765)  
 Μηειᾶλῃ etc. (n. 764)  
 Μηειλο[. . .] (n. 765)  
 Μηειός (gen.; §211, n. 832, §507)  
 μῆέσ(σ)οι (§§211, 507)  
 μῆόνος (n. 765, §507)  
 Μῆόφου (ad CHA 10*b*)  
 Μιλίχιος (n. 891)  
 Μίμ(ν?)ῶν (ad COR 114*c* with n. 379)  
 Μίμνῶσα (ad COR 114*c*)  
 Μῠνίο(ς) ταῦρος (ad CHA 11*b* with n. 556)  
 Μῠνῶς (ad CHA 11*b* with n. 554)  
 Μνωταυρος *vel sim.* (ad CHA 11*b* with n. 555)  
 μῖτος (§475)  
 -μροτος (ad COR 40*b*)  
 μτέμα (ad COP 36)

Ναῖας, Νᾱίς (n. 931)  
 Ναυσικᾱ (n. 1039)  
 νεβρίς, νεβρός (ad COR 25*a*)  
 Νεοππτόλεμο[ο]ς (n. 899)  
 Νεοτ(τ)ολέμῃ (n. 1146)  
 νηπ(ε)υθής (n. 138)  
 Νέττος (§§211, 213)  
 Νῆέσ(σ)ος (ad COR 123 with n. 389)

Ξανδικός (n. 1286)  
 Ξάνθιππος, -ίππη (ad COR 89*c*)  
 Ξενοκλῆς (§209)  
 Ξενύλλου (§209)

οὔ, ἔο, εὔ (n. 157)  
 Ὠαρίων (ad COR 57*i*)  
 ὄβρια, ὄβρίκια (ad COR 40*b*)  
 ὀδύεσθαι, ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι (§254)  
 Οἰκλῆς (n. 1063)  
 Ὀλυσεύς (ad COR 28*Ac*, n. 914), Ὀλυτ(τ)εύς (§254)  
 ὄμβρος (ad COR 40*b*)  
 ὀμφή (ad INC 1)  
 ὄνομα (ad COP 65)  
 Ὀρανίον (n. 635)  
 ὀσμή (ad CHA 14*e*)

πάει (nn. 732, 813)  
 παίγμα, παίγνιον, παίχνιον, παίζω, παῖς (ad COR 19*g*)  
 Παίγων (§506)  
 παῖς, see παίγμα  
 Πανκράτῃς (n. 635)

Πανόπῃ (n. 1146)  
 παρῆξω (n. 749)  
 Παρθεν(ο)πάος (ad LAK 8*a*)  
 Πατρόκλω (gen.; n. 768), Πατροκλέος (gen.; n. 809),  
 Πατροφίλῶς (gen.; n. 578)  
 [Πε]νθεσιλᾶ, Πενθεσίλεια, Πενθεσιληα (ad COR 12*f* with n. 144; n. 1039)  
 Περαιεύς, Πειραιεύς (ad COP 85)  
 Περίφας (ad CHA 3*f*), Περίφα[s] (§425 with nn. 1067 and 1069)  
 Πέρ(ρ)αμος (n. 223)  
 Περ(ρ)εύς (n. 96; §214 with n. 782)  
 πέταλον (ad COR 47)  
 Πίγρης (n. 449)  
 πᾶτιΦοῖναρχος (n. 206)  
 Πληξάωρη (§433 with n. 1092)  
 Ποιοιδάνι, see Ποσει-  
 ποιέω: ἐποεσάταν (n. 99), ποῖσαι (ad INC 1),  
 πεποῖκει (ad INC 1), ἐποῖσε(ν) (ad INC 1)  
 πόλει(ω)ς (n. 718)  
 Πολυβότῃς, -βώτῃς (n. 635)  
 Πωλυδεύκης (n. 1054)  
 Πῶλυνόῤῃς (§506)  
 πολυπενθής (ad COR 17*a*)  
 Πολυσχένῃ (n. 713), Πολυσχένῃ (n. 1097)  
 πολυτερπής (ad COR 17*a*)  
 Ποντομέδουσα (§§433, 510)  
 Πόρομος (ad COR 106*a*)  
 Ποσειδῶν (§255), Ποσεδῶν (n. 919), Ποιοιδάνι  
 (n. 917), Ποιοιδάνος (n. 917),  
 Ποτεδάῤῃνος (n. 1297), [Π]οιοιδάνι (n. 917)  
 -πότης (ad COR 16*c* with nn. 147 *f*.)  
 πράγμα, πρήγμα (ad COR 19*g*)  
 Πρασιεύς (n. 684)  
 Πρίαμος (§444)  
 προτανί, προτηνί, προτεινί (n. 72)  
 Πρωτομέδεια (§§433, 510)

ρῥοῤῃσι (§§211, 507)  
 Ῥοδῖος (ad CHA 3*A* with n. 548)

Σατυρί(ω)νος (n. 718)  
 σέλπον (ad LAK 3*f*)  
 Σεμέλῃ (ad COR 105*c*)  
 σῆρῃν (n. 130)  
 Σθέλεος (n. 1097)  
 Σιλᾶνός Τέρπῶν (ad ETR 1, §457 with nn. 1145 and 1155)  
 σίλφιον (ad LAK 3*f*)  
 Σίμῃ (ad COR 105*c* with n. 359; §479)  
 σῆρῃν (n. 130)  
 Σκύλλα (§110)  
 Σμικυθίων (ad COR 114*b*)  
 Στύσιπ(π)ος (ad CHA 1*e* with n. 528)  
 Σφῶλέας, Σφο[. . .] (n. 714)  
 σφορτάν (ad COR 92*g*)

ταδῆν (ad COP 94)  
 τάλ(α)ῖτα (n. 716)  
 τεῖνω 'speed along' (ad COR 21)  
 Τεκτονῖδαο (n. 871)  
 Τέρπῶν, see Σιλᾶνός  
 τερψίμβροτος, see Index 2  
 τῶνδεονῆν (ad COP 94)  
 Τόχσαμῖς (§473)  
 [Τ]ρίτῶννος (§246)  
 Τροπῶι (n. 859)  
 Τρόιλος (§257)  
 τύμπανον (ad COR 107*e*)

*φάλαρος* (n. 1286)  
*Φάλιος, φαλιός* (nn. 1185, 1286)  
*φάργμα, φάρχημα* (ad COR 19g)  
*Φειδίῳ* (gen.; §317 with n. 973)  
*Φερρέ-* or *Φερρόφαττα, Φερ(ρ)ιφόνῳ* (ad COR 124B), *Φερσεφόνῳ* (n. 897)  
*Φίλις* (ad NAU 1, and esp. 1Ba)  
*φιλόθηρος* (ad BOI 10)  
*[φιλ]οτέσιον* (n. 51)  
*Φιλτὸς* (n. 690)  
*Φλέβιπ(π)ος* (ad CHA 1e with n. 528)  
*Φοῖνιχσ{ι}* (n. 713)  
*Φοῖτος* (ad COR 87c)  
*φοξός, Φόξος* (ad COR 19i)  
*Φόρκος, Φόρκυς* (ad COR 106a)  
*Φρεάριος* (n. 766)  
*Φσδλ(λ)ᾱς* (n. 714)  
*φσῦχῑ* (n. 713)  
*φῦσα, Φύσγων, φύσκη, Φύσκων* (ad COP 62a)

*Χέρων, Χέρρων, Χίρων* (§248)  
*χέρρ'* (§248)  
*χίλιοι* (n. 891)  
*Χοιροθύων* (ad COR 40b)  
*Χορό, Χορώ* (ad CHA 1h with n. 534)  
*Χραιρέδημος* (n. 769)  
*Χσενόκλια* (n. 806)

*ψ-*, see also *φσ-*  
*ψωλή* (n. 714)

[. . .] *ύφορβος* (n. 635)

### *Mycenaean:*

*a-ne-u-te* and *a<sub>2</sub>-ne-u-te* (n. 751)  
*a-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ro* (n. 749)  
*a-pu-ko-wo-ko* (n. 1078)  
*a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* (ad COR 40b)  
*a-ri-wo(-ne)* (n. 1290)  
*a-ta* and *a<sub>2</sub>-ta* (n. 751)  
*a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (§247)  
*da-i-go-ta* (ad COR 12c)  
*da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo* (n. 911)  
*di-du-mo* (ad COR 46Ae)  
*di-we* (n. 1014)  
*di-wi-ja, di-u-ja* (ad COR 74e)  
*di-wo* (§237)  
*di-wo-nu-so* (§407 with n. 1014)  
*e-ko-to* (n. 1257)  
*e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* (§253)  
*i-jo* and *i-\*65 (i-ju)* (n. 867)  
*ka-zo-e* (n. 306)  
*ke-sa-da-ra, ke-sa-do-ro* (ad COR 70l)  
*ko-ri-ja-do-no* (n. 566)  
*ko-ri-si-jo* and *ko-ri-to* (n. 910)  
*mo-go-so* (§211)  
*o-pe-ra-no* (n. 244)  
*pa-ja-wo-ne* (§506)  
*pa-we-a<sub>(2)</sub>* (ad BOI 10f)  
*po-se-da-o-ne, etc.* (§255, nn. 1280, 1282)  
*te-se-u* (n. 756)  
*ti-ri-to* (§246)  
*wi-pi-no-o* (nn. 1282, 1293)  
*za-ku-si-jo* (n. 910)

### *Etruscan:*

*Amphiare* (n. 509)  
*Ariatha vel sim.* (ad CHA 11b)  
*Arnθ* (ad ETR 1e)  
*Atresθe* (n. 509, ad CHA 11b with n. 569)  
*Aχile, Aχle* (ad ETR 1b)  
*Easun, Hiasun, Heiasun, Heqsun, Eiasun* (ad COR 24Ba)  
*Elina, Helene* (n. 760)  
*Eχtur, Ectur* (§210)  
*Velχα-* (ad ACC 3b)  
*Vile* (ad CHA 11b)  
*Hercle* (ad CHA 11b)  
*Θevrumines* (ad CHA 11b)  
*Kapne, Capne* (§430)  
*Menrva* (ad CHA 11b)  
*Mine* (ad CHA 11b)  
*Parthanapaes, Partinipe* (n. 509, ad CHA 11b)  
*Pele* (ad ETR 1a)  
*Truile* (n. 924)  
*Tute* (n. 509)  
*Uθuze* (§254)  
*Phulnice* (n. 509)

### *Latin:*

*Aciles* (ad ETR 1b)  
*antiae* (§407)  
*Gaia* (§237)  
*Iunonenes* (n. 725)  
*Octobres* (n. 769)  
*Panhormi* (n. 749)  
*pococolom* (n. 725)  
*sirpe* (ad LAK 3f)

## 2. LINGUISTIC AND EPIGRAPHICAL MATTERS

abbreviated writing (*see also* minimal syllables) (§111, n. 365), reversed (ad INC 1, §111)  
 abecedaria (*see also* Index 7) (ad PCO 4, §§106–8)  
 accent, accent units, *see* enclitics  
 adjectives, *see* stems  
 Aiolic, *see* East Aiolic  
 alpha copulativum, intensivum, privativum (ad COR 27d)  
 animals, labelled on Corinthian vases (ad COR 101a)  
 archaic spelling (ad BOI 10f)  
 article, lacking (? n. 820)  
 aspiration, *see* consonant [h]  
 assibilation (ad CHA 3A, n. 917)  
 assimilation (§§201, 204, 212, n. 891, §§250, 253, nn. 917, 1097)  
 Attic (*passim*) (*see also* Index 1b), ‘internationalized’ (§254 with n. 914), early literary spelling traditions (§505)  
 A.W., *see* abbreviated writing  
 Boiotian, dialect (ad BOI, Pt. I. 2), masc. names in  $\bar{\alpha}$  (n. §204 with n. 733, n. 817), dialect in Pindar (? n. 1001)  
*boustrophedon*, *see* text arrangement  
 Byzantion, *see* Megarian  
 colloquial and everyday language (Introduction, ad BOI 9, COR 57i, 82a, COP 4, IOI 2b, §§235, 237, 245, 416 with n. 1039, 462, 506, 510)  
 compensatory lengthening, *see* diphthongs, secondary long vowels  
 compounds,  $\tau\epsilon\rho\phi\acute{\iota}\mu\beta\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ -type (ad COR 19f, COR 64b with n. 275, n. 326, §231),  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ -type (ad COP 18), determinative (§457)  
 consonants (Pt. II. 2. 1a; *see also* letters, geminates), preconsonantal, doubled (§115); opposition neutralized in clusters (/kl/ : /gl/ ad COR 25b with n. 220; /mr/ : /mbr/ *vel sim.* ad COR 40b); labial allophone of /n/, spelling (§114); velar allophone of /n/, spelling (§114); liquid, metathesis (§205, ? ad COR 14), followed by [h] (§§211, 507), intervocalic, doubled (§215); nasal, followed by [h] (§§211, 507), intervocalic, doubled (§215), not written (§201), nu ephelkystikon (§202); [h], initial (§210; in Attic n. 111), after liquids, nasals, digamma (§§211, 507), transposed to word-initial position (§§210, 249, 253); [r] preconsonantal, not written (§203); [s] final, not written (§204);  $-\rho\sigma$ - and  $-\rho\rho$ - (§214);  $-\sigma\sigma$ - and  $-\tau\tau$ - (§213); [w], initial (§206), followed by [h] (§§211, 507), glide (§207), intervocalic (§§208, 506), in East Aiolic (ad PCO 5), after consonant and diphthong (§209)  
 contraction, *see* vowels  
 Corinthian dialect (ad COR, COP, Pt. I. 5–6; Pt. II. 2, *passim*)

crasis, *see* vowels  
 Cyprian (nn. 717, 731, 771, §255, n. 1292)  
 development of scripts (§108)  
 dialects, mixed (§254 with n. 914, §§259–61)  
 dictating (? ad AIG 3E)  
 diektasis, *see* vowels  
 digamma, *see* consonant [w]  
 digraph for secondary [ē] and [ō] (§§219 f., 505)  
 diphthongs (Pt. II. 2. 1c) (*see also* consonant [w]); spelling of [ai], [oi], and [eu] (§§225, 506); [oi] instead of [ō] from compensatory lengthening (§508); prevocalic, shortened (§221), [eu] reduced (ad COR 74j/k, COR 79Ac), *u*-diphthongs written with *F* (COP 33?, ad CHA 1i), spurious (*see* digraph), long (§226, nn. 860, 972)  
 direction-principle (§105)  
 dissimilation (ad COR 79Ac with n. 329, §§210, 212, n. 877, §253)  
 Doric, dialect (*see also* Corinthian, Elean, Ithakan) (*see* ad AIG, ARG, LAK, ACC, DOC, DOI, DOH, i.e. Pt. I. 3, 7, 8, 15, 16, 18, 22)  
 doubling, *see* consonants  
 dual (ad AIG 3E with n. 102)  
 East Aiolic, dialect (n. 223), dialect features in Pindar (ad COP 1B), influence on mainland poetry and vase inscs. (COR 36, 96A/B, COP 1B, §§433, 508), script influencing Corinthian (? §508), vase (? ad PCO 5)  
 East Ionic, dialect (ad IOI, IOD, NAU, CAE, i.e. Pt. I. 17, 19–21), influence on mainland vase inscs. (§503), East Ionians on Aigina (ad AIG 3), script influencing Corinthian (? §508)  
 Elean dialect (ad ELI, Pt. I. 9; ad ITH 2, nn. 756, 973 f.)  
 enclitics and proclitics (n. 757, §226)  
 ethnics, in hyperbaton position (§227), as names (§241)  
 etymology, popular (§§10, ad COR 1A, n. 291, n. 530, §246, nn. 900, 966)  
 Euboian dialect (ad EUB, EUC, CHA, i.e. Pt. I. 1, 11, 12)  
 exclamation (COR 52)  
 foreign, foreigners, *see* non-epichoric  
 formulae, *see* Index 7, dedications  
 geminates, written with one or two signs (§§113, 469, n. 1310), expressive (ad COR 18b/h), pre- and postconsonantal (§115), unexpected in intervocalic position (§215)  
 glide, *see* consonant [w]  
 haplogy (§457)  
 hexameters (*see also* metrical), beginning with a short syllable (§222 with n. 810, §469 with n. 1188)

horse-names, *see* names  
 horsey names, *see* names  
 hyperbaton, *see* patronymics, ethnics  
 hypercorrection, hyperatticism (ad COR 70l)  
 hyphaeresis (§221)  
 hypocoristics, in  $\bar{\alpha}$  (§228),  $-\alpha\varsigma$  (§232),  $-\bar{\epsilon}$  *vel sim.* (§235),  $-\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (§233),  $-\acute{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$  (§230),  $-\iota\varsigma$  (§231),  $-\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$  (§234),  $-\omicron\varsigma$  (§228),  $-\acute{\omega}$  (§236),  $-\omega\nu$  (§229), cautious type (ad COR 17a, COR 24f, §228)  
 ‘internationalized’ dialect forms, *see* non-epichoric Ionic (*see also* East, Euboian) (INC 1)  
 Ithakan dialect (*see also* Elean) (ad ITH, Pt. I. 10)  
 Kerkyra, archaic hexametrical inscriptions (§§501, 505–7)  
 labels (*see also* starting-point and direction principles; Index 7, labels), in the gen. (ad COR 71b, ad LAK 3e/g, ad CHA 11b with n. 560), speaking (§239)  
 labial, *see* consonants  
 Lakonian (ad INC 1, ad PCO 2, ad COR 64b; LAK, Pt. I. 8; n. 540, ad ETR 1, ad DOC 7, §§206, 208, 419, n. 809, §§245, 247, 251 f., n. 917, §307)  
 language, *see* literary, colloquial  
 lengthening, *see* vowels, syllables  
 Lesbian dialect, *see* East Aiolic  
 letter-forms (Pt. II. 1. 1), ‘spindly’ in archaic times (ad EUC 1), modernized (§106), horizontal and upside-down alpha (ad EUC 3), Argive beta (ad DOH 1), gamma at Corinth (§103), East Greek lunate gamma (NAU 17b), delta similar to rho (ad CHA 8; *see also* rho), modern heta at Corinth (ad COR 124b),  $\Pi$  on Naxos (IOI 3 with n. 640), modern theta at Corinth (ad COR 85, 127), confusion of theta and phi (§109), iota at Corinth (ad COR 38, COR 48, COR 66, §103), ‘exaggerated’ iota and sigma (§107), lambda (§108), Argive lambda (ad DOH 1), mu and san at Corinth (ad COR 68c), pi (ad BOI 2), san (*see* mu), rho (ad BOI 2, INC 1, ad CHA 14h [Epigr.], §101; *see also* delta), sigma (ad COR 48, 103, IOD 4; *see also* iota), phi (ad INC 1, §102), mistakes (§109)  
 letter-names (§111)  
 letters (*see also* letter-forms, consonants, vowels, abecedaria), ‘dead’ (ad BOI 30, PCO 4, §§106, 108), inserted secondarily (BOI 3, COR 24Bd, COR 68h, ?? COP 8, ELI 4, DOC 5, DOH 2b), interchanged (§110), omitted (§111), given new functions (n. 753), for [k<sup>h</sup>], [p<sup>h</sup>], [ks], [ps] (§§106, 111), combined for long vowels (§505), use of qoppa (ad CHA 1 with n. 522, ad CHA 20 with n. 578, n. 595, §§108, 217 with nn. 784 ff.), digamma for [w] (§106), for *e*-vowels (ad PCO 4, IOI 2, n. 650), iota subscriptum (§226), omega for [ō] (§§106, 108, n. 768)

liquids, *see* consonants  
 literacy of writers, *see* mistakes  
 literary language on vases (Pt. II. 5)

Macedonian dialect (n. 1286)  
 Megarian, word for oil-flask (ad COR 17)  
 Messapian (ad DOC 1)  
 metathesis (quantitative) (ad CHA 4*h*)  
 metrical, adaptation (*see also* vowels, syllables),  
 inscriptions (§502), equivalents in epic poetry (ad  
 COR 4*c*, COR 70*f*, §510), mistake (?) (DOH 3*a*)  
 mistakes (Pt. II. 1. 4; *see also* abbreviated writing,  
 metrical), by illiterate or incompetent writers (ad  
 EUB 3, BOI 14, COR 24*A*, COR 68*j*, COR 88,  
 COP 84*A*, NAU 1*G/H*), corrected (ad BOI 1*A*,  
 BOI 2*A*, BOI 3 with n. 31, AIG 3*E*, COR 24*Aa*,  
 COR 24*Bb*, COR 28*Ak*, COR 68*b/h*, NAU 17*k*)  
 mixture of dialects, *see* dialects

names (Pt. II. 2. 3; *see also* hypocoristics), metrically  
 adapted (*see* vowels), crossing borders (ad LAK  
 3*a/g*), repeated on the same vase (§471 with  
 n. 1190), throwaway (§237), horse on vases (§238)  
 and in literature (§238 with n. 869, §§425, 448),  
 speaking (§239), from parts of the body (ad CHA  
 1*i* with n. 535), of horses (§244), meaning little if  
 anything (ad COR 83)

nasal, *see* consonant

neutralization, *see* consonant

non-epichoric dialect features on non-Attic vases  
 (§§259 f., 501, 503–8), on Attic vases (? AIG 1, ?  
 IOI 2 and §503, ad COR 28*Ac*, 92*i*, §247, n. 1097,  
 §457), ‘internationalized’ forms (§254)

nouns (*see also* stems), speaking (§239)

onomastics, *see* names

order, *see* word order

orthography, *see* spelling

patronymics (§240), in hyperbaton position (§227)  
 phonology (Pt. II. 2. 1)  
 Phrygian influence (? §473)  
 popular, *see* etymology  
 proclitics, *see* enclitics  
 pronouns, demonstrative, reinforced (ad COP 60, 94,  
 IOD 4*A*); personal,  $\mu\epsilon$  lacking (ad COP 18 with  
 n. 438); relative, starting archaic metrical inscrs.  
 (ad ITH 1)

script, development (§§106, 108), reforms (§106)  
 scriptio plena (ad COR 57*h*, COR 70*f*)  
 secondary [ē] and [ō], *see* vowels  
 shortening, *see* diphthongs, vowels  
 speaking, *see* labels, names  
 spelling (Pt. II. 1. 5 and 2. 1; *see also* archaic)  
 starting-point principle (§104, n. 460, ad LAK 4*d*,  
 §425 ad CHA 10)

stems, *u*-stem adjectives (ad COR 71*e* with n. 311),  
*u*- and *eu*-stem nouns confused (ad COR 74*j/k*  
 with n. 316), *es*- and *eu*-stem nouns confused  
 (§233)

*stoichedon*, *see* text arrangement

style of the inscriptions (§509)

superlative, adverbial (?) (DOH 3*a*)

syllables (*see also* hexameter), minimal (*see also* abbrevi-  
 ated writing) (§112 with nn. 725 f., §224 with n.  
 818, §506), lengthened in verse (ad COR 17*b*, §222  
 with n. 811), shortened in verse (§222 with n. 811),  
 added for metrical reasons (ad COR 57*c*)

syncope, *see* vowels

synizesis (?) (ad IOD 4)

syntax (Pt. II. 2. 2)

tenses, imperfect instead of aorist (ad DOI 1)

$\tau\epsilon\rho\phi\iota\mu\beta\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , *see* compounds

text arrangement, *boustrophedon* (ad COR 37*a*,  
 COR 82*d*, COP 1*D*, COP 38, IOI 1, nn. 670, 773,

952), false *boustrophedon* (ad COR 57, n. 609),  
 stichic and l.-to-r. (n. 952), *stoichedon* (nn. 607,  
 726), upside-down (n. 609)

Thessalian (*see also* Macedonian), name of Apollon  
 (ad PCO 1), word for oil-flask (ad COR 17*b* with  
 n. 178)

throwaway names, *see* names

translating poetry into other dialects (§§501 with  
 n. 1251, 504)

univerbation (nn. 235, 561, 1150)

velar, *see* consonants

vowels (Pt. II. 2. 1*b*; *see also* letters, stems, syllables),  
 [ā] < [ē] (§216); [ā] < [ē] (§218), in epic (ad COR  
 101); [ē] secondary (§§219, 505); [i] ad/subscrip-  
 tum (*see* long diphthongs); [ō] secondary (§§219,  
 505); [u] pronunciation (§217); contracted (§223);  
 in crasi (§224, ad BOI 2–4, BOI 17, AIG 3*C*, COP  
 41 with n. 451, IOD 6*A/F*, NAU 1*Ic*, *La*, *Oa* and  
 n. 673, §226); diektasis (ad COP 1*D*, ? COP 13,  
 §§223, 416 with n. 1039); omitted by elision (though  
 written) (§224), by hyphaeresis (§221), by syncope  
 (n. 289); shortened in prevocalic position (§221);  
 metrically adapted (§222)

word division (ad DOI 1, §226)

word order, *see* hyperbaton

writers (*see also* literacy), different writers con-  
 tributing to one inscr. (ad BOI 6, AIG 3, NAU  
 17*e*)

writing systems (*see also* abecedaria, script) (§§106–  
 8), of Achaia, Corinth, Ithaka and Kephallenia  
 (§107)

written poetry (§505 f.)

‘Zusammenrückung’, *see* univerbation





### 3. VASES AND INSCRIPTIONS

See also Index 4 (Collections) for inscribed vases not contained in the following works.

#### *ABV*

- 4 f. no. 1 (§213)
- 5. 4 (n. 96, ad CHA 28a, §214 with n. 782, §247 with n. 882)
- 27. 36 (n. 306)
- 39 f. no. 16 (nn. 578, 595)
- 66. 59 (ad COR 131)
- 76. 1 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR); n. 729; §248 with n. 888; §§406, 412, 434 f., 442, 444, 473, 505)
- 77. 2 (§ 414 with n. 782)
- 77. 8 (§457 with n. 1146)
- 82. 1 (n. 818)
- 83. 4 (n. 714)
- 84. bottom, no. 3 (§457 with n. 1146)
- 85. bottom, no. 1 (nn. 271, 1123)
- 95. 5 (n. 271, ad COR 124Ac, n. 925; §439 with n. 1098)
- 95. 6 (nn. 271, 925)
- 95 f. no. 8 (n. 1063)
- 96. 14 (§246)
- 97. 27 (n. 713)
- 98. 46 (ad COR 4c)
- 106. middle (ad COR 106a with n. 363)
- 108. 14 (n. 1006)
- 110. 37 (ad COP 36 with n. 445)
- 136. 49 (ad CHA 2c with n. 542, n. 1006)
- 136. 54 (ad COR 70f with n. 299; §213)
- 143 f. no. 1 (nn. 1185, 1286)
- 144. 7 (§413)
- 145. 13 (§468)
- 145. 19 (nn. 271, 1124)
- 148. 9 (n. 1124)
- 151. 22 (ad CHA 1c with n. 525)
- 160. bottom, nos. 1 and 3 (ad DOC 5 with n. 627)
- 203. top, no. 1 (ad COR 105c with n. 360)
- 249. 16 (ad COR 131 with n. 392)
- 266. 3 (n. 359)
- 266. 5 (nn. 286, 868)
- 276. bottom, no. 1 (ad COR 114c)
- 293. 10 (ad LAK 8a with n. 508)
- 320. 1 (n. 560)
- 330. bottom, no. 1 (n. 280)
- 332. 17 (ad COR 70e)
- 334. 1 (ad COR Gr 15a)
- 360. 4 (§413 with n. 1026)
- 362. 36 (n. 465)
- 454. bottom, no. 2 (§413 with n. 1027)
- 507. 32 (n. 1010)
- 508. top (ad COR 12f with n. 143)
- 675 Stroiobos no. 4 (nn. 769, 1124)

*Add.* (only pieces which are not in *ABV*, *ARV*, or *Para.*)

- 127. 123 (ad LAK 3i, §248 with n. 889)
- 400 (Lydos kyathos) (n. 486)

Amyx: see COR with the same nos.; other vases cited:  
p. 38, no. 6 (n. 1124), pp. 208, 320, no. A-44  
(n. 231), p. 601 (§403). The graffiti cited are:

- Gr 1 (n. 727)
- Gr 2 (COR Gr 2)
- Gr 5 (§§114, 207, 220, 506)
- Gr 6 (COR Gr 6)
- Gr 8 (n. 154)
- Gr 9 (COR Gr 9)
- Gr 13 (COR Gr 13)
- Gr 15 (COR Gr 15)
- Gr 17 (§506)
- Gr 23 (COR Gr 23)
- Gr 25 (COR Gr 25)
- Gr 26(1) (COR Gr 26(1))

#### *AntDenkm*

- i. 7. 1 (COP 2C)
- 7. 2 (COP 27)
- 7. 4 (COP 57G)
- 7. 6 (COP 53)
- 7. 9 (COP 8)
- 7. 11 (COP 44)
- 7. 13 (partly) (COP 72)
- 7. 15 (COP 77)
- 7. 16 (COP 61)
- 7. 17 (COP 68)
- 7. 21 (partly) (COP 35)
- 7. 23 (COP 78)
- 7. 25 (COP 70)
- 7. 28 (COP 47)
- 8. 1 (COP 84A)
- 8. 2 (partly) (COP 45)
- 8. 5 (n. 433)
- 8. 7 (n. 1245)
- 8. 10 (COP 79)
- 8. 13, 15 (COP 18)
- 8. 20 (COP 90A)
- 8. 21 (n. 457)
- 8. 25 (COP 48A)
- 8. 26 (COP 48B)
- ii. 23. 12b (n. 433)
- 23. 15a-b (COP 28)
- 24. 1 (COP 15)
- 24. 3 (COP 40)
- 24. 4 (COP 56)
- 24. 9 (partly) (COP 62)
- 24. 10 (COP 20)
- 24. 21 (COP 3)
- 24. 23 (COP 86)
- 29. 1, 4 (COP 25)
- 29. 2 (COP 71)
- 29. 10 (COP 2A)
- 29. 11 (COP 73H)

- 29. 13 (COP 42)
- 29. 17 (partly) (COP 41)
- 29. 18 (partly) (COP 67)
- 29. 19 (COP 86)
- 29. 22 (COP 6)
- 29. 23 (COP 1A)
- 30. 4 (COP 73B)
- 30. 9 (COP 29)
- 30. 12 (COP 75)
- 30. 23 (COP 1C)
- 30. 28 (COP 51B)
- 30. 31 (COP 7)
- 39. 1a (COP 37)
- 39. 2 (COP 74)
- 39. 12 (COP 63)
- 40. 1a-b (COP 82)
- 40. 3 (n. 945)
- 40. 4 (COP 73G)
- 40. 6b (COP 57H)
- 40. 7 (COP 4)
- 40. 14 (COP 21)

#### *Arena*

- 2 (COR 1)
- 3 (COR 3)
- 4 (COR 11)
- 5 (COR 4)
- 6 (COR 7)
- 7 (COR 6)
- 8 (COR 18)
- 9 (COR Gr 6)
- 10 (COR 10)
- 11 (COR 12)
- 12 (COR 5)
- 13 (COR Gr 9)
- 15 (COR 76)
- 16 (COR 38)
- 17 (COR 15)
- 18 (COR 33)
- 19 (COR 25)
- 20 (COR 30)
- 21 (COR 20)
- 22 (COR 36)
- 23 (COR 19)
- 24 (COR 32)
- 25 (COR 27)
- 26 (COR 17)
- 27 (COR 40)
- 29 (COR 24)
- 30 (COR 41)
- 31 (COR 29)
- 33 (COR 96A)
- 34 (COR 44)
- 35 (COR 37)
- 36 (COR 65)
- 37 (COR 47)



- 38 (COR 48)  
 39 (COR 49)  
 40 (COR 50)  
 41 (COR Gr 23)  
 42 (COR 57)  
 43 (COR 53)  
 44 (COR 54)  
 45 (COR 112)  
 46 (n. 140)  
 47 (COR 100)  
 48 (COR 59)  
 49 (COR 60)  
 51 (COR 87)  
 52 (COR 88)  
 53 (COR 89)  
 54 (COR 62)  
 55 (COR 111)  
 56 (COR 63)  
 57 (COR 101)  
 58 (COR 117)  
 59 (COR 113)  
 60 (COR 102)  
 61 (COR 77)  
 62 (COR 78)  
 63 (COR 85)  
 64 (COR 26)  
 65 (COR 91)  
 66 (COR 61)  
 67 (COR 97)  
 68 (COR 31)  
 69 (COR 98)  
 70 (COR 92)  
 71 (COR 82)  
 72 (COR 66)  
 73 (COR 64)  
 74 (COR 67)  
 75 (COR 74)  
 76 (COR 68)  
 77 (COR 69)  
 78 (COR 70)  
 79 (COR 71)  
 80 (COR Gr 15)  
 81 (COR 22)  
 82 (COR 128)  
 83 (COR Gr 25)  
 85 (COR 81)  
 86 (COR 104)  
 87 (COR 115)  
 88 (COR 107)  
 90 (COR 105)  
 91 (COR 131)  
 92 (COR 121)  
 93 (§506)  
 95 (COR Gr 26(1))  
 96 (§210)
- ARV*  
 16 f. no. 17 (ad CHA 2c with n. 543, n. 1006)  
 21. 1 (§246)  
 26. 1 (nn. 206, 271, §444)  
 28. 11 (§227)  
 34. 15 (n. 397)  
 62. 83 (ad COR 74j/k with n. 315)  
 62. 84 (n. 1006)  
 65. 108 (ad CHA 1e/g with nn. 528 and 533)  
 70 f. no. 3 (n. 1009)  
 88. 3 (ad CHA 1c with n. 526)  
 138. 1 (§307 with n. 967)  
 146. 2 (ad COR 25b with n. 218; ad ETR 1; §457 with nn. 1145 and 1155)
- 168 (amphora) (ad COR 92i)  
 173. 4 (n. 919)  
 182. 6 (n. 1012)  
 192. 106 (n. 216, §457 with n. 1142)  
 206. 132 (n. 271)  
 238. 1 (§225)  
 239. 16 (§225)  
 289. 1 (ad COR 28Ac)  
 316. 4 (n. 1116)  
 319. 5 (ad COR 114c)  
 320. 8 (n. 925)  
 354. 25 (ad COP 82b)  
 370. 13 (ad CHA 1g with n. 532, n. 1010)  
 371. 15 (n. 1010)  
 400. top (n. 280)  
 431. 48 (§508)  
 459. 3 (§§114, 246)  
 462. 48 (n. 1010)  
 496. 1 and 2 (n. 714)  
 605. 64 (n. 280)  
 619. 15 (n. 239)  
 653. bottom, no. 2 (§413 with n. 1025)  
 864. 13 (§227)  
 992. 69 (§457 with n. 1140)  
 995 ff. (several vases; §227)  
 1036. 1 (§444)  
 1055. 76 (n. 206)  
 1177. 48 (n. 1039)  
 1187. 32 (§247 with n. 884)  
 1187. 33 (n. 884)  
 1188. 1 (n. 206)  
 1247. 1 (see Lezzi-Hafter 1988 pp. 342 f. no. 234)  
 1248. 9 (see ibid. 343 f. no. 239)  
 1248. 10 (see ibid. 345. 248)  
 1250. 32 (see ibid. 346. 253)  
 1250 f. no. 34 (see ibid. 347 f. no. 257)  
 1251. 41 (see ibid. 352. 285)  
 1253. 57 (see ibid. 315. 31)  
 1253. 58 (see ibid. 321. 76)  
 1300. 2 (ad COR 12)  
 1313. 5 (n. 239)  
 1316. 3 (ad CHA 11c with n. 565)  
 1318 f. no. 1 (ad COR 87c; nn. 516, 635, 976)  
 1319. top, no. 2 (n. 516)  
 1531. 3 and 4 (ad INC 1)  
 1573 (ad COR 85e)  
 1634. 30bis (§413)
- Beazley, see *ABV*, *Add.*, *ARV*, *Para.*
- CEG*  
 2 (n. 727)  
 13 (n. 844)  
 16 (n. 727)  
 26 (n. 451)  
 32 (ad COP 36)  
 39 (n. 727)  
 58 (§112)  
 62 (n. 875)  
 65 (n. 875)  
 70 (n. 451)  
 74 (n. 451)  
 76 (n. 713)  
 83 (n. 727)  
 93 (n. 844)  
 97 (n. 727)  
 103 (n. 814)  
 108 (n. 11)  
 114 (§508)  
 115 (n. 629)
- 119 (n. 629)  
 131 (ad COP 2, §206, n. 803)  
 132 (§209)  
 136 (n. 712)  
 137 (§§209, 224)  
 138 (n. 811)  
 139 (n. 451, §§206, 209)  
 142 (nn. 727, 803)  
 143 (ad EUC 3, §§501, 505, 506)  
 144 (§§501, 505, 506)  
 145 (§§211, 501, 505, 506 and n. 1310, §507)  
 146 (§211, n. 832, §§501, 505 with n. 1272, 507)  
 150 (n. 640)  
 159 (n. 727)  
 164 (§206)  
 167 (n. 403)  
 171 (nn. 629, 727)  
 172 (nn. 403, 727)  
 190 (§§211, 507)  
 195 (ad DOC 6)  
 209 (n. 629)  
 215 (§§211, 507)  
 218 (n. 418)  
 227 (§224)  
 239 (n. 451)  
 248 (§§211, 507)  
 251 (n. 629, §301)  
 258 (ad COP 1)  
 260 (n. 727)  
 262 (n. 451)  
 263 (§303)  
 272 (n. 726)  
 275 (ad DOC 6)  
 285 (n. 418)  
 302 (nn. 623, 629, §301)  
 304 (§§211, 507)  
 305 (n. 418)  
 313 (ad COP 1)  
 321 (n. 416)  
 326 (ad COP 1, §§303, 501, 508)  
 327 (BOI 3)  
 333 (n. 629)  
 334 (ad BOI 10f with n. 74, COP 1, nn. 629, 733, §209, n. 817, §§501, 508)  
 335 (§§206, 212)  
 336 (n. 844)  
 341 (ad DOC 6)  
 345 (ad COR Gr 26(1))  
 352 (§508)  
 355 (§209)  
 356 (n. 1312)  
 357 (COP 3)  
 358 (COP 1B)  
 359 (COP 1C)  
 360 (COP 1A)  
 362 (ad COP 2, n. 727, §303, n. 1039)  
 363 (§§224, 303)  
 366 (§209)  
 367 (ad COR Gr 26(1), §114)  
 372 (§468)  
 378 (see *LSAG* 201. 52)  
 380 (ad COP 29a, n. 451, §209, n. 811)  
 384 (ad COP 2, §303)  
 389 (n. 629)  
 394 (n. 242, ad COR 40b, n. 735)  
 396 (§108)  
 400 (§301)  
 402 (n. 245)  
 403 (§102, nn. 616, 640)  
 407 (n. 629)

*CEG (cont.)*

- 416 (n. 727)  
 418 (ad COR Gr 26(1), ad DOI 1)  
 419 (n. 451, ad DOI 1)  
 422 (n. 623, §303)  
 423 (n. 623)  
 424 (n. 629, ad NAU 1)  
 425 (ad NAU 1)  
 426 (ad COP 1 with n. 403, §303)  
 427 (n. 403)  
 432 (ad AIG 1, n. 203, ad ITH 1)  
 433 (§114)  
 436 f. (ad COP 41, n. 629, §224, nn. 1185 and 1286)  
 445 (BOI 4C)  
 446 (nn. 73, 733)  
 447 (n. 388, §310)  
 448 (n. 629)  
 449 (n. 783)  
 451 (§§211, 507)  
 452 (COR 17b)  
 453 (ITH 1)  
 454 (ad ITH 1, §113, n. 1310)  
 456 f. (n. 642)  
 459B (ad DOH 3b)  
 460 (nn. 388, 690, §310)  
 461 (DOH 3)  
 463 (n. 451)  
 630 (n. 844)  
 683 (n. 859)  
 825 (ad INC 1)  
 839a (n. 716)  
 859 (§112)

*CIG*

- 7 (COR 33)  
 1120 (ad COR 50)  
 3140 (§469)  
 7373 (COR 104)  
 7374 (COR 102)  
 7376 (PCO 4)  
 7377 (COR 60)  
 7378 (COR 68)  
 7379 (COR 70)  
 7380 (COR 85)  
 7380b (COR 7)  
 7380c (?) (n. 384)  
 7381 (CHA 3)  
 7382 (CHA 10)  
 7459 (CHA 1)  
 7460 (CHA 14)  
 7580 (ETR 4)  
 7582 (CHA 2)  
 7583 (CHA 9)  
 7611 (CHA 20)  
 7686 (CHA 4)  
 7708 (CHA 27)  
 7757 (LAK 3)  
 7892 (n. 1116)  
 7916b (n. 286)  
 8287 (ETR 1)  
 8409 (PCH 1)

*CIL*

- i<sup>2</sup>. 440 (n. 725)  
 444 (n. 725)  
 454 (n. 617)  
 566 (n. 119)

*CVA*

- Belgium  
 1 (iii. C) pl. 5. 1 (COR 53)

- 1 (iii. C) pl. 5. 2a–b (COR 88)  
 2 (iii. E) pl. 1 (CHA 14)  
 2 (iii. Ic) pl. 13c (ad COR 101d)  
 Denmark  
 3 (iii. E) pl. 97 (CHA 27)  
 France  
 7 pls. 20–2 (LAK 3)  
 7 pls. 24. 1–4, 25 (CHA 2)  
 7 pls. 24. 5–7, 26 (CHA 3)  
 9 (iii. C) pl. 5. 3–4 (COR 47)  
 9 (iii. Ca) pl. 6. 3–4 (COR 50A)  
 9 pl. 1. 6 (BOI 6A)  
 9 pl. 6. 9–12 (COR Gr 6)  
 12 pl. 77. 12 (COR 121)  
 13 (iv) pl. 46. 1 and 5 (ETR 4)  
 14 (iii. Fa) pls. 11 f. (CAE 1)  
 14 (iii. He) pl. 93. 1–5 (COR 131)  
 17 (iii. Ib) pls. 5 f. (ad COR 74j/k with n. 315)  
 21 (iii. Ca) pls. 44. 3, 5, 45. 8–9 (PCO 1)  
 26 pls. 14. 2–3, 15. 1 (BOI 2A)  
 26 pl. 16. 1 (BOI 6B)  
 26 pl. 17. 1 (BOI 6C)  
 26 pl. 17. 2 (BOI 6A)  
 26 pl. 17. 4–5 (BOI 6D)  
 26 pl. 28. 1, 3, 5 (BOI 7A)  
 26 pls. 44. 1, 45. 3 (BOI 13)  
 26 pls. 31. 3, 34. 1, 2, 4, 40. 1 (BOI 15)  
 German Democratic Republic  
 2 pl. 44. 5–6 (LAK 7)  
 Germany  
 2 pls. 31 f., dr. pl. 33 (AIG 1)  
 14 pls. 47 f. (COR 107)  
 15 pl. 46. 3 and 5 (n. 690)  
 28 pls. 280–2 (CHA 10)  
 32 pls. 311 f. (n. 1098)  
 33 pls. 196, 197. 5–7 (BOI 8)  
 33 pl. 198. 3 and 5 (BOI 9)  
 39 pl. 35 and 36 (BOI 11A–B)  
 Great Britain  
 6 pl. 8 (CHA 18)  
 9 (iii. C) pl. 6. 20 (COR 41)  
 12 pl. 23. 1 (NAU 1Lb)  
 12 pl. 33. 7 (BOI 12)  
 Italy  
 1 (iii. Ce) pls. 1–4 (PCO 2)  
 20 pls. 21 f. (ad COR 105c with n. 360)  
 30 pl. 75. 3 (n. 919)  
 39 pls. 4–9, esp. 8 (INC 1)  
 57 pl. 4 (COR 83)  
 Netherlands  
 1 (iii. C) pl. 5. 3 (COR 10)  
 2 (iii. C) (bibl.) pl. 8. 10 (COR 69)  
 2 (iii. C) pl. 8. 8 (COR 65)  
 New Zealand  
 1 pl. 35. 3–8 (COR 52)  
 Sweden  
 2 pls. 26. 8, 27. 1–3 (COR 83ter)  
 Switzerland  
 4 pls. 14. 1, 15. 1 (COR 45)  
 6 pl. 44. 1 (§413)  
 USA  
 4 pl. 18. 2 (n. 93)  
 14 pls. 16, 17. 3–4 (§457 with n. 1146)  
 DGE  
 7 (see CEG 367)  
 8 (ad COR Gr 26(1))  
 11 (see LSAG 104. 15)  
 12 (see LSAG 201. 52)  
 13 (n. 727)

52. 1–4 (n. 917)  
 57B (see LSAG 216. 27)  
 62. 172 (§245)  
 74 (ad COR Gr 26(1))  
 77 (see CEG 363)  
 78 (see LSAG 169. 20)  
 79. 1 (see LSAG 168. 6)  
 2 (see LSAG 169. 28)  
 80. 1 (see LSAG 169. 18)  
 2, 3 (see CEG 380)  
 83 (see LSAG 170. 39)  
 89 (see GD 87)  
 89 n. (n. 326)  
 97 (see LSAG 174. 2)  
 101 (see CEG 139)  
 102 (see CEG 138)  
 105 (see CEG 137)  
 108 (see LSAG 182. 18)  
 108<sup>e</sup>. 1. 253 (ad COR 19g)  
 116 (see CEG 451)  
 121. 1 (COR 33)  
 2 (COR 18)  
 3 (COR 87)  
 4 (COR 30)  
 5 (COR 47)  
 6 (COR 25, 48, 50)  
 122. 1 (COR 104)  
 2 (COR 102)  
 3 (COR 60)  
 4 (COR 70)  
 5 (COR 113)  
 6 (COR 57)  
 7 (COR 77)  
 8 (COR 66)  
 9 (COR 131)  
 10 (mentioned) (COR 6, 12, 40, 62 f., 68, 88 f., 92, 101, 110)  
 123. 1 (COP 11)  
 2 (COP 3)  
 3 (COP 13)  
 4 (COP 2A)  
 5 (COP 2C)  
 6 (COP 38B)  
 7 (COP 6)  
 8 (COP 37)  
 9 (COP 41)  
 10 (COP 18)  
 11 (COP 8, 31, 33, 43, 45, 48B, 60, 62, 64–6)  
 11 n. (see LSAG 132. 30)  
 12 (COP 85)  
 13 (COP 1A–B)  
 14 (COP 77)  
 15 (COP 79)  
 124 (see CEG 132)  
 126 (see CEG 131)  
 127 (ad COR 47)  
 133. 1 (see CEG 143)  
 2 (see CEG 145)  
 3 (see CEG 146)  
 134 (see CEG 144)  
 140 (see CEG 142)  
 151 (see LSAG 138. 11)  
 152 (n. 765)  
 166 (see LSAG 277. 39)  
 207 (see CEG 418)  
 209 (see CEG 419)  
 215. 1 (see LSAG 323. 5)  
 2 (see LSAG 323. 4)  
 3 (ad DOI 1)  
 217 (see CEG 456)

219 (see *CEG* 457)  
 238 (see *LSAG* 324. 26)  
 272 (see *CEG* 459)  
 275 (see *CEG* 460)  
 276*a* (DOH 3)  
 278 (n. 727)  
 302 (see *LSAG* 278. 49)  
 323 (see *LSAG* 104. 20)  
 362 (see *LSAG* 108. 3)  
 389 (n. 718)  
 409 (see *LSAG* 220. 15)  
 413 (see *LSAG* 220. 6)  
 416 (see *LSAG* 220. 13)  
 436. 1 (see *LSAG* 261. 28)  
 438 (see *CEG* 396)  
 440. 4 (see *CEG* 447)  
     6 (BOI 4*A*)  
     8 (BOI 2*A*)  
     9 (BOI 5*A*)  
     12 (see *LSAG* 94. 2)  
 441 (see *CEG* 446)  
 443 (see *LSAG* 95. 17)  
 448 (n. 847)  
 451 (see *LSAG* 95. 19*b*)  
 452. 5 (see *GD* 38. 3)  
     14 (ad COP 62*b*, n. 841)  
     20 (n. 733)  
     23 (n. 806)  
     29 (n. 806)  
 456. 17 (§235)  
     38 (n. 733)  
 462*A* (n. 727)  
 464 with n. (n. 375)  
 468*A*. 6 (n. 841)  
     *A*. 9 (n. 375)  
     *A*. 16 (see *LSAG* 95. 21)  
 472*B*. 1 (BOI 16)  
 474 (nn. 841, 847, 1216, 1221)  
 475 (§221)  
 477 (§253)  
 478 (see *LSAG* 95. 19*a*)  
 479. 1 (n. 1204)  
     15 (n. 733)  
     19 (n. 733)  
 494 (n. 733)  
 501. 1 (n. 847)  
 502*A*. 5 (n. 375)  
 505*A*. 2 (n. 806)  
 521. 2 (n. 841)  
 524. 5 (n. 849)  
 536. 1. 13 (n. 841)  
 538 (see *CEG* 334)  
 538 n. (see *CEG* 326)  
 539. 1 (see *LSAG* 94. 4)  
 540*A*. 4 (n. 841)  
 542. 36 (n. 841)  
 548*A*. 2 (n. 806)  
 601 (see *CEG* 341)  
 642 (see *LSAG* 362. 13)  
 647*a* (see *LSAG* 361. 4)  
 650 (see *LSAG* 215. 5)  
 653 (ad COR Gr 26(1), n. 917)  
 653 n. (see *LSAG* 216. 34)  
 665 (see *GD* 21)  
 686 (n. 764)  
 687 (see *LSAG* 343. 41)  
 688 (see *LSAG* 344. 48)  
 689 (see *CEG* 167)  
 690 (see *LSAG* 344. 47)  
 692 (n. 727)

694 (n. 727)  
 701 (see *LSAG* 344. 52)  
 705 (ad DOH 3*b*)  
 714 (see *LSAG* 342. 13)  
 715. 3 (see *LSAG* 341. 4)  
 723. 1 (see *LSAG* 342. 22)  
     3 (see *LSAG* 343. 29)  
 725 (see *LSAG* 343. 33)  
 726 (n. 727)  
 727 (n. 727)  
 733 (n. 718)  
 744 (see *LSAG* 358. 42)  
 749 (see *LSAG* 358. 50)  
 757 (see *LSAG* 304. 3)  
 758 (see *CEG* 403)  
 761 (see *CEG* 150)  
 764 (see *LSAG* 306. 47)  
 765 (n. 637)  
 766 (see *GD* 8)  
 783 (n. 634)  
 784 (n. 735)  
 786 (see *LSAG* 240. 3)  
 797. 1 (CHA 4)  
     2 (CHA 2)  
     3 (CHA 1)  
     4 (CHA 3)  
     5 (CHA 20)  
 798 (n. 727)  
 800 (see *LSAG* 87. 9)  
 801 (see *CEG* 76)  
 811 (see *GD* 14)  
 App. i. 1 (see *CEG* 432)  
     i. 4. 2 (see *CEG* 190)  
     i. 5. 2 (see *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 777)  
     i. 5. 3 (see *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 690)  
     i. 13 (see *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 110)  
  
*GD*  
 4 (see *LSAG* 344. 48)  
 6 (see *CEG* 403)  
 8 (ad IOI 2 with n. 637, n. 727)  
 9 (EUC 3)  
 14 (ad CHA 5)  
 21 (ad CHA 3*A*)  
 37 (see *CEG* 334)  
 38. 2 (see *LSAG* 94. 2)  
 38. 3 (n. 306)  
 38. 5 (see *CEG* 446)  
 52 (see *LSAG* 104. 20)  
 57 (see *LSAG* 108. 3)  
 59 (see *LSAG* 108. 2)  
 61 (see *LSAG* 220. 15)  
 62 (see *LSAG* 220. 6)  
 68 (see *CEG* 367)  
 70*B* (see *LSAG* 216. 27)  
 71 (see *LSAG* 201. 52)  
 72 f. (n. 917)  
 79. 172 (§245)  
 80 (see *LSAG* 174. 2)  
 83 (see *LSAG* 168. 8)  
 84 (see *LSAG* 169. 20)  
 87 (ad COR 19*g*)  
 89 (see *LSAG* 182. 18)  
 91 (see *CEG* 132)  
 92*a* (COP 3)  
 92*b* (COP 11)  
 92*c* (COP 13)  
 92*d* (COP 85)  
 93 (see *CEG* 143)  
 94 (see *CEG* 145)

95 (see *CEG* 142)  
 96 (see *LSAG* 143. 8)  
 97 (see *CEG* 362)  
 98 (see *LSAG* 277. 39)  
 100 (see *CEG* 459)  
 105 (see *LSAG* 278. 49)  
 110*a* (see *LSAG* 323. 5)  
 111 (see *CEG* 457)  
 114 (see *CEG* 418)

*IG*

i<sup>2</sup>. 118 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 110)  
     234 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 294)  
     293 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 363)  
     302 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 370)  
     313 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 386)  
     329 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 421)  
     335 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 433)  
     358 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 457)  
     359 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 455)  
     374 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 476)  
     436 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 554)  
     508 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 777)  
     671 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 690)  
     950 (see i<sup>3</sup>. 1190)  
 i<sup>3</sup>. 110 (n. 727)  
     294 (n. 475)  
     363 (n. 475)  
     370 (n. 476)  
     386 (n. 476)  
     421 (n. 475)  
     433 (n. 475)  
     455 (n. 475)  
     457 (n. 475)  
     476 (n. 476)  
     554 (§227)  
     690 (§227)  
     777 (§227)  
     1190 (n. 379)  
 ii/iii<sup>2</sup>. 12593 (ad COR 92*d*)  
 iv. 210 (COP 11)  
     211 (COP 3)  
     212 (COP 1*A*)  
     213 (COP 1*B*)  
     214 (COP 1*C*)  
     215 (COP 1*D*)  
     216 (COP 14)  
     217 (COP 4)  
     218 (partly) (COP 29)  
     219 (COP 13)  
     220 (COP 15)  
     221 (COP 16)  
     222 (COP 2*A*)  
     223 (COP 2*B*)  
     224 (COP 2*C*)  
     225 (partly) (COP 29)  
     226 (COP 31)  
     227 (COP 35)  
     228 (COP 36)  
     229 (COP 7)  
     230 (COP 38*A*)  
     231 (COP 38*B*)  
     232 (COP 40)  
     233 (COP 45)  
     234 (COP 48*B*)  
     235 (COP 48*A*)  
     236 (COP 12)  
     237 (COP 8)  
     238 (COP 9)  
     239 (COP 49)

*IG (cont.)*

240 (COP 52)  
 241 (COP 51*B*)  
 242 (COP 55)  
 243 (COP 51*A*)  
 244 (COP 41)  
 245 (COP 18)  
 246 (COP 20)  
 247 (COP 19)  
 248 (COP 56)  
 249 (COP 50)  
 250 (COP 53)  
 251 (COP 57*D*)  
 252 (COP 57*C*)  
 253 (COP 57*A*)  
 254 (COP 57*E*)  
 255 (COP 57*B*)  
 256 (COP 57*F*)  
 257 (COP 57*H*)  
 258 (COP 57*I*)  
 259 (COP 57*J*)  
 260 (COP 57*M*)  
 261 (COP 21)  
 262 (COP 22)  
 263 (COP 75)  
 264 (COP 42)  
 265 (COP 44)  
 266 (COP 58)  
 267 (COP 76)  
 268 (COP 77)  
 269 (COP 24)  
 270 (COP 73*K*)  
 271 (COP 23)  
 272 (COP 73*J*)  
 273 (COP 73*M*)  
 274 (COP 73*D*)  
 275 (COP 97*F*)  
 276 (COP 73*L*)  
 277 (COP 71)  
 278 (COP 27)  
 279 (COP 73*C*)  
 280 (COP 72)  
 281 (COP 74)  
 282 (COP 84*B*)  
 283 (COP 73*A*)  
 284 (COP 73*B*)  
 285 (COP 84*A*)  
 286 (COP 73*E*)  
 287 (partly) (COP 83)  
 288 (COP 73*F*)  
 289 (COP 73*G*)  
 290 (COP 73*I*)  
 291 (COP 73*H*)  
 292 (COP 73*N*)  
 293 (COP 73*O*)  
 294 (COP 70)  
 295 (COP 37)  
 296 (COP 59)  
 297 (COP 5)  
 298 (COP 69*A*)  
 299 (COP 68)  
 300 (COP 69*B*)  
 301 (COP 6)  
 302 (COP 91)  
 303 (COP 25)  
 304 (COP 60)  
 305 (COP 92)  
 306 (COP 28)  
 307 (COP 30)  
 308 (COP 64)

309 (COP 33)  
 310 (COP 57*K*)  
 311 (COP 32)  
 312 (COP 39)  
 313 (COP 63)  
 314 (COP 78)  
 315 (COP 43)  
 316 (partly) (COP 65)  
 317 (COP 46)  
 318 (partly) (COP 65)  
 319 (COP 66)  
 320 (COP 47)  
 321 (COP 17)  
 322 (COP 62)  
 323 (COP 88)  
 324 (COP 93)  
 325 (COP 26)  
 326 (COP 61)  
 327 (partly) (COP 83)  
 328 (COP 10)  
 329 (COP 85)  
 330 (COP 94)  
 331 (COP 79)  
 332 (COP 81)  
 333 (COP 86)  
 334 (COP 90*B*)  
 335 (COP 82)  
 336 (COP 54)  
 337 (COP 95)  
 338 (COP 89)  
 339 (COP 87)  
 340 (COP 90*A*)  
 341 (partly) (COP 67)  
 342 (COP 96)  
 343 (COP 97*A*)  
 344 (COP 97*B*)  
 345 (COP 97*C*)  
 346 (COR 48)  
 347 (COR 25)  
 348 (COR 18)  
 349 (COR 50)  
 350 (COR 49)  
 353 (see *LSAG* 132. 31)  
 354 (see *LSAG* 132. 32)  
 415 (n. 796)  
 618 (ad COR 50)  
 1484 (see *DGE* 108<sup>e</sup>)  
 1596 (COR 47)  
 iv<sup>2</sup>/1. 123 (n. 179)  
 574 (n. 381)  
 v/1. 65 (n. 626)  
 211 (n. 626)  
 278 (n. 626)  
 1295 (ad COR 19*f*)  
 v/2. 36 (n. 255)  
 429 (ad COR 40*b*)  
 vii. 48 (ad COR 66*f/r*)  
 558 (n. 850)  
 1494 (ad COR Gr 15*c*)  
 1739 (n. 72)  
 1751 (ad BOI 10*f* with n. 77)  
 1888 (ad BOI 4)  
 2314 (n. 244)  
 2407 (n. 173)  
 2427 (n. 87)  
 2720 (ad COR 64*b*)  
 2872 (n. 244)  
 3043 (ad COR 12*f*)  
 3214 (§475 with n. 1215)  
 3599 (BOI 16)

3620 (ad BOI 28)  
 3626 (BOI 26)  
 3644 (n. 769)  
 3646 (BOI 27)  
 3659 (§254 with n. 913)  
 3670 (n. 1216)  
 3671 (BOI 20)  
 3710 (BOI 29)  
 3932 (BOI 25)  
 3956 (n. 1211)  
 3958 (n. 1211)  
 3960 (n. 1211)  
 3961 (n. 1211)  
 3962 (n. 1211)  
 3963 (n. 1211)  
 3964 (n. 1211)  
 3965 (n. 1211)  
 3967 (n. 1211)  
 3968 (n. 1211)  
 3970 (BOI 28)  
 4117 (BOI 24)  
 4149 (ad BOI 10*f* with n. 76)  
 ix/1. 359 (n. 718)  
 722 (ad COR Gr 26(1) )  
 xii/1. 764 (n. 683)  
 xii/3. 350–3 (§258)  
 360 (§248)  
 402 (ad COR 11)  
 451 (ad DOI 1, n. 727)  
 502 (n. 278)  
 545 (n. 352)  
 840 (n. 278)  
 1194 (n. 626)  
 xii/5. 520 (ad COR 92*d*)  
 xii/8. 277 (ad DOH 2)  
 xii/9. 56. 268 f. (ad COR 114*f*)  
 56. 276 (ad CHA 20*b*, §217)  
 245 (§214)  
 246 (§214, n. 1183)  
 285 (see *CEG* 108)  
 450 (§214)  
 1189 (§429)  
 xiv. 631 (see *LSAG* 286. 5)  
 871 (ad CHA 20*b*, §217)  
 2420. 4 (ACC 2)

*IGDS*

22 (see *LSAG* 276. 25)  
 36 (ad COR 114*c*)  
 78 (see *LSAG* 277. 39)  
 121 (see *LSAG* 276. 18)  
 123 (n. 619)  
 124 (n. 619)  
 128 (see *LSAG* 278. 49)  
 131 (see *LSAG* 278. 56)  
 148 (ad DOI 1)  
 167 (n. 610)

*Immerwahr*

10 (AIG 1)  
 15 (AIG 2)  
 55 (§213)  
 57 (n. 96; ad CHA 28*a*; §214 with n. 782, §247 with n. 882)  
 61 (§405)  
 62 (nn. 578, 595)  
 65 (§246; §248 with n. 888; §253 with n. 898; §255 with n. 916; §405)  
 71 (n. 280, §425 with nn. 1067–9)  
 74 (§429 with n. 1085)

77 (n. 271)  
 83 (see *ABV* 76. 1)  
 87 (§457 with n. 1146)  
 96 (n. 342)  
 97 (ad LAK 3i; n. 714)  
 128 (ad CHA 2c with n. 542)  
 132 (nn. 1185, 1286)  
 134 (ad LAK 3i)  
 139 (n. 271)  
 152 (n. 765, §507)  
 167 (nn. 271, 925)  
 170 (ad LAK 3i)  
 173 (n. 271, ad COR 124Ac, n. 925, §439 with n. 1098)  
 174 (ad COR 4c)  
 178 (ad LAK 3i)  
 181 (ad LAK 3i)  
 183 (n. 635)  
 214–16 (ad LAK 3i)  
 215 (n. 130)  
 229 (n. 130, ad COP 60)  
 362 (ad CHA 2c with n. 543, §247 with n. 881)  
 366 (§247 with n. 883)  
 369 (n. 271)  
 377 (§227)  
 384 (§246 with n. 877)  
 409 (ad LAK 3i)  
 440 (§247 with n. 883)  
 443 (§212 with n. 768)  
 484 (n. 51)  
 492 (n. 271)  
 506 (n. 925)  
 533 (§508)  
 551 (n. 532)  
 690 (§247 with n. 883)  
 746 (§457 with n. 1140)  
 772 (§247 with n. 881)  
 781 (§247 with n. 884)  
 782 (§247 with n. 883)  
 789 (§247 with n. 881)  
 795 (ad COR 114c)  
 797 (§457 with n. 1144)  
 988 (§457 with n. 1146)  
 1124 (n. 635)

*Lezzi-Hafter* (1988)  
 315. 31 (nn. 206, 534)  
 321. 76 (n. 534)  
 342 f., no. 234 (ad COR 113b, n. 534)  
 343 f., no. 239 (ad COR 114c)  
 345. 248 (n. 312)  
 346. 253 (§457 with n. 1144)  
 347 f., no. 257 (n. 312)  
 352. 285 (§457 with n. 1143)

*LIMC*  
*Achilleus*  
 34\* (ad LAK 3i, n. 889)  
 44 (COR 46B)  
 251 (COR 27)  
 258 (CHA 16)  
 365\* (COR 44)  
 438\* (CAE 1)  
 478\* (COR 88)  
 491\* (nn. 578, 595)  
 543 (§459 with n. 1166)  
 556\* (CHA 8)  
 558\* (COR 30)  
 807 (COR 80)  
 808\* (PCO 4)

809 (CHA 5)  
 810 (PCO 5)  
 811 (COR 93)  
 815 (PCH 1)  
 850\* (CHA 4)  
 897\* (COR 77)  
 903 (COR 57)  
 904 (COR 72)  
*Achle* 2\* (ETR 1)  
*Admetos* i. 10\* (COR 66)  
*Adrastos* 1\* (CHA 27)  
*Agamemnon*  
 1\* (COR 33)  
 62\* (COR 23)  
 79\* (n. 380)  
*Aias* i.  
 22\* (COR 30)  
 31 (COR 38)  
 32 (COR 117)  
 33\* (COR 10)  
 34\* (COR Gr 6)  
 35\* (COR 60)  
 40 (COR 9)  
 115–31 (§458)  
 119\* (COR Gr 9)  
 120\* (COR 12)  
 122\* (COR 23)  
 124 (COR 14)  
*Aias* ii.  
 6 (COR 30)  
 7\* (COR 23)  
 8\* (n. 713)  
 77\* (n. 296)  
*Aineias*  
 26 (COR 44)  
 29 (COR 15)  
 30 (COR 30)  
 30a (COR 44A)  
 31 (COR 60)  
 35 (COR 77)  
 42\* (DOC 1)  
 58 (CHA 4)  
 92 (§459 with n. 1170)  
 94\* (§459 with n. 1170)  
 95 (§459 with n. 1169)  
 203a\* (§459 with n. 1176)  
*Ainippe* ii. 1\* (COR 66)  
*Ainoi* 1\* (COR 70)  
*Aithiopes*  
 30\* (BOI 22)  
 31 (BOI 18)  
 32 (BOI 16)  
*Akamas* 4 (COR 87)  
*Alastor* 1\* (COR 66)  
*Alexandros*  
 5\* (PCO 2)  
 15 (n. 1118)  
 47–9 (n. 1118)  
 67\* (COR 24)  
 68\* (CHA 15)  
 69a (COR 79A)  
 70–77a (n. 1118)  
 87a (COR 44A)  
 90 (CHA 4)  
*Alkyoneus* 3\* (n. 734)  
*Amazones*  
 1 (COR 4)  
 7 (ad IOD 2)  
 9 (ad IOD 2)  
 49\* (§413 with n. 1026)

50 (§413 with n. 1027)  
 88 (§413 with n. 1025)  
 169 (ad IOD 2)  
 254\* (COR 1A)  
 287\* (PCH 2)  
*Amazones etruscae* 1\* (ETR 4)  
*Amphiaras*  
 2\* (n. 280, §425 with nn. 1067–9)  
 3\* (COR 66)  
 7\* (COR 66)  
 10\* (nn. 280, 1063)  
 13\* (n. 280)  
 17\* (n. 1063)  
 20 (n. 280)  
 23 (n. 280)  
 24\* (n. 280)  
 25 (n. 280)  
 27\* (n. 280)  
 29\* (ad LAK 8b with n. 509)  
 33 (n. 1083)  
 35 (n. 280)  
 79 (LAK 8)  
*Amphithea* i. 1\* (CHA 27)  
*Amphitrite*  
 10 (COP 3)  
 11\* (COP 68)  
 12\* (COP 20)  
 13 (COP 44)  
 14\* (COP 70)  
 26\* (COP 1C)  
*Andromache* i. 4 (CHA 15)  
*Andromeda* i. 1\* (COR 101)  
*Aniochidas* i. 1\* (COR 89)  
*Aniochidas* ii. 1 (LAK 4)  
*Anties* 1\* (CHA 1)  
*Antilochos* i.  
 27 (COR 93)  
 28\* (CHA 5)  
 29\* (PCH 1)  
*Antimachidas* 1\* (COR 119)  
*Antiphatas* 1\* (COR 104)  
*Aphrodite*  
 1285\* (IOI 4)  
 1423 (PCO 2)  
*Apollon* 884\* (n. 899)  
*Ares*  
 44\* (BOI 15)  
 45 (IOI 4)  
*Argeia* 3\* (CHA 27)  
*Argaios* ii. 1\* (COR 66)  
*Ariadne* 25\* (CHA 11)  
*Artemis* 1226\* (CHA 22)  
*Atalante*  
 62\* (§425 with nn. 1067–9)  
 74\* (CHA 10)  
*Athena*  
 343\* (PCO 6)  
 381\* (IOI 2)  
 405\* (PCO 2)  
 428 ff. (§421 with n. 1048)  
 508 (CHA 9)  
 512\* (CHA 2)  
 523 ff. (§421 with n. 1048)  
 553 (CHA 4)  
 564 (COP 77)  
*Atlas* 2\* (n. 342)  
*Automedon*  
 3\* (CHA 8)  
 49\* (COR 80)  
 51 (COR 93)

*LIMC (cont.)*

Automedousa 2 (COR 24)  
 Baton i. 3\* (COR 66)  
 Baton ii. 1\* (COR 79A)  
 Bion 1\* (COR 103)  
 Boreadai  
 4\* (COR 24B)  
 6\* (n. 1059)  
 7\* (CHA 28)  
 27\* (§424)  
 Boreas 3\* (BOI 18)  
 Chariklo i. 4 (COR 46B)  
 Charon ii. 1 (COR 102)  
 Charon iii.  
 1 (COR 59)  
 2\* (COR 112)  
 3 (COR 78)  
 Cheiron  
 56\* (COR 46B)  
 58 (ETR 1)  
 Chora 1\* (CHA 1)  
 Choro ii. 1–3 (ad CHA 1*h* with n. 534)  
 Daipyllos 1\* (COR 107)  
 Damas ii. 1\* (COR 85)  
 Damon  
 1 (COR 78)  
 2\* (COR 68)  
 Danae 9\* (BOI 13)  
 Dason 1 (CHA 1)  
 Deion 1\* (COR 12)  
 Deiphobos 13\* (COR 70)  
 Demodokos iii. 1\* (CHA 3)  
 Dia 1\* (COR 74)  
 Dioidi ii.  
 1 (COR 119)  
 2 (COR 78)  
 Diomedes i.  
 9\* (COR 45)  
 12\* (COP 77)  
 19\* (CHA 8)  
 106\* (COR 38)  
 113 (CHA 4)  
 (v. *N.* xi) (COR 23)  
 Dion  
 2 (COR 105)  
 3 (COR 59)  
 4\* (COR 119)  
 5\* (COR 78)  
 Dionysios 1 (COR 86)  
 Dionysos 763 (CHA 28)  
 Dioskouroi  
 1 (COR 37)  
 194\* (CHA 21)  
 223 (COR 66)  
 Dolon 1\* (COR 30)  
 Dolos i. 1\* (COR 117)  
 Dorkis  
 1 (CHA 1)  
 2\* (CHA 14)  
 3 (ad CHA 1*g* with n. 533)  
 Doroi  
 1\* (COR 81)  
 (ad 1) (COR 92)  
 Dromis 1 (ad CHA 1*g* with n. 532)  
 Echippos 1 (CHA 4)  
 Enkelados (no no.) (IOI 2)  
 Eos  
 300\* (PCO 5)  
 302 (PCH 1)  
 303 (COR 80)  
 Epialtes ii. 3 (IOI 2)

Euarchos 1\* (COR 101)  
 Eunoos 1\* (COR 40)  
 Euphamos ii. 1 (COR 100)  
 Euphemos 1 (COR 66)  
 Euphorbos i. 1\* (DOH 1)  
 Euryba(ta)s 1\* (COR 71)  
 Eurybates ii. 2 (CAE 1)  
 Eurylochos iii. 1 (COR 68)  
 Eurymachos i.  
 1\* (COR 74)  
 2 (CHA 8)  
 Eurymachos ii. 1\* (COR 53)  
 Eurypylos i. 1 (n. 899)  
 Eurytion ii. 47 (CHA 2)  
 Eurytos i. 1\* (COR 12)  
 Gagenes 1 (BOI 15)  
 Ganymedes 73\* (ACC 4)  
 Geryones  
 15 (CHA 9)  
 16\* (CHA 2)  
 Gigantes  
 2\* (n. 783)  
 170\* (IOI 2)  
 Glaukos v.  
 6 (CHA 8)  
 9 (CHA 4)  
 Glaukos vi.  
 1 (COR 74)  
 3\* (CHA 3)  
 Gorgo, Gorgones  
 241\* (COR 100)  
 317\* (BOI 8)  
 Halimedes 1\* (COR 66)  
 Hamathoi 1 (COR 77)  
 Harmatidas 1\* (COR 74)  
 Harpyiai  
 14\* (CHA 28)  
 21 (COR 24B)  
 27 (LAK 7)  
 Hebe i. 32 (ACC 4)  
 Hekabe 15 (COR 70)  
 Hektor  
 (ii. *E.* 1) (COR 10)  
 (ii. *E.* 1) (COR 60)  
 (ii. *E.* 1) (COR Gr 6)  
 (ii. *E.* 9) (COR 44)  
 (ii. *F.* 1) (COR 30)  
 10 (COR 24)  
 12\* (COR 70)  
 13 (CHA 15)  
 15 (n. 840)  
 17 (n. 271, §444)  
 19\* (§444)  
 35 (DOH 1)  
 Helene  
 69a\* (§251)  
 190 (COR 24)  
 192 (COR 76)  
 193\* (CHA 15)  
 210 ff. (n. 1158)  
 373\* (§459 with n. 1176)  
 Helikaon 1 (n. 899)  
 Hera  
 377 (IOI 2)  
 437 (BOI 21)  
 492\* (COR 122)  
 Herakles  
 1828 (COR 32)  
 1991 (COR 6)  
 2011 (COR 13)  
 2015*a* (LAK 6)

2464\* (CHA 2)  
 2479\* (CHA 9)  
 2498 (COR 32)  
 3331 (COR 28A)  
 (before 2794) (COR 12)  
 Hermes 826 (IOI 2)  
 Hippaios 1\* (CHA 1)  
 Hippichos 1 (COR 44)  
 Hippobates and Hippotrophos 1\* (COR 7)  
 Hippokles 1 (COR 30)  
 Hippolochos 1 (CHA 8)  
 Hippolyte v. 1 (CHA 3)  
 Hippolytos ii.  
 1 (COR 24)  
 2\* (COR 61)  
 3\* (COR 68)  
 Hippomachos 1 (COR 70)  
 Hippos 1 (CHA 14)  
 Hippotion i. 1 (COR 66)  
 Horai 19\* (CHA 28)  
 Hyperbios 1 (IOI 2)  
 Iason 7\* (COR 24B)  
 Io ii. 1 (COR 77)  
 Io iii.  
 1\* (CHA 1)  
 2 (CHA 14)  
 Io iv.  
 1 (COR 119)  
 2 (COR 78)  
 3 (COR 71)  
 4 (COR 81)  
 Iolaos  
 24\* (COR 8)  
 25 (COR 13)  
 26\* (COR 19)  
 27\* (LAK 6)  
 37 (COR 4)  
 Iole i. 1\* (COR 12)  
 Iphitos i.  
 1 (COR 12)  
 9\* (COR 107)  
 Ismene i. 3\* (COR 113)  
 Kapaneus 31\* (DOC 1)  
 Kassandra i. 30 (COR 70)  
 Kebriones  
 2 (n. 840)  
 3\* (COR 70)  
 4 (COR 68)  
 5\* (CHA 15)  
 Kephalos 34 (BOI 23)  
 Kerkopes 1 (COR 32)  
 Kianis 1 (COR 70)  
 Kirke  
 30 (BOI 22)  
 32\* (BOI 18)  
 Kisippos 1\* (COR 64)  
 Kleopatra iv. 1 (COR 77)  
 Klytios i.  
 1\* (COR 12)  
 3 (CHA 10)  
 Klyto ii. 1 (CHA 1)  
 Klytos ii. 1\* (COR 113)  
 Krataia 1\* (BOI 16)  
 Kyknos i.  
 22\* (CHA 20)  
 138\* (COR 69)  
 Kymatotha 1 (COR 77)  
 Laidas  
 1 (COR 67)  
 2\* (COR 99)  
 3\* (COR 115)

- 4 (COR 107)  
 5\* (COR 105)  
 6 (COR 111)  
 7 (COR 64)  
 Laodamas ii.  
   1\* (COR 92)  
   2\* (COR 79)  
 Laodokos 1\* (CHA 4)  
 Laoptolemos 1 (COR 89)  
 Lapythos 1 (COR 6)  
 Leon ii. 1\* (CHA 18)  
 Leontis 1 (COR 66)  
 Maloi 1 (COR 74)  
 Marposos 1\* (CHA 23)  
 Medon iii. 1\* (CHA 13)  
 Megas 1\* (CHA 14)  
 Memnon  
   10a (COR 57)  
   28 (PCO 5)  
   29 (PCO 4)  
   30\* (COR 24A)  
   31\* (COR 93)  
   32 (COR 114A)  
   33 (COR 80)  
   34 (PCH 1)  
   35 (CHA 5)  
   96 (CHA 24)  
 Menestheus 2a (CHA 8)  
 Minos i. 17\* (CHA 11)  
 Minotauros  
   8a (ad CHA 11b with n. 555)  
   9\* (ad CHA 11b with n. 556)  
 Mitos 1 (BOI 16)  
 Molpe 1 (CHA 1)  
 Mopsos i. 7 (CHA 10)  
 Mousai 122bis (COR 28A)  
 Myro 1\* (CHA 1)  
 Nais 1 (CHA 14)  
 Nereides  
   271\* (COR 98)  
   415 (COR 77)  
   (ad 11) (COR 96B)  
 Nereus  
   23\* (COR 95)  
   96 (EUB 2)  
 Nessos  
   35\* (COR 123)  
 Nestor  
   5 (COR 57)  
   15\* (CAE 1)  
   28\* (COR 23)  
 Odysseus  
   43 (COR 74)  
   63 (CHA 8)  
   147\* (BOI 22)  
   191 (BOI 18)  
   (ii. H. 1) (COR 88)  
   (ii. Jē) (COR 12)  
   (ii. Jē) (COR 23)  
 Odysseus/Uthuze 56 (INC 1)  
 Ouaties 1\* (CHA 1)  
 Pais 1 (BOI 16)  
 Palamedes 9\* (COR 57)  
 Pandaros 1 (COP 77)  
 Pareunos 1 (COR 5)  
 Paridis Iudicium  
   26 (PCO 2)  
   110\* (BOI 17)  
 Peleus  
   16 (CHA 10)  
   33 (COR 66)  
   47 (COR 98)  
   207\* (EUB 2)  
   226 (ETR 1)  
 Peliou athla  
   5 (COR 66)  
   17 (CHA 10)  
 Periklymenos 1 (COR 113)  
 Perilipoi 1 (COR 76)  
 Perseus  
   88\* (CHA 9)  
   146 (BOI 8)  
   187 (COR 101)  
 Pheres i. 1 (COR 66)  
 Phineus  
   9 (CHA 28)  
   18 (COR 24B)  
 Phoibe v. 1 (CHA 14)  
 Polybos iii. 1 (COR 67)  
 Polybos iii. 2\* (CHA 6)  
 Polydoros i. 1 (CHA 6)  
 Polydos  
   1\* (COR 62)  
   2 (CHA 3)  
 Polykaidas 1\* (COR 54)  
 Polyxene 1\* (COR 70)  
 Poris 1 (CHA 14)  
 Poseidon  
   103 (COP 29)  
   105\* (COP 71)  
   109 (COP 35)  
   109a\* (n. 945)  
   110\* (COP 20)  
   111 (COP 68)  
   112\* (COP 44)  
   114\* (COP 2C)  
   115\* (COP 72)  
   116\* (COP 70)  
   117\* = 255 (COP 42)  
   151 (COR 97)  
 Pratolaos 1 (BOI 16)  
 Priamos  
   28\* (COR 27)  
   39 (COR 70)  
 Protesilaos 15 (COR 57)  
 Pyraichmas  
   1 (COR 44)  
   2 (COR 82)  
 Sarpedon  
   1\* (COR 30)  
   2\* (COR 82)  
 Satyra ii. 2 (BOI 16)  
 Simis, Simon, Simos  
   1\* (COR 118)  
   2 (CHA 14)  
   3\* (CHA 1)  
 Sthenelos ii.  
   4 (CHA 4)  
   5 (COP 77)  
 Synis (LAK 4)  
 Talthybios 3\* (COR 74)  
 Telephos 98 (COR Gr 13)  
 Theano i. 1 (COR 74)  
 Thersandros i. 1\* (COR 33)  
 Lorber  
   1 (COR 1)  
   6 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR))  
   7 (ITH 2)  
   8 (PCO 1)  
   10 (EUC 3)  
   11 (PCO 3)  
   12 (COP 3)  
   13 (PCO 2)  
   14 (COR 3)  
   15 (COR 9)  
   17 (COR 6)  
   18 (COR 7)  
   19 (COR Gr 6)  
   20 (COR 10)  
   21 (COR 5)  
   22 (COR 13)  
   23 (COR 12)  
   24 (COR 4)  
   26 (COP 37)  
   27 (COP 20)  
   28 (COR 18)  
   29 (COR 11)  
   30 (n. 400)  
   31 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR))  
   33 (n. 154)  
   34 (COR 30)  
   35 (COR 25)  
   36 (COR 20)  
   37 (COR 19)  
   38 (COR 32)  
   39 (COR 17)  
   40 (COR 27)  
   41 (COP 18)  
   42 (COR 40)  
   43 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR))  
   44 (COR 24)  
   45 (COR 45)  
   46 (PCO 4)  
   47 (COR 23)  
   48 (COR 14)  
   49 (COR 34)  
   50 (COR 35)  
   51 (COR 15)  
   52 (COR 33)  
   53 (COR 96A)  
   54 (COR 38)  
   55 (COR 36)  
   56 (COR 37)  
   57 (COR 21)  
   58 (COR 29)  
   59 (COR 39)  
   60 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR))  
   62 (COR Gr 9)  
   63 (COR 44)  
   64 (COR 41)  
   65 (COR 76)  
   66 (COR 46A)  
   67 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR))  
   68 (COR 52)  
   69 (COP 71)  
   70 (COP 53)  
   71 (COP 68)  
   72 (COP 2C)  
   73 (COP 35)  
   74 (COP 48A)  
   75 (COP 48B)  
   76 (COP 12)  
   77 (COR 47)  
   78 (COR 48)  
   79 (COR 50)  
   80 (COR 49)  
   81 (COR 65)  
   82 (COR 51)  
   83 (COR 57)  
   84 (COR 91)  
   85 (COR 61)  
   86 (COR 62)

*Lorber (cont.)*

87 (COR 63)  
 88 (COR 101)  
 89 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR) )  
 90 (COR 100)  
 91 (COR 102)  
 92 (COR 104)  
 93 (COR 105)  
 94 (COR 59)  
 95 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR) )  
 96 (COR 103)  
 97 (COR 64)  
 98 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR), §237, n. 1186)  
 99 (COR 119)  
 100 (COR 113)  
 101 (COR 26)  
 102 (COR 117)  
 103 (COR 115)  
 104 (COR 112)  
 105 f. (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR); n. 696)  
 107 (COR 87)  
 108 (COR 89)  
 109 (COR 88)  
 110 (COR 78)  
 111 (COR 77)  
 112 (COR 79)  
 113 (COR 60)  
 114 (COP 41)  
 115 (COP 44)  
 116 (COP 72)  
 117 (COP 42)  
 118 (COP 29)  
 119 (COP 77)  
 120 (COR 92)  
 121 (COR 82)  
 122 (COR 66)  
 123 (COR 67)  
 124 (COR 69)  
 125 (COR 68)  
 126 (COR 70)  
 127 (COR 71)  
 128 (COR 72)  
 129 (COR 74)  
 130 (COR 81)  
 131 (COR 106)  
 132 (COR 122)  
 133 (COR 93)  
 134 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR) )  
 135 (COR 97)  
 136 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR) )  
 137 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR) )  
 138 (COR 53)  
 139 (COR 54)  
 140 (COR 111)  
 141 (COR 22)  
 142 (COR 31)  
 143 (COP 86)  
 144 (COR 98)  
 145 (COR 85)  
 146 (COR 86)  
 147 (COR 107)  
 148 (COR 80)  
 149 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR) )  
 150 (COR 118)  
 151 (COR 79A)  
 152 (COR Gr 13)  
 153 (COR Gr 15)  
 154 (COP App. 1)

*LSAG*

76. 1 (see *CEG* 432)

2 (see *CEG* 433)  
 6b (n. 96, ad *CHA* 28a, §214 with n. 782, §247 with n. 882)  
 78. 30 (see *CEG* 302)  
 33 (n. 623)  
 35 (see *CEG* 304)  
 87. 8 (EUB 1)  
 9 (n. 413)  
 10 (n. 817)  
 88. 14 (see *CEG* 76)  
 16 (ad COP 85)  
 21 (see *CEG* 108)  
 22 (EUC 3)  
 92 (mentioned) (BOI 2A/C, 4A/B, 5A)  
 94. 1 (see *CEG* 326)  
 2b (see pl. 7) (n. 45, ad BOI 10f with n. 74)  
 4 (n. 24, §209)  
 9 (n. 157)  
 95. 10 (see *CEG* 334)  
 17 (n. 99)  
 18 (see *CEG* 446)  
 19a (ad BOI 9, §114, nn. 733, 1204, §504)  
 19b (nn. 727, 733, §504)  
 20 (BOI 14)  
 21 (n. 727)  
 22 (ad EUB 3 with n. 13)  
 23 (EUB 3)  
 99. 2 (nn. 110, 332)  
 104. 15 (n. 684)  
 20 (n. 173)  
 108. 2 and 3 (n. 727)  
 112. 2 (AIG 1)  
 113. 7 (n. 96)  
 114 (mentioned) (COR 57)  
 125 n. 3 (PCO 1)  
 126 n. 1 (introd. to Pt. I. 17 (IOI) )  
 130. 1 (§§114, 207, 220, 506)  
 131. 3 (n. 727)  
 4 (COR 1)  
 6 (see *CEG* 132)  
 8 (COP 3)  
 9 (COR 18)  
 10 (COR 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, COR Gr 6)  
 11 (COP 20, 37)  
 13 (§210)  
 14b (COR 19)  
 14c (COR 17)  
 15 (COP 2C, 18, 35, 48A–B, 53, 68, 71)  
 16 (COP 86)  
 20 (COP 29, 41 f., 44, 72)  
 23 (nn. 797, 809)  
 132. 25 (COP 70)  
 26 (COP 1A)  
 28 (§506)  
 29 (see *CEG* 131)  
 30 (§209 with n. 745)  
 31 (§209 with n. 744, §§503, 506)  
 32 (n. 744)  
 38 (n. 803)  
 39 (§209)  
 138. 11 (n. 765)  
 143. 1 (PCO 3)  
 4 (PCO 4)  
 7 (ad COR 128)  
 8 (nn. 113, 156, ad COR 33h with n. 237, nn. 274, 803)  
 146 n. 1 (ad COP 85)  
 150. 5 (see *CEG* 362)  
 168. 1 (ARG 1)  
 3 (see *CEG* 363)  
 6 (n. 102)  
 7 (ad COP 1A with n. 407)  
 8 (ad COP 94, n. 727)  
 9 (nn. 120, 173)  
 15 (see *CEG* 136)  
 169. 16 (ad NAU 1Gd)  
 18 (ad COP 85)  
 19 (see *CEG* 380)  
 20 (nn. 120, 727)  
 28 (n. 102)  
 170. 39 (n. 727)  
 174. 2 (n. 156)  
 7 (see *CEG* 366)  
 181. 1 (see *CEG* 137)  
 2 (see *CEG* 138)  
 182. 3 (see *CEG* 139)  
 18 (n. 1068)  
 199. 8 (LAK 3)  
 16a (LAK 4)  
 16b (LAK 8)  
 16c (LAK 6)  
 16d (LAK 7)  
 20 (see *CEG* 372)  
 201. 49 (see *CEG* 367)  
 52 (ad COR 89b, §210)  
 53 f. (n. 917)  
 215. 5 (n. 242)  
 20 (see *CEG* 380)  
 216. 27 (n. 972)  
 34 (ad COR Gr 26(1) )  
 220. 6 (§206)  
 11 (see *CEG* 384)  
 13 (n. 727)  
 15 (ad COR 47)  
 229. 8 (see *CEG* 142)  
 233. 1 (ITH 1)  
 234. 2 (ITH 2)  
 3 (§218)  
 8 (see *CEG* 144)  
 9 (see *CEG* 143)  
 11 (see *CEG* 145)  
 13 (see *CEG* 146)  
 239. 1 (see *CEG* 454)  
 240. 3 (n. 106)  
 18 (§106)  
 241. 24 (INC 1)  
 260. 5bis (§114)  
 261. 16 (see *CEG* 396)  
 19 (ACC 2)  
 28 (ad ACC 3c)  
 270 n. 3 (DOC 4)  
 276. 18 (n. 619)  
 25 (n. 245)  
 277. 39 (ad COP 85)  
 278. 49 (ad ITH 2, ad EUC 3, §506)  
 56 (n. 619)  
 286. 5 (ad COR 124B)  
 288. 3 (see *CEG* 400)  
 303. 2 (see *CEG* 403)  
 304. 3 (nn. 640, 818)  
 4 (IOI 1)  
 9 (see *CEG* 402)  
 12 (see *CEG* 150)  
 305. 25 (IOI 6)  
 29 (see *CEG* 424)  
 30 (see *CEG* 425)  
 306. 43a (n. 765)  
 44 (IOI 2)  
 47 (n. 727)  
 307. 64 (see *CEG* 416)  
 323. 4 (ad DOI 1)  
 5 (n. 474)



- 10 (see *CEG* 456)  
 16 (see *CEG* 457)  
 324. 20 (n. 742)  
 26 (ad *ACC 1A*, n. 727)  
 29 (see *CEG* 419)  
 341. 4 (n. 623)  
 7 (see *CEG* 422 f.)  
 342. 13 (§225)  
 22 (n. 623)  
 343. 29 (nn. 403, 623)  
 30 (n. 623)  
 33 (n. 727)  
 41 (§102 with n. 700)  
 42a–b (IOD 6A–H)  
 42c–d (NAU 1)  
 42e (IOD 4d)  
 344. 47 (ad NAU 1)  
 48 (ad COR 19g, nn. 436, 727, §225)  
 52 (nn. 403, 727)  
 56 (§102 with n. 699)  
 345. 63 (IOD 8)  
 67 (ad DOH 3b)  
 356. 5 (see *CEG* 459)  
 357. 27 (see *CEG* 460)  
 30 (DOH 3)  
 31 (see *CEG* 427)  
 33 (n. 623)  
 358. 42 (n. 727)  
 45 (DOH 2)  
 47 (DOH 1)  
 48 (n. 413)  
 50 (n. 623)  
 361. 4 (ad CHA 1a with n. 523)  
 362. 13 (n. 917)  
 369. 10 (ad COR 82d)  
 372. 54 (see *CEG* 172)  
 434B. ii (n. 513)  
 443. 9a (n. 206)  
 444B (ad COR 123 with n. 389)  
 446. 3a (§251 with n. 894)  
 453. 1a (EUC 1)  
 455D (CHA 23–5)  
 456. 1a (n. 614)  
 1b (nn. 614, 820)  
 457N (ACC 1A–B)  
 459. 25a (DOC 3)  
 461U (DOC 2)  
 463B (DOC 6)  
 465. 25a (introd. to Pt. I. 17 (IOI))  
 466B (IOI 3)  
 470A (DOI 1)  
 471. 1c (IOD 7)  
 2a (§227)  
 473. 68a (IOD 1)  
 68b (§225)

*Para.* (only pieces which are not in *ABV* or *ARV*)

19. 16bis (§248 with n. 888; §253 with n. 898; §255 with n. 916)  
 69 f. (n. 130, ad COP 60)  
 61 (amphora at Reggio Calabria) (§459)  
 75. 1bis (ad CHA 11b with n. 556)  
 111. 85bis (n. 555)  
 119. 35bis (§253 with n. 899)  
 164. 31bis (§212 with n. 768)

*SEG*

2. 84–114, 125–55 (introd. to Pt. I. 8 (LAK) with n. 488)  
 8. 716 (ad CHA 1i)

11. 244 (see *LSAG* 143. 8)  
 11. 666–70 (introd. to Pt. I. 8 (LAK) with n. 488)  
 11. 1212 (see *LSAG* 146 n. 1)  
 22. 208 (n. 1297)  
 25. 343 (COR Gr 2)  
 25. 344 (COR 124A)  
 26. 457 (§251 with n. 894)  
 26. 946 (n. 352)  
 26. 1098 (DOC 3)  
 27. 671 (ad COR 40b)  
 28. 461 (n. 72)  
 29. 939 (DOC 5)  
 30. 342 (COP 63)  
 31. 373 (§317 with n. 973)  
 32. 462 and 469 (n. 261)  
 33. 995 (n. 645)  
 34. 1019 (nn. 727, 772)  
 37. 330 (DOC 5)  
 37. 729 (§227)  
 37. 994 (§227)

*SGDI*

- 1253 (n. 269)  
 1864 (ad COR 114a)  
 1987 (ad COR 33c)  
 3119a–k (see introd. to Pt. I. 6 (COP), n. 473)  
 3120 (COR 33)  
 3121 (COR 18)  
 3122 (COR 30)  
 3123 (COR 87)  
 3124 (COR 54)  
 3125 (COR 25)  
 3126 (COR 104)  
 3127 (COR 102)  
 3128 (COR 60)  
 3129 (COR 68)  
 3130 (COR 70)  
 3131 (COR 7)  
 3132 (COR 6)  
 3133 (COR 12)  
 3134 (COR 59)  
 3135 (COR 113)  
 3136 (COR 57)  
 3137 (COR 77)  
 3138 (COR 15)  
 3139 (COR 63)  
 3140 (COR 66)  
 3141 (COR 101)  
 3142 (COR 117)  
 3143 (COR 92)  
 3144 (COR 98)  
 3145 (COR 40)  
 3146 (COR 78)  
 3147 (COR 115)  
 3148 (COR 71)  
 3149 (COR 61)  
 3150 (COR 62)  
 3151 (COR 89)  
 3152 (COR 110)  
 3153 (COR 131)  
 3154 (see Lorber no. 43)  
 3155 (see *LSAG* 132. 31)  
 3156 (COR 85)  
 3160 (COR 27)  
 3165 (PCO 4)  
 3398 (ad COR 4f)  
 3536 (ad INC 1)  
 3636 (ad CHA 1i)  
 4440 (n. 1214)  
 4444 (n. 1214)  
 4616. i (ad COR 105e)

- 5272 (§214)  
 5292 (EUC 3)  
 5293 (CHA 4)  
 5294 (CHA 2)  
 5295 (CHA 1)  
 5296 (CHA 3)  
 5297 (CHA 27)  
 5298 (CHA 9)  
 5299 (CHA 13)  
 5300 (CHA 20)  
 5608 (IOD 8)  
 5616 (n. 1187)  
 5765 (ad NAU 1Ba)  
 5767 (NAU 2)  
 5783 (IOI 2)

*SIG*

183. 36 (n. 932)  
 250D. 22 (ad COP 11b)  
 546B. 2 (ad COR 33c)

*Wolters–Brums* (1940)

- 21–6. 2 (nn. 1216, 1221)  
 36–43. 17–52 (n. 1223)  
 41. 49 (n. 1222)  
 43. 53 (BOI 16)  
 43. 54 (BOI 23)  
 43. 55 (BOI 24)  
 45. 61 (n. 1211)  
 45. 62 (n. 1211)  
 46. 69 (BOI 20)  
 47. 82 (n. 1211)  
 47. 83 (n. 1211)  
 47. 84 (n. 1211)  
 48. 86 (n. 1211)  
 48. 87 (n. 1211)  
 48. 88 (n. 1211)  
 48. 90 (n. 1211)  
 48. 91 (n. 1211)  
 50. 111 (n. 769)  
 51. 116 (n. 913)  
 54. 143 (BOI 29)  
 54. 144 (ad BOI 28)  
 54. 145 (BOI 26)  
 62. 224 (n. 1216)  
 65. 261 (BOI 27)  
 66. 264 (BOI 25, n. 1228)  
 67. 273 (BOI 28)  
 96 f., no. K. 2 (n. 1208)  
 97. K. 3 (n. 1228)  
 97. K. 4 (n. 1228)  
 98. K. 7 (n. 1050)  
 98. K. 9 (BOI 23)  
 98. K. 11 (n. 1051)  
 99. K. 15 (n. 1053)  
 99. K. 16 (n. 1052)  
 99. K. 19 (BOI 22)  
 100. K. 22 (n. 1218)  
 100. K. 23 (BOI 24)  
 101. K. 25 (n. 1224)  
 101. K. 26 (n. 1224)  
 101. K. 28 (BOI 20)  
 109. M. 16 (BOI 18)  
 109 f., no. M. 18 (BOI 21)  
 117 (BOI 17)  
 132 (BOI 15)

*Miscellaneous*

- Amandry–Amyx (1982), nos. 1 ff. (§411)  
*ASAA* NS 63 (1985), 342 (introd. to Pt. I. 17 (IOI))

- BABesch* 54 (1979), 77–90, no. 4 (n. 614)  
 Bailey (1970), no. 3 (ad NAU 1*Oa*)  
*BCH* 21 (1897), 553 ff. (n. 188)  
 105 (1981), 564 f. (n. 216)  
 Bernand (1970), 708, no. 663 (ad IOD 6*G* with  
 n. 648)  
 Boardman (1961*a*), 55 f., no. 6 (ad BOI 1 and 4 with  
 n. 54)  
 Boegehold (1984), 359 f. (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR)  
 with n. 118, introd. to Pt. I. 6 (COP) with n. 399)  
 von Bothmer (1985), 230 f. (§227)  
 Bottini *et al.* (1983), 458 (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR) )  
 Braun–Haevernich (1981)  
 62, cat. no. 290 (n. 1224)  
 62, cat. no. 297 (nn. 90, 1208)  
 62, cat. no. 298 (n. 1050)  
 64, cat. no. 355 (n. 1052)  
 65, cat. no. 363 (n. 1177)  
 65, cat. no. 367 (n. 1053)  
 65, cat. no. 376 (n. 1177)  
 66, cat. no. 379 (n. 1051)  
 66, cat. no. 389 (n. 1224)  
 67, cat. no. 402 (n. 1177)  
 67, cat. no. 405 (n. 1177)  
*EA* 11 (1988), 171 ff. (n. 727)
- Gardner (1888)  
 63. 722 (ad NAU 1*Ba*, §227)  
 63. 755 (n. 736)  
 64. 768 (NAU 2)  
 65. 779 (ad NAU 17*k*)  
 65. 780 (ad NAU 1*Ba*)  
 66. 801 (n. 504)  
 66. 808 (n. 674)  
 66. 819 (n. 819)  
 Graef–Langlotz (1925)  
 603 (ad COR 113*d*, §429)  
 1632 (n. 236)  
 2578 (PCO 6)  
 Hamdorf (1981), 199 nos. 19, 22, 23 (n. 974)  
*Hesperia* 7 (1938)  
 239, no. A. O. 7 (n. 734)  
 240, no. A. O. 100 (n. 734)  
 Heydemann (1872), 599–601, no. 3352 (§457 with  
 n. 1141)  
 Hogarth–Lorimer–Edgar (1905)  
 116, no. 1 (n. 670)  
 116 f., no. 19 (n. 670)  
*IC* i, p. 254, no. 9. 1 (n. 626)  
*ICS*  
 121 (n. 771)
- 182 (n. 161)  
 217 (n. 717)  
 Jeffery (1962)  
 394, no. 4 (n. 400)  
 395, no. 19 (ad COR 128)  
 Jeffery (1964)  
 42, no. 20 (n. 645)  
 Kaibel (1878), no. 514 (n. 844)  
 Kunze (1950)  
 129, 213 (n. 756)  
 149 ff., 212 (nn. 144, 1039)  
 178, 213 (n. 552)  
 Schiering (1964), 169 ff. (n. 973)  
*Πρακτικά (PAAH)*, 1960, 230 (introd. to Pt. I. 8  
 (LAK) )  
 Rumpf (1927)  
 no. 72 (n. 575)  
 no. 111 (n. 531)  
 Schmalz (1980), 89, no. 354 (n. 813)  
 Trendall (1987)  
 84, no. 2. 128 (n. 304)  
 85, no. 2. 129 (n. 304)  
 261 f., no. 2. 1036 (n. 296)  
 Trendall–Cambitoglou (1982)  
 495, no. 18. 38, pl. 176 mid-left (n. 716)



## 4. COLLECTIONS

Inventory numbers of pieces not contained in the Catalogue are incomplete and may even be out of date; for Attic vases see the Beazley nos. in Index 3; ‘inv. ?’ means that I have not been able to obtain a number, ‘inv. —’ that there is probably none.

### AIGINA, Mus.

2061 (COR 1A)  
K 53 (AIG 3D)  
K 64 (AIG 3C)  
K 267 (COR 1)  
inv. ? (AIG 3A, B, E, F)

### AMSTERDAM, A. Pierson Mus.

480 (COR 10)  
2031 (COR 65)  
3410. 2 (COR 69)

### ATHENS

#### Akropolis Mus.

2578 (PCO 6)

#### Nat. Mus.

277 (COR 27)  
337 (COR 49)  
338 (COR 50)  
341 (COR 7)  
442 (BOI 19)  
521 (COR 87)  
992 (COR 25)  
2226 (AIG 2)  
9716 (BOI 14)  
10425 (BOI 23)  
10426 (BOI 16)  
10466 (n. 90, §475)  
10470 (BOI 20)  
10522 (BOI 26)  
10530. 326 (BOI 29)  
10530. 327 (BOI 28)  
10530. 338 (BOI 27)  
10530.— (BOI 24)  
12076 (EUB 2)  
12128 (EUB 1)  
12218 (BOI 4A)  
16184 (EUB 2)  
A 16464–16467 (COP App. 1)  
Perachora 1555 (COR 9)  
Perachora 1568 (COR 29)  
Perachora 1598 (COR 11)  
Perachora 1776 (COR 34)  
Perachora 1842 (COR 35)  
Perachora 2258 (COR 111)  
Perachora 2267 (n. 400)  
Perachora 2469 (COR 37)  
Perachora 2529 (COR 22)  
Perachora 2542 (COR 32)

Perachora 2552 (COR 31)  
Perachora 3434 (COR 128)  
inv. ? (BOI 25, PCO 3, ARG 1)  
inv. — (COR 130, COR Gr 25, COR Gr 26(1))  
(?) (BOI 7C)

#### P. and A. Canellopoulos Mus.

384 (BOI 10)  
392 (COR 13)  
737 (BOI 2B)  
941 (BOI 3)  
1319 (COR 51)

### BALTIMORE, Walters Art Gallery

48. 2032 (COR 103)  
48. 2230 (COR 80)

### BARI, Mus. Arch. 6207 (COR 97)

### BASLE

#### Antikenmus. und Sammlung Ludwig

BS 425 (nn. 133, 1023)  
BS 451 (COR 45)  
BS 453 (§413)  
BS 498 (n. 899)  
BS 1404 (COR 23)  
BS 1941. 119 (n. 43)  
Käppeli 417 (n. 980)  
(on loan from a private owner) (PCH 1)  
H. A. Cahn coll.  
HC 300 (n. 719)  
HC 921 (n. 1063)  
HC 1006 (COR 72)  
HC 1007 (CHA 6)  
HC 1173 (COR 95)  
(private) (COR 3)

### BERLIN, Antikensammlung

1959. 1 (COR 119)  
1984. 40 (n. 897)  
A 42 (now inv. 31. 573) (lost) (AIG 1)  
F 348 (COP 40)  
F 349 (COP 71)  
F 355 (COP 73I)  
F 356 (COP 83)  
F 368 (COP 47)  
F 370 (COP 73H)  
F 373 (COP 38A)  
F 375 (COP 73B)  
F 376 (COP 53)  
F 377 (COP 73A)  
F 378 (COP 57I)  
F 383 (COP 33)  
F 388 (COP 4)  
F 389 (COP 73D)

F 390 (COP 16)  
F 391 (COP 46)  
F 392 (COP 31)  
F 394 (COP 57D)  
F 403 (COP 75)  
F 405 (COP 75)  
F 412 (COP 11)  
F 414 (COP 43)  
F 415 (COP 38A)  
F 416 (COP 73C)  
F 417 (COP 11)  
F 418 (COP 73E)  
F 419 (COP 33)  
F 420 (COP 51A)  
F 421 (COP 57D)  
F 422 (COP 8)  
F 423 (COP 38A)  
F 424 (COP 32)  
F 425 (COP 96)  
F 429 (COP 32)  
F 434 (COP 97B)  
F 437 (COP 97A)  
F 452 (n. 945)  
F 453 (COP 1C)  
F 454 (COP 3)  
F 457 (COP 97F)  
F 461 (COP 73O)  
F 464 (COP 27)  
F 467 (COP 57J)  
F 468 (COP 7)  
F 475 (COP 68)  
F 476 (COP 3)  
F 477 (COP 20)  
F 479 (COP 20)  
F 480 (COP 69B)  
F 481 (COP 93)  
F 482 (COP 81)  
F 483 (COP 55)  
F 484 (COP 69A)  
F 485 (COP 44)  
F 486 (COP 70)  
F 487 (COP 6)  
F 488 (COP 74)  
F 492 (COP 74)  
F 490 (COP 75)  
F 495 (COP 2C)  
F 496 (COP 42)  
F 497 (COP 72)  
F 500 (COP 13)  
F 507 (COP 57G)  
F 508 (COP 56)  
F 511 (COP 41)  
F 513 (COP 2C)  
F 514 (COP 73G)  
F 515 (COP 73G)  
F 524 (COP 2A)

F 525 (COP 19)  
 F 527 (COP 72)  
 F 529 (COP 22)  
 F 530 (COP 12)  
 F 531 (COP 57C)  
 F 539 (COP 35)  
 F 544 (COP 92)  
 F 552 (COP 15)  
 F 554 (COP 39)  
 F 555 (COP 78)  
 F 557 (COP 48A)  
 F 558 (COP 12)  
 F 565 (COP 79)  
 F 567 (COP 54)  
 F 569 (COP 80)  
 F 582 (COP 39)  
 F 601 (COP 67)  
 F 608 (COP 84A)  
 F 609 (COP 83)  
 F 611 (COP 48B)  
 F 612 (COP 84B)  
 F 619 (COP 59)  
 F 627 (COP 81)  
 F 628 (COP 10)  
 F 629 (COP 64)  
 F 630 (COP 35)  
 F 662 (COP 86)  
 F 666 (COP 10)  
 F 667 (COP 29)  
 F 672 (COP 62)  
 F 683 (COP 63)  
 F 684 (COP 62)  
 F 694 (COP 2A)  
 F 701 (COP 51B)  
 F 706 (COP 51B)  
 F 709 (COP 88)  
 F 729 (COP 57G)  
 F 739 (COP 57G)  
 F 757 (COP 63)  
 F 764 (COP 77)  
 F 765 (COP 44)  
 F 770 (COP 62)  
 F 784 (COP 45)  
 F 803 (COP 29)  
 F 804 (COP 66)  
 F 805 (COP 95)  
 F 809 (COP 73N)  
 F 811 (COP 28)  
 F 822 (COP 63)  
 F 825 (COP 73F)  
 F 826 (COP 59)  
 F 828 (COP 37)  
 F 829 (COP 63)  
 F 830 (COP 82)  
 F 834 (COP 1A)  
 F 838 (COP 85)  
 F 840 (COP 73L)  
 F 842 (COP 57K)  
 F 844 (COP 14)  
 F 845 (COP 23)  
 F 846 (COP 18)  
 F 871 (n. 1245)  
 F 873 (COP 61)  
 F 882 (COP 25)  
 F 894 (n. 952)  
 F 900 (COP 90A)  
 F 908 (COP 8)  
 F 911 (COP 76)  
 F 912 (COP 58)  
 F 937 (COP 91)

F 938 (COP 90B)  
 F 939 (COP 60)  
 F 940 (COP 42)  
 F 941 (COP 52)  
 F 942 (COP 94)  
 F 943 (COP 81)  
 F 944 (COP 57A)  
 F 945 (COP 73M)  
 F 946 (COP 1B)  
 F 947 (COP 57B)  
 F 948 (COP 57F)  
 F 949 (COP 7)  
 F 950 (COP 1D)  
 F 951 (COP 87)  
 F 952 (COP 21)  
 F 953 (COP 73K)  
 F 954 (COP 57E)  
 F 955 (COP 9)  
 F 967 (COR 54)  
 F 1147 (PCO 4)  
 F 1652 (COR 101)  
 F 1655 (lost) (COR 66)  
 F 1657 (lost) (COR 85)  
 F 1727 (BOI 8)  
 F 1906 (n. 880)  
 F 2395 (n. 280)  
 F 3921 (COP 73J)  
 I 15 (COP 57M)  
 I 18 (COP 30)  
 I 33 (COP 57L)  
 I 37a (COP 97D)  
 I 39 (COP 50)  
 I 60 (COP 57H)  
 I 116 (COP 26)  
 I 117 (COP 17)  
 I 118 (COP 24)  
 I 119a (COP 97E)  
 I 121 (COP 58)  
 I 144 (COP 89)  
 I 155 (COP 50)  
 Samos 464v (LAK 5)  
 Samos 476x (LAK 5, IOD 7)  
 V. I. 3177 (COR 48)  
 V. I. 3182 (COR Gr 9)  
 V. I. 3363 (lost) (ETR 3)  
 V. I. 3395 (BOI 1A)  
 V. I. 4859 (BOI 9)  
 inv. — (COP 97C)  
 (see also NAU 1)

BERNE, Arch. Seminar der Univ. 36 (COR 24A)

BOLLINGEN, Blatter coll. (CHA 12)

BONN, Akademisches Kunstmus. der Univ.

1114. 2 (COR 38)  
 2042 (IOD 8)  
 2128 (BOI 2C)

BOSTON, Mus. of Fine Arts

98. 897 (BOI 1B)  
 98. 899 (BOI 30)  
 98. 900 (EUC 3)  
 99. 513 (BOI 4B)  
 99. 533 (BOI 21)  
 01. 8069 (BOI 17)  
 13. 115 (BOI 6E)  
 21. 21 (§457 with n. 1146)  
 61. 1073 (n. 130, ad COP 60)  
 (see also NAU 1)

BRUSSELS

Bibliothèque Royale  
 Feytmans p. 20 (COR 30)

Mus. Royaux  
 A 4 (COR 88)  
 A 135 (CHA 14)  
 A 1011 (COR 53)

CAMBRIDGE, Fitzwilliam Mus.

GR. 25. 1864 (formerly G 45) (CHA 18)  
 (see also NAU 1)

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Harvard Univ., A. M. Sackler Mus.

1960. 302 (COR Gr 13)

CATANIA, Mus. Comunale

inv. ? (CHA 7, CHA 26)

CERVETERI

45579 (COR 84)  
 (?) (COR 90)

CHIOS, Mus. inv. ? (IOD 4A-C, IOD 5A-L, IOD 6A-L)

COPENHAGEN

Nat. Mus.  
 13531 (COR 114)  
 inv. Chr. VIII 496 (CHA 27)  
 Ny Carlsberg Glyptoteket 3417 (DOC 1)

CORINTH, Arch. Mus.

C-26-3 (formerly T-132) (COR 26)  
 C-31-548 (COR Gr 23)  
 C-50-164 (COR 94)  
 C-54-1 (COR 17)  
 C-63-152 (COP 9)  
 C-63-181 (COP 57G)  
 C-63-199 (COP 57G)  
 C-63-203 (COP 67)  
 C-63-225 (COP 57G)  
 C-63-250 (COP 67)  
 C-63-251 (COP 67)  
 C-64-226 (COR 124A-B)  
 C-65-38 (COR 122)  
 C-65-464 (COR 125)  
 C-65-471 (COR Gr 2)  
 C-65-519 (COR 55)  
 C-68-215 (COR 108)  
 C-70-352 (COR 127)  
 C-71-321 (COR 8)  
 C-72-149 (COR 93)  
 C-73-50 (ad PCO 4)  
 CP-881 (ad COR 131 with n. 394)  
 CP-988 (COR 21)  
 KN-8 (COP 34)  
 KP-158 (COR 126)  
 Ph-p-228 (COR 118)  
 T-1384 (COR 56)  
 (lost?) (COR 5)

DELOS, Arch. Mus.

B. 7585 (IOI 1)  
 B. 7605 (IOI 6)

DELPHI, Arch. Mus.

4050 (COR 20)  
 inv. — (COR 91)

- DRESDEN, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Albertinum  
ZV 1604 (COR 105)
- DUBLIN, University College, Classical Mus. (see  
NAU 1)
- DUNEDIN, Otago Mus. E 60. 13 (COR 52)
- ERETRIA, Mus. 7284 (EUB 3)
- ERLANGEN, Institut für Klassische Arch. I 534a  
(COR 64A)
- FIESOLE, coll. Costantini (COR 83)
- FLORENCE, Mus. Arch. Etr.  
3755 (COR 100)  
3766 (COR 117)  
4198 (COR 92)  
4210 (formerly 1784) (CHA 5)
- GENEVA (private) (COR 96B)
- GIOIA DEL COLLE, Mus. Arch. (DOC 7)
- HEIDELBERG, Antikenmus. des Arch. Inst. der Univ.  
Z 1 (BOI 2D)
- ISCHIA, Mus. di Lacco Ameno  
166780 (EUC 2)  
inv. ? (EUC 1)
- ISTHMA, Mus.  
inv. IP 1116 (COR 109)  
inv. IP 1300 (COR 109)  
2807 (n. 1297)
- IZMIR, Arch. Mus.  
inv. ? (PCO 5, COR 39, IOD 1, IOD 2, IOD 3)
- KALYMNOS, Mus. inv. ? (DOH 2)
- KAVALLA  
A 1086 (§433)  
inv. ? (COR 106)
- KILCHBERG, E. Peters coll. (ex Solothurn, R.  
Schmidt coll.)  
(BOI 4C)
- KYRENE, Mus.  
71-659 (LAK 1)  
inv. ? (LAK 8)
- LEIDEN, Rijksmus. van Oudheden  
PC 28 (formerly 1626) (CHA 1)
- LEIPZIG, Antikenmus. der Univ.  
T 307 (lost) (COR 96A)  
T 4849 (COR 107)  
inv. — (lost) (LAK 7)
- LIVERPOOL, Nat. Mus. & Galleries on Merseyside,  
Liverpool Mus. 49. 50. 3 (COR 16)
- LONDON  
British Mus.  
1772. 3-20. 6 (COR 104)  
1843. 7-24. 1 (CHA 9)  
1860. 4-4. 1 (DOH 1)
1865. 7-22. 15 (formerly 474) (CHA 13)  
1865. 12-13. 1 (COR 18)  
1873. 2-8. 2 (BOI 7B)  
1884. 8-4. 8 (COR 112)  
1888. 6-1. 456 (n. 673)  
1888. 6-1. 531 (NAU 2)  
1893. 3-3. 1 (BOI 22)  
1924. 12-1. 707 (n. 664)  
1924. 12-1. 793 (NAU 1*Lj*)  
B 39 (n. 374)  
E 256 (ad COR 92i)  
E 440 (ad COR 28Ac)  
(see also NAU 1)
- University College  
(see ad NAU 1*0a*)
- Lost (BOI 5A, AIG 1, COR 4, COR 5<sup>2</sup>, COR 6,  
COR 66, COR 67, COR 85, COR 96A, LAK 7,  
CHA 4, CHA 17, ETR 3, ACC 2)
- MAINZ (private) (?) (COR 58)
- MALIBU, J. Paul Getty Museum  
76. AE. 92 (COR 116)  
79. AE. 76. 3 (COR 123)  
83. AE. 362 (ad COR 70*l* with n. 299, §213,  
n. 1097)  
84. AC. 11 (ad COR 123 with n. 389, nn. 746, 756)  
84. AE. 29 (COR 83*bis*)  
L. 87. AE. 120. 2 (n. 716)  
L. 88. AE. 56 (CHA 3A)
- Market  
(Basle) (COR 99)  
(Rome) (COR 59, COR 76)  
(Zurich) (COR 64B; COR 114A, COR 115A)  
(INC 2)
- MEGARA HYBLAIA, Antiquarium 7014 (DOC 3)
- MELBOURNE, Nat. Gallery of Victoria 1643. 4  
(CHA 8)
- METAPONTO, Mus. Arch. Naz. (Antiquarium  
Statale)  
19746 and 19743 (ACC 1A-B)  
30099 (COR 73)
- MOSCOW, State Historical Mus. 97998. 167 (IOD 9)
- MUNICH, Staatliche Antikensammlung  
SH 327 (COR 33)  
SH 346 (n. 140)  
SH 592 (CHA 20)  
SH 596 (CHA 10)  
SH 834 (inv. 6009) (ACC 4)  
SH 838 (n. 1063)  
inv. 6568 (lost) (COR 67)
- NAPLES, Mus. Naz.  
inv. 80996 (COR 68)  
inv. 81947 (3253) (n. 716)  
inv. ? (CHA 19)  
inv. — (COR 129)
- NAXOS, Mus.  
inv. ? (IOI 3, IOI 4)  
(?) (IOI 5)
- NEW YORK, Metropolitan Mus. of Art  
06. 1116 (DOH 3)  
27. 116 (COR 24)  
60. 11. 5 (COR 86)  
74. 51. 364 (COR Gr 15)  
74. 51. 433 (ad COR Gr 15)
- OKAYAMA, Kurashiki Ninagawa Mus. (COR 79A)
- OLYMPIA, Mus.  
K 2121 (LAK 2)  
inv. — (ELI 1-5)
- OXFORD, Ashmolean Mus.  
1912. 33 (COR 41)  
1956. 314 (ad BOI 1 and 4 with n. 54)  
1965. 99 (COR 64)  
G. 249 (V 262) (BOI 18)  
(see also NAU 1)
- PALERMO  
Banco di Sicilia, Collezione Mormino  
755 (COR 42)  
2239 (DOC 5)  
Mus. Arch. Reg. N. I. 1693 (DOC 4)
- PANORAMA (Thessaloniki), coll. S. Andreadis (COR  
24B)
- PARIS  
Cabinet des Médailles  
189 (4899) (2707) (LAK 3)  
202 (CHA 2)  
203 (CHA 3)  
913 (ETR 1)  
914 (ETR 2)  
1648 (Fröhner VI 400) (COR 46A-B)
- Louvre  
CA 128 (BOI 2A)  
CA 638 (BOI 6C)  
CA 809 (COR 47)  
CA 925 (BOI 13)  
CA 938 (BOI 6B)  
CA 1266 (L 37) (COR 50A)  
CA 1634 (BOI 6D)  
CA 3004 (COR 19)  
CA 7305 (CHA 6)  
Cp 10226 (Fgmt Cp 321) (CAE 1)  
Cp 10488 (COR 81A-B)  
Cp 12434 (formerly S-1845) (COR 110)  
E 415 (inv. S 1151) (PCO 1)  
E 609 (CA 298) (COR 57)  
E 621 (COR 115)  
E 632 (COR 40)  
E 635 (COR 12)  
E 636 (COR 61)  
E 637 (COR 71)  
E 638 (COR 70)  
E 638*bis* (COR 44)  
E 639 (COR 98)  
E 640 (COR 113)  
E 642 (COR 78)  
E 643 (COR 77)  
E 645 (COR 62)  
E 648 (COR 89)  
E 732 (IOI 2)  
F 18 (CHA 11)  
F 66 (COR 121)  
G 109 (§429)

- L 4 (CA 70) (BOI 6*A*)  
 MNB 501 (BOI 7*A*)  
 MNB 2856 (COP 38*B*)  
 MNB 2858 (COP 65)  
 MNC 206 (COP 36)  
 MNC 208 (COP 5)  
 MNC 209 (COP 2*B*)  
 MNC 210 (COP 49)  
 MNC 211 (COP 67)  
 MNC 212 (COP 41)  
 MNC 216 (COP 90*C*)  
 MNC 332 (COR 131)  
 MNC 333 (ad COR 131)  
 MNC 669 (COR Gr 6)  
 MNC 743 (BOI 15)  
 ODF 53 (n. 17)
- POLICORO, Mus. inv. ? (DOC 6)
- READING, Univ., Ure Mus.  
 38. iv. 9 (BOI 12)  
 (see also NAU 1)
- REGGIO CALABRIA, Mus. Naz.  
 1027/8 (CHA 21)  
 1039 (CHA 29)  
 1169 (CHA 16)  
 11723 (n. 575)  
 14777 *A–C* (CHA 25, 24, 23)
- RHODES, Arch. Mus. 15373 (LAK 4)
- ROME  
 Mus. Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori 172  
 (INC 1)
- Mus. Etrusco di Villa Giulia  
 22679 (PCO 2)  
 50410 (n. 531)  
 (?) (COR 28*A*)  
 Alibrandi coll. (formerly) (COR 59)
- ROME, VATICAN, Mus. Gregoriano Etrusco  
 126 (ad PCO 5, n. 348)  
 16. 438 (COR 102)  
 16. 439 (COR 60)  
 35617 (coll. Astarita 653) (COR 82)  
 35525 (coll. Astarita 565) (COR 74)
- SALERNO, Mus. provinciale inv. ? (ACC 3)
- SAMOS  
 Heraion  
 K 4126 (COR 44*A*)  
 (magazine) inv. — (LAK 9)  
 Pythagoreion K 176 (LAK 6)
- SÈVRES, Mus. Nat. de Céramique 3114 (ETR 4)
- SOZOPOL, Arch. Mus. inv. — (IOD 10)
- STAVROS (or VATHY?) (COR 36)
- STOCKHOLM, Medelhavsmuseet  
 1958. 12 (COR 83*ter*)
- ST PETERSBURG, Hermitage Mus.  
 inv. 1718 (ad COR 24*Ba*)
- SYBARIS, St. 16028*bis* (COR 75)
- SYRACUSE, Mus. Arch. Regionale ‘P. Orsi’  
 inv. — (CHA 22)  
 (?) (DOC 2)
- TARANTO, Mus. Arch. Naz. 52846 (COR 79)
- THERA, Mus.  
 inv. ? (DOI 1)
- UNIVERSITY (MS), The Univ. of Mississippi, Univ.  
 Museums  
 1977. 3. 35 (COR 14)
- VATHY (Ithaki), Mus.  
 (?) (COR 36)  
 224 (ITH 3)  
 232 (ITH 1)  
 292 (ITH 2)
- VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Mus.  
 3614 (ad COR 106*a* with n. 363)  
 IV 1864 (BOI 5*B*)  
 IV 3473 (COR 15)  
 IV 3546 (COR 63)
- WROCLAW, Arch. Mus. (lost) (COR 6)
- WÜRZBURG, Martin von Wagner Mus. der Univ.  
 84 (n. 690)  
 H 4885 and 4886 (BOI 11*A–B*)  
 L 160 (CHA 15)  
 L 164 (CHA 28)  
 L 455 (PCH 2)



## 5. PROVENANCES OF *NAGVI*

The order below is roughly from west to east.  
Unknown provenances are not recorded.

ITALY (PCO 1, COR 24, 44 (?), 83ter (?), 105, LAK 7 (?), CHA 8)

Campania

Capua (COR 68 (?), 104)

Cumae (COR 69, 129, CHA 19)

Ischia (EUC 1, 2)

Nola (COR 68 (?), CHA 27, ACC 4)

Etruria (COR 121)

Caere (INC 1, PCO 4, COR 12, 15, 40, 59–63, 66, 70, 71, 76 (?), 77, 78, 84, 89, 90, 92, 98, 101, 102, 107, 110, 113, 115, CHA 9, 11, IOI 2, CAE 1)

Chiusi (CHA 5)

near Tarquinia (? COR 76)

Veii (PCO 2)

Vulci (COR 28A, 85, 103, LAK 3, CHA 1–3, 4, 10, 13–15, 18, 20, 28, PCH 1, 2, ETR 1–4)

### MAGNA GRAECIA

Southern Italy

Fratte di Salerno (ACC 3)

Grottaglie near Taranto (DOC 1)

Heraclea Lucana (DOC 6)

Megara Hyblaia (DOC 3)

Metapontion (COR 73, ACC 1A, B, 2)

Monte Sannace, Gioia del Colle (COR 97, DOC 7)

Reggio Calabria (CHA 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 29)

Sybaris (COR 75)

Taranto (COR 79)

Sicily (? COR 24A)

Catania (CHA 7, 26)

Erbessos (DOC 2)

Gela (COR 96A)

Leontinoi (CHA 22)

Montagna di Marzo (DOC 2)

Selinus (COR 38, DOC 4, 5)

GREECE (BOI 1A, 4C, 5A, 6D, COR 10, 16, 30)

Attica (? BOI 6D)

Athens (PCO 6)

Kouvara (COR 19)

Boiotia (BOI 4A–B, 6B, 9, 13, COR 50A)

Kabirion near Thebes (BOI 12, 16, 20, 23–9)

Koroncia (? BOI 2B)

Mt. Mavrovouni (BOI 7C)

Tanagra (BOI 7A, 8)

Thebes (BOI 1B, 2A, 4A (?), C (?), 5B, 6A, C, COR 47, 48, COR Gr 9)

Thespiiai (BOI 7B)

Vratsi (BOI 11)

Elis

Olympia (LAK 2, ELI 1–5)

Ionian islands

Ithaka (COR 36, ITH 1–3)

Lokris

Delphi (COR 20, 91)

Exarchos (BOI 19)

North

Neapolis (COR 106)

Sane on Chalkidike (COR 24B)

Northern Peloponnese

Argos (COR 130)

Corinth (COR 5, 8, 1, 18, 21, 25, 26, 54–6, 88, 93, 94, 108, 122, 124A, B, 125–7, 131, COR Gr 2, 6, 15, 23, COP (all) )

Heraion near Argos (PCO 3, ARG 1)

Isthmia (COR 109)

Kleonai (COR 27)

Loutraki near Corinth (COR 87)

(Mertese) near Corinth (COR 33)

Perachora (COR 9, 11, 22, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 111, 128, COR Gr 25, 26(1) )

Phleious (COR 118)

Southern Peloponnese

Amyklai (introd. to Pt. I. 8, LAK)

### AEGEAN ISLANDS

Aigina (AIG 1–3, COR 1, 1A, 6)

Chios (IOD 4A–C, 5A–L, 6)

Delos (IOI 1, 6)

Euboea, Eretria (EUB 1–3, COR 53)

Karystos (?) (COR 7)

Kalydna (-mna) (DOH 2)

Lemnos (Kabirion) (introd. to Pt. I. 17, IOI)

Naxos (IOI 3–5)

Paros (introd. to Pt. I. 17, IOI)

Rhodes (COR 65, LAK 4, DOH 1, 3?)

Samos (COR 44A, LAK 5, 6, 9, IOD 7)

Samothrake (COR 4)

Thera (DOI 1)

### BLACK SEA

Apollonia Pontica (IOD 10)

Kepoi (IOD 9)

### ASIA MINOR

Old Smyrna (PCO 5, COR 39, IOD 1–3)

Klazomenai (Urla) (IOD 8)

### AFRICA

Kyrene (LAK 1, 8)

Naukratis (COR 41, NAU 1A–O, 2)



## 6. ANCIENT AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS

The symbol ° indicates that the content rather than a single word or name is the point of interest. Names of authors (unlike those of other Greeks) and works are cited in their Latin, rarely their English, form.

Aeschylus (n. 553)

*Ag.* 870 (§233)

*Pers.* 26 (ad COR 7a), 989 (§206)

*Sept.* 569 (ad COR 66f/r) (see also §429)

*Aethiopsis (Aithiopsis)*, Procl. *Chr.* (ad COR 12f, §457), test. 8 PEG = 3 EGF (n. 1139)

(see also §§448 f., 454, 456 with n. 1136, 503, n. 1260)

Alcaeus (L–P) (see also Incertus auctor), fr. 42. 2 (n. 223), fr. 42. 9° (§§248, 433), fr. 58. 21 (§248), fr. 129. 21 (ad COP 62a), fr. 429 (ad COP 62a)

Alciphro 3. 35 (n. 497)

Alcman (*PMG*), fr. 1. 1 (n. 1054), fr. 1. 19° (ad COR 106a, §408), fr. 2 (n. 1054), fr. 3. 64 (n. 1195), fr. 25° (§468), fr. 41 (§407), fr. 71° (§444), fr. 80. 1 (ad CHA 1i), ? fr. adesp. 1011a (§251)

(see also nn. 928, 1315)

Alexis, *Κράτεια ἡ Φαρμακοπώλης* (n. 1204)

*Amphiarauo exelasia* (§425)

Anacreon (see also §259)

fr. 359 *PMG* (ad COR 82d)

Anaximander (ad NAU 1)

Antipho Sophista fr. 15 (ad COP 18b)

Antoninus Liberalis (ad COR 87f)

Apollodorus

1. 2. 4 (§248), 1. 2. 7 (§§415, 433, 457), 1. 6. 2° (ad COR 61, §404), 1. 7. 7 (n. 149), 1. 8. 2 f.° (§§425, 473), 1. 9. 1 (ad COR 66l), 1. 9. 4 (n. 1036), 1. 9. 8 f.° (§425), 1. 9. 10 (n. 436, §425), 1. 9. 12 (n. 1075), 1. 9. 13 (n. 436), 1. 9. 14 (§425, n. 1066), 1. 9. 16° (ad COR 66l, n. 1024, §§425, 471, 473), 2. 1. 3 (n. 1086), 2. 1. 5° (§462), 2. 4. 5 (§469), 2. 4. 7 (n. 1036), 2. 4. 11 (n. 1099), 2. 5. 2° (n. 139, §411), 2. 5. 4° (§412), 2. 5. 9° (§413), 2. 5. 11° (§415), 2. 6. 1° (§416), 2. 6. 2° (nn. 1031, 1095), 2. 7. 4° (§440), 2. 7. 7° (§421), 3. 1. 4 (n. 557), 3. 5. 8° (§429), 3. 6. 1 (§427), 3. 6. 3 (ad COR 81Ah), 3. 6. 5° (§429), 3. 6. 8° (ad COR 81Ah, §§425, 429), 3. 9. 2° (§§425, 427), 3. 10. 3 f.° (§425), 3. 10. 4 (§425), 3. 10. 6 (§424, n. 1074), 3. 10. 7° (n. 1105), 3. 11. 2° (§438), 3. 12. 5 (n. 1099, §§442, 456), 3. 12. 7 (n. 1099), 3. 15. 5 (n. 436), 3. 15. 7 (n. 1099), *Epit.* 3. 8° (§462), 3. 31° (§441), 5. 9° (n. 1096), 5. 21° (ad COR 74i, §441), 5. 21 f.° (§459)

(see also ad COR 77b, nn. 441, 1156)

Apollonius Rhodius

1. 19 (ad COR 66l), 1. 65° (§425), 1. 86 f.° (§425), 1. 736° (ad CHA 28b), 1. 936–1011° (§418), 1. 987 (Σ°) (n. 1043), 1. 989–91 (Σ°) (n. 1043), 1. 936–949 (Σ°) (n. 1043), 1. 1177 (ad COR 70e), 2. 159 (Σ°) (ad COR 33e)

(see also nn. 478, 553)

Aratus (n. 478)

Archilochus (*IEG*) fr. 119 (ad COP 62a), fr. 286 and 288° (§419)

Arctinus, see *Aethiopsis, Iliupersis*

Arion (n. 928, §§506, 508)

Aristocrates Lacedaemonius fr. 6 *FGrH* (n. 1032)

Aristophanes

*Av.* 552 (n. 423), 1226 (n. 482)

*Eccl.* 43 (n. 216)

*Lys.* 155 with Σ° (n. 1159), 472 (ad COP 11)

*Nub.* 409 (ad COP 62a)

*Pax* 145 and 165 (ad COP 85), 640 (ad DOH 3a)

*Plut.* 810 f. (ad COR 17b)

*Ran.* 200 (ad COP 62a), 1343 (n. 216)

*Vesp.* 714 with Σ° (n. 1159), 768 (ad COR 33d), 1191 (ad COP 62a)

Aristotle

*HA* 530a. 12 (§468)

fr. 637 Rose (n. 783)

Athenaeus (see also Sosibius), 11. 495c° (ad COR 17), 11. 783f° (n. 179), 13. 573c–e° (n. 1200)

(see also n. 184)

Bacchylides

*Dith.* 15 (§441), 15. 48 (n. 97)

*Ep.* 5. 117 (n. 97)

Balbillia, *SEG* 8. 716. 9 (ad CHA 1i)

Callimachus

*Epigr.* 6. 3° (ad COR 12f)

*Hymn.* 3. 265 (ad COR 57i)

fr. 23. 4 (ad CHA 1i), fr. 67 (ad CHA 11c), fr. 202. 28 and 33 (n. 191)

Catullus 56. 5–7° (§310)

*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 21 (n. 326)

Cleobulus Rhodius (§206)

Cleophylus, see *Oichalias Halosis*

Corinna (*PMG*) fr. 654a. iii. 38 (ad COR 57i), fr. 655. 1. 14 (ad COR 57i), fr. 662. 2 (ad COR 57i)

*Cypria (Kypria)*

fr. 2 PEG and EGF (§433), fr. 3 PEG and EGF (§248), fr. 11° PEG = 9 EGF (§438), fr. 13 PEG (n. 1106), fr. 30° PEG = 20 EGF (§§254, 462), fr. 31° PEG = 23 EGF (§459), fr. 34 PEG = 27 EGF (§503)

Procl. *Chr.* (§§437, 439 with n. 1101, 640, 641, 642, n. 1266)

(see also §506)

Democritus fr. 19 (ad INC 1, n. 717)

Dickens, Ch., *Oliver Twist*, ch. 15 (n. 444)

Dictys 3. 7° (§456)

Diodorus Siculus 1. 61. 3 (n. 557), 4. 37. 5 (n. 1032), 4. 41. 3 (ad COR 66l), 4. 67. 7 (Σ°) (§425)

Diogenes Laertius 1. 82 ff. (n. 436), 1. 93 (§206)

*EM* (§248, n. 1107)

Enn. *ann.* 37 (§459)

Epicharmus (*CGF*) fr. 21 (ad CHA 1i), fr. 42° (n. 1237), fr. 61 (ad COR 115A), fr. 71. 3 (ad COR 17b), fr. 81 (n. 921), fr. 124 (ad COR 115A), fr. 148 (ad DOH 3a, n. 1237), fr. 188 (n. 311)

Eratosthenes fr. 33 *Coll. Alex.* (ad COR 50A)

Eumelus

fr. 3 PEG = 2A EGF (§ 701 with n. 1252), fr. 8

PEG = 12 EGF (§ 701 with n. 1252)

fr. 696 *PMG* (ad COR 36a, §508)

(see also n. 928)

Euphorio (ad COP 1A with n. 405)

(Eupolis) *Helotes* 149 *PCG* (n. 921)

Euripides

*Andr.* 629 f.° with Σ° (n. 1159)

*Bacch.* 160 f. (n. 196)

*Herac.* 82 (n. 478)

*Hipp.* 545 (Σ°) (n. 1032)

*Med.* 83 (ad COP 91), 679 (ad COP 62a)

*Or.* 1287 (with Σ°) (§459), 1478 (n. 1001)

*Phoen.* 53 (with Σ°) (§429), 791 (ad COR 17b)

(see also §421)

Heraclitus A 14° (§424)

Herodianus Grammaticus iii/2, p. 917 (Lentz) (n. 921)

Herodotus

1. 8. 2 (ad CHA 1i), 1. 21. 2 (ad COR 19h), 1. 27. 2 (n. 436), 1. 57. 1° (n. 1043), 1. 71. 4 (ad DOH 3), 1. 82. 8 (ad COR 17b), 1. 170. 3 (n. 436), 1. 171. 2 f. and 173. 2 (n. 554), 1. 179. 1 (n. 423), 1. 180. 2 and 186. 2 (n. 423)

2. 38. 3° (ad DOH 3a), 2. 69. 2 (ad CHA 1i), 2. 100. 4 (ad COR 17b), 2. 162. 5 (ad CHA 1i)

3. 15. 3 (ad COR 17b), 3. 122. 2 (n. 554), 3. 153. 1 (ad COR 17b)

4. 164. 3 (n. 423)

5. 88. 2 f.° (n. 95)

7. 6. 4 (n. 164), 7. 167 (ad PCH 1a) 7. 170. 1 and 171. 1 (n. 554)

9. 34. 2 (n. 436), 9. 92. 2 and 95 (n. 295)

(see also nn. 449 and 478, ad LAK 3g, IOI 2h, §233)

Hesiodus

*Op.* 68 (§253), 528 (n. 311), 650–60° (n. 1252), 656 ff.° (§303), 716 (§206)

*Scut.* 57 ff.° (n. 1046), 77° (n. 139), 201–6° (ad COR 36), 272 ff.° (§476), 323° (n. 139)

*Th.* 77 (ad COR 17a), 77–9° (ad COR 28Ac), 233–8° (§408), 237 (ad COR 106a), 240–2° (§415), 243 (§246), 243 ff. (§236), 245 (§§433, 457 with n. 1156), 249 (§433), 252 f. (§457), 252–4° (n. 1092), 255 (§233), 267 (§§424, 433), 270 ff. (n. 856), 274–6 (§469), 287 (§233), 287 ff.° (§414), 309 (§§233, 414), 313–18° (§§411, 506, 509), 318 (nn. 1038, 1268), 327 (§414), 339° (n. 643),



- 340 (n. 548), 349 ff. (§236), 527 (nn. 1038, 1268), 820 ff.° (§404), 913 (n. 835), 922° (n. 1047), 930° (§405), 931 (§246), 948 (n. 553), 952° (§421 with n. 1047), 982 (§§233, 414), 986 f.° (§423), 1008 (n. 1172)  
fr. (M–W) 23a. 31° (§424), fr. 25. 17 ff.° (§419), fr. 25. 34 (ad COR 66f/r), fr. 26. 27–31° (ad COR 12, §416), fr. 37. 5, 9, 13 (n. 436), fr. 40° (n. 892), fr. 42 (§248), fr. 42° (§435), fr. 58. 9 (n. 1036), fr. 62° (§425), fr. 66. 4 (§253), fr. 87 (n. 294), fr. 123. 2° (n. 1013), fr. 123. 3 (n. 196), fr. 135. 6 (ad COR 101c), fr. 137 (ad COR Gr 26(1)), fr. 139 (ad COR 70m), fr. 145. 10 (n. 553), fr. 145. 15 (n. 554), fr. 151° (§424), fr. 176° (§424), fr. 193. 3 (n. 1003), fr. 197. 6 (ad COR 66f/r), fr. 204. 57 (n. 553), fr. 204. 87–9° (§248 with n. 892), fr. 210° (§433), fr. 241° (n. 643), fr. 254° (§424), fr. 297° (§462), fr. 307° (n. 1299), fr. 343. 12 (§246)  
(see also n. 201, ad COR 24Ba, COP 25, §223, n. 983, §§414, 457, n. 1252, §§506, 508)  
Hesychius (ad BOI 12, nn. 138, 179, ad COR 19f, n. 217, ad COR 40b, 64b, 68a, 92g, 124Ac, COP 63a, COP App. 1Ac, n. 494, ad LAK 3f, 7, CHA 1i, 3c, DOC 3, n. 907, §408 [bis], n. 1017, §433)  
*Hippocraticum Corpus* (ad CHA 1i)  
Homer, see *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Thebais*, *Hymni*  
(see also ad AIG 3E, n. 117, ad COR 7a, 66f/r, 70f, n. 326, ad COR 82d, n. 342, ad COP 1D, 6, 18b, 85, ITH 1, CHA 4g–h, 11c, PCH 1a, NAU 1Oa, §§209, 211, 224, 228, 253, 259, 307, nn. 983, 1002, §§416, 418, 425, n. 1156, §§501 ff.)  
*Homeri vita* vii. 2 and 10 (n. 326)  
Hyginus *Fab.* 67° (§429), 181 (ad COR 111b), 273° (n. 1068)  
Hymni Homerici  
h. *Apoll.* 201 (n. 199), 206 (n. 199), 393 (ad CHA 11b)  
h. *Bacch.* 16 (§206)  
h. *Cer.* 241 (n. 995), 276 (n. 412), 327 (n. 34), 425 (n. 199)  
h. *Merc.* 480 f. (ad COR 19h)  
h. *Ven.* 118–20 (n. 199), 263° (n. 983)  
h. *Hom.* 10. 5 (§303)  
(see also n. 34, §303)  
Ibycus fr. 286. 8 f.° *PMG* (§424), fr. 296° *PMG* (§459), fr. S 176. 18 *SLG* (n. 839)  
(see also §§233, 259, 504)  
*Iliad*  
1. 255 (§256), 264 (§473), 333 (n. 57), 423 (§233), 472 f. (n. 1299), 488 (n. 57), 597 (n. 57)  
2. 50 (n. 57), 105 (n. 57), 107 (n. 57), 219 (ad COR 19i), 224 (n. 57), 494–5 (Σ) (§425), 495 (ad LAK 3a), 517 (§233), 552 (n. 556, ad IOI 2c), 561 (§233), 595 (ad NAU 1), 596 (ad COR 12d), 621 (ad COR 12d), 626 (n. 993), 701 f.° (§462), 704–6° (§425), 715 (§425), 730 (ad COR 12d), 763–7° (§462), 768 f.° (n. 1135), 768–70° (n. 1111), 813 (n. 1107), 817 (ad COR 27a, §256), 839 (n. 830), 848 (§§442, 448), 851–5° (n. 643), 858 (ad NAU 1), 867–75 (§441)  
3. 3–7° (§423), 17° (§448), 189 (ad COR 4c), 205–24° (§441), 237 (§472), 243 f.° (§438), 288 (§256), 348 (n. 170), 428 ff.° (§444)  
4. 87 (§456), 219 (§248), 228 (n. 481, ad CHA 1c), 276 (n. 129), 296 (n. 436), 384° (§429), 390 f.° (§429), 499° (n. 1109)  
5. 4 (n. 170), 55 (n. 235), 69–71° (n. 1109), 70 (n. 857), 112° (§456), 190 (§233), 253 (ad DOH 2), 290–318° (§443), 295 (n. 170), 319° (§443), 325 (n. 740, §§462, 471), 385 (n. 639), 390 (§245), 392 (Σ) (n. 1032), 401 (n. 1299), 678 (ad NAU 1), 695 (n. 514), 842 (§232), 847 (§232), 899 f. (n. 1299)  
6° (§444), 6. 98 f.° (n. 1135), 119 (§448), 144 ff.° (§456), 169° (n. 1180), 206 (§462), 222 f.° (§429), 230 (n. 412), 244 ff.° (n. 1109), 289 (n. 167), 298 (n. 857), 302 (n. 857), 337 f.° (§444), 343–58° (§444), 352° (§456), 467 (n. 201), 523° (§456)  
7. 5 (ad CHA 23a), 10 (§433), 11 (§233), 14 (ad COR 64Ba), 44 (n. 202), 220 (ad CHA 3c), 258–72° (ad COR 10), 259 (n. 170), 303 f. (n. 58), 469 (ad COR 24Ba)  
8. 122 (n. 170), 185 (§§439, 442, 444, 462, n. 1285), 216 (§256), 305 (n. 297), 314 (n. 170), 318 f.° (ad COR 68h), 363 (ad IOI 2c), 409 (ad LAK 7), 424 (n. 993), 428 (n. 993), 438 (§210)  
9. 142 (n. 164), 147 (§233), 170 (§445), 172 (ad COR 66f/r), 186–9° (n. 892), 284 (n. 164), 409 (n. 412), 529–99° (§425), 562 (n. 836), 563 (ad COR 17a, n. 836), 664–8° (n. 1128), 667 (§476)  
10° (ad CHA 3A, §§446, 446A), 10. 226 (n. 311), 235 (n. 740), 242 (n. 740), 314 ff.° (ad COR 117b), 435 (n. 548, §233), 448 (§303), 474 (n. 548), 519 (n. 548)  
11. 59 (ad COR 67d, CHA 3g), 91 (n. 740), 95 (n. 1006), 101 f.° (n. 1109), 117 (ad COR 17b), 122 ff.° (§§444, 462), 138–42° (§441), 224 (n. 857), 308 (n. 129), 369 ff.° (§§448, 456), 376 f.° (§456), 380–3° (n. 1136), 384–95° (n. 1136), 426 (n. 869, §462), 431 (n. 869), 450 (n. 869), 489 f.° (n. 1109), 505 ff.° (§456), 581 ff.° (§456), 672 (§233), 831 f.° (§248), 838 (n. 164)  
12. 20 (n. 548), 23 (n. 1148), 140 (ad COR 81Ag), 183 (n. 1070), 189 (§444), 191 (nn. 357, 833), 329–32° (§462), 394 (ad COR 12f, n. 289)  
13. 23 (Σ) (§468), 27 (ad COR 101a), 173 (§442, n. 1109), 184 (n. 991), 363 (§233), 374 (§233), 404 (n. 991), 411 f. (n. 869), 450 (n. 553), 460 f.° (§459), 503 (n. 991), 541 (§245), 562 (n. 170), 624 f. (§258), 661 (n. 514), 681 (§462), 698 (§425), 772 (§233), 791 (§441), 795 f.° (§424)  
14. 114° (§429), 322 (n. 554), 333 (n. 164), 402–32° (§447), 403 (n. 170), 489–505° (ad COR 74k, §441)  
15. 8 (n. 420), 57 (n. 420), 158 (n. 420), 158 f.° (§303), 226 (ad COR 17b with n. 170), 329 (ad LAK 3a), 332 (§471), 341 (§448), 452 (n. 170), 464 (n. 170), 532 (ad COR 104b), 636–52° (§462)  
16. 130 ff.° (ad COR 3), 143 f. (§248), 149 f. (ad COR 89c, §462), 197 (§448), 203 (§233), 269 (n. 740), 278 f. (§448), 287 ff. (§442), 289 f.° (§448), 319 (ad NAU 1), 321 ff.° (ad COR 35), 330–4° (§448), 345 (ad COR 68a), 348 (n. 170), 415 (ad COR 68a), 416 (ad NAU 1), 492–501° (§448), 502 f.° (§448), 535 (§448), 581 (n. 740), 610 (n. 991), 621 f. (n. 993), 737 f.° (§456), 738° (n. 1109), 739 (n. 1006)  
17. 29 f. (nn. 993, 999), 44 (n. 170), 59° (§449), 70 (§449), 166 f. (n. 993), 216 (§471), 230 (n. 170), 288 ff.° (§456), 305 (n. 991), 323 (§232), 333 f. (§407), 348 f. (n. 869), 378 ff.° (ad COR 35), 426–8° (§454), 426–55° (n. 1101), 437–9° (§454), 467 (§448), 475 (§448), 481 (§448), 500 (§448), 501 (§448), 526 (n. 991), 699 (ad COR 7b), 752–4° (n. 1112)  
18. 39 (§457), 40 (§433), 41 (§§433, 457), 44 (§433), 48 (ad COR 77d, §457), 57 (Σ) (§435), 70 ff.° (n. 1129), 117–21° (§421), 460 (n. 167), 569 (n. 201), 592 (ad CHA 11c), 604–6° (ad COR 17b)  
19. 1–23° (§451), 162 f. (n. 991), 169 (n. 170), 230 (ad COR 76e), 282–300° (§451), 309–13° (§451), 345 (n. 740), 352–6° (n. 1129), 390 f. (§248), 395–7° (§454), 400 (ad COR 89c, §462), 408–17° (n. 1101)  
20. 61 (§233), 67 (n. 420), 67 f. (§407), 69 (§407 with n. 993), 73 (n. 993), 75 (nn. 167, 993), 76 (n. 993), 147 (ad COR 101a), 183 (nn. 167, 173), 223–9° (n. 1058), 230–5° (§436), 307 f.° (§459), 337–9° (n. 1111), 407–18° (§471), 426 (n. 514), 460 (n. 436), 489 (n. 170)  
21. 41 (ad COR 24Ba), 96 (n. 514), 179 (§462), 216 (n. 202), 331 f. (n. 993), 477 (n. 993), 516 (n. 173)  
22. 100 (n. 960), 226 ff.° (n. 256), 274 (n. 991), 484 (n. 201), 492 (n. 201), 499 (n. 201)  
23. 116 (§407), 136 f. (n. 1138), 137 (n. 740), 259° (§425), 287 ff.° (n. 1080), 288 ff.° (§462), 295 (§462), 337 (n. 170), 346 (ad COR 57i, §462), 375 (ad COR 21), 407–9° (n. 1100), 489 (n. 412), 542 (n. 412), 556 (n. 514), 629 ff.° (n. 1080), 636 (§425), 637 (n. 1191), 653 ff.° (n. 1080), 686 (n. 991), 700 ff.° (n. 1080), 740 ff.° (n. 1080), 748 (n. 740), 758 (ad COR 21), 802 ff.° (n. 1080), 824 f. (n. 58), 826 ff.° (n. 1080), 850 ff.° (n. 1080), 865 (n. 173), 884 ff.° (n. 1080)  
24. 4 (n. 740), 25 ff.° (§437), 53 (n. 173), 60 f.° (§433), 145 (n. 959), 169 (n. 999), 257° (§§257, 442), 295° (n. 1109), 416 (n. 740), 450 (ad CHA 23a), 474 (§448), 566 (ad LAK 3g), 574 f.° (§448), 630 (n. 995), 724° (n. 1138), 726 (n. 201)  
(see also n. 34, ad BOI 18b, COR 15, n. 149, ad COR 19 with n. 201, ad COR 30, 57i, 60, 82, LAK 8a, CHA 3f, n. 681, ad DOH 1, §§221, 228, 233, 236, 247 with n. 885, §§254, 411, 424, 425, 433, 441, 443–52°, 456, 459, 462, 468, 501 ff.)  
*Iliad parva*, see *Little Iliad*  
*Iliupersis*  
fr. 6 *PEG* = 4 *EGF* (n. 1106)  
Procl. *Chr.* (n. 1106, §§459 with n. 1162, 503)  
(see also n. 299, §456)  
Incertain Auctor Lesbius 7 L–P (ad LAK 7)  
Ion Chius fr. 740° *PMG* (§429)  
Isidorus *Orig.* 4. 9. 12° (§248)  
Leonidas Tarentinus p. 121, no. 43 Gow–Page (n. 313)  
Lesches, see *Little Iliad*  
*Little Iliad*  
fr. 2° *PEG* and *EGF* (ad COR 12), fr. 16° *PEG* = 17 *EGF* (§459), fr. 19° *PEG* and *EGF* (n. 1159), fr. 20 *PEG* = 23 *EGF* (n. 1106), fr. 21° *PEG* = 20 *EGF* (§459), fr. 22° *PEG* and *EGF* (§459)  
Procl. *Chr.* (n. 1096)  
*Lyricum Alexandrinum Adespotum* 37. 15 (n. 196)  
Mimnermus fr. 21° Bergk (= West) (§§429, 504)  
Nicander (ad COR 87f)  
Nicolaus Damascenus fr. 51 *FGrH* (ad CHA 1i)  
Nonnus 14. 60 (n. 287)  
*Odyssey*  
1. 62° (§254), 72 (ad COR 106a), 127 (n. 58), 164 (ad COR 66f/r), 334 (n. 994), 376 (ad COR 71c), 399 (n. 291)  
2. 141 (ad COR 71c)  
3. 43 (n. 420), 54 (n. 420), 58 (ad COP 1A, §§302 f., 508), 91 (§246), 432 (n. 740)  
4. 159 f. (n. 994), 232 (n. 1299), 244 (ad COR 17b), 276° (n. 1096), 286 (n. 412), 299 (n. 547), 443 (ad COR 101a), 446 (ad COR 101a), 452 (ad COR 101a), 532 (n. 57), 797 (Σ) (n. 1074)

5. 94 (n. 57), 217 (§407 with n. 1003), 239 (ad CHA 23a), 243 (n. 57), 270 (n. 57), 265 f.° (§461), 292° (§461), 296° (§461), 337 (ad COR 50A), 340° (§254), 354 (n. 57), 421 (ad COR 101a)  
 6. 79 (ad COR 17b), 100 (nn. 199 f.), 106 (n. 199), 141 (n. 994), 224 (n. 57), 230 (n. 311), 310 (n. 412)  
 7. 291 (n. 199)  
 8. 64 (ad COR 19f, §303), 111 ff. (§233), 114° (n. 871), 251 (ad COR 19g), 313 (n. 376), 337 (n. 376), 342 (n. 376), 420 (n. 34), 482 (n. 58), 517° (n. 1096)  
 9. 34 (n. 311), 219–23° (ad INC 1), 247 (ad INC 1), 270 f. (§258), 361 (n. 58), 412 (n. 420), 526 (n. 420)  
 10. 106 (nn. 357, 833), 114 (§233), 199 (n. 833), 225 (n. 740), 320 (§206), 328 (n. 412), 436 (n. 740), 453 f. (§407)  
 11. 113 (§206 with n. 740), 130 (n. 420), 142 ff. (§407), 161 (n. 740), 259 (ad COR 66m), 260 (n. 441), 278 f.° (§429), 291 ff. (ad COR 115A), 308 (n. 639), 322 (n. 553), 542 ff.° (§456), 568 (n. 553), 602–4° (§421)  
 12. 53 (n. 740), 97 (ad COR 101a), 140 (n. 740), 187 (ad COR 19f), 200 (ad CHA 1i), 335 (§206), 378 (n. 740)  
 13. 185 (n. 420)  
 14. 386 (ad COR 17a)  
 15. 52 (n. 235), 122 (n. 58), 225 ff. (ad COR 115A), 242 (nn. 357, 833), 243 (n. 833), 244 (ad COR 66f/r), 253 (ad COR 66f/r), 496 (n. 740), 529 (n. 740), 532 (§407)  
 16. 150 (§303), 327 (n. 34), 416 (n. 994), 457 f. (§407)  
 17. 71 (n. 235), 238 f. (§407), 261 (n. 129), 333 (n. 58), 421 (n. 164), 447 (n. 999), 523 (n. 553), 595 (ad COR 17b)  
 18. 210 (n. 994), 300 f.° (§303), 303 (n. 34)  
 19. 77 (n. 164), 177 (§233), 407–9° (§254)  
 20. 4 (n. 547), 97 (n. 58)  
 21. 22 ff.° (n. 1031), 48 (n. 992), 65 (n. 994), 182 (n. 58), 216 (n. 740), 366 (ad BOI 4C with n. 58), 378 f. (n. 58), 421 (n. 992)  
 22. 146 (n. 58), 231 f. (n. 994), 266 (n. 992), 322 (ad COR 66f/r)  
 23. 134 (n. 196), 147 (n. 199), 191 (ad COR 50A), 277 (n. 420)  
 24. 60° (§457), 91 (§303), 104 (n. 514), 181 (n. 992), 197 f. (§303)  
 (see also n. 34, ad BOI 18b, COR 19g with n. 201, 57i, COP 62a, CHA 3a, §221, nn. 885, 1039, §§425, 446A, 459°, 460 f.°, 468, 501 ff., 508)  
*Oechaliae (Oichalias) Halosis* (§416, n. 1301)  
*Oedipodea (Oidipodeia)*  
 fr. 2° PEG and EGF (§429)  
 Procl. Chr. (§429)  
*Orphica* fr. 33° (§475)  
*Ovidius Met.* 2. 153 (n. 1192), 3. 211 (ad COR 111b), 8. 316° and 350° (§425), 11. 217 ff.° (§433)  
 Parthenius 2. 3 (ad ACC 3d)  
 Paulus ex Festo p. 85° L (n. 862)

- Pausanias  
 1. 22. 5 (n. 557), 1. 24. 1 (n. 557), 1. 27. 10 (n. 557), 1. 43. 5 (ad CHA 1c)  
 2. 17. 3° (§449), 2. 20. 4 (n. 984), 2. 23. 2 (§425)  
 3. 14. 8 f.° (§307), 3. 18. 11 (n. 557), 3. 18. 12 (§427)  
 5. 17. 5 ff. (§501), 5. 17. 7–11° (ad COR 66, §425 with nn. 1073 and 1076), 5. 18. 5° (§433), 5. 24. 3 (ad COR Gr 26(1))  
 6. 3. 5 (n. 1183)  
 9. 34. 5 (§307)  
 10. 10. 3 (§425), 10. 25. 9 f.° (§442), 10. 26. 1 (§459), 10. 27. 3 (ad COR 74i/j, §§441, 462 [bis] with n. 1181)  
*Pherecrates (PCG)* fr. 10 (ad COR 33d), fr. 70 (n. 216)  
*Pherecydes Leriis* fr. 95° FGrH (§429)  
*Pherecydes Syrius* (§259)  
*Philo Iudaeus Conf.* 101 (n. 423)  
 Pindarus  
*Dith.* 2 (fr. 81) (n. 839)  
*Isth.* 1. 10 (ad COP 64), 1. 13 (n. 839), 1. 34 (ad COP 29a), 3/4. 67 (ad COR 57i), 5. 32 (n. 97), 7. 9 (n. 97), 7. 11 (§206), 8. 26 ff.° (§433)  
*Nem.* 2. 12 (ad COR 57i), 4. 62 ff.° (§433), 5. 50 (ad COP 1B), 10. 40 (n. 523), 10. 66 (n. 1001), 11. 11 (n. 97)  
*Ol.* 1. 18 (ad COR 89a), 1. 85 (ad COP 1B), 6. 90° (ad COR 113d), 6. 104 (ad COP 1B), 7. 89 (ad COP 1B), 8. 52 (ad COP 64), 13. 69 (ad COR 92h), 13. 115 (ad COP 1B)  
*Pyth.* 3. 74 (ad COR 89a), 3. 112 (§448), 4. 65 (n. 97), 4. 102 f. (181 f.) (with Σ° (§435), 4. 191° (§425), 5. 82 f. [109 f.] (Σ°) (§441), 9. 79 (n. 97), 11. 60 (n. 97)  
 fr. 72 (ad COR 57i), fr. 169a. 6 (n. 839), fr. 169a. 47 (n. 97)  
 (see also ad COR 66f/r, 106a, COP 1A with n. 405, 1B, §§233, 303, n. 1001, §421, nn. 1290, 1299, §508)  
 Plato  
*Crat.* 397d (n. 1147), 404 f.° (n. 111)  
*Leg.* 702a (ad COR 76e)  
*Symp.* 219b (n. 376)  
 (see also n. 553)  
 Plato comic. fr. 174. 17 Kock (ad COR 19e)  
 Plautus *Mil.* 818–62° (n. 1237)  
 Plinius *Nat. Hist.* 32. 19, 56, 150 (n. 1017)  
 Plutarchus  
*Mor.* 271d–e (= *Quaest. Rom.* 30) (§237), 295b (= *Quaest. Graec.* 17) (n. 480)  
*Thes.* 30. 1 (ad IOI 3)  
 Thes. 29 (ad COR Gr 15a)  
 Pollux 4. 104 f.° (n. 1237), 7. 197° (n. 95)  
 Proclus (?) *Chr.*, see *Cypria*, *Iliupersis*, *Little Iliad*, *Oedipodea*  
 Propertius 1. 2. 15 f.° (§438)  
 Pythagoras (§259)  
 Quintilianus 1. 7. 28° (n. 862)  
 Quintus Smyrnaeus 8. 242 (n. 1192), 11. 41 (§462), 11. 130 ff. (n. 1181)

- Sappho (L–P) fr. 44° (§§248, 256, 476), fr. 44. 7 (ad DOH 3), fr. 44. 16 (n. 223), fr. 103. 13 (ad PCO 5a), fr. 126 (§206), fr. 165 (n. 173), fr. 179 (ad BOI 1)  
 (see also ad COR 70m, n. 928; and see Incertus auctor)  
 Servius *Aen.* 11. 90 (n. 1192)  
 Sextus Empiricus *Pyr.* (§237)  
 Simonides (§259)  
 Sophocles  
*Ant.* 1299 (n. 1001) (see also §429)  
*El.* 72 (ad LAK 9)  
*OC* 1313 (ad COR 66f/r)  
*Trach.* 266 (Σ°) (§416), 381 (ad COR 12f)  
 fr. 380 (n. 1024)  
 (see also ad COR 106a)  
 Sophron 131 *CGF* (n. 921)  
 Sosibius *apud* Athenaeum 14. 621d° (n. 1237)  
 Stephanus Byzantius (ad COP 85, n. 684)  
 Stesichorus (*PMG, SLG*)  
 fr. 178° (§468 [bis]), fr. 179b° (§425), fr. 181° (§412), fr. 194° (§425), frs. 196–205° (§459), fr. 198° (n. 1175), fr. 201° (§459), fr. 205° (§459 with n. 1166), fr. 209. i. 2 (n. 1265), fr. 209. i. 8 (n. 930), frs. 210–19° (§459), fr. 223° (§424), fr. 232. 2 (n. 196)  
 fr. S 13. 4 (n. 839), fr. S 14. 3 (n. 930), fr. S 14. 8 (n. 839), fr. S 15. ii. 14 (n. 839), fr. S 70. 4 (n. 839), frs. S 88–132° (§459), fr. S 89. 7 (n. 930)  
 (see also §§233, 259 with nn. 928 and 930, n. 1029, §§433, 459, 504 [bis], 509)  
 Strabo 1. 26° (§459), 6. 257° (§259)  
*Suda* (Suidas) (ad COR 12f)  
 Terpander (nn. 928, 1315)  
 Thebais  
 fr. 6° PEG (§429), fr. 7 PEG = 6A EGF (ad COR 57i, §462), fr. 9° EGF (§425)  
 test. 7 f.° PEG (§425)  
 (see also ad COR 66f/r, n. 1302)  
 Theocritus 2. 156° (n. 174, §307), 7. 11 (ad DOH 3a), 14. 27 (ad CHA 1i), 18. 45 (Σ°) (n. 224), 22. 45 (ad CHA 1i)  
 Theognis 1063 (n. 376), 1293 f.° (§425)  
 Theophrastus *CP* (ad COP 18b)  
 Thucydides 8. 10. 3° (ad COP 85)  
 (see also ad COR 50A)  
 Timotheus *Pers.* 11 (n. 1001)  
 Valerius Antias (n. 523)  
 Virgilius *Aen.* 2. 567–88° (§459), 2. 589 ff.° (§459), 3. 294 ff.° (n. 1175), 3. 321 ff.° (n. 1175), 3. 350° (n. 1175), 6. 149 ff.° (§459), 9. 696 (n. 357)  
 Xenophanes 34 (n. 311), (see also §259)  
 Xenophon  
*Anab.* 2. 4. 12 (n. 423)  
*Hell.* 2. 3. 54–6 (n. 1216), 3. 2. 2 (n. 478), 4. 4. 4, 7 (ad COR 4f), 4. 5. 3° (ad COP 85)  
 (see also n. 449)



## 7. GENERAL INDEX

For a complete list of proper names on the documents see Index 1*a*, *b*. For a complete list of find-spots of vases with *NAGVI* see Index 5. Attic vase-painters and potters are listed only if their names occur in the text. Ancient authors and works are found in Index 6.

abecedaria (*see also* Index 2), function (§315)

Achaian colonies (ACC, Pt. I. 15)

Achilleus (*see also* embassy, Balios, Xanthos; Index 1*a*), Thessalian origin (n. 1286), with Chiron (§435, §475 with n. 1226), wounding Telephos (§440), killing Troilos (ad COR 124*Ac*, §442), mourning Patroklos (§451), fighting Hektor (§452), fighting Penthesileia (? ad COR 1*A*, §453), fighting Memnon over the dead Antilochos (§454), fight over his body (§456), lamentation over his body (§457), in unspecified scenes (§462), in unidentified scenes (§463)

Admetos (*see also* Index 1*a*), at the games for Pelias (§425)

Adrastos (*see also* Index 1*a*), receiving Tydeus and Polyneikes (§426), as peacemaker (§427), his horse (§462)

Aello (*see also* Index 1*a*) (§424)

Agamemnon, *see* Index 1*a*

Aias, son of Oileus (*see also* Index 1*a*, *AlF-*), in the fight over Sarpedon (§448), and Aineias (§450)

Aias, son of Telamon, or unidentified (*see also* Index 1*a*, *AlF-*), in the embassy to Achilleus (§445), fighting Hektor (§447), fighting Aineias (§450), fighting over the dead Achilleus (§456), committing suicide (n. 1124, §458), in unspecified scene (§462), in unidentified scene (§463)

Aigina (AIG, Pt. I. 3), Aiginetan clay (ad AIG 1 with n. 95, AIG 3), Aiginetans at Naukratis (ad AIG 3*E* with n. 105, §302)

Aineias (*see also* Index 1*a*), name (§245), at the killing of Troilos (§442), fighting Diomedes (§443), in the fight between Aias and Hektor (§447), fighting Aias (§450), in the fight over the dead Achilleus (§456), threatening Helene at the sack of Troy (§459), departure from Troy (*ibid.*), in unspecified scene (§462)

Ainippe, *see* Index 1*a*

Aiolic (*see also* Index 2), vases (? ad PCO 5)

Aithe (n. 1100, §462)

Aithiops, *see* Index 1*a*

Aithon (*see also* Index 1*a*), in unspecified scenes (§§462, 472)

Aithra (*see also* Index 1*b*) (n. 1099, §441, n. 1185)

Akamas (§441), his and his brother's horses (nn. 1185, 1286)

Akastos (*see also* Index 1*a*), at the games for Pelias (§425)

Akraï Painter (ad COR 16)

Alastor (*see also* Index 1*a*), at the games for Pelias (§425)

Alexandros (*see also* Paris), *see* Index 1*a*

Alkestis, at the games for Pelias (§425)

Alkimos, Alkimedon (*see also* Index 1*a*), name (§228), in the fight over Sarpedon (§448)

Alkinoe, *see* Index 1*a*

Alkmaïon (*see also* Index 1*a*) (§425)

alphabet (Pt. II. 1, *passim*)

Amasis (n. 676)

Amatho, *see* Index 1*a*

Amazons (*see also* Herakles, Penthesileia; Index 1*a*), in erotic context (? §307), in unspecified scenes (§464), in unidentified scenes (§465)

Ambrosios Painter (n. 919)

Amphiaraios (*see also* departure, wedding; Index 1*a*), taking part in the games for Pelias (§425), departing from home (§425), quarreling (? §427)

Amphiaraios Painter (COR 66–9)

Amphitrite (*see also* Index 1*a*), name (§246), in unspecified scenes with Poseidon (§405)

Ampyx (§425 with n. 1078)

Anax, *see* Index 1*a*

Andromache (*see also* Index 1*a*), mourning over the dead Hektor (n. 1138), at the sack of Troy (§§442, 459)

Andromeda, *see* Perseus

Andromeda, an Amazon, *see* Index 1*a*

Andromeda Group (COR 100–5, ad COR 115, §260 with n. 942)

Antenor (*see also* Theano) (ad COR 67*d*, 74*i*, CHA 3*g*, 4*e*, §441, n. 1109, §459)

Antheateria (§475 with nn. 1219, 1225)

Antigone, *see* Oidipus

Antilochos (*see also* Index 1*a*), fight over his body (n. 1112, §454)

Antimenes Painter (n. 899)

Aphrodite (*see also* judgement, Aineias and Diomedes; Index 1*a*), in unidentified scene probably with Ares (§406)

Apollon (*see also* Index 1*a*, *Ἀπείλλ-*), at Corinth (§508 with n. 1311), Musagetes at weddings (§406), in unidentified scenes (§406), his altar outside Troy (ad COR 124*Ac*), Thessalian form of name (? ad PCO 1), recipient of vase (ad COR 17)

Archikles (ad DOC 5)

Areion, in unspecified scene (? §462)

Ares (*see also* Index 1*a*), uncertain occurrences (COR 31, IOI 4 with §406)

Argeios (*see also* Index 1*a*), at the games for Pelias (§425)

Argonauts (n. 643), visiting Phineus (§424), partly identical with boar-hunters and competitors at the games for Pelias (n. 1024, §§425, 473)

Argos and Argolid (ARG, Pt. I. 7; *see also* shield-bands)

Ariadne (*see also* Theseus, wedding; Index 1*a*)

Arkesilas (*see also* Index 1*a*; n. 97)

Arkesilas Painter (LAK 3, ad LAK 4)

Artemis (*see also* Index 1*a*), in unidentified scene with Leto (§406)

artists, *see* potters, Olympia

aryballos (*see also* vase shapes, dance, love, scene of return), quatrefoil (§312), called *ὄλπα* (ad COR 17)

Asterias (n. 783)

Asterion, at the games for Pelias (§425)

Asteropaios (*see also* Index 1*a*), in unspecified scene (§462)

Atalante (*see also* Index 1*a*), at the games for Pelias (§425), Parthenopaios' mother (ad LAK 8)

Athana Painter (COR 45)

Athena (*see also* judgement; Index 1*a*), forms of her name (ad COP 44, §§247, 503), present at Corinth (ad COP 63), born (§404), in gigantomachy (§404), with Herakles (§§411, 413 f., 418, 421), ordering Tydeus to kill Ismene (§429), in unspecified scenes (§405)

Attic, Attica (*see also* export; Index 2), influence on Corinthian vases (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR), ad COR 17*b* with n. 177, ad COR 60 with nn. 270 f., COR 85–90, 98, 112), vases (*see* Index 3), vase with Corinthian graffito (COR Gr 26(1)), vase with inscrs. by an Ionian immigrant (IOI 2)

Automedon (*see also* Index 1*a*), watching the fight between his master Achilleus and Memnon (§454), in unspecified scene (§462)

Automedusa (*see also* Index 1*a*), in Helene's train (? n. 1099)

Balios (*see also* Index 1*a*), name and origin (§506 with n. 1286), in unspecified scenes (§§462, 468)

ball games (ad COR 19*g*)

banquet, *see* scenes, Herakles at Oichalia

Baton (*see also* Index 1*a*), at the departure of Amphiaraios (§425), in an unexpected context (§444)

battle, *see* scenes

Bellerophonotes (nn. 1177, 1180)

boar-hunt, *see* scenes

Boar-Hunt Painter (COR 13–15)

boar-hunters, mythical (*see* Argonauts), non-mythical (§§237, 473)

Boiotia (*see also* export) (BOI, Pt. I. 2)

Boiotians, in Eretria (? ad EUB 3)

Boread Painter (LAK 2, n. 1059)

Boreads, chasing Harpies (*see also* Argonauts visiting Phineus, ? §433), with thunderbolt (§424)

Boreas (*see also* Index 1*a*, *b*) (§461)

Briseis (§444)

bronze, *see* shield-bands, pail, relief

Byzantion, *see* Index 2

- Caere (CAE, Pt. I. 21)  
 Cambridge Painter (CHA 18 f., n. 696, §§206, 259)  
 Cavalcade Painter (ad PCO 5; COR 23, n. 213, COR 24B)  
 Centaurs (*see also* Chiron, Nessos, Herakles), in unidentified scene (§465), names (§412)  
 Chalcidian (CHA, Pt. I. 12), influenced by, and influencing, Corinth (§§259 f., ad PCO 5)  
 Chares (COR 57)  
 Chariklo (*see also* Chiron), *see* Index 1a  
 chariot, *see* scenes, sport, wedding  
 Charites (*see also* Index 1a), in unidentified scene (§406), uncertain occurrence (COR 31)  
 Charon (n. 966)  
 Charops (*see also* Herakles; Index 1a), in unspecified scene (§462)  
 Chigi Painter (PCO 2)  
 children, *see* scenes of sacrificial processions, initiation  
 Chiron (*see also* Achilles, Peleus surprising Thetis; Index 1a), name (§248)  
 choral lyric (ad AIG 1 with n. 97, COR 36, COP 1B, §§206, 233, n. 928, §§407 with n. 1001, 433, 457, 501, 506 with n. 1299, 508)  
 Chryseis (§444)  
 clay, *see* Aigina, Naukratis  
 collective, *see* labels  
 confusion, *see* myths  
 conversation, *see* scenes  
 Corinth (COR, Pt. I. 5; *see also* export), pinakes (COP, Pt. I. 6), influence on Boiotian pottery (BOI 6D, E), non-Corinthians at Corinth (ad PCO 2–4, ? ad PCO 5 and 6, ad COR 96A, ad COP 29, 42, 44, §§260 f., 473)  
 cup (*see also* vase shapes, measuring vases), eye-cup (n. 1009)  
 Cyclops, *see* Polyphemos
- Damon, *see* Index 1a  
 Damon Painter (ad COR 68b/f; COR 77–80, ad COR 88, §506)  
 Danae (*see also* Index 1a), receiving the golden rain from Zeus (§408)  
 dance (*see also* scenes), aryballos as prize for dancing skills (§311), of Satyrs and Maenads (§407), and music (ad COR 19g)  
 Darius Painter (§253), krater (n. 716)  
 Dason, *see* Index 1a  
 dedications (Pt. I. 6a, 6c–d; ad COR 17), pre-literary (§303), formulae (§§301, 303), by potters and painters (§302, ad NAU 1, ad COP *passim*), prayers on pinakes (? §§302 f.), to humans (§§311–14)  
 Deianeira (n. 389)  
 Deipho(b)os (*see also* Index 1a, Δειφον-), at Hektor's departure (§444), killed by Menelaos (§459), in unspecified scene (? §462)  
 Deipylus (? §471)  
 Delphi, Siphnian Treasury (ad COR 114c, n. 783)  
 Demeter (*see also* Index 1a, b, Δᾱ-), and Poseidon (§302)  
 Demonassa (*see also* Index 1a, Δᾱ-), at the departure of Amphiaraios (§425)  
 Demophon, *see* Akamas  
 departure (*see also* scenes), of Amphiaraios (§§425, 428), of Hektor and/or Paris (§444), with Athena (§405)  
 Detroit Painter (COR 24, n. 213, COR 76)  
 dialects, dialect mixture, *see* Index 2  
 Dideion (*see also* Index 1a) (§416)  
 Diomedes (*see also* Index 1a), killing Palamedes (§462), fighting Aineias (§443), wounded and treated by Sthenelos during the fight over the dead Achilles (§456), in unspecified scenes (§462), in unidentified scene (§463)  
 Dionysios Painter (n. 177, COR 85 f.)  
 Dionysos (*see also* wedding; Index 1a), in unidentified scenes (§406)  
 Dioskouroi (*see also* Argonauts; Index 1a), at the games for Pelias (§425), and Leukippides (§438), in an initiation context (? §§307, 472), their horses (§468)  
 Diosphos Painter (§248)  
 Dodwell Painter (COR 33)  
 dogs, mythical names, *see* Centaurs  
 Dolon (*see also* Index 1a), running (§446)  
 Doric colonies (DOC, Pt. I. 16), hexapolis (DOH, Pt. I. 22), islands (DOI, Pt. I. 18)  
 Doris, *see* Herakles and Nereus  
 Douris (n. 676, §508)
- East Aiolic, *see* Index 2  
 East Ionic (*see also* export), *see* Index 2  
 Elis (ELI, Pt. I. 9; *see also* Index 2)  
 Embassy, to Troy about Helene (§441), to Achilles (§445)  
 Enkelados, *see* Index 1a  
 Eos (*see also* Index 1a, Ἐὼς), name (§249), watching the fight between Achilles and her son (§454)  
 Epeleios Painter (§457)  
 Ephialtes, *see* Index 1a  
 epic poetry (*passim*; *see also* horsey names, lists, pre-Homeric, variants, poetry; Index 2, metrical equivalents)  
 epigraphy (Pt. II. 1, *passim*)  
 Epiktetos (n. 713)  
 Eretria (EUB 1–3; n. 513)  
 Erichtho, *see* Index 1a  
 Eriphyle (*see also* wedding; Index 1a), at the departure of Amphiaraios (§425), bribed by Harmonia's necklace (§§428, 476)  
 Eros (*see also* Index 1a), in unidentified scenes (§464)  
 erotic inscriptions, *see* love  
 Eteokles, *see* Oidipus  
 ethnics, *see* Index 2  
 Etruria (ETR, Pt. I. 14; *see also* Caere), Greek immigrants (*ibid.*), spread of Greek epics (? n. 568, §254)  
 Euboia (EUB, Pt. I. 1), colonies (EUC, Pt. I. 11; *see also* Chalcidian, Pseudo-Chalcidian), foreigner in a Euboian colony (ad EUC 3, §259)  
 Euphemos (*see also* Index 1a), at the games for Pelias (§425)  
 Euphorbos (*see also* Index 1a), fight over his body (§449), modelled after other figures (*ibid.*)  
 Eurydike (*see also* Index 1a), at the departure of Amphiaraios (§425)  
 Eurymachos (*see also* Index 1a) (§441)  
 Eurymachos Painter (COR 53 f.)  
 Eurytion, *see* Index 1a  
 Eurytios (*see also* Index 1a) (§416)  
 Euthymides (§§227, 240)  
 exaleiptron (*see also* vase shapes), connotation (ad BOI 9, INC 2, §307)  
 Exekias (§§413, 468 with n. 1185, n. 1286)  
 export, from Athens to Corinth (ad COR 131 with nn. 392 ff.); from Sparta to Kyrene (?? ad LAK 1); Corinthian vases made for export to East Ionia (ad PCO 5), to Athens (ad PCO 6), to Boiotia (? n. 821), to Italy (introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR), n. 568)
- fight, *see* battle  
 forehead, *see* Satyrs  
 foreign(ers) (*see also* Aigina, Attica, Corinth, Etruria, Euboia, Lakonia, Naukratis, poets), *see* Index 2  
 forgeries, *see* inscriptions  
 formulae, *see* dedications  
 fox, *see* Kephalos  
 François Vase, *see* Index 3, ABV 76. 1
- games, *see* Pelias  
 Ganymedes (*see also* Index 1a) (§436)  
 Gegenes (*see also* Herakles), *see* Index 1a, Γᾱ-  
 Geryones (*see also* Herakles), *see* Index 1a, Γᾱρ-  
 giants, *see* gigantomachy  
 gigantomachy (§404)  
 Glaukos, son of Antenor (*see also* Index 1a), receiving the Greek embassy about Helene (§441), therefore saved at the sack of Troy (§459)  
 Glaukos, son of Hippolochos (*see also* Index 1a), in the fight over Sarpedon (§448), killed in the fight over Achilles (§456), in unspecified scene (? §462)  
 golden rain, *see* Danae  
 Gorgons (*see also* Perseus, Porkos; Index 1a), names (§§236, 469), in riding scene (§469)  
 Graiai, *see* Perseus
- Hades (§253)  
 Halitherses (§425)  
 Harmonia, *see* Eriphyle  
 Harpies (*see also* Boreads; Index 1a), their collective name (ad CHA 28a), their individual names (§§236, 424, 433, 462)  
 head of dead warrior, position (§449 with n. 1124)  
 Hebe (*see also* wedding; Index 1a)  
 Heidelberg Painter (ad COR 131)  
 Hekabe (*see also* Index 1a), at Hektor's departure (§444), at the sack of Troy (§§442, 459)  
 Hektor (*see also* departure, Xanthos; Index 1a), invented by Homer (? §§449 with n. 1125, 503 with nn. 1256 f.), form of name at Corinth (§§250, 503), at the killing of Troilos (§442), fighting Aias (§447), fighting Menelaos over the dead Euphorbos (§449), fighting Achilles (§452), dead (§459 with n. 1157), in unspecified scene (§462)  
 Helene (*see also* wedding, embassy; Index 1a), name (§251), threatened by Aineias and Menelaos at the sack of Troy (n. 389, §§442, 459), threatened to be stoned after return to Greece (§459)  
 Hephaistos, from clay (n. 465)  
 Hera (*see also* Peleus surprising Thetis, judgement; Index 1a), in gigantomachy (§404), in unidentified scene (§406)  
 Herakles (*see also* Argonauts, wedding; Index 1a), name (§252), Charops (?? §307 with n. 966), and the Nemean Lion (§410), and the Lernaian Hydra (§411, n. 1076; *see also* Sirens), and the Centaurs (? §§412, 465), and the Amazon(s) (§307 with n. 970, §§413, 465), and Geryones (§414), wrestling with Nereus (§415), at Oichalia (§416), and the Kerkopes (§417), and Gegenes (§418), and Nessos (§419), and Kyknos (§420), in unidentified scenes (§422)  
 Hermes (*see also* judgement; Index 1a), name (§253), in gigantomachy (§404)  
 heroic, *see* scenes  
 hetairai (§308, ? n. 1200), names (§236)  
 Hilacira, *see* Leukippides  
 Hippalkmos (*see also* Index 1a), at the games for Pelias (§425)  
 Hippasos (*see also* Index 1a), at the games for Pelias (§425)

- Hippolochos, son of Antimachos (*see also* Index 1a), in unspecified scene (§462)
- Hippolyte, *see* Herakles and the Amazons
- Hippolytos Painter (COR 61–4, 83*ter*)
- Hippomachos (? §444)
- historical people (§§242 f.)
- Hodios (*see also* Index 1a), in the embassy to Achilleus (§445)
- homosexual love, *see* potters
- Hora, *see* Index 1a
- horses, names, *see* Index 2
- horsey names, *see* Index 2
- Hunt Painter (LAK 4–9)
- hunting, *see* scenes
- Hydra, *see* Herakles
- Iason (*see also* Argonauts; Index 1a, *Eīa-*), at the games for Pelias (§425)
- iconography and (lost) literary accounts (§§411, 425, with nn. 1022 f., 1076, 1079)
- Ilione(u)s (*see also* Index 1a) (§441)
- Imbrios, killed by Teukros, *see* Medesikaste
- initiation (§§307, 469, 472, 475)
- Inscription Painter (CHA 1–17 with introd., §259; *see also* nn. 695 f., §§108, 206 f., 214, n. 787, §§244, 254, 257, 260 with n. 942, §§407, 425, 446, 479, 503 f.)
- inscriptions (*see also* love, metrical), incised before or after firing (*passim*; *see also* signatures), nonsense (§318), unclear (§§316–18), *kalos-* (§309), of owners (§§311–14), forged (? ad BOI 2 and 6, ? n. 140, ?? ad COR 79A and §444, ad COR 110, ?? n. 391, n. 450, ?? ad COP 47b, ? ad CHA 28)
- Iolaos (*see also* Index 1a), name (§252)
- Iole (*see also* Index 1a) (§416)
- Ionic (*see also* Index 2), islands (IOI, Pt. I. 17), Dodekapolis (IOD, Pt. I. 19)
- Iphiklos, at the games for Pelias (§425 with nn. 1069, 1075)
- Iphitos (*see also* Index 1a) (§416)
- Ischia, *see* Pithekussai
- Ismene (*see also* Index 1a), killed by Tydeus (§429, ? §442)
- Italy, *see* Achaian colonies, Chalcidian, Doric colonies, Etruria, Euboian colonies, export, Pseudo-Chalcidian, Pseudo-Corinthian
- Ithaka (ITH, Pt. I. 10; §§107, 218)
- Judgement of Paris (ad EUB 1, §437, n. 1177)
- Kabirion, on Lemnos (n. 10), at Thebes (BOI 12, ? 14, 16, ? 18, 23–9, §§302, 460, 475)
- Kabiros (*see also* Kabirion; Index 1a), his statue (§475)
- Kadmos (§475 with n. 1218)
- Kalais (*see also* Argonauts visiting Phineus), *see* Index 1a
- Kallianeira (? *see* Index 1a)
- Kalliope (*see also* Index 1a) (ad COR Gr 15a, n. 1200)
- kalos*-inscriptions, *see* inscriptions
- Kalydonian(s), Boar-hunters (*see also* Argonauts), war with the Kuretes (§425), royal family (*see* Oineus, Tydeus)
- K(a)lyka Painter (COR 25 f.)
- Kambyzes (? IOD 3)
- Kapaneus (*see also* Index 1a), punished (§§430, 443)
- Käppeli Painter (ad COR 16)
- Kassandra (*see also* Index 1a), at Hektor's departure (§444)
- Kastor (*see also* Dioskouroi), *see* Index 1a
- Kebriones, *see* Index 1a
- Kephalos (*see also* Index 1a) (§423)
- Kerkopes, *see* Herakles
- Kerkyra, *see* Index 2
- kiln (§§302, 481)
- Kios (ad COR 70e, §§444, 473)
- Kirke (*see also* Index 1a) (§460)
- Kleoboulos (*see also* Index 1a), killed by Aias in the fight over Sarpedon (§448)
- Klyka, *see* Kalyka
- Klytios, son of Eurytos (*see also* Index 1a) (§416)
- Klytios the Argonaut (*see also* Index 1a), at the games for Pelias (§425)
- Kronos (ad ACC 1 with n. 605)
- Kuretes, *see* Kalydonians
- Kyknos (*see also* Herakles; Index 1a), uncertain occurrence (§418)
- Kyllaros (§468)
- Kymothoe *vel sim.* (*see also* Index 1a) (§457)
- Kyrene, *see* export
- Kypselos, Chest of (ad COR 66, §§241, 425, 433, 501)
- labels (Pt. II. 4, *passim*; *see also* Index 2), collective (§401), nonsense (§§403, 469), nonsense and meaningful mixed (ad LAK 3i)
- Lakonia (LAK, Pt. I. 8; *see also* Index 2), export to Kyrene ? (*see* export), foreigner in Lakonia (? ad LAK 1), influenced by East Greek art (ad LAK 3), initiation rites (§307), and Messenia (ad COR 117c/d)
- lamentation, *see* Achilleus, Patroklos
- Laodokos (*see also* Index 1a), defeated (§456)
- Lapiths (§412 with n. 1024, §§416, 473)
- lekythos (*see also* vase shapes), shape and function (ad COR 17)
- Lemnos, *see* Kabirion
- Lesbos, *see* Index 2
- Leto (*see also* Index 1a), in unidentified scene with Artemis (§406)
- Leukippides, kidnapped (§438)
- Liebighaus Group (COR 17)
- lion, *see* Herakles
- lists of mythical names in stereotyped order (§§416, 433, 457, n. 1157)
- literacy of writers, *see* Index 2
- literary reflections on vases (Pt. II. 5) (? ad AIG 1, ad CHA 1i)
- Lotus-Cross Painter (COR 58)
- love (*see* hetairai, *kalos*-inscriptions, potters, prizes; §307–10)
- Lydos (ad COR 85; another one: n. 486)
- lyric, *see* choral
- Macedonia, *see* Index 2
- Maenads (*see also* dance), in unidentified scene with Dionysos (? §406), names (§§236, 407, 479)
- Mandrokles (ad NAU 1)
- marching, *see* scenes
- measuring vases (ELI, §317)
- Medesikaste (*see also* Index 1a), at the killing of Troilos, in the Iliad, and at the sack of Troy (§442)
- Medon (? §471)
- Medusa, *see* Gorgons, Perseus
- Medusa, granddaughter of Perseus (§469)
- Medusa, daughter of Priamos (§§439 with n. 1099, and 442)
- Megara, *see* Index 2
- Melanon, at the games for Pelias (§425)
- Memnon (*see also* Index 1a), fighting Achilleus over the dead Antilochos (§§449, 454, n. 1304), funeral scene after his death (? §455), in unspecified scene (§462)
- Memnon Group (PCH 1)
- Memnon Painter (PCO 4)
- Memnonides, *see* Memnon
- Menelaos (*see also* Index 1a), member of the embassy to Troy (§441), fighting Hektor over the dead Euphorbos (§449), saving Glaukos' life (§459), killing Deiphobos (§459), threatening and leading away Helene (n. 389, §459), in unspecified scene (§462)
- Menestheus (*see also* Index 1a), in unspecified scene (§462)
- Messapia, *see* Index 2
- Messenia (ad COR 117c/d)
- metrical inscriptions (*passim*, esp. Pt. II. 3 and 5; ad COP 85 with n. 482; §251 with n. 894)
- Mikkiades (ad NAU 1)
- Milonidas (COP 41, *see also* ad COP 9 and 18)
- Minos, *see* Index 1a
- Minotaur (*see also* Index 1a) (§431)
- mixed, *see* scenes, dialects
- Moppos (*see also* Index 1a), at the games for Pelias (§425)
- morra (BOI 21 with n. 92, §437)
- Muses (*see also* Achilleus lamented; Index 1a), in unidentified scenes (§406), with Apollon (? COR 20)
- Mycenaean (*see also* Index 1b) (ad COR 89b, §§211, 228, 233, n. 855, §247, n. 917, §257, n. 996)
- Myson (§225)
- myths confused (§§424, 444)
- Nais, Naias, Naiades (*see also* Graiai, Chariklo), *see* Index 1a
- Naukratatis (NAU, Pt. I. 20; §302), Naukratite clay (ad AIG 3)
- Naukratits Painter (LAK 1 with n. 489)
- Nausikaa (ad COR 19g with nn. 199 f.)
- Neleus (? n. 12)
- neo-analysis, *see* pre-Homeric poetry
- Nereids (*see also* Thetis), in unidentified scenes (§406), names (§236)
- Nereus (*see also* Herakles, Porkos; Index 1a), at Thetis' wedding (EUB 2)
- Nessos (*see also* Herakles, Nettos), *see* Index 1a
- Nestor (*see also* Index 1a), in the embassy to Achilleus (§445)
- Nettos Painter (*see* Index 3, *ABV* 4 f. no. 1, and 5. 4)
- neutron activation analysis (n. 66)
- non-heroic, *see* scenes
- nonsense (Pt. I. 6i) (*see also* inscriptions, labels)
- nurse (*see also* Index 1a, *τροφός*) (ad COR 16d)
- Nymphs (*see also* Nereids, Oceanids; Index 1a), dancing (ad COR 19g)
- Oceanids, names (§236)
- Odysseus (*see also* Index 1a), name (§254), killing Palamedes (§§254, 462), member of the embassy to Troy (§441), comforting mourning Achilleus (§451), in the fight over the dead Achilleus (§456), saving Glaukos' life (§459), in unspecified Trojan scene (§462), with Kirke (§460), fishing with Poseidon's trident and blown at by Boreas (§§461, 475), with Polyphemos (ad INC 1)
- Oichalia, *see* Herakles
- Oidipus, son of Polybos (ad COR 67d), his family (§429)
- oil, *see* ointment



- Oineus, in unidentified scenes (§465)  
ointment, *see* exaleiptron, aryballos  
Old Man of the Sea (ad COR 106a, §408)  
Olympia (*see also* measuring vases; Index 1a), artists at O. (§210 with n. 756)  
Ophelandros Painter (COR 40, ? COP 62)  
Oreithya Painter (n. 714)  
Orestes (§459)  
Oropos (ad COR 66f/r)  
Orphism and the Theban Kabirion (? §475)  
Orth(r)os (§414)  
Ouatrias of Kyme (ad CHA 11 with n. 540)  
outline-technique (ad COR 105f)  
owners, *see* inscriptions
- paean (§506 with n. 1299)  
Paestum, *see* Poseidonia  
Pagasai (§§418 and 420 with n. 1046)  
pail of bronze for Poseidon (n. 1297)  
paint, purple (ad COR 85f, 103b), unfired (§112)  
Painter of Munich 237 (COR 24A)  
painters, *see* potters  
Pais, *see* Index 1a  
Palamedes (*see also* Index 1a), in unspecified scene (§462), killed (§254)  
Pandaros (*see also* Index 1a) (§443)  
Paris (*see also* judgement, wedding, departure; Index 1a), archer in the fight over Sarpedon (§448 with n. 1118), killing Achilles (§§449, 456), dead (§459 with n. 1157), in unidentified scene (? §463)  
Paros, *see* Index 5  
Parthenopaïos, *see* Index 1a  
Pasikrateia (§475)  
Patroklos (*see also* Index 1a), in the fight over Sarpedon (§448), lamented (§451), in unspecified scenes (§462)  
patronyms, *see* Index 2  
Peisistratos (n. 524)  
Peleus (*see also* wedding, Chiron; Index 1a), at the games for Pelias (§425, twice), surprising Thetis (§433)  
Pelias, funeral games (§425)  
Penthesileia (*see also* Index 1b), fighting Achilles (? ad COR 1A, §§413, 453)  
Peraia (near Corinth) (ad COP 85)  
perfume, *see* ointment  
Periandros (§508)  
Periklymenos (*see also* Index 1a), at the murder of Ismene (§429), killing Parthenopaïos (*ibid.*)  
Periphetes, *see* Index 1a  
Persephone (*see also* Index 1a, *Περσεφονη*), in unidentified scene (§406)  
Perseus (*see also* Index 1a), son of Zeus (*see* Danae), with the Graiai (§408), pursued by the Gorgons (§§408 f., 469), freeing Andromeda (§408)  
Phalanthos (n. 467)  
Phaleros, at the games for Pelias (§425)  
Phalios (n. 1286)  
Phanai (ad IOD 61–L)  
Pheidias (§317)  
Pheres (*see also* Index 1a), at the games for Pelias (§425)  
Phineus (*see also* Index 1a), visited by Argonauts (§424)  
Phineus Painter (CHA 27–9, §259)  
Phoibe (*see also* Leukippides), *see* Index 1a  
Phoinix (*see also* Index 1a), comforting mourning Achilles (? §451), in unexpected context (§452)  
Phorkys, *see* Porkos
- Phrygians (§473)  
Phye (n. 524)  
pinax/pinakes, from Athens (PCO 6); from Penteskouphia (*see* Corinth), their function in the pottery trade (*see* dedications), with prayers (*see* dedications), suspension holes (§302); from Pitsa (Pt. I. 6, Appendix), wooden (*ibid.*)  
Pisos, at the games for Pelias (§425)  
Pithekussai (EUC 1 f.)  
Podarge, *see* Harpies  
Podargos (*see also* Index 1a), in unspecified scene (§462)  
poetry (*see also* epic, choral, literary, pre-Homeric; Index 2, s.vv. East Ionic, East Aeolic, etymology, non-epichoric, translating, written), reflected on vases (Pt. II. 4 and 5, *passim*), recitals at important events (? §§303 with n. 963, 472 f., and 506 with nn. 1289 and 1297), oral (§510)  
poets (*passim*, and *see* poetry), migrating (§§259, 508)  
Polybos (ad COR 67d)  
Polybotes, *see* Index 1a  
Polydamas (*see also* Index 1a), in the fight over Sarpedon (§448)  
Polydeukes (*see also* Dioskouroi), *see* Index 1a  
Polydoros (? §471)  
Polygnotus' painting of the Sack of Troy at Delphi (§§441 f., 462)  
Polynikes, *see* Adrastus, Oidipus  
Polyphemos the Cyclops (ad INC 1)  
Polyphemos the Lapith, *see* Argonauts  
Polyphemos Group (PCH 2)  
Polixene (*see also* Index 1a), form of name at Corinth (§§444, 503), at the well (? §442), at Hektor's departure (§444)  
Pontomedusa, *see* Index 1a, *Πνῶ*–  
Pontos, *see* Porkos  
Porkos, i.e. Phorkys (*see also* Index 1a) (§408)  
Poseidon (*see also* Index 1a), name (§255), and the pottery trade (Pt. I. 6, *passim*; §302), rider in unspecified scene (§405), with Amphitrite (§405)  
Poseidonia, i.e. Paestum (ad ACC 4)  
Poteidan Painter (COR 97 f.)  
potters and painters (*see also* dialect, foreigners, Poseidon), painter = writer (COR 33), signatures (Pt. I. 6e, §§304 f.), labels (Pt. I. 6f), as donors (*see* dedications), as lovers of boys (? §307), shops near sanctuaries (? ad BOI 3)  
praise of object in 1st person sg. (§306)  
Praxias (ETR 1–4)  
prayers, *see* dedications  
pre-Homeric epic and similar poetry, general (§§233, 504–10), neo-analysis (§§254, 413, n. 1101, §§449, 456), prayers (§303)  
preparation, of war or a sporting event, *see* scenes  
Priamos (*see also* Index 1a), name (§256), at the killing of Troilos (§442), at Hektor's departure (§444), dead (§459 with n. 1157)  
prize, *see* dance  
procession, *see* scenes  
Protesilaos (*see also* Index 1a), in unspecified scene (§462)  
Pseudo-Chalcidian (PCH, Pt. I. 13)  
Pseudo-Corinthian (PCO, Pt. I. 4)  
pseudo-heroic, *see* scenes  
purple, *see* paint  
Pylades (§459)  
Pyrachmes (*see also* Index 1a), at the killing of Troilos (§442), killed by Patroklos in the fight over Sarpedon (§448)
- quatrefoil, *see* aryballos
- relief of bronze from Samos (nn. 1006, 1029), from Perachora (§433)  
return, *see* scenes  
Rhesos (*see also* Index 1a), killed (§446A)  
Rhodios (ad CHA 3A with n. 548)  
riding, *see* scenes  
running, *see* Dolon, scenes
- sacrifice, *see* scenes  
Samos (*see also* relief), *see* Index 5  
Samos Painter (COR 19)  
Sappho Painter, *see* Index 3, *ABV* 508 top  
Sarpedon (*see also* Index 1a), fight over his body (§448), in unspecified scene (§462)  
Satyrs (*see also* dance), in unidentified scene with Dionysos (§406), traditional names (§§407, 479, 504), mask attached to a kiln (n. 465), bald forehead (§407), fur (ad CHA 1c/g), horsey aspect (ad CHA 1e, CHA 14c)  
scenes, content with respect to literary background (§509), sequence of different scenes (ad COR 32, n. 1108), one scene chronologically split (§§444 with n. 1108, 467; *see also* Tabula Iliaca), mixed (§402), pseudo-heroic (§§402, 466–82), heroic (§§404–65), non-heroic (§§466–82), war-preparation sc. (§466), departure sc. (§467, ? §465; *see also* departure), chariot sc. (§468; *see also* wedding), riding sc. (§469), marching and running sc. (§470), battle sc. (§471; *see also* the heroic fights, §§404 ff. *passim*), battle over the dead body of a warrior (ad COR 12, *scene*; n. 1124, §471; *see also* Antilochos, Sarpedon, Euphorbos, Achilles), sc. of return (? §472), boar-hunt sc. (§473), sporting sc. (§474, BOI 8; *see also* Pelias, and §425), sacrificial procession sc. (§475, BOI 8, BOI 20), wedding sc. (§476, ? §465; *see also* wedding), conversation sc. (§477), banquet sc. (§478, BOI 8; *see also* Oichalia), dancing sc. (§479, BOI 8; *see also* Satyrs), everyday sc. (§480; ad COR 12, *scene*), working sc. (§481), unspecified with gods (§405), unidentified with gods (§406), unidentified (§482)  
Seven against Thebes (§§426–30)  
shield-bands (Argive?) (ad COR 12f with n. 144, ad COR 123 with n. 389, ad CHA 10b with n. 552, nn. 746, 756, §251 with n. 895, nn. 1039, 1078, 1080, 1083)  
signatures (*see also* potters), incised after firing of vase (*passim* and n. 16)  
Sikyon and Sikyonians at Corinth (ad PCO 3 and 4)  
Sirens (*see also* Index 1b), with Herakles and the Hydra (ad COR 6a), singing sweetly (ad COR 19f)  
sketches of inscriptions on vases (n. 818)  
Smikros (n. 91)  
Sophilos, *see* Index 3, Immerwahr nos. 61, 62, 65  
Sparta, *see* Lakonia  
speaking labels etc., *see* Index 2  
spelling (Pt. II. 1)  
Sphortos Painter (COR 92 f.)  
sport, *see* scenes, Pelias  
Sthenelos, son of Kapaneus (*see also* Aineias and Diomedes; Index 1a), treating wounded Diomedes during the fight over the dead Achilles (§456)  
Sthenelos, son of Perseus (§469)  
Sthe(n)no, *see* Gorgons  
style of labels, *see* Index 2
- Tabula Iliaca (n. 1139, §459), 'Thierry' (ad COR 12f), Veronensis (*ibid.*)

- Talthybios (*see also* Index 1a), member of the embassy to Troy (§441)  
 Taras, Tarentum (ad COR 117*c/d*)  
 Telephos (*see also* Index 1a) (§440)  
 Teukros (*see also* Aineias and Diomedes, Imbrios), *see* Index 1a  
 Theano (*see also* Index 1a) (§441)  
 theatrical performances (§§461, 475, 480)  
 Thebes, *see* Seven, Kabirion  
 Theoklymenos, *see* Periklymenos  
 thermoluminescence analysis (ad BOI 1, BOI 2, BOI 4, BOI 6 with n. 64)  
 Theseus (*see also* Index 1a), and the Minotaur (§431), leaving Ariadne on Naxos (§432)  
 Thessaly, *see* Index 2  
 Thetis (*see also* wedding, Porkos; Index 1a), surprised by Peleus (§433), comforting mourning Achilles (§451), watching the fight between Memnon and her son (§454), mourning over her dead son (§457)  
 Thracians, killed (§446A)  
 throwaway names, *see* Index 2  
 thunderbolt, *see* Boread  
 Timandra (*see also* Index 1a) (§424)  
 Timonidas (COR 27, COP 18; ad COR 28A, COP 5, 41, 63; §302 with n. 952)  
 titles (? ad COR 16*d-e*)  
 Toxeus (§416)  
 Toxos, *see* Index 1a  
 toys (§475 with nn. 1221–3)  
 Troilos (*see also* Index 1a), name (§257), killed by Achilles (ad COR 124*Ac*, §442), similar settings (§§429, 433)  
 Trojan Cycle (§§433–63)  
 Tydeus (*see also* Index 1a), with Adrastus (§426), quarreling (? §427), killing Ismene (§429)  
 Tydeus Painter (n. 177, ad COR 26; COR 112–15, COR 116–19, n. 942)  
 Typhon, *see* Zeus
- Umbria (ad COR 40*b*)  
 uncertain origin (INC, Pt. I. 4)  
 unclear, *see* inscriptions
- variants of heroic tales or names (§510), at Argos (n. 1065, §449), at Athens (*see* Athena's name)  
 vase shapes of pieces discussed (*see also* aryballos, cup, exaleiptron, lekythos, pinax)  
 alabaster: BOI 2*D*, BOI 30, COR 4, COR Gr 9  
 amphorae: EUB 1, 2, 3, COR 62, 63, 83*bis*, 101, 113, 114, 117, CHA 1, 2, 3, 3*A*, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, PCH 1, 2, ETR 1, 2, 3, 4, ACC 4, DOC 4, IOI 2, 4, IOD 3  
 aryballoi: globular BOI 2*A*, 6*A*, 7*B*, PCO 3, COR 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28*A*, 47, 48, 49, 50, 50*A*, 51, 52, COR Gr 6, 13; other shapes: BOI 1*A*, 2*B-C*, 4*A-C*, 5*A-B*, PCO 1, EUC 3, IOI 1  
 cups (incl. kantharoi, kotylai, choinikes, skyphoi, kylikes, deep bowls etc.): BOI 3, 10, 11*A-B*, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, AIG 3*A-F*, COR 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 53, 54, 121, 124*B*, 131, COR Gr 2, 25, 26(1), LAK 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, ELI 2, 3, 4, 5, CHA 17, 28, DOC 1, IOD 4*A-C*, 6.  
 dinoi: ARG 1, CHA 16, IOD 1, 8  
 exaleiptra: BOI 8, 9, INC 2 (?)  
 flasks: COR 27  
 hydriai: COR 72, 77, 78, 79, 79*A*, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 102, 103, 114*A*, 127 (?), LAK 4, CHA 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, DOC 2, CAE 1  
 jars: BOI 7*C*, 20, DOH 3  
 jugs (oinochoai, olpai etc.): BOI 7*A*, PCO 2, COR 1*A*, 58, 59, 60, 87, 88, 89, 90, 100, ELI 1 (?), ITH 1, 3, ACC 3  
 krateres (all kinds): BOI 13, AIG 2 (?), INC 1, PCO 4, 5 (?), introd. to Pt. I. 5 (COR), COR 12, 24, 24*A*, 24*B*, 26, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46*A*, 56 (?), 61, 64, 64*A* (?), 64*B* (?), 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 83*ter*, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96*A-B*, 97, 98, 99, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 115, 115*A*, 116, 118, 119, 123, 124*A*, 129, 130 (?), COR Gr 23, EUC 1, 2, CHA 14, 15, 26, 27, DOC 7, IOI 3, 5, DOH 2
- stamnoi: ACC 1*A-B*, 2  
 stands: AIG 1, ITH 2  
 bowls (lekanai, lekanides etc.): BOI 15, DOC 5, NAU 2  
 lekythoi: COR 86, 112, IOD 9  
 lids: CHA 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29  
 naiskos: DOI 1  
 pinakes: PCO 6, COP (all)  
 plastic vases: BOI 1*B*, 6*B-E*, ad BOI 4*C*  
 plates: COR 46*B*, DOC 3, DOH 1  
 pyxides: COR 1, COR 33, 34, 35, 55, 56 (?), 57, 122, 126, COR Gr 15  
 uncertain: COR 125, 128, LAK 2, 5, 9, DOC 6, IOI 6, IOD 2, 5*A-L*, 7*A-L*, 10, NAU 1*A-O*
- war, *see* battle, preparation  
 Warrior Group (COR 10)  
 wedding (*see also* scenes), of gods (? §406), of Poseidon and Amphitrite (? §405), of Herakles (deified) and Hebe (§421), of Dionysos and Ariadne (§432), of Peleus and Thetis (? §406, §434), of Paris and Helene (§439), of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle (? ad COR 1)  
 Wellcome Painter (ad COR 16)  
 wrestling (§§415, 425, 433)  
 writers (*see also* potters), *see* Index 2  
 written poetry, *see* Index 2
- Xanthos (*see also* Index 1a), one of Achilles' horses (§506 with n. 1286), in unspecified scenes (§§462, 468); one of Hektor's horses (§§439, 442, 444); Polydeukes' horse (§468)
- Zetes (*see also* Argonauts, Phineus), *see* Index 1a  
 Zethos (ad CHA 28*b*)  
 Zeus (*see also* Athena, Danae, Ganymedes, Kyknos, Peleus surprising Thetis; Index 1a), name (§258), fighting Typhon (§404), in gigantomachy (§404), in unspecified scene (§405)  
 Zeuxippe (*see also* Index 1a) (§444)  
 Zoilos (NAU 1, §257)  
 Zopyriscos (nn. 628, 944)

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The plates are in chapter order.

1. EUB
2. BOI
3. AIG
4. INC/PCO
5. COR
6. COP
7. ARG
8. LAK

9. ELI
10. ITH
11. EUC
12. CHA
13. PCH
14. ETR
15. ACC
16. DOC

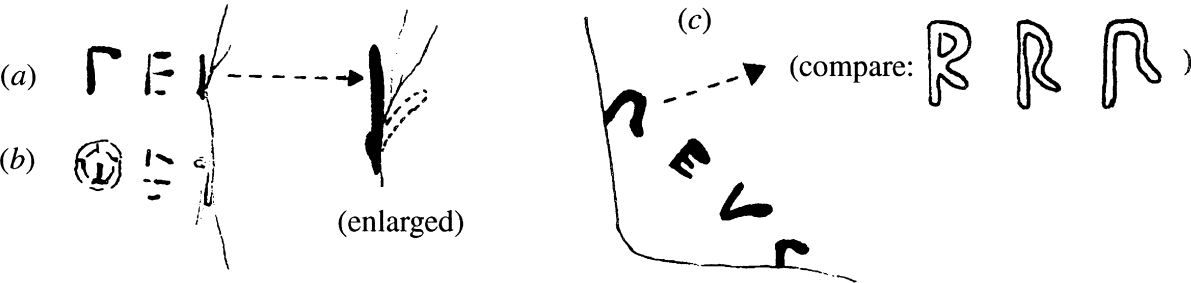
17. IOI
18. DOI
19. IOD
20. NAU
21. CAE
22. DOH



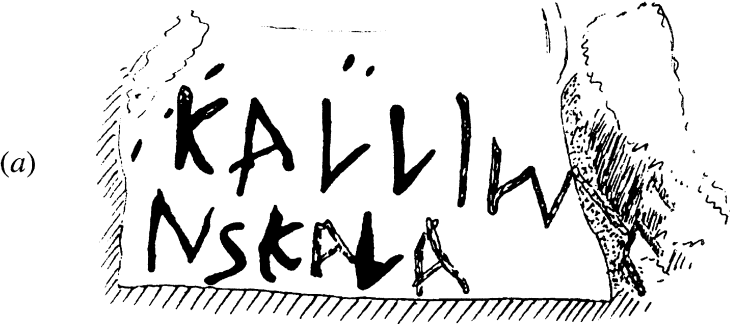
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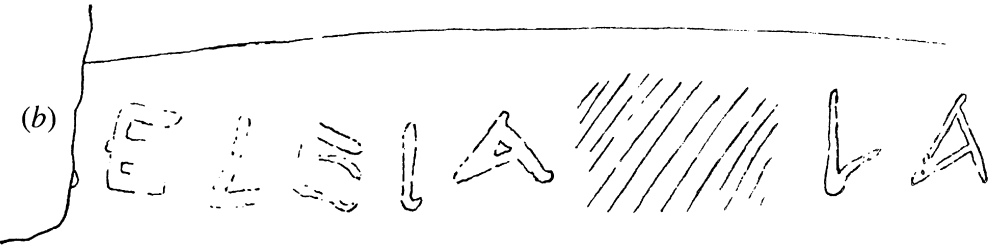
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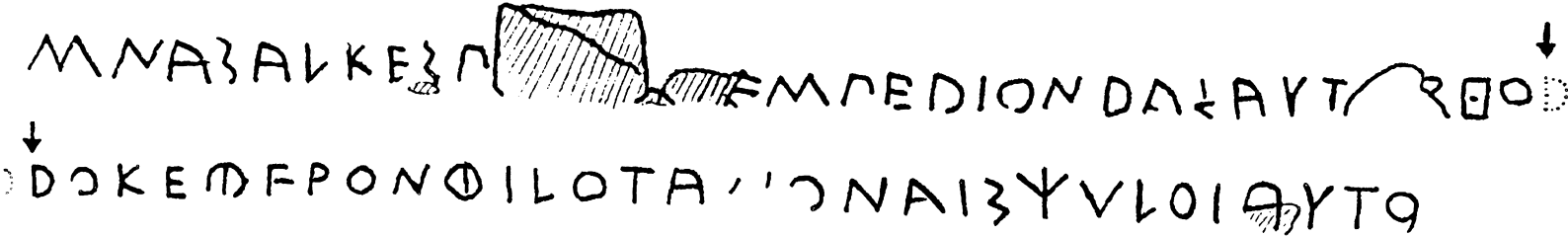
\*EUB 3 (< ph.)



BOI 2A (details)



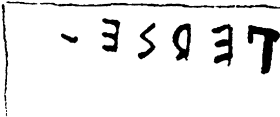
\*BOI 4C



BOI 6C (detail)



BOI 8



BOI 9b



BOI 11A

(1) (a) KRITON  
(b) NIKA



BOI 11B

(1) (a) KRITON  
(b) NIKA

(2) (a) KRITON  
(b) NIKA

(2) (a) TON

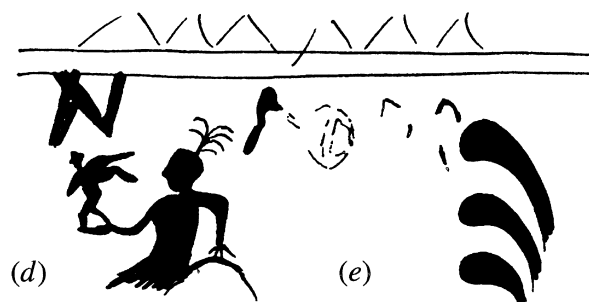
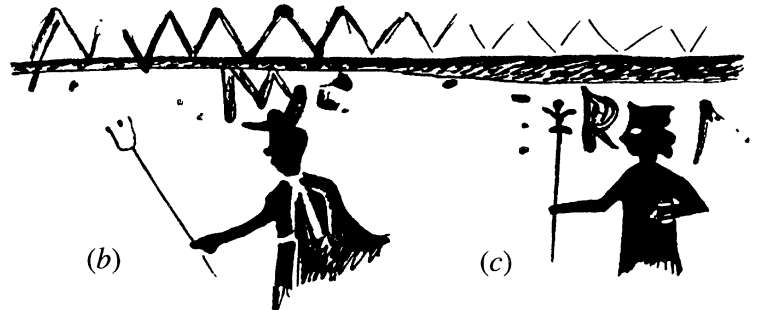
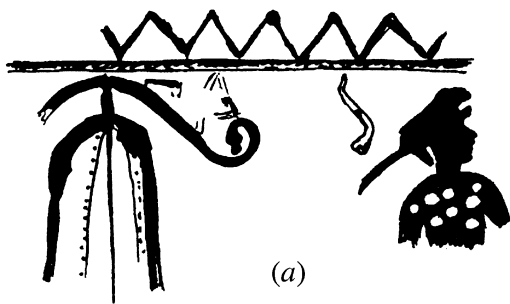
BOI 13

D A N A A

BOI 22

KIRKA

\*BOI 17 (details; < ph.)



(restoration)



(restoration)



COR 12j

Ο Ψ Μ Β Υ Μ

\*COR 16

Ε Ρ Ο Ψ Α Χ Σ Δ Μ

(b)

Α Ψ Ο Ν

(c)

Φ Ο Ρ Π Ο Μ

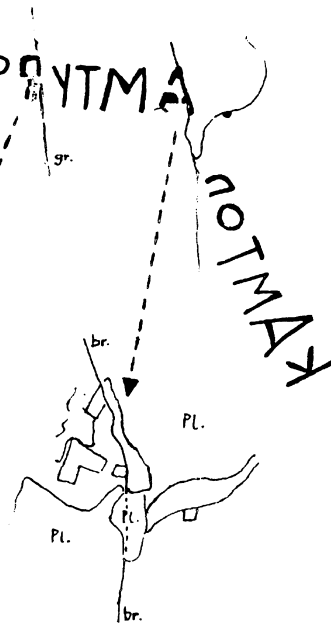
(d)

Μ Α Τ Ο Π Υ Τ Μ Α

(e)



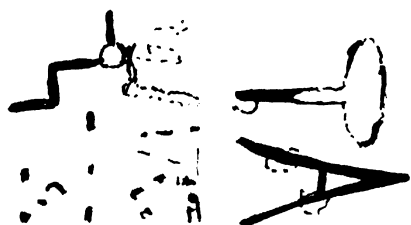
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(a)

COR 18 (details)



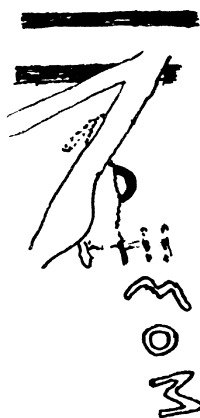
(a)



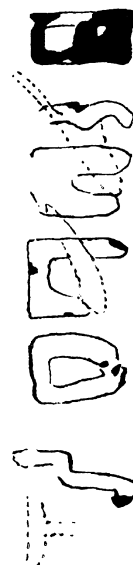
Ε Ρ Ο Ψ Α Χ Σ Δ Μ

(i)

COR 19i

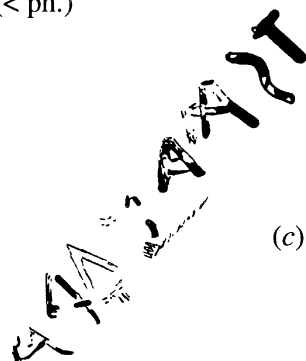


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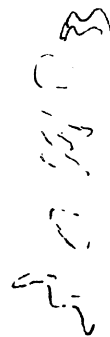
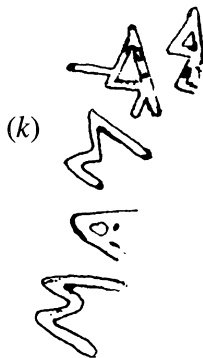
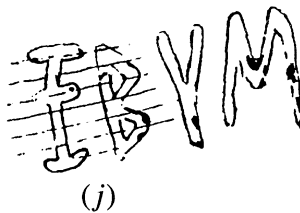
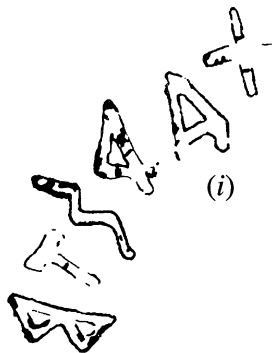
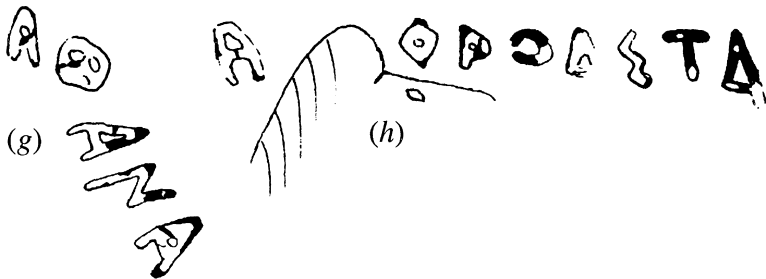
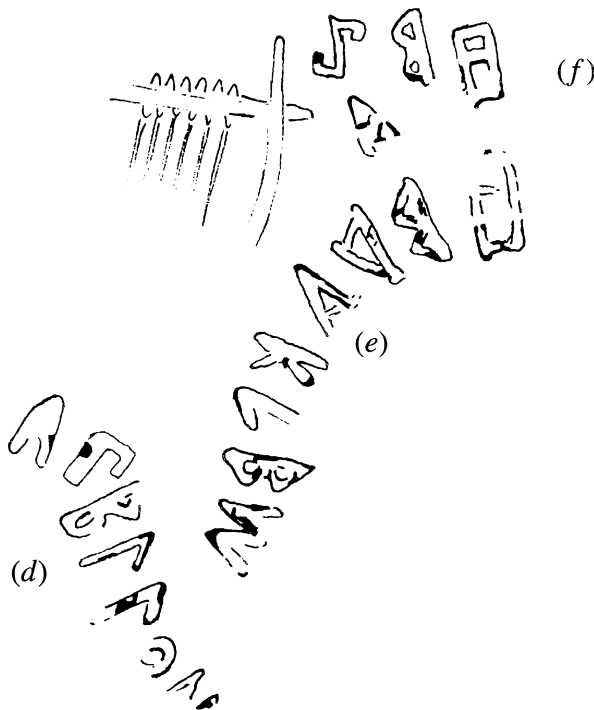
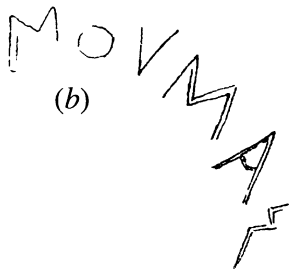
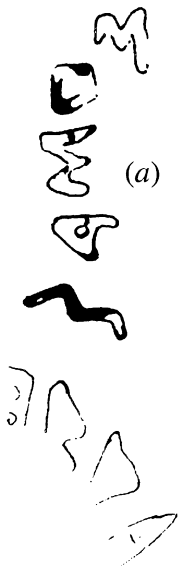


\*COR 24B (< ph.)

(b) (detail)



(c)



COR 44a

~~WON~~  
~~TP~~

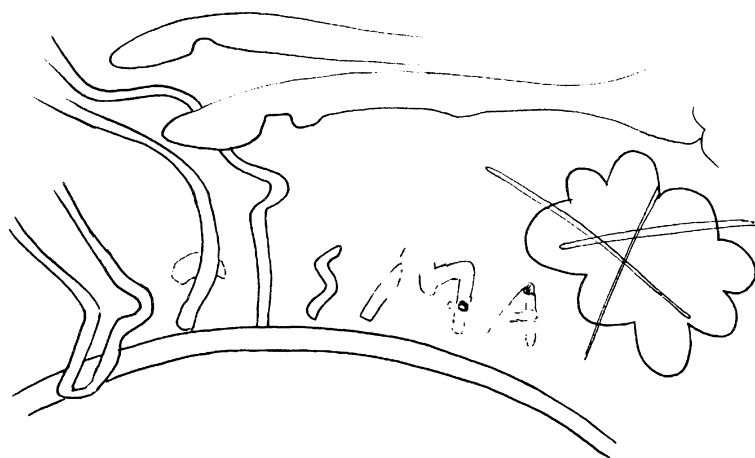
\*COR 46A

(a) BMBLOW  
(b) LTLBOKLOW  
(c) MOXAMVUW  
(d) LTL  
(e) M/OMVY3A  
(f) A3EAY  
(g) MOXAM / OQΔYA  
(h) Δ3OMBAM

\*COR 46B

(a) 309934A  
(b) XEPON  
(i) MAND  
(h) Δ3OMBAM

\*COR 52 (< ph.)



\*COR 50A

AIPANO

COR 53a (detail)



COR 57

(c) PUCO  
WAI

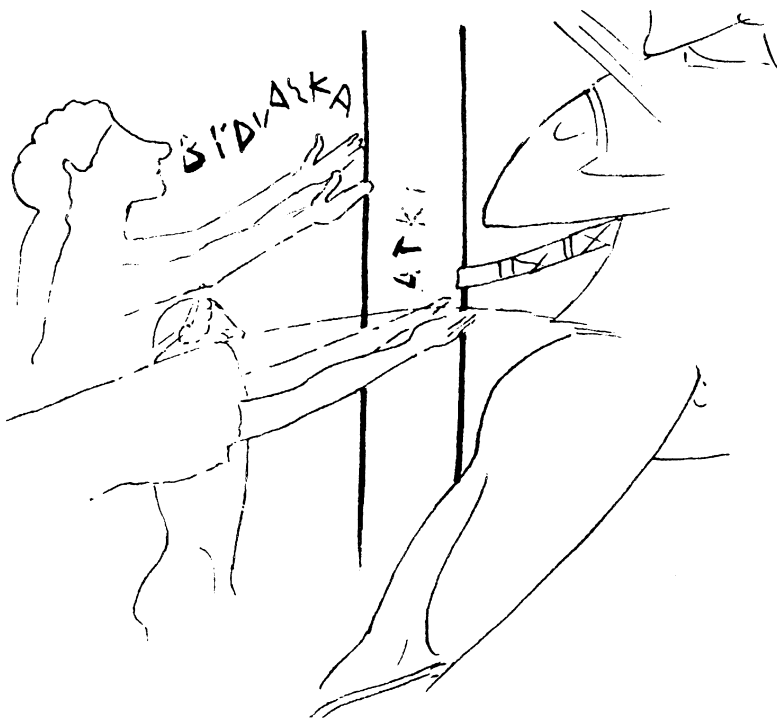
(j)

BKT%

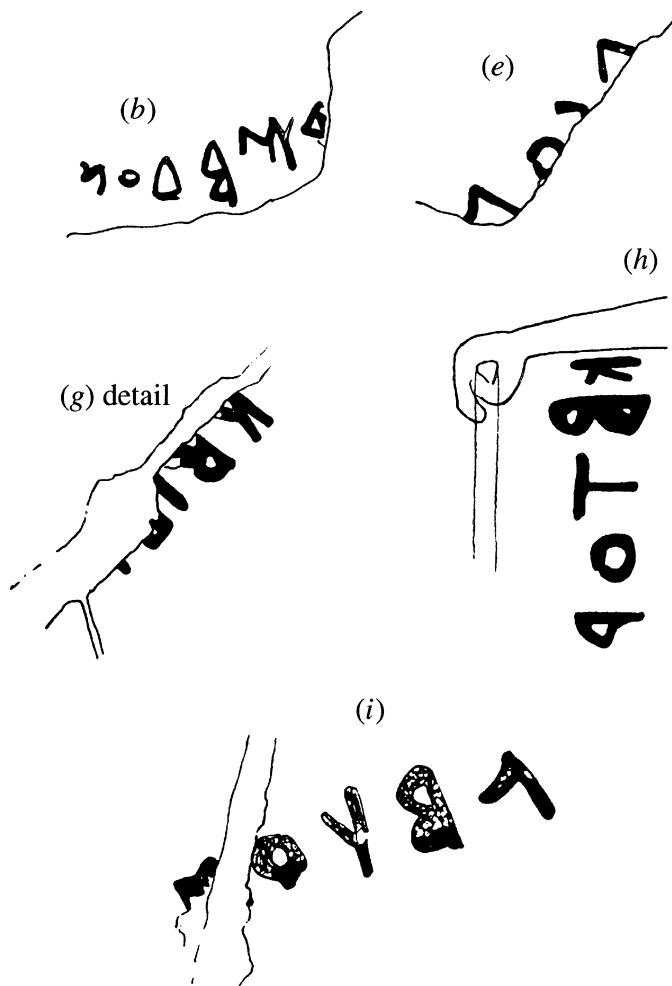
COR 62 (detail)



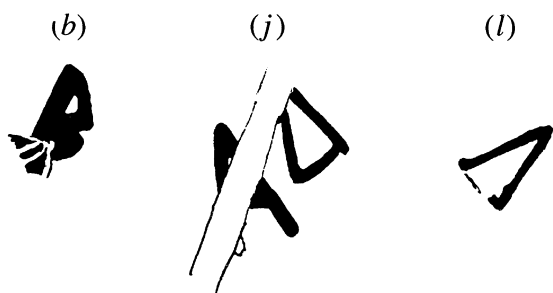
\*COR 66d-e (< ph. D)



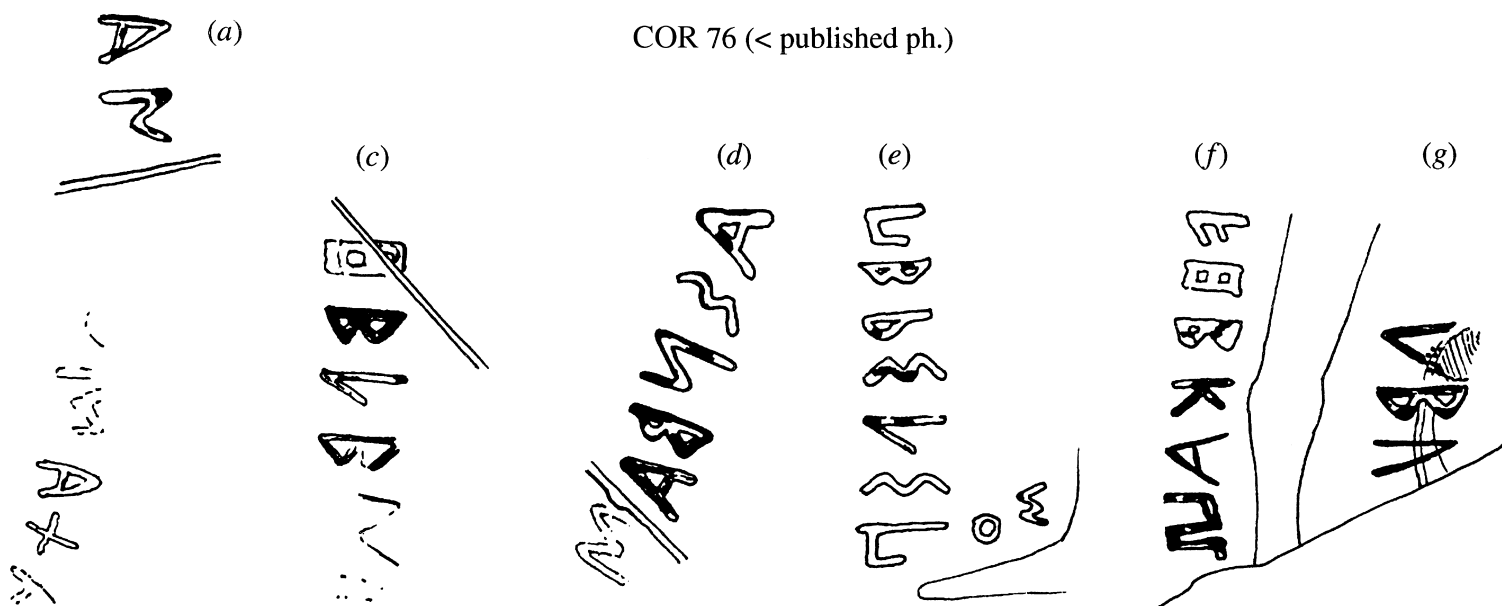
\*COR 68 (< ph.)



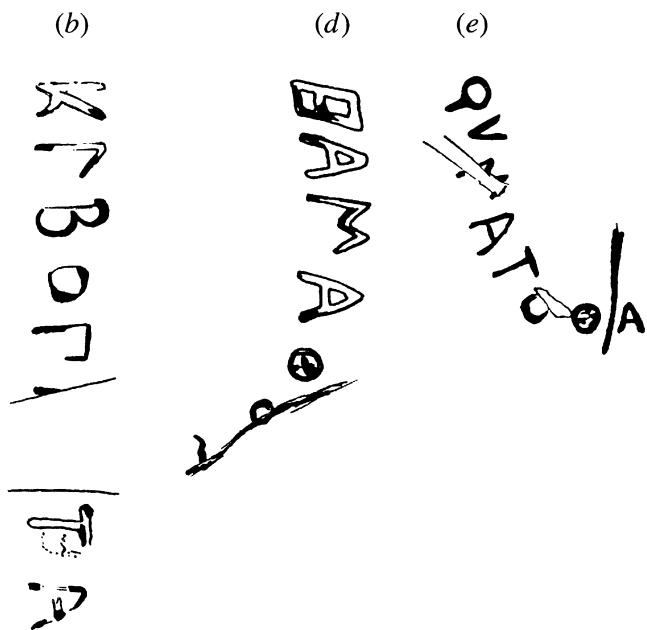
\*COR 70 (details)



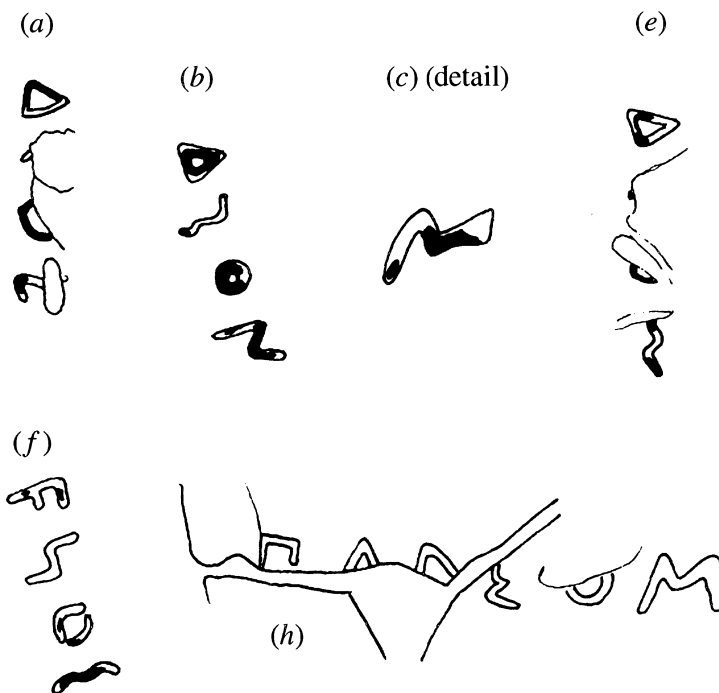
COR 76 (< published ph.)



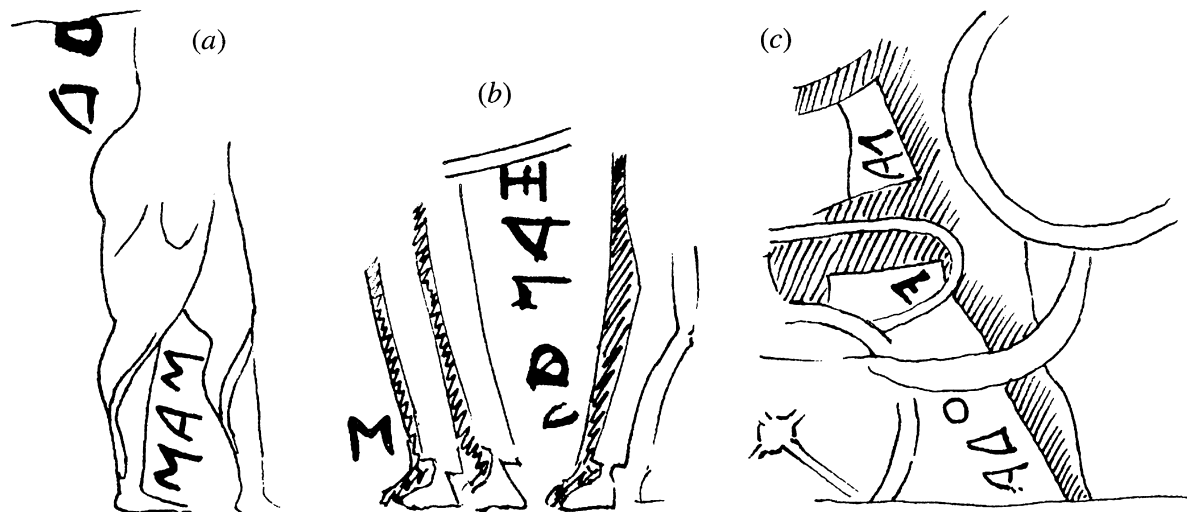
\*COR 77



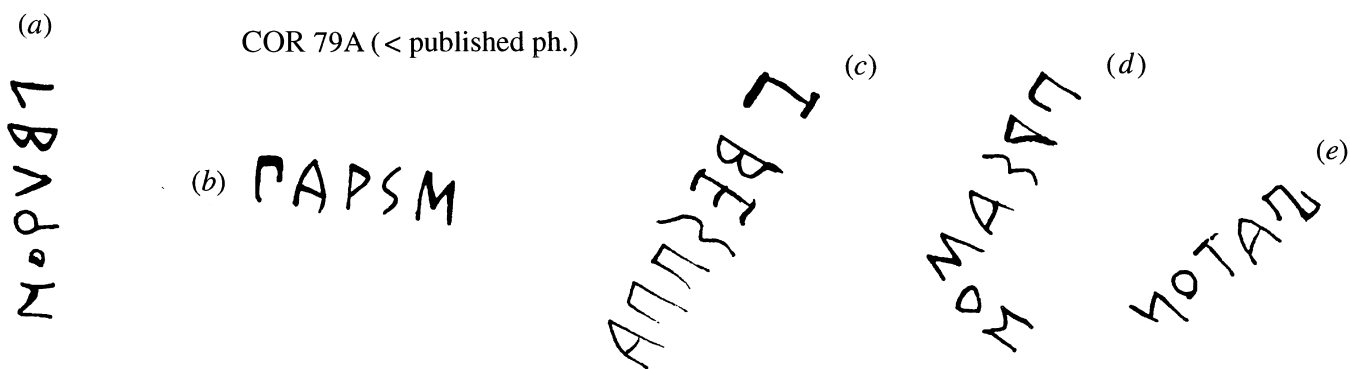
COR 78



\*COR 79 (< ph.)



COR 79A (< published ph.)



\*COR 81A

(a)

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(b)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(c)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(d)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(d)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(e)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(g)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(h)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(f)

COR 81B

(a)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(b)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

\*COR 82d (< ph.; restored)



COR 83bis (< ph.)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

COR 88

(a)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

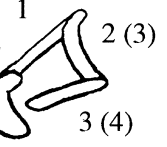
(b)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(c)

Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.

(enlarged)



(d)

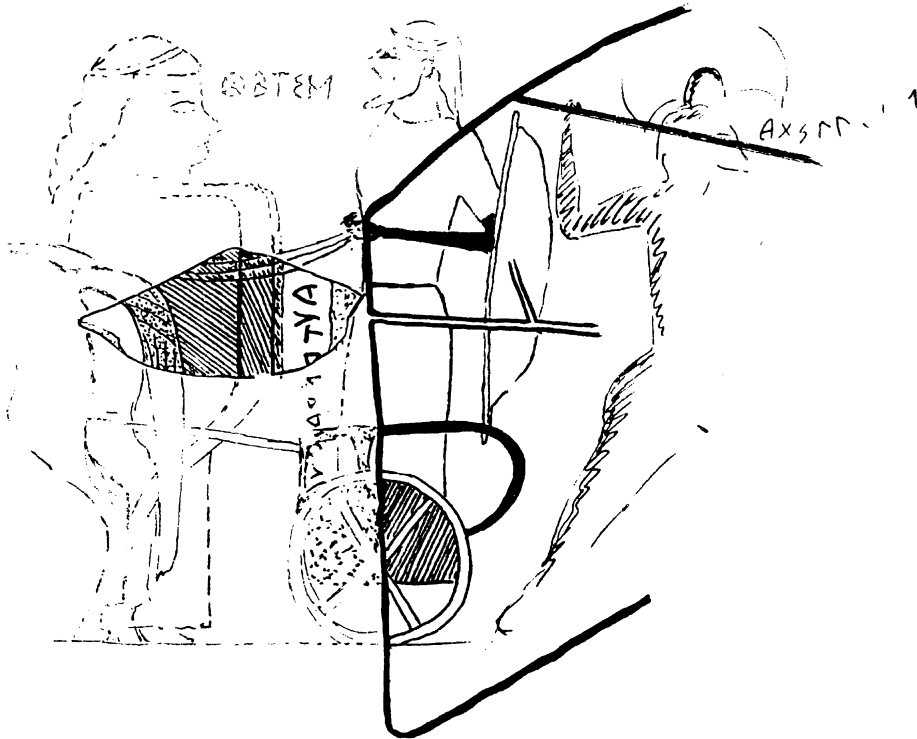
Handwritten text in a stylized script, possibly a mix of letters and symbols.



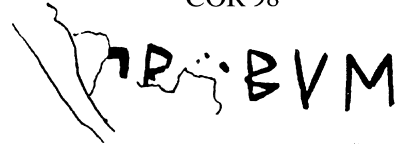
COR 92 (< ph.)



COR 93 (< published ph.; position of small fr.)



\*COR 98



\*COR 102e (< ph.)



\*COR 103



(Fröhner's dr.)

(end of (b) and (c) < ph.)



(E. D. Reeder's dr. of ξ and θ)

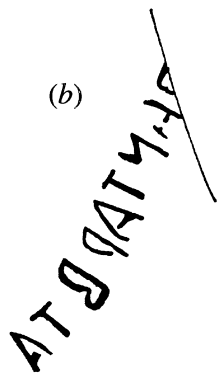
COR 105f (detail;  
< published ph.)



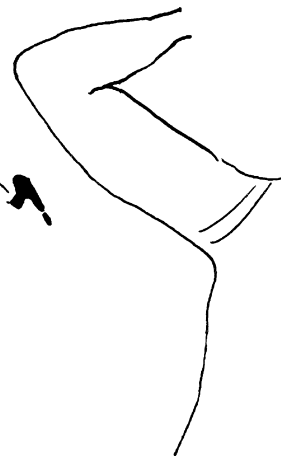
\*COR 110

(a)

(b)



\*COR 115A



\*COR 119c

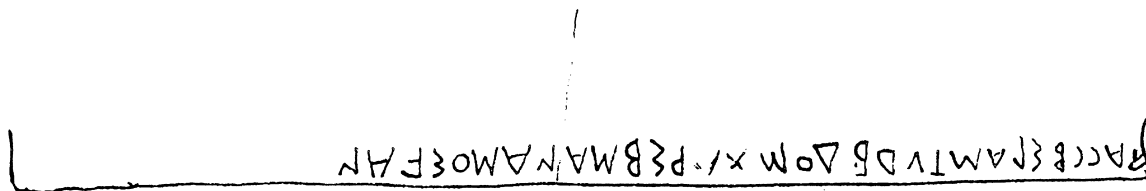


\*COR 127 (< ph.)  
(the original is circular, cf. ph.)



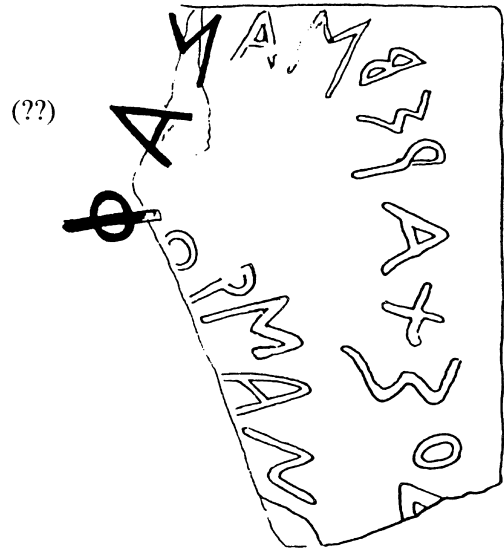
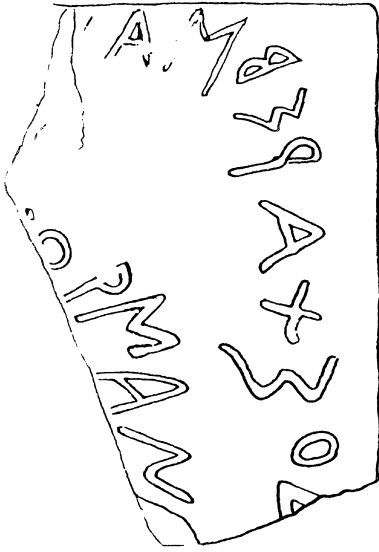
end / beginning

COP 1A



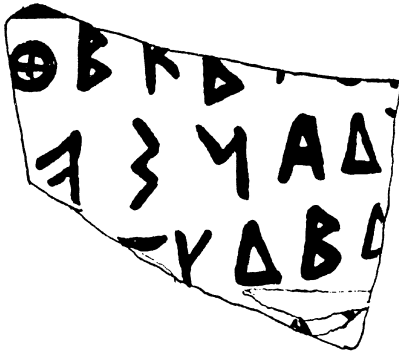
(corner, enlarged)





(restoration according to Röhl)

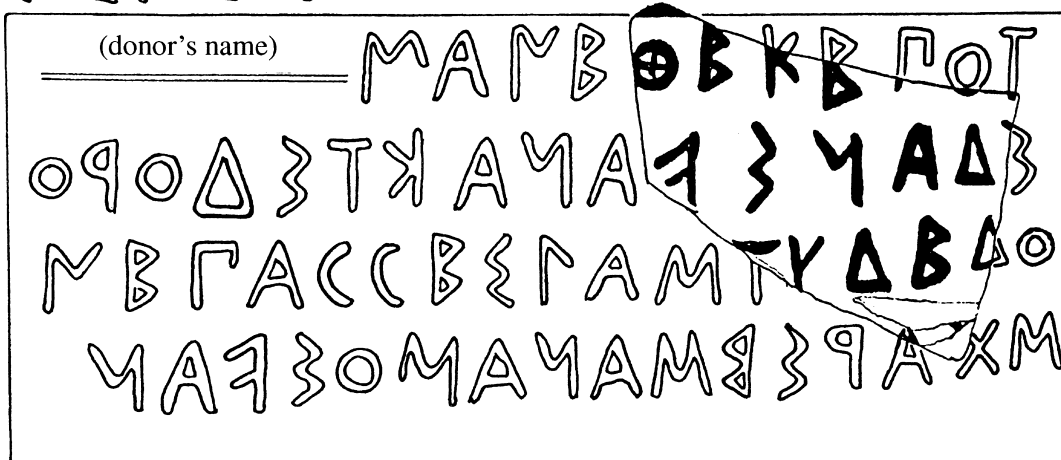
COP 1D



(in possible context)

ΜΕΜΕΣΟΝ e.g.

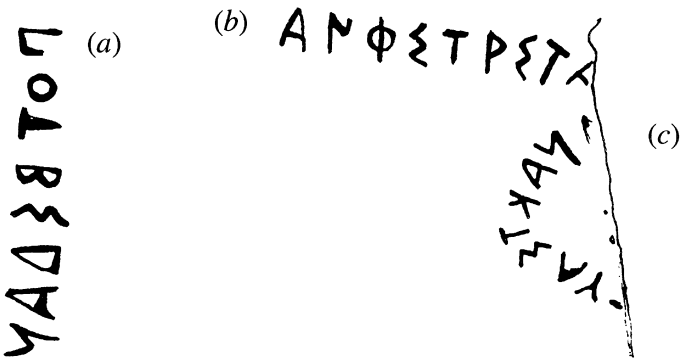
COP 1C



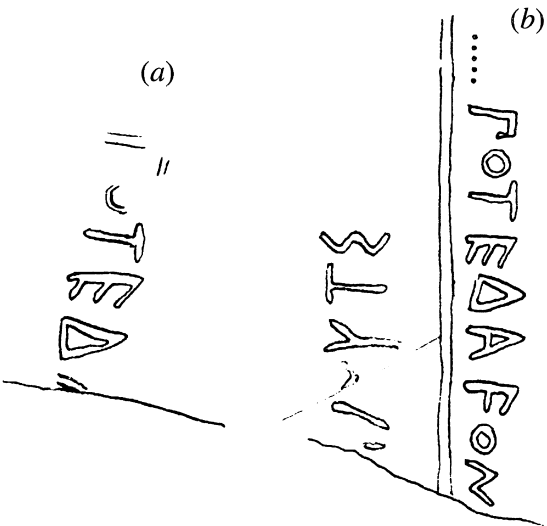
COP 2A



COP 2C



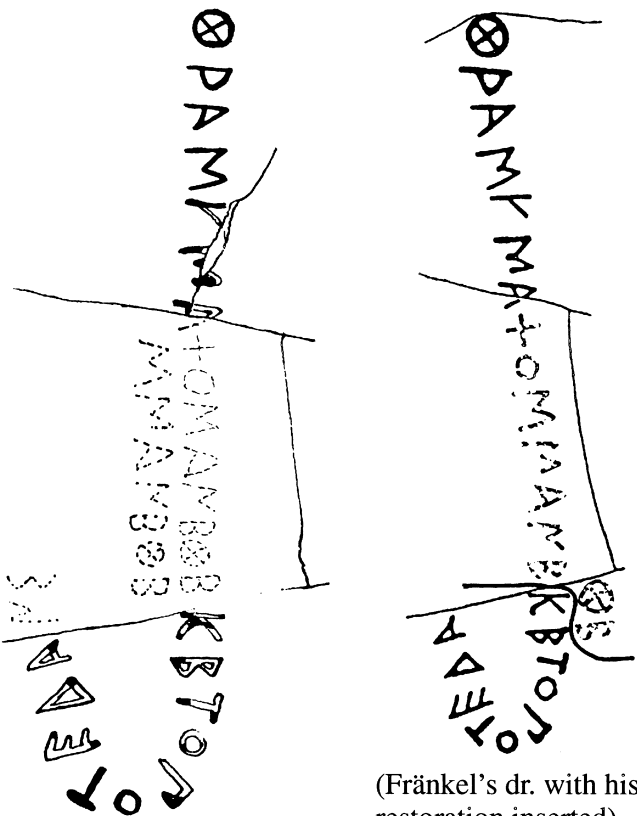
COP 3 (details)



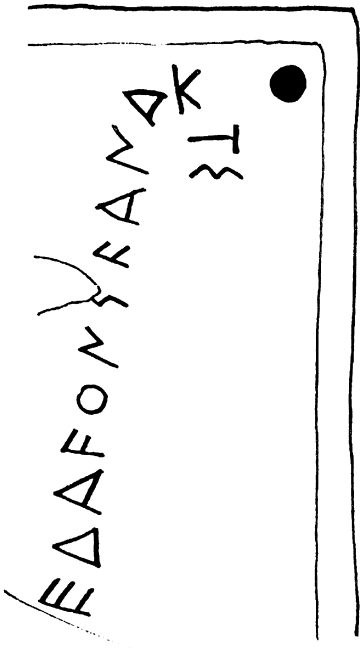
\*COP 5b



COP 7



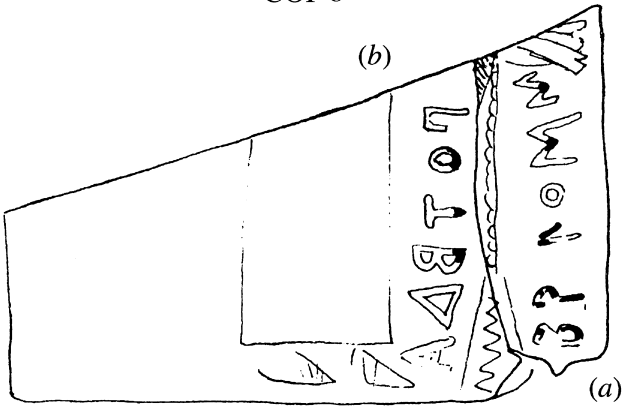
COP 4



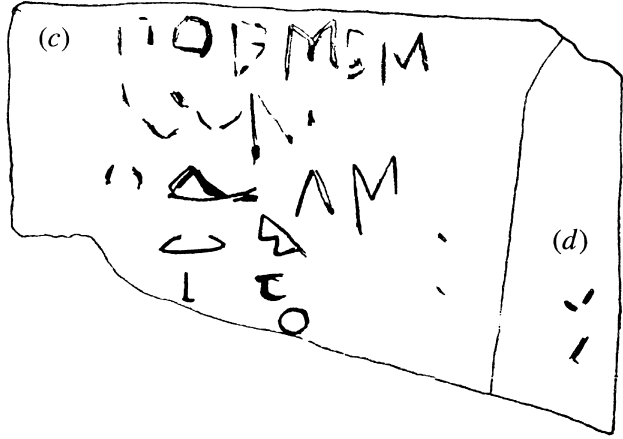
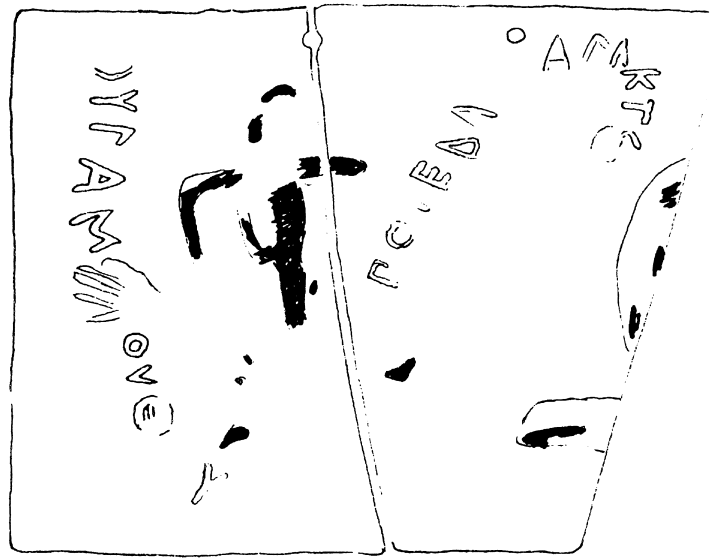
COP 6



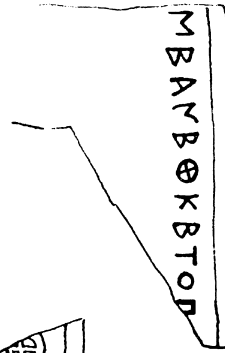
COP 8



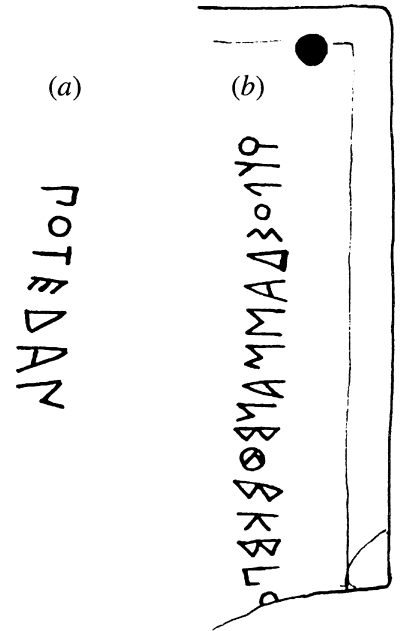
COP 10



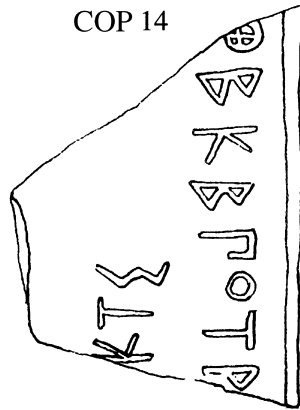
COP 9 (Berlin part)



COP 11



COP 14



COP 12



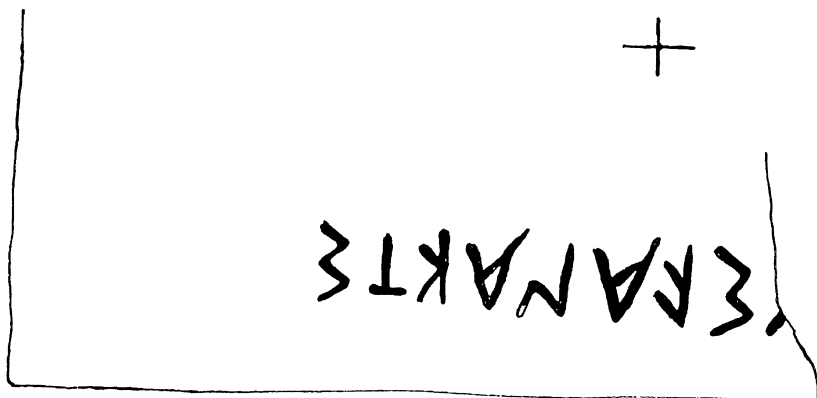
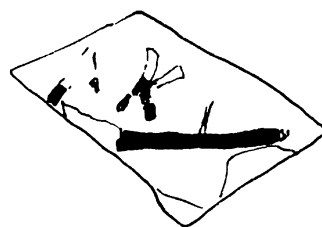
COP 13



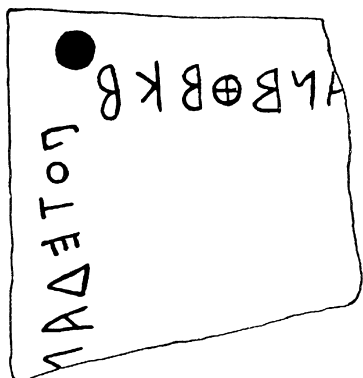
COP 15



COP 17



COP 19



COP 21



COP 22



(a)

COP 20

(b)



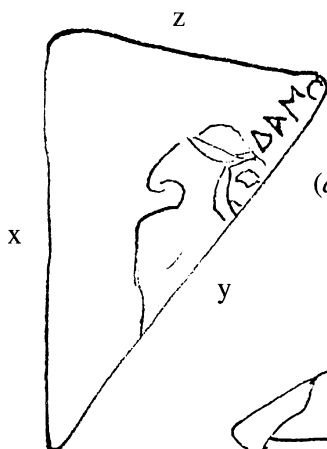
(c)



COP 23

(a)

(c)

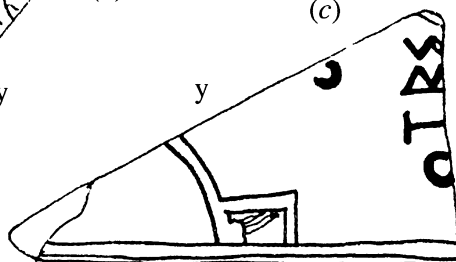


y

y

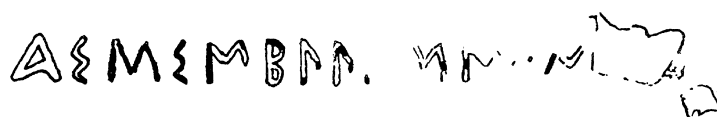
z

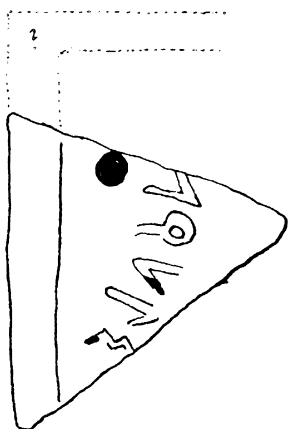
(b)



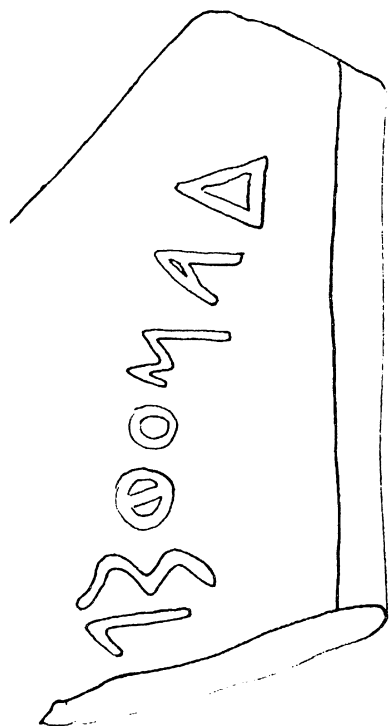
x

COP 25

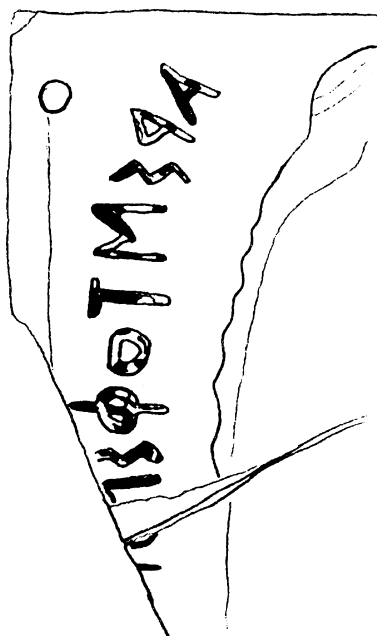
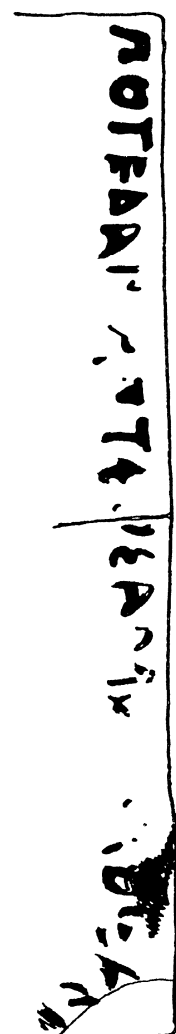
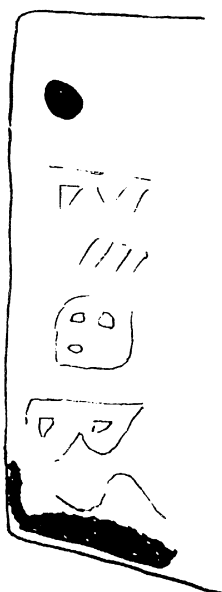




COP 30



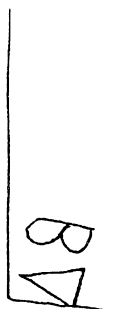
COP 33



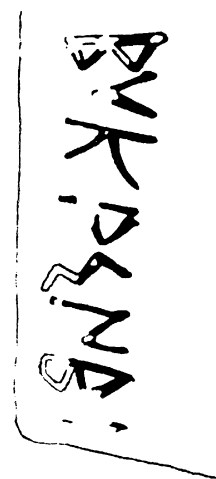
COP 31



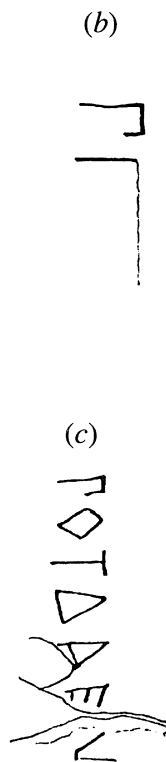
COP 32



COP 34 (< ph.)



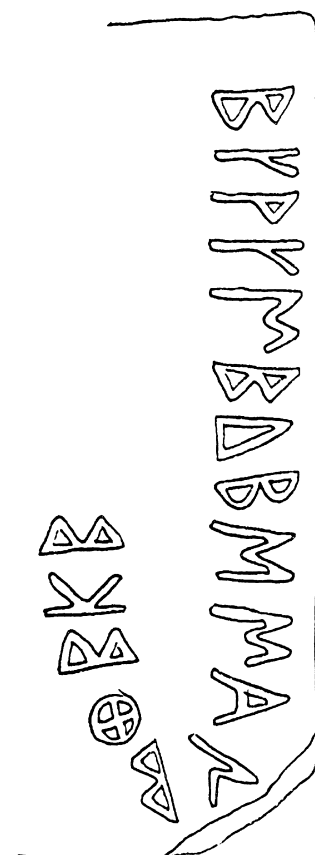
(a)



(b)

(c)

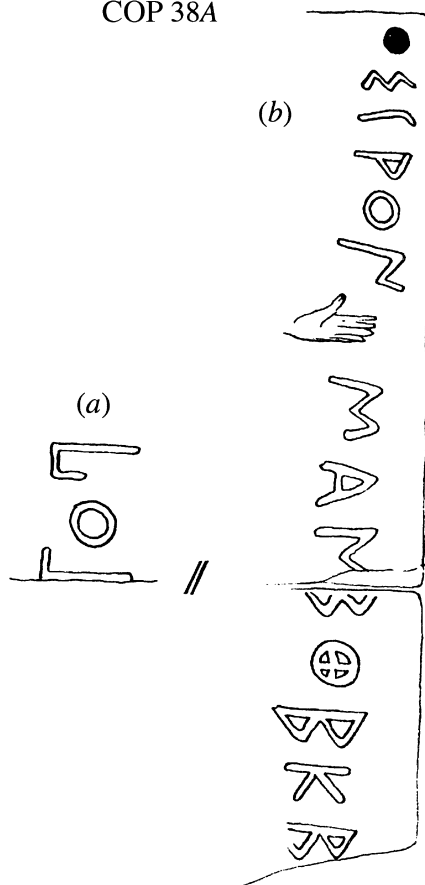
COP 35b



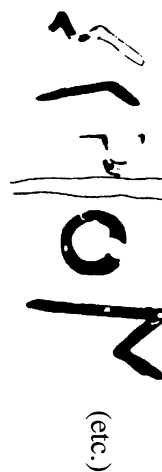
COP 37



COP 38A



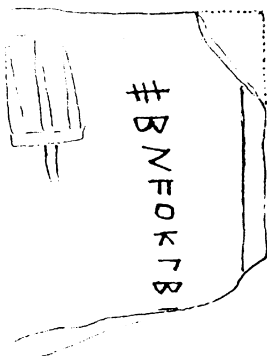
\*COP 38Bb



COP 40



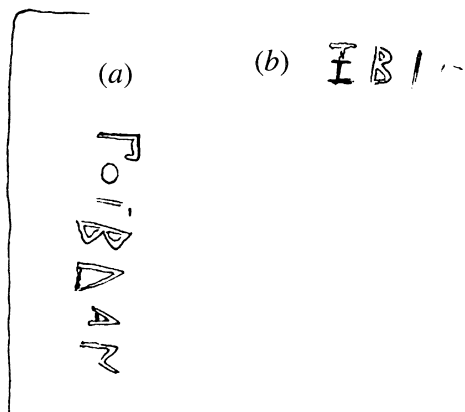
COP 43



COP 39



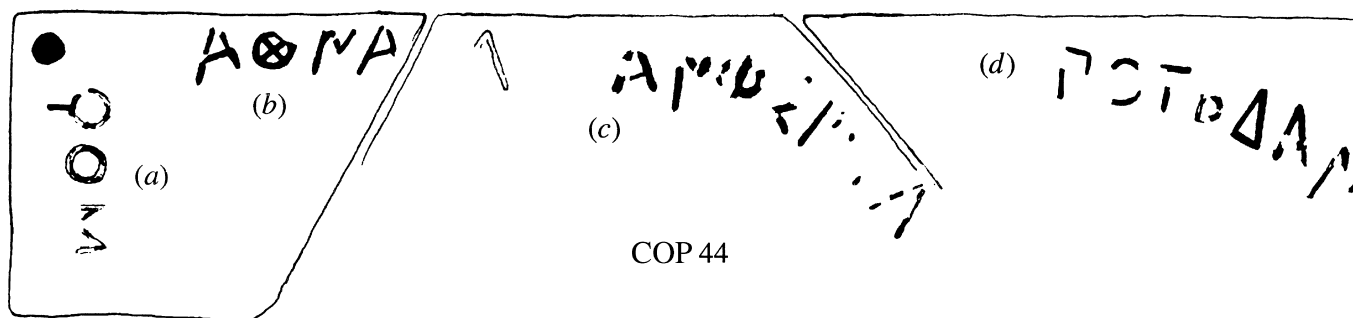
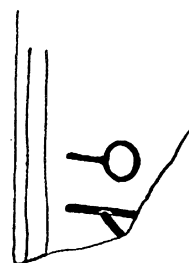
COP 42



COP 45



COP 46



COP 44



COP 48A

ΦΓΒΓΟΜΜΑΓΒΘΒΚΒ

COP 48B

ΦΓΒΓΟΜΜΑΓΒΘΒΚΒ

COP 50

BM: AN BOBK B  
1100 M A P 5 A

COP 51B

MMANNN

COP 52

(a) 1M ANBΘBOKB  
(b) WNNNN

COP 53

MANBΘBK B

COP 54

1100

COP 55 (detail)

W  
(etc.)

COP 57D

WBOBK B

COP 56

(b) ANBΘBK B  
(a) ΘYAE

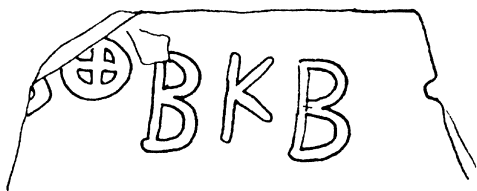
COP 57B

BOBK B

COP 57E

WBOBK B

COP 57F



COP 57J



COP 57K

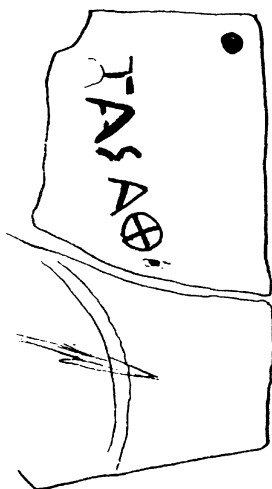


COP 57M

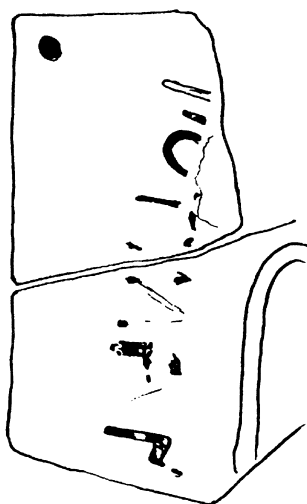


COP 58

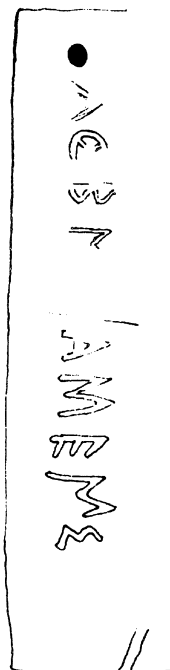
(b)



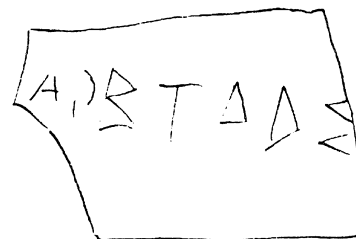
(a)



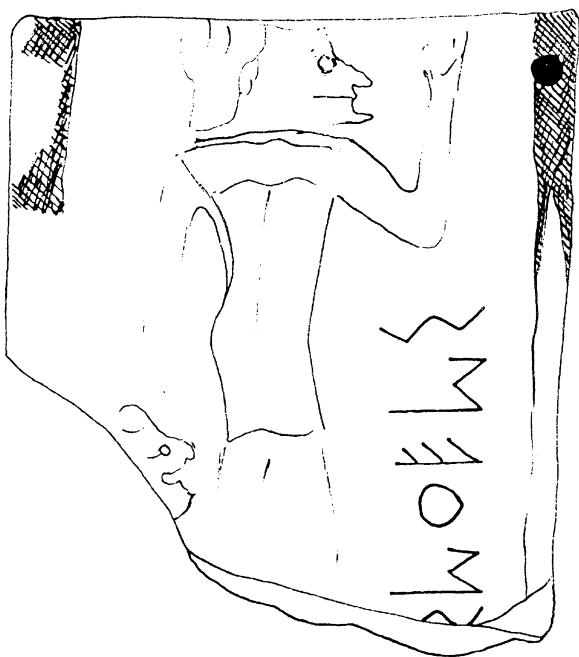
COP 59



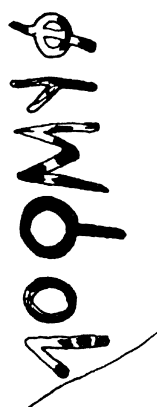
COP 60



COP 61



(a)



COP 62

(b)



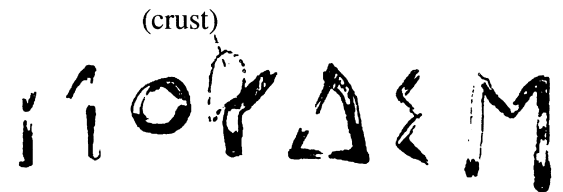
COP 63



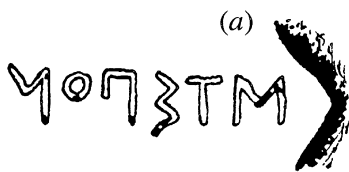
COP 64

$\Delta\beta\rho\epsilon\mu$

\*COP 65b



COP 66



(b)



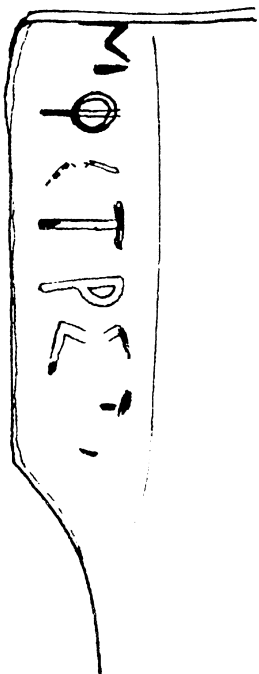
\*COP 67



COP 68



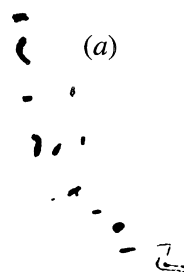
COP 69A



COP 69B



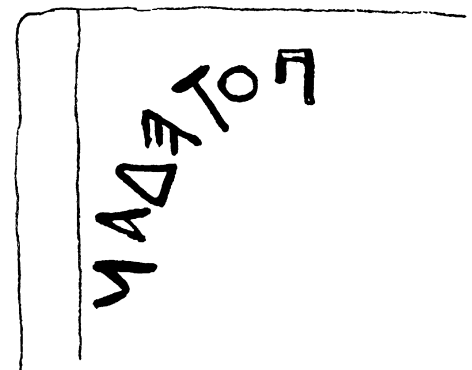
COP 70



COP 71



COP 72



COP 73B

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73C

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73D

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73E

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73G

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73H

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73J

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73K

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73L

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73M

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73N

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 73O

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 76

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 77

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 74

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 75

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

(b)

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

(a)

ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

(d)

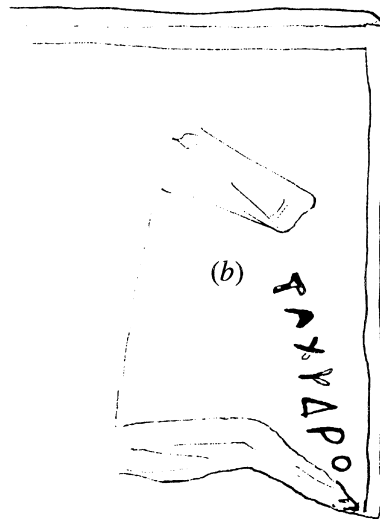
ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

(e)

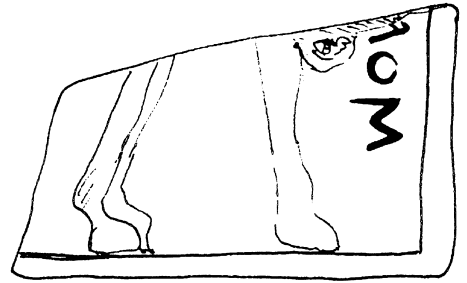
ΠΟΤΕΔΑΝ

COP 79

(a)  
CYPROM



COP 80



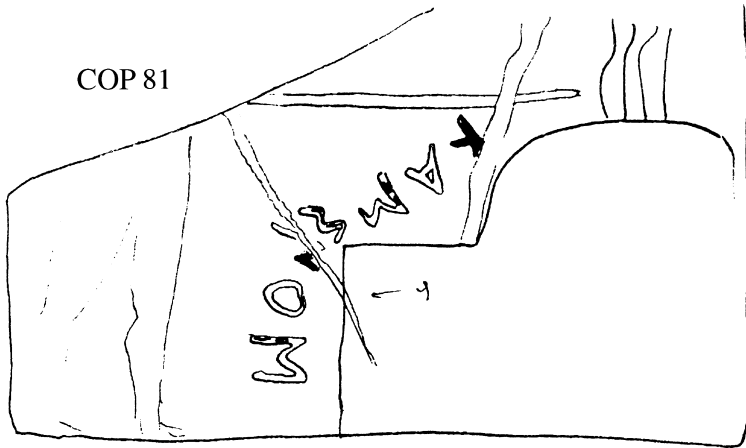
COP 78

(a)  
= ABVM

(b)  
CYPROM

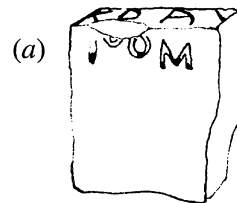
COP 83

COP 81



COP 82

(b)  
KDAY  
CYPROM



POTEM  
CYPROM

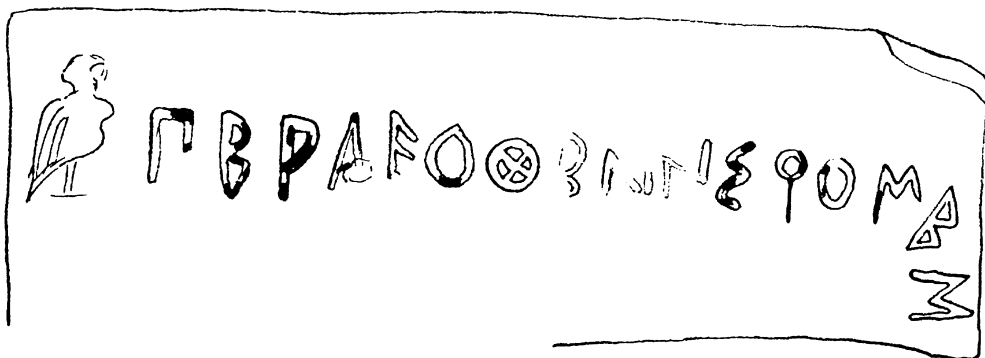
COP 84A



COP 84B

POTEM  
CYPROM

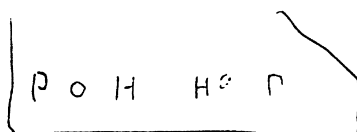
COP 85



COP 87



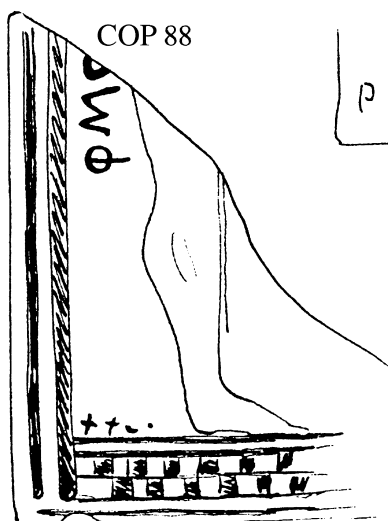
COP 89



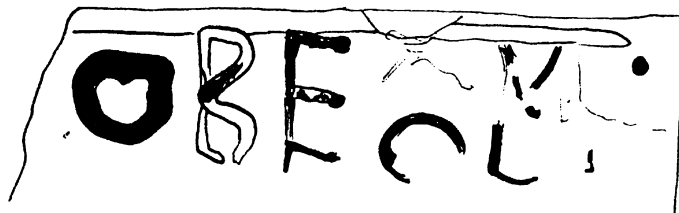
COP 90A

A003BT  
A203BT0P}N02AZ6

COP 88



COP 90B



COP 91



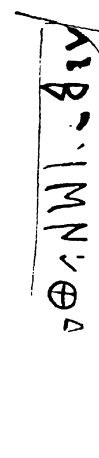
COP 92



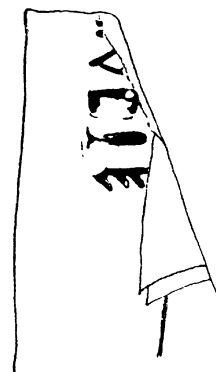
COP 94



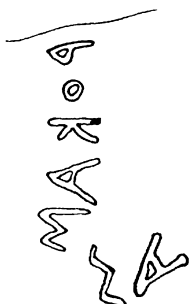
COP 95

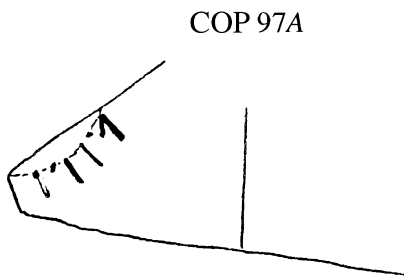


COP 96

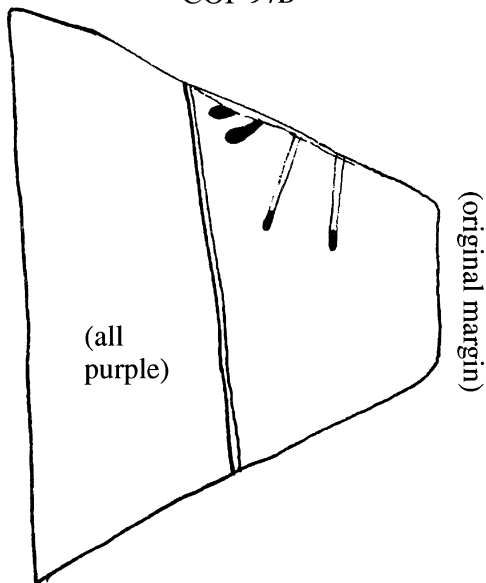


COP 93





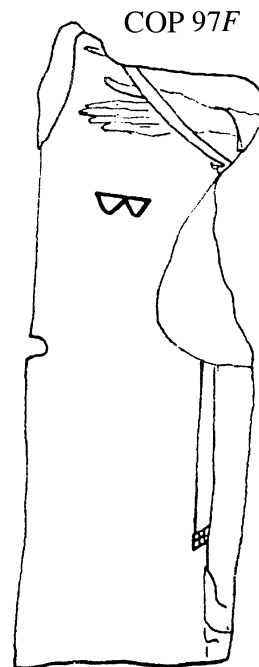
COP 97A



COP 97B

(all purple)

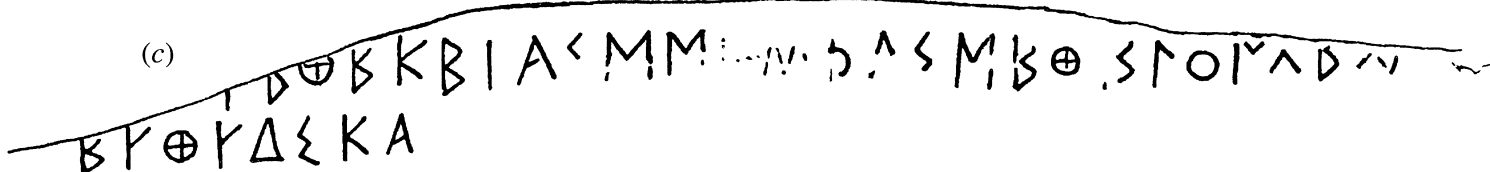
(original margin)



COP 97F

COP App. 1A (< ph.)

(c)



(a)

(b)

BYΦOΓΞM

(d)

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COP App. 1D (< ph.)



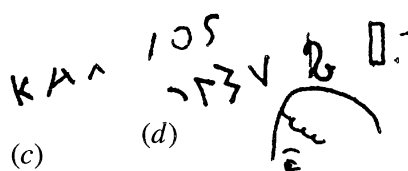
COP App. 1B (< ph.)

(e)



(a)

(b)



(c)

(d)

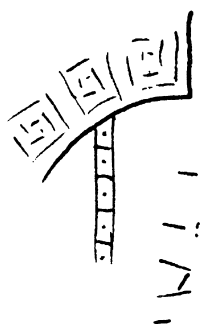
Σ ΤΒΓΒΜΟΞΟ

COP App. 1C (&lt; ph.)

LAK 3h

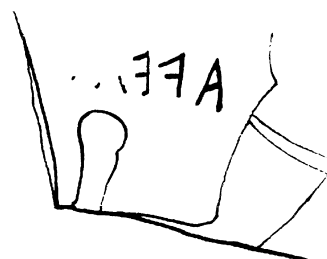
LAK 5

LAK 7 (&lt; published ph.)

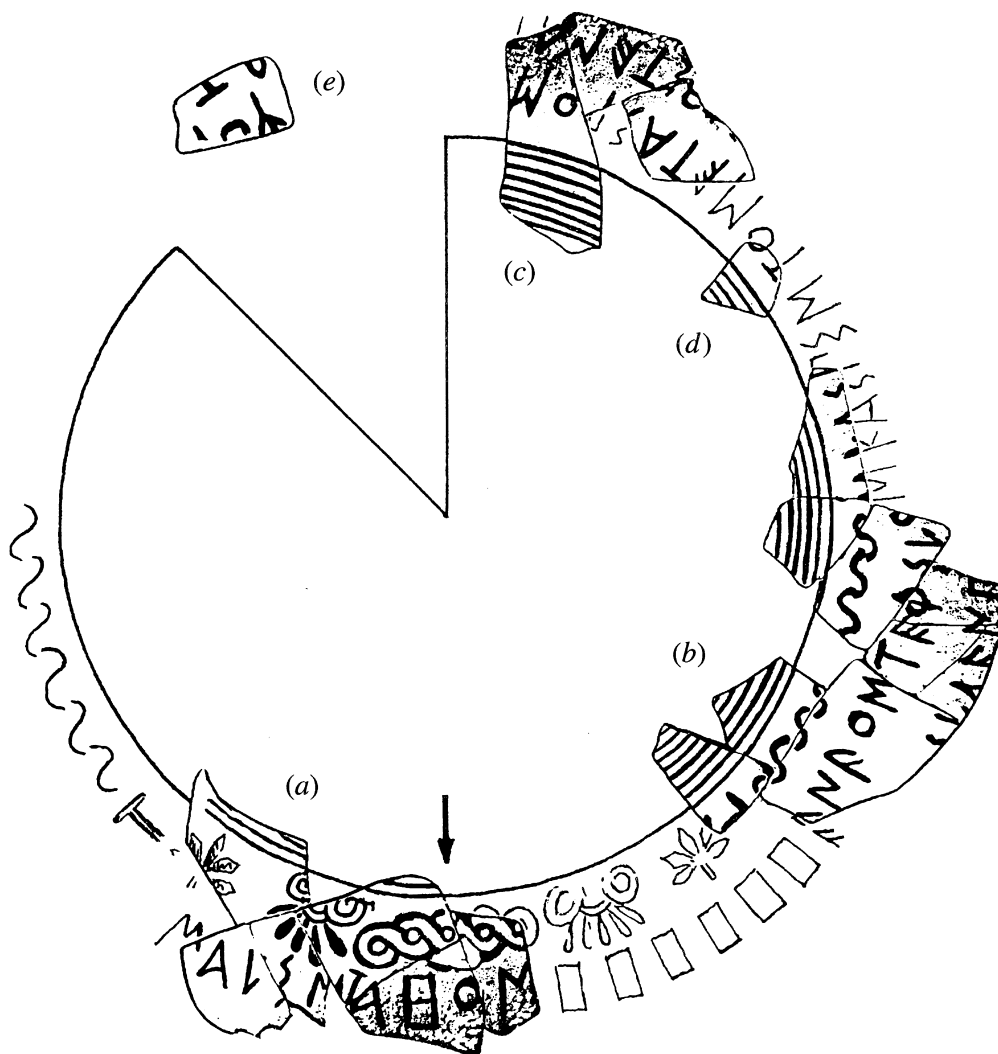
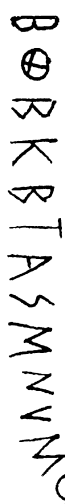


7 MAY

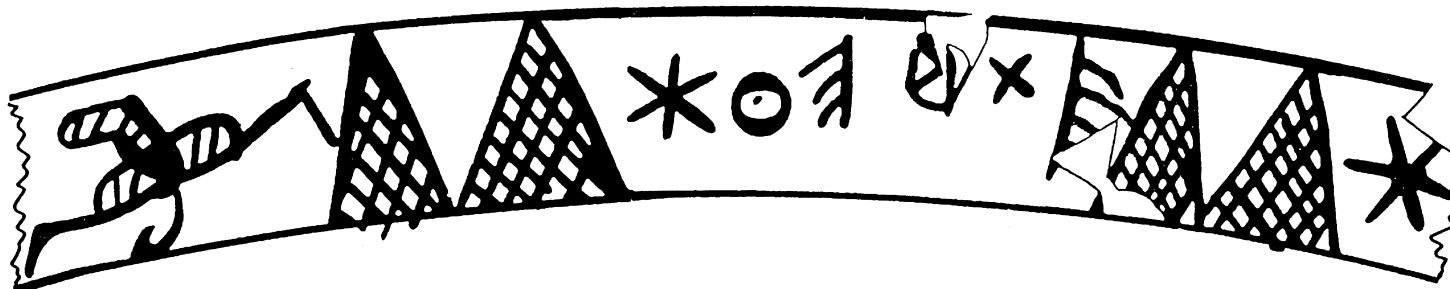
ENN 31 30719



ITH 1 (< ph.)



EUC 2 (G. Buchner's dr.)





CHA 2 (< published ph.)

(a) AΘENAIΕ  
 (b) ΕΠΑΚΛΕΣ  
 (c) ΑΒΡΟΝΕΣ  
 (d) ΕΥΡΥΤΙΟΝ

CHA 3

(c) T V X  
 (plaster)  
 (old surface, damaged)  
 (plaster)  
 (d) T  
 (e) OT V 3 9  
 (g) ΕΠΑΚΛΕΣ  
 (i) (detail)  
 (etc.)

\*CHA 6

(Paris part)  
 (a) 01 2  
 (b) ΠΟΛΥΒΟΣ  
 (c) 05  
 (Basle part)  
 (d) 3090ΔΥ

CHA 7 (< published ph.)

ΔΥΛΛΕΥΣ

\*CHA 9

(a) ΕΝΑΙΕ  
 (d) ΝΕΙΔΕ  
 (b) ΕΠΑΚΛΕΣ  
 (e) 3 V 3 3 3 3 3  
 (c) 3 3 3 3 3 3 3  
 (f) ΑΘΕΑ

\*CHA 11, end of (b)

0100

CHA 12 (< published ph.)

(a) ΔΡΕΣΤΟΣ  
 (b) 3 3 3 3 3 3 3  
 (c) Α

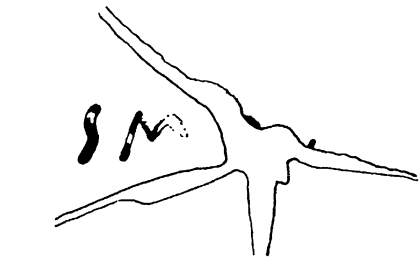
(c) 

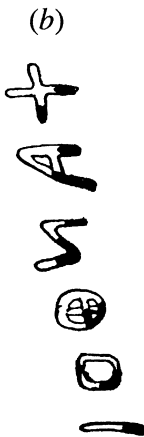
 (d)

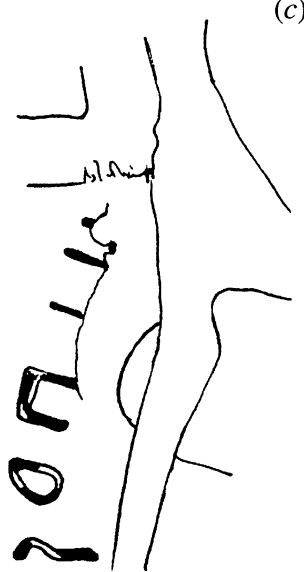
(e) 

CHA 14

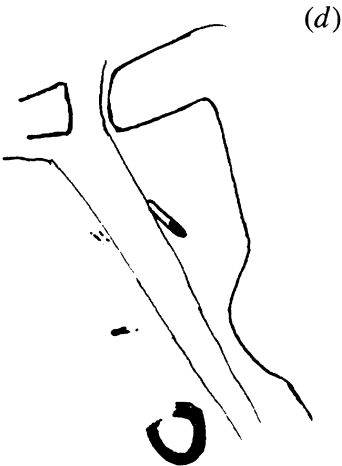
(a) 

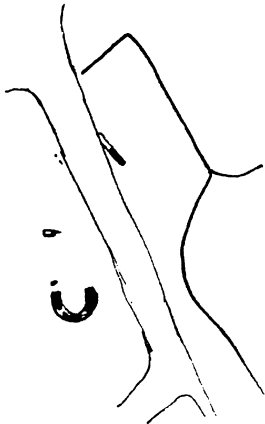


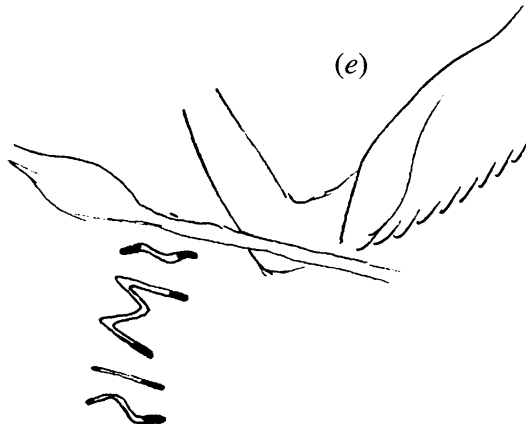
(b) 

(c) 



(d) 

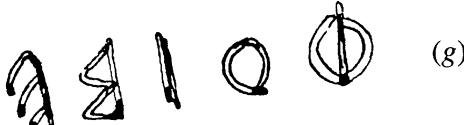


(e) 

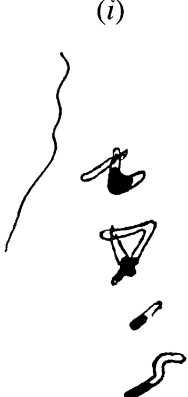


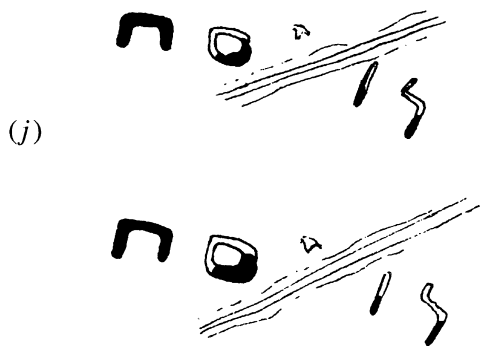
(f) 



(g) 

(h) 

(i) 



(j)

(k)

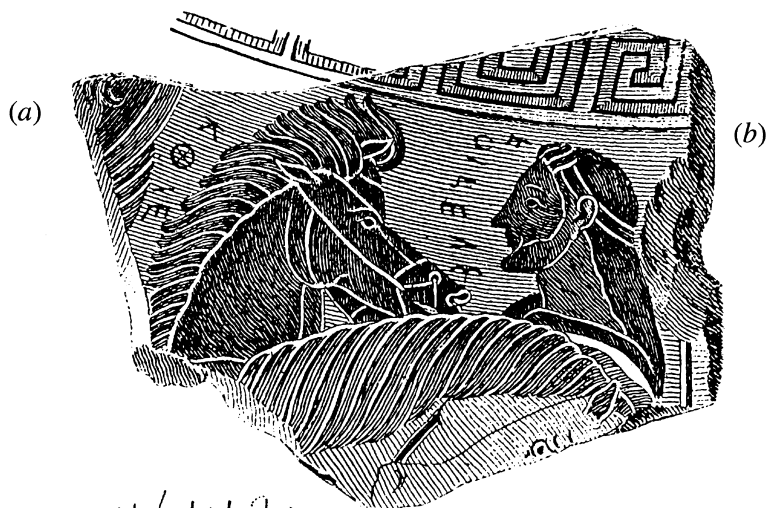
CHA 16 (< published ph.)

CHA 17 (< published dr.)



(a)

(b)



(a)

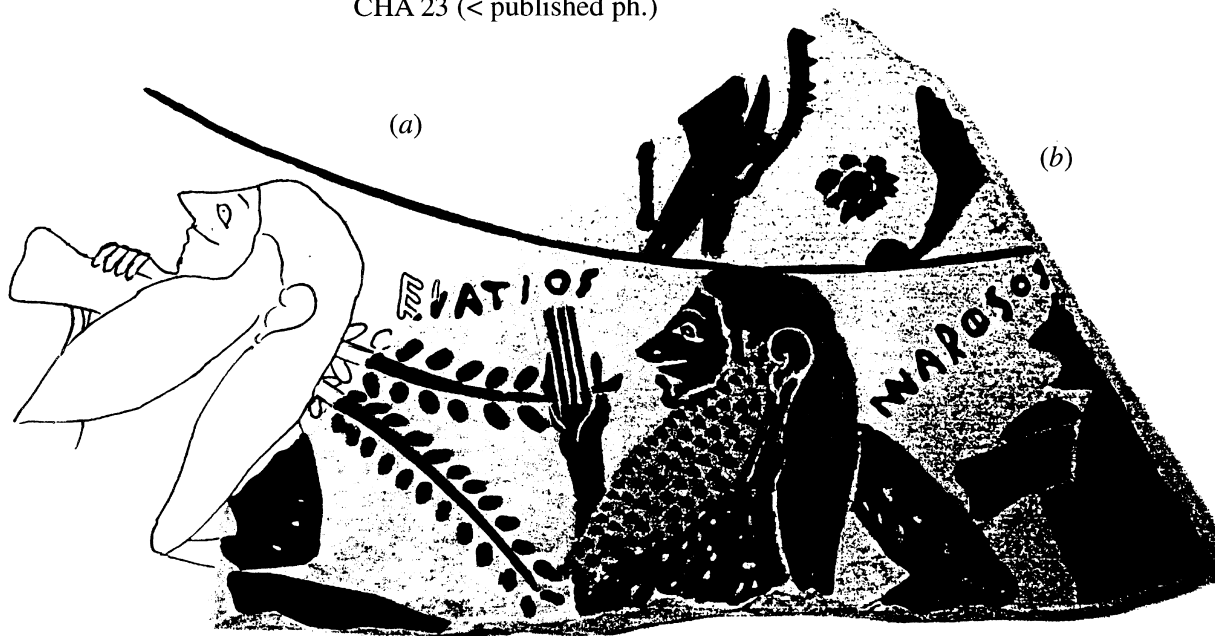
(b)

(compare:  $\chi / \chi \chi \chi$ )

CHA 19 (< published ph.)



CHA 23 (< published ph.)



(a)

(b)

CHA 26 (< published ph.)

CHA 27a (< ph.)

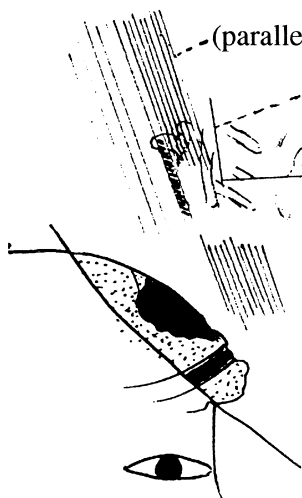
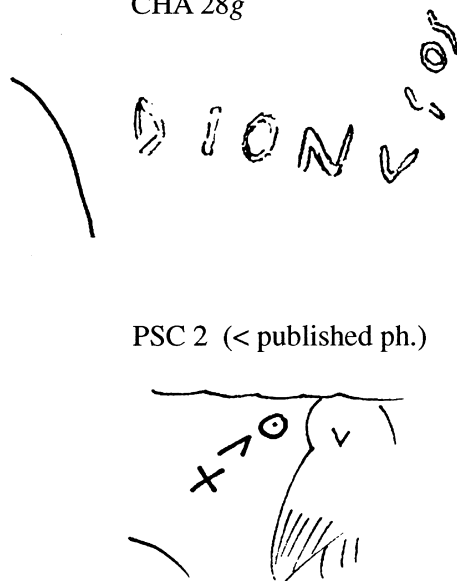
CHA 28g

PSC 2 (< published ph.)

\*PSC 1

ETR 1

ETR 2



(parallel scratches covering the surface)

(two additional cuts)

(enlarged)

(a)

(b)

(d)

(c)

(e)

(a)

(d)

(b)

(e)

(c)

0 T 0 9 3

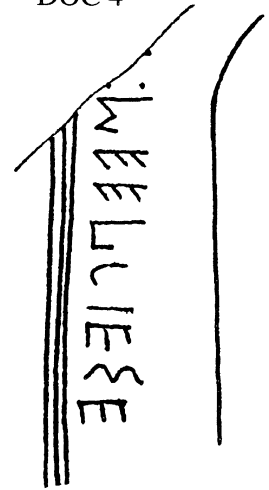
\*ETR 3b



letters  
enlarged:



DOC 4



IOI 2



(e)



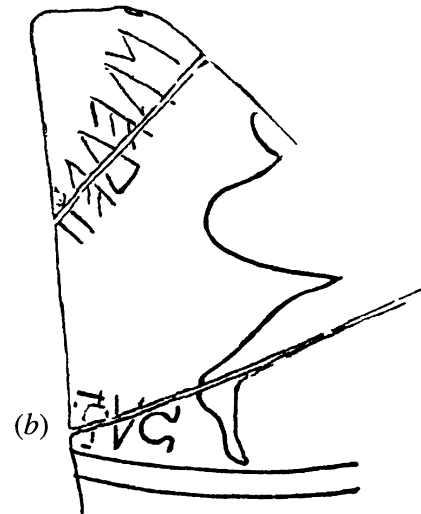
(g) (detail: first letter)

ETR 4 (C. Monnier's dr.)



IOI 6 (< ph.)

(a)



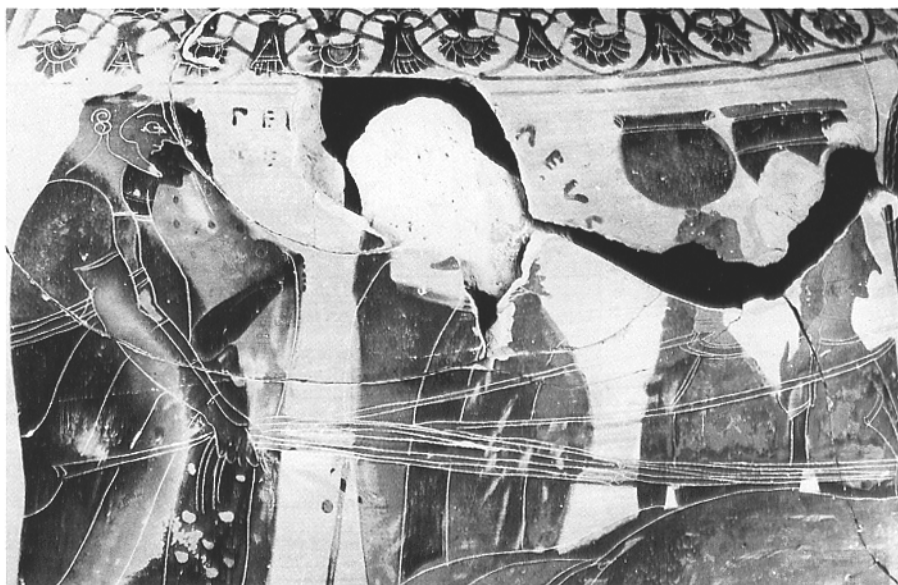
(b)

CAE 1a





EUB 1



EUB 2

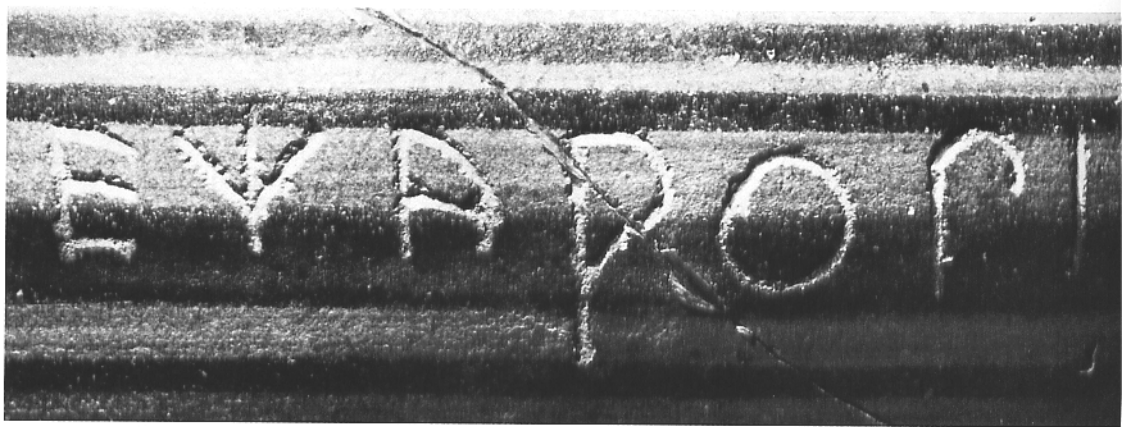


EUB 3 (a)

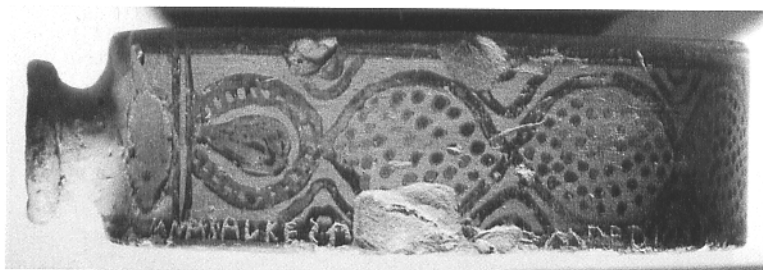


EUB 3 (b)

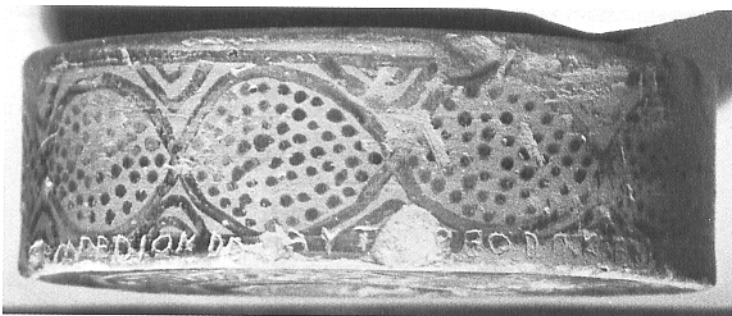
BOI 2C



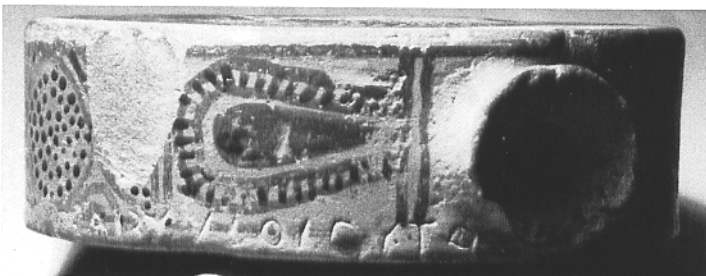
BOI 2D



BOI 4C



BOI 4C



BOI 4C

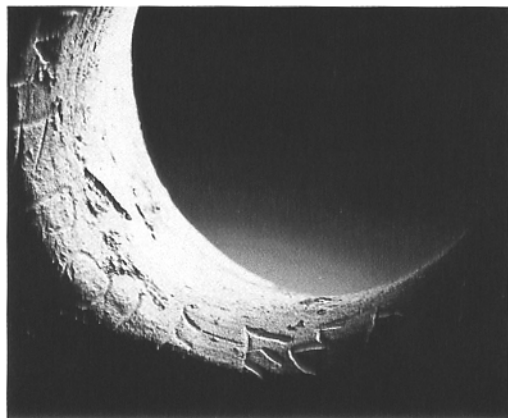
BOI 5B



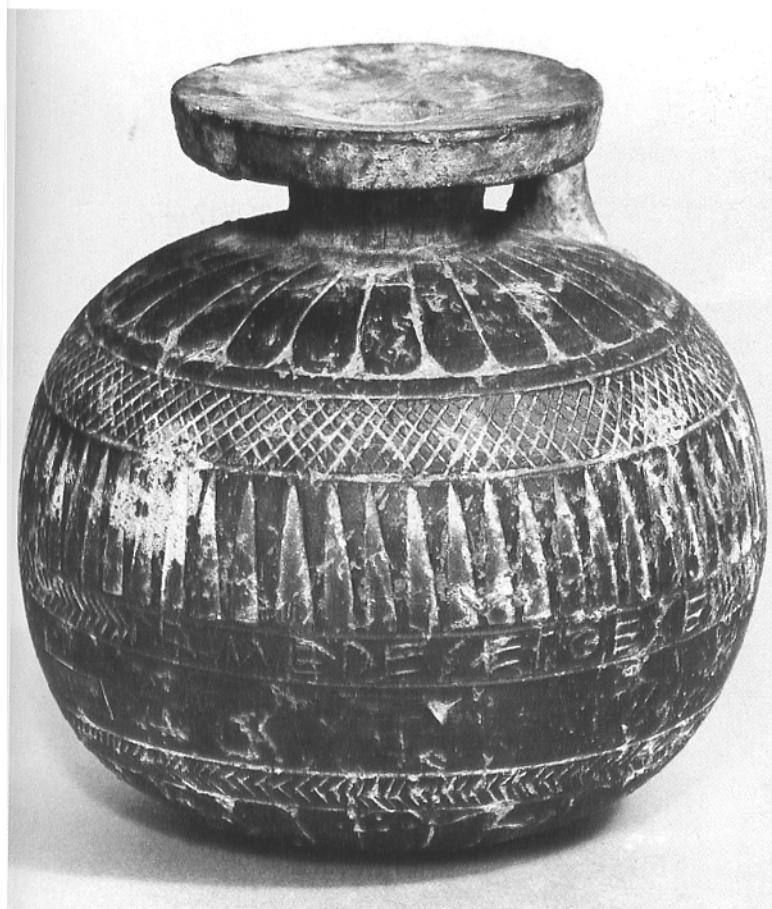
BOI 5B



BOI 5B



BOI 6E



BOI 7B





BOI 17 (*a, b*)



BOI 17 (*a-d*)

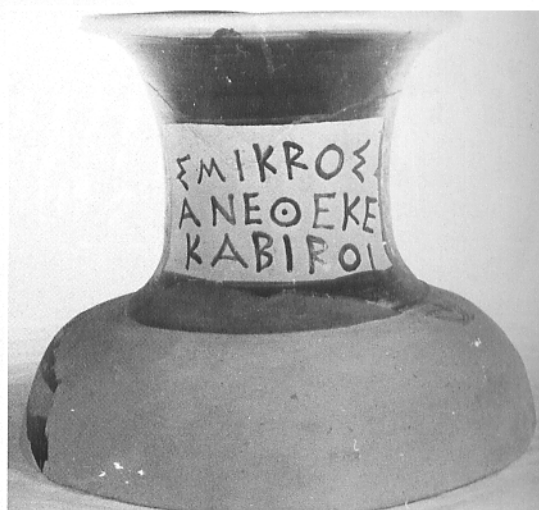


BOI 19

BOI 17 (*c-e*)



BOI 20



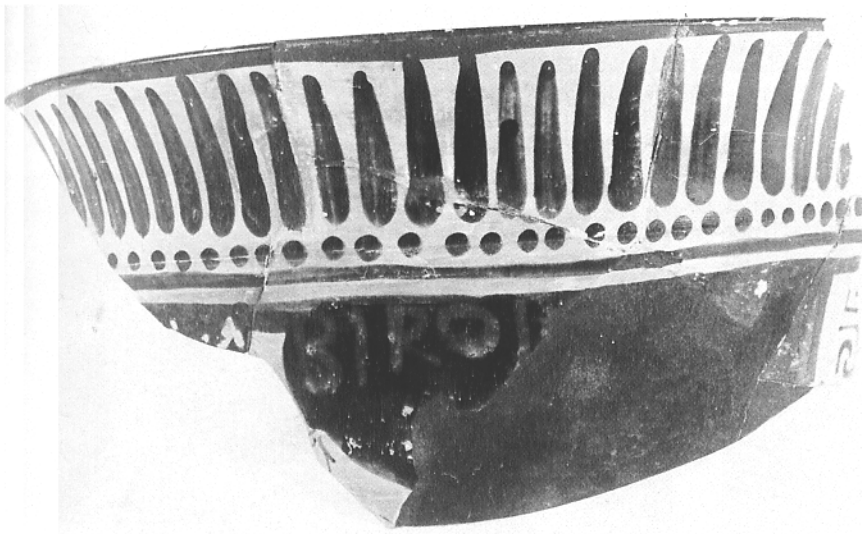
BOI 23



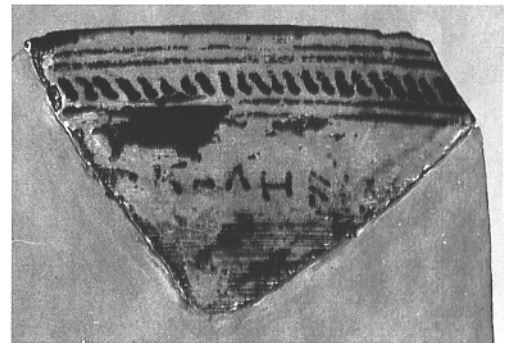
BOI 24



BOI 25



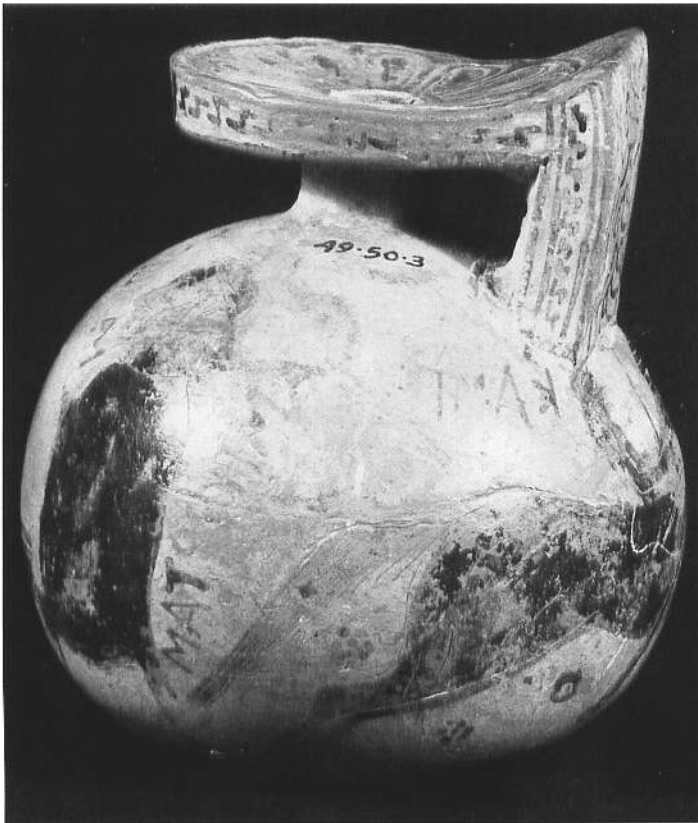
AIG 3A



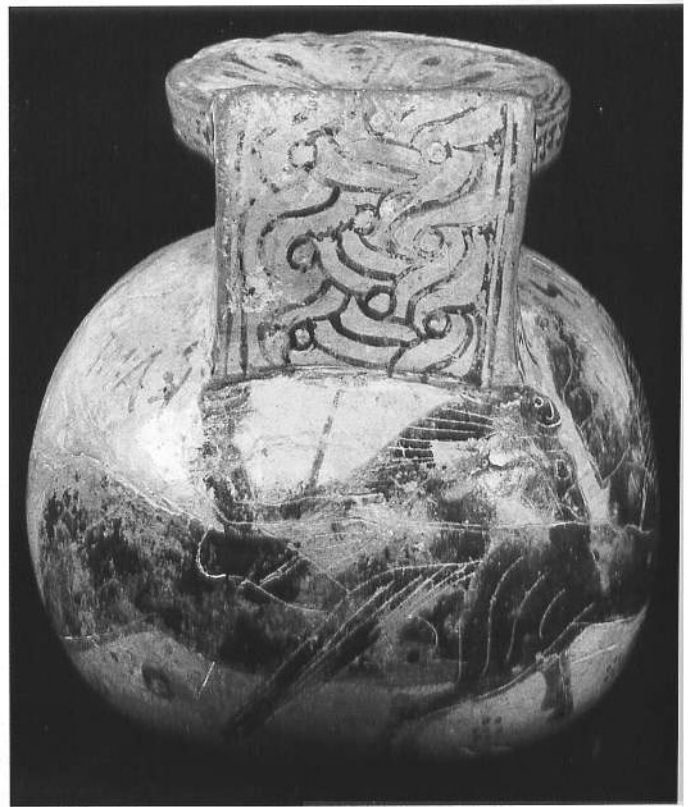
AIG 3E (fr. 133)



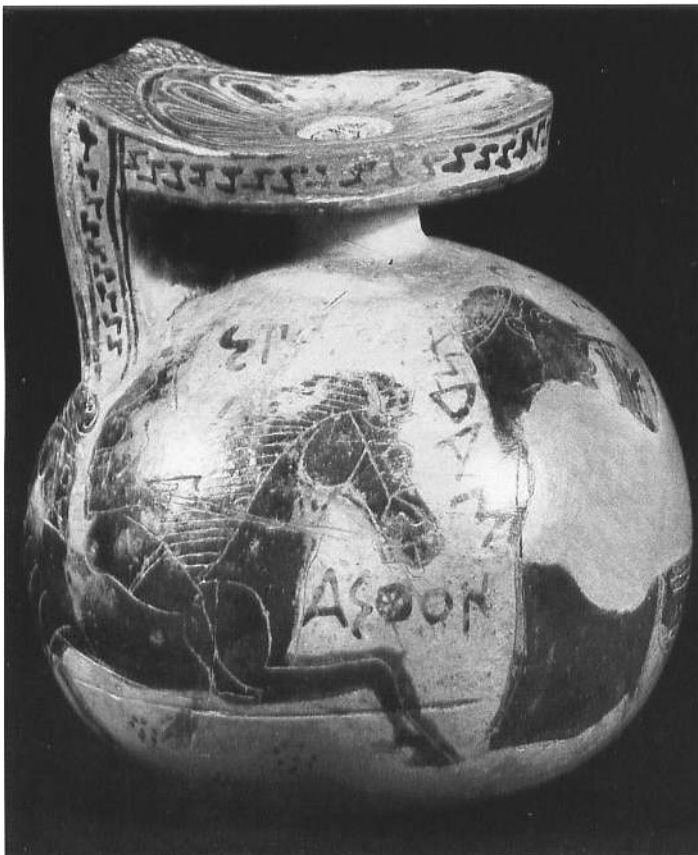
INC 1



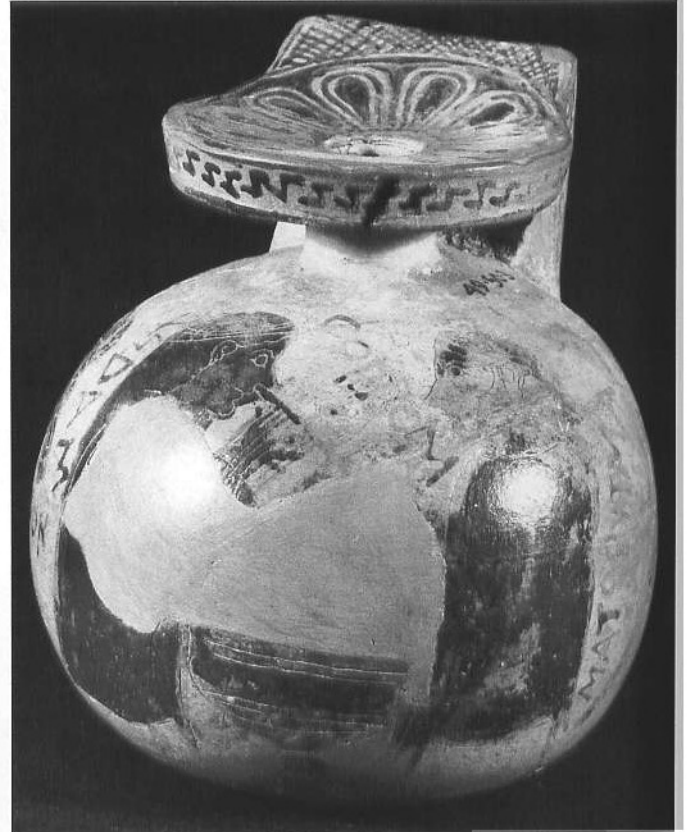
COR 16 (e, a)



COR 16 (a, b)



COR 16 (b, c)

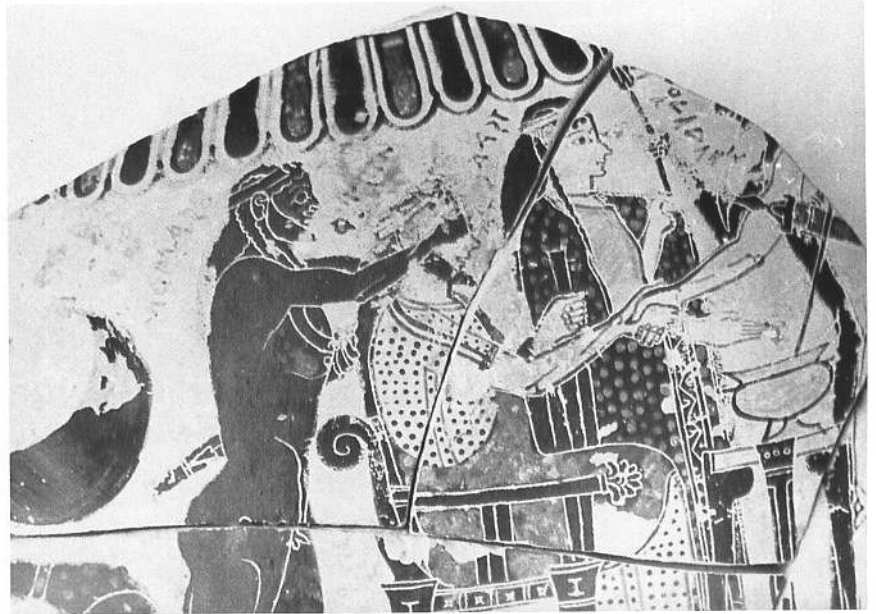


COR 16 (d, e)





COR 16 (bottom)



COR 24B



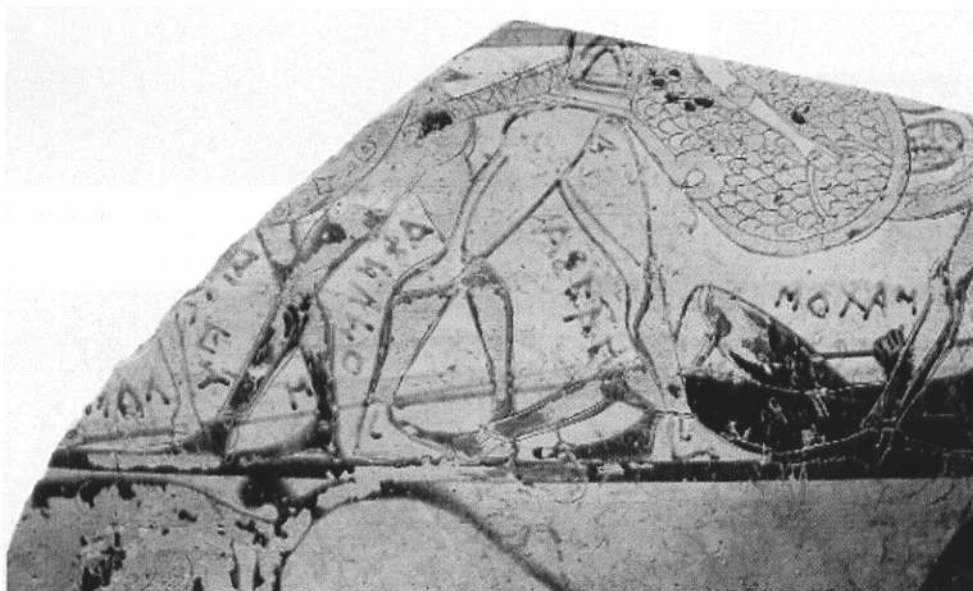
COR 24B (details)

COR 42 (b)





COR 46A (a-c)



COR 46A (d-g)



COR 46A (g-i)



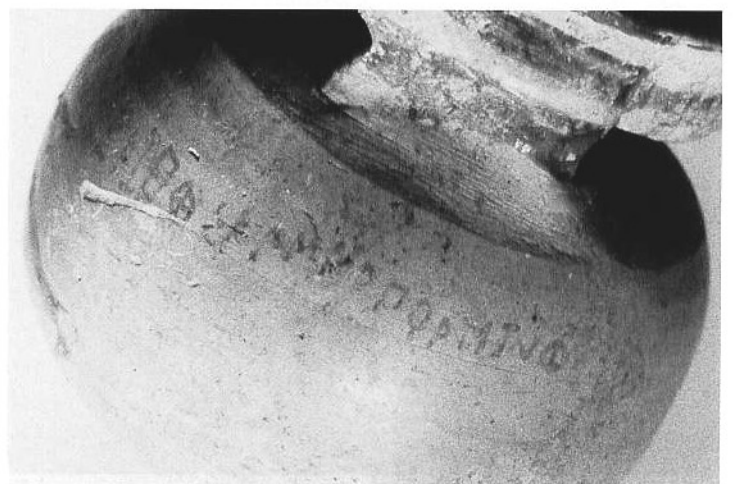
COR 46B



COR 50A



COR 51 (a)



COR 51 (b)





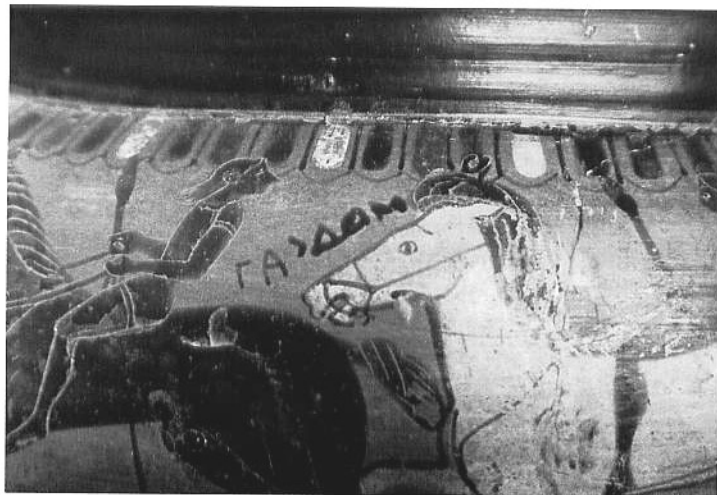
COR 52



COR 64 (a)



COR 64 (b)



COR 64 (c)



COR 64 (d)



COR 64A



COR 64B



COR 66 (ph. D) (a-e)





COR 66 (ph. A. left) (a-f)



COR 66 (ph. A. right) (g-h)



COR 66 (pl. C) (a-d)



COR 68 (a-d)



COR 68 (e-f)



COR 68 (i)



COR 68 (j)

COR 70 (m)



COR 73



COR 73 (uninscribed fr.)



COR 71 (a)



COR 71 (b)



COR 71 (c)



COR 71 (a, c, d)





COR 77 (b)



COR 77 (d, e)



COR 77 (d, e)



COR 79 (a, b)



COR 79 (*h, d*)



COR 81*d* (*c-d*)



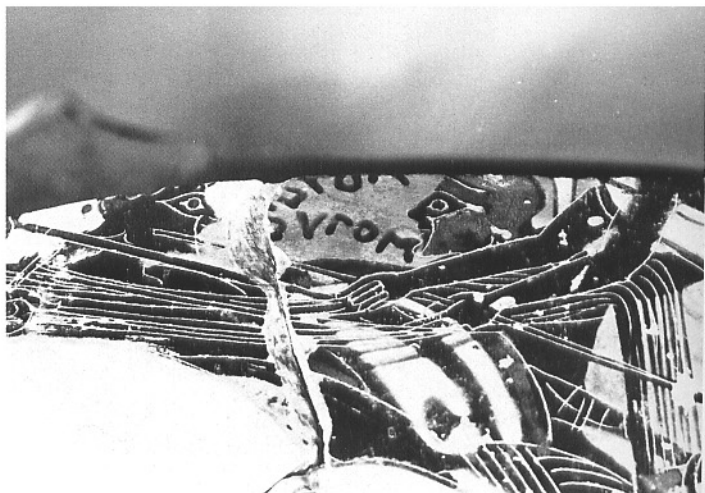
COR 81*A* (*g, h*)



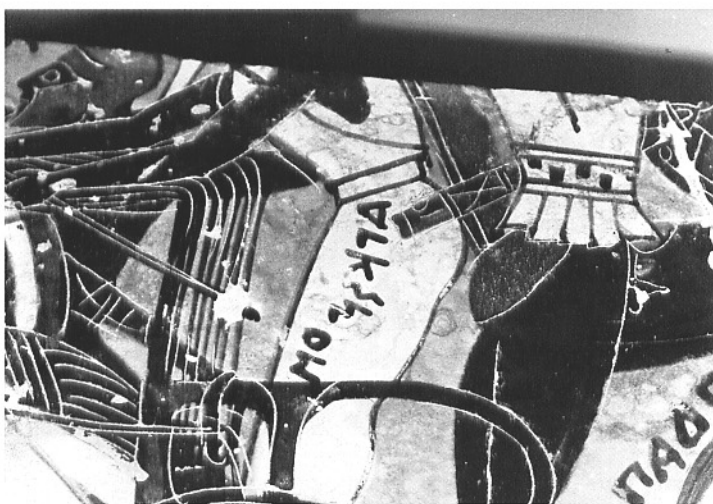
COR 82 (*a*)



COR 82 (b, c)



COR 82 (d)



COR 82 (e, f)



COR 82 (e, f)

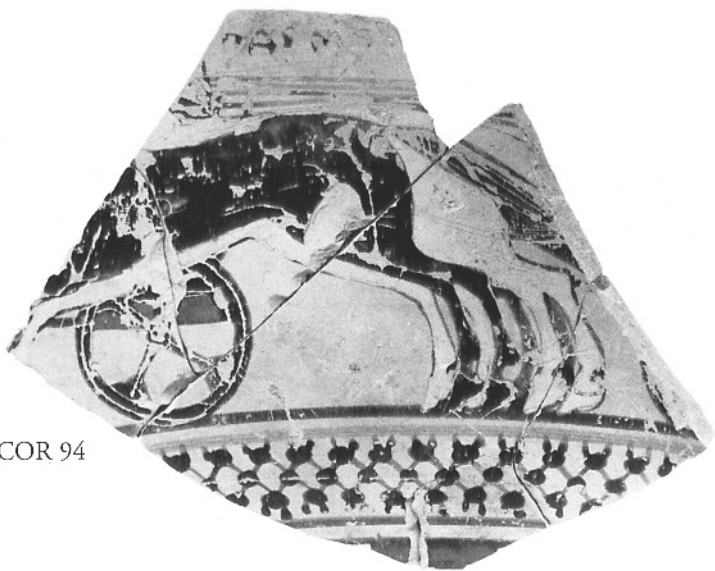


COR 82 (g, h)

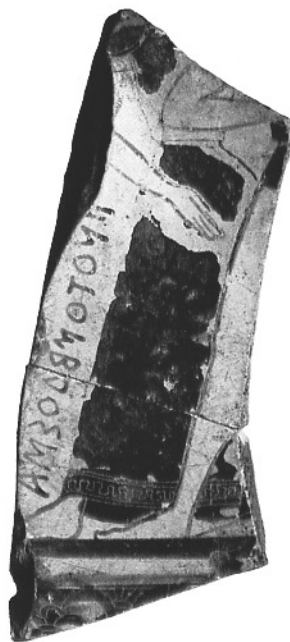


COR 82 (g, h)





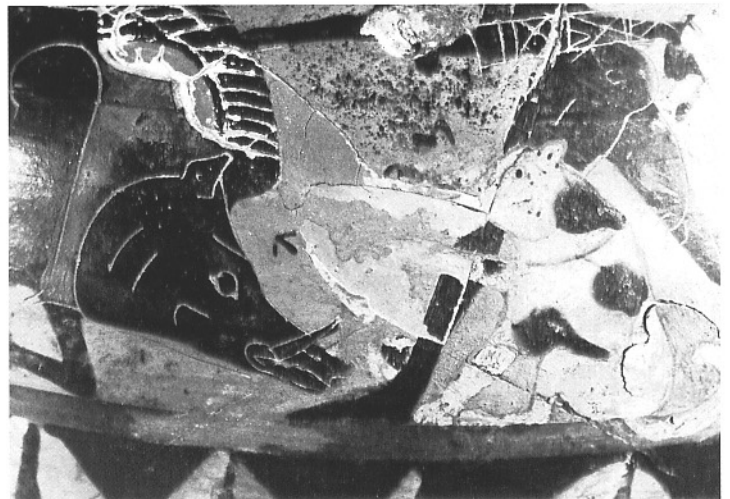
COR 94



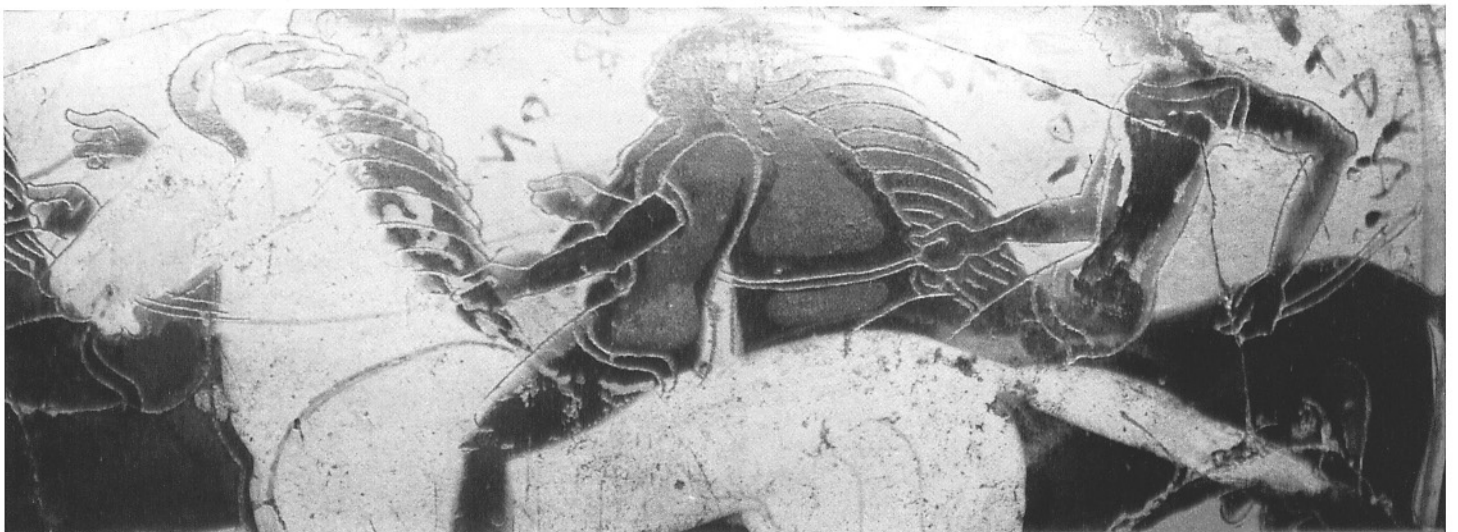
COR 96B



COR 98



COR 102 (e)

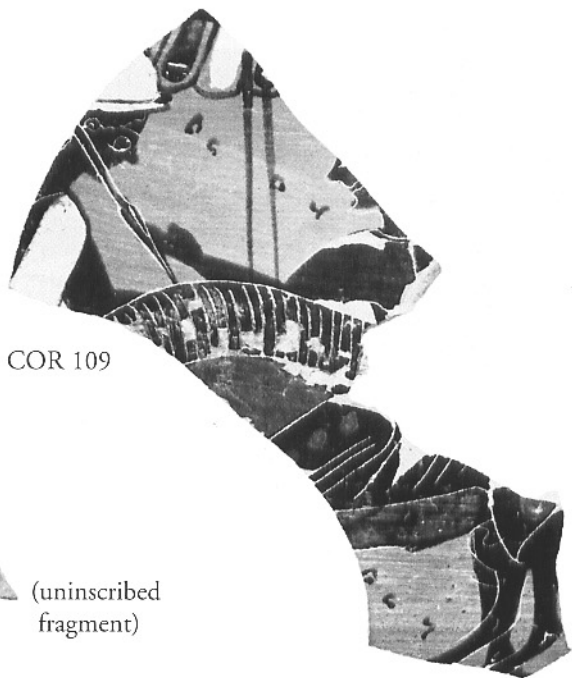


COR 103

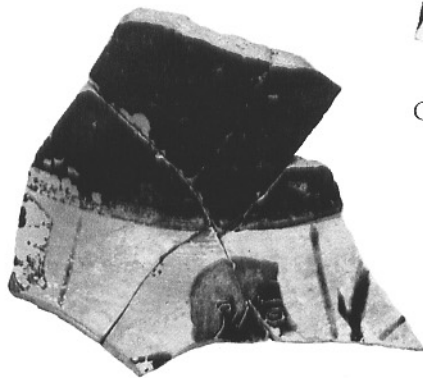




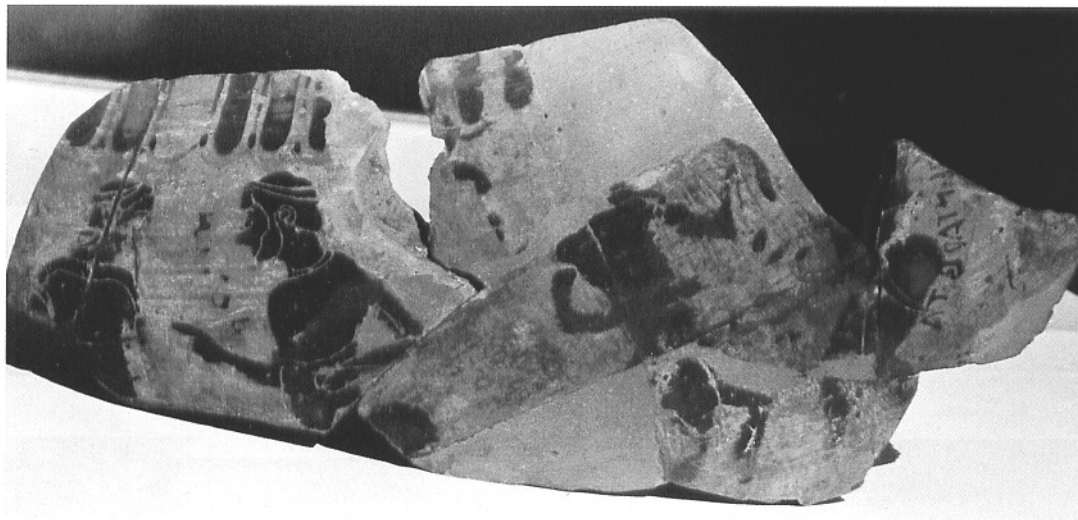
COR 108



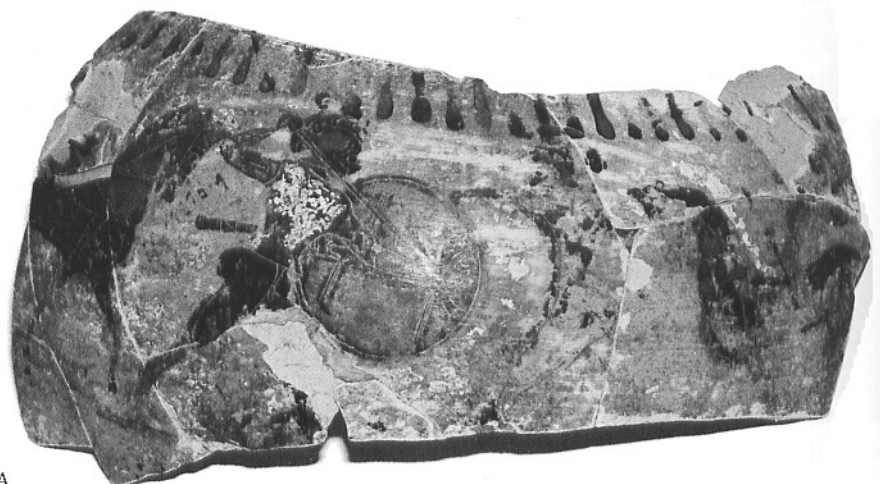
COR 109



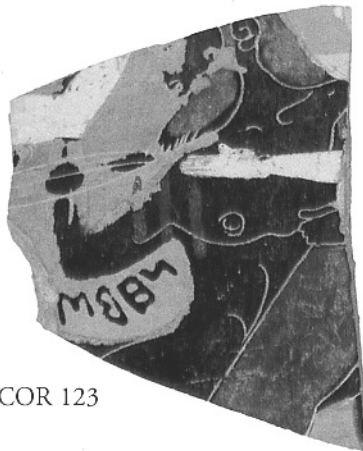
(uninscribed  
fragment)



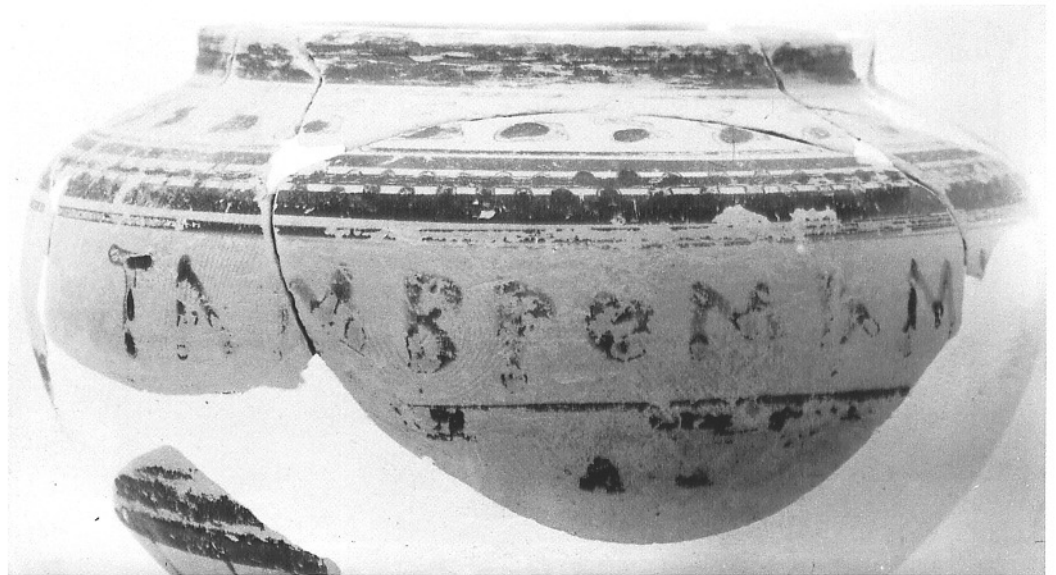
COR 110



COR 115A



COR 123



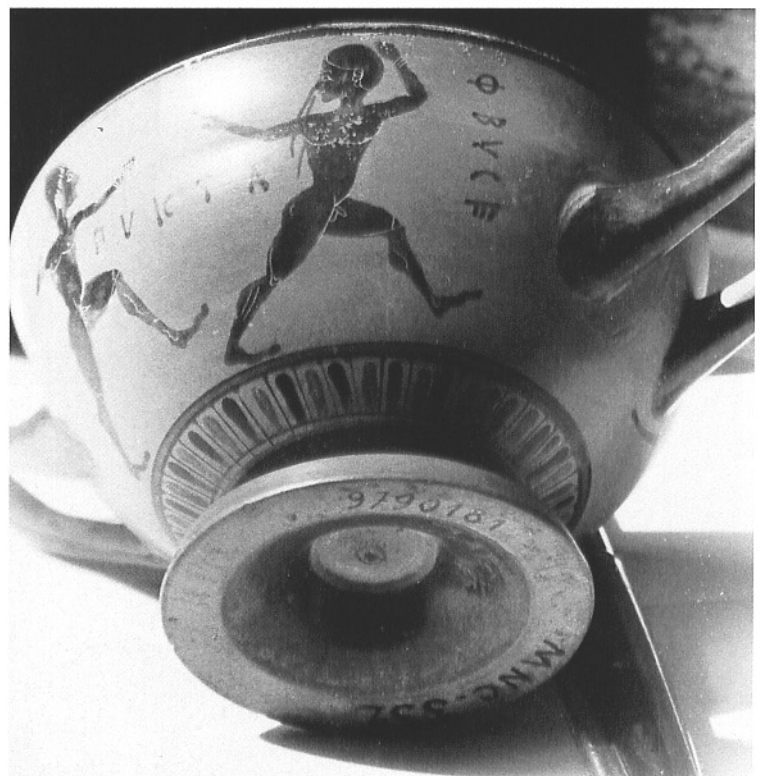
COR 126



COR 127



COR 131 (a, b)



COR 131 (b, c)



COP 2B



COP 5



COP 36



COP 38B



COP 38B (the back)

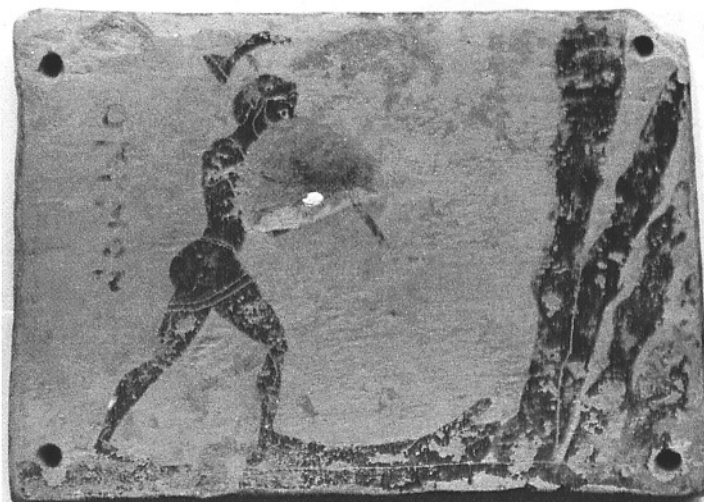


COP 41 (Paris part)





COP 49



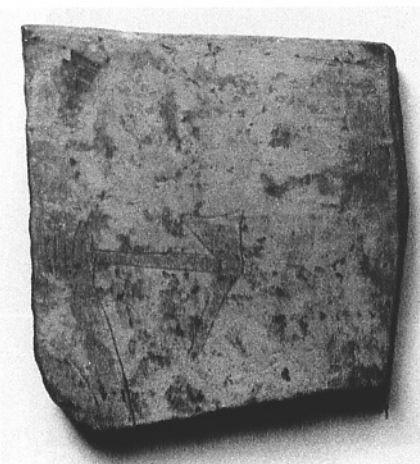
COP 65 (a)



COP 65 (b)



COP 67



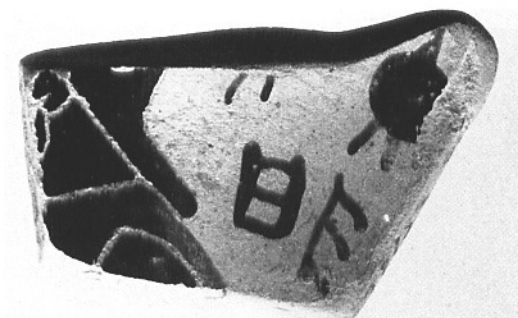
COP 67 (the back)



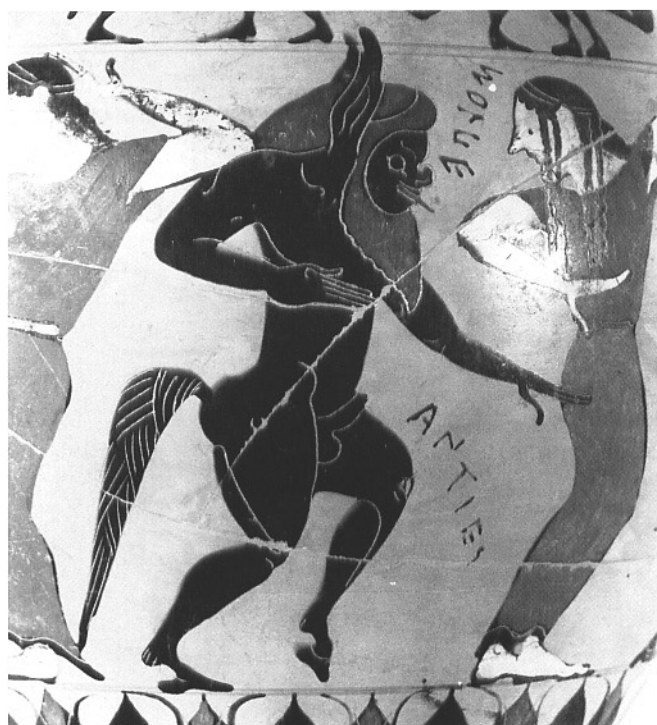
COP 90C



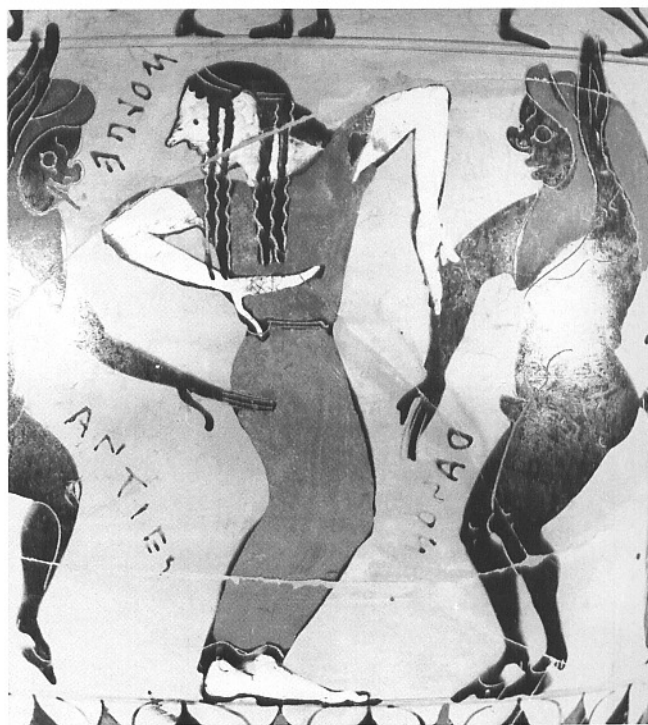
COP 90C (the back)



LAK 2



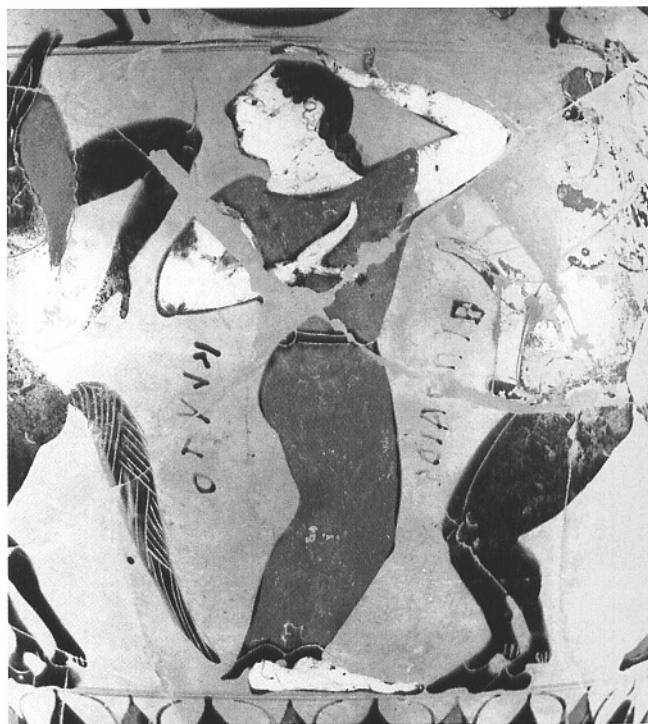
CHA 1 (a)



CHA 1 (b)



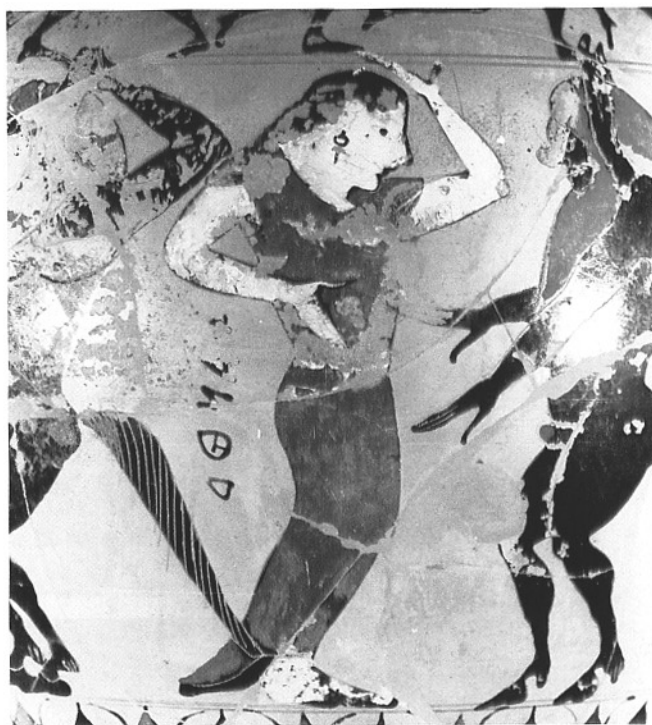
CHA 1 (c)



CHA 1 (d)



CHA 1 (e)



CHA 1 (f)

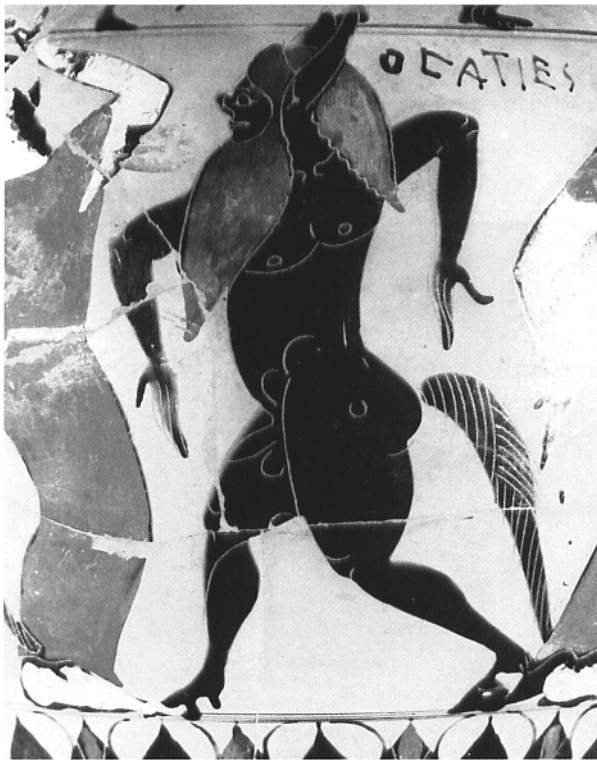


CHA 1 (g)



CHA 1 (h)





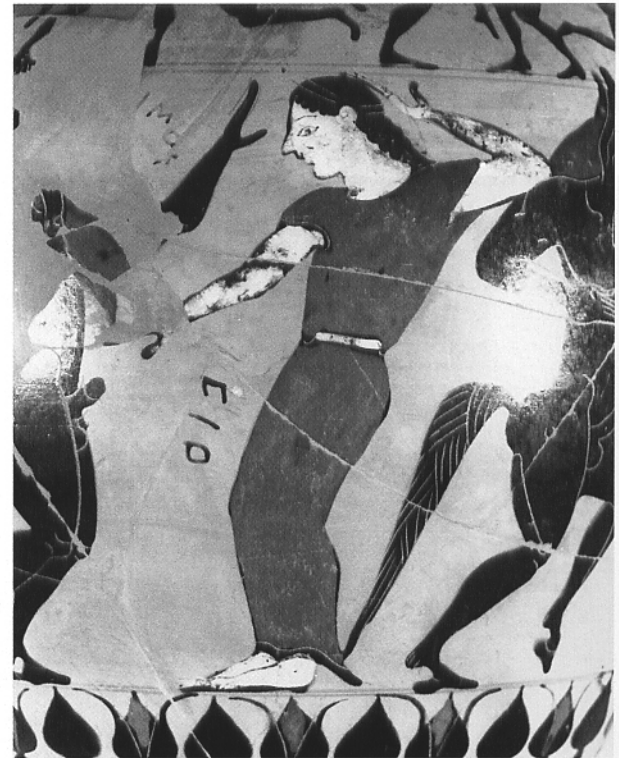
CHA 1 (i)



CHA 1 (j)



CHA 1 (k)



CHA 1 (l)

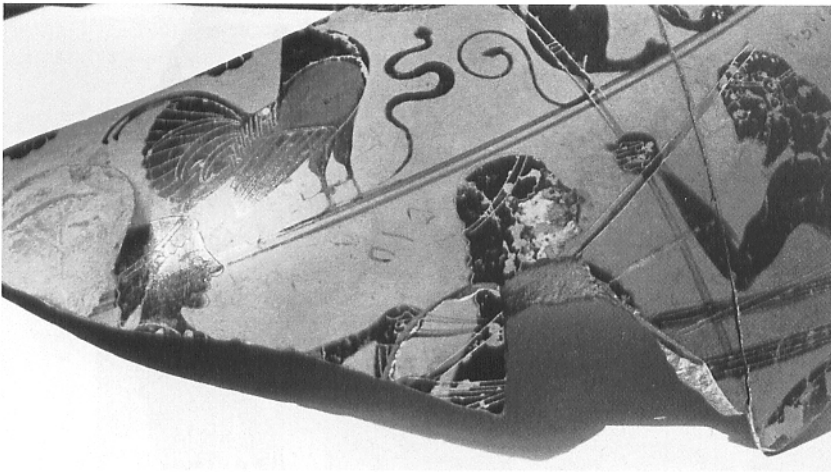


CHA 3A (a, b)

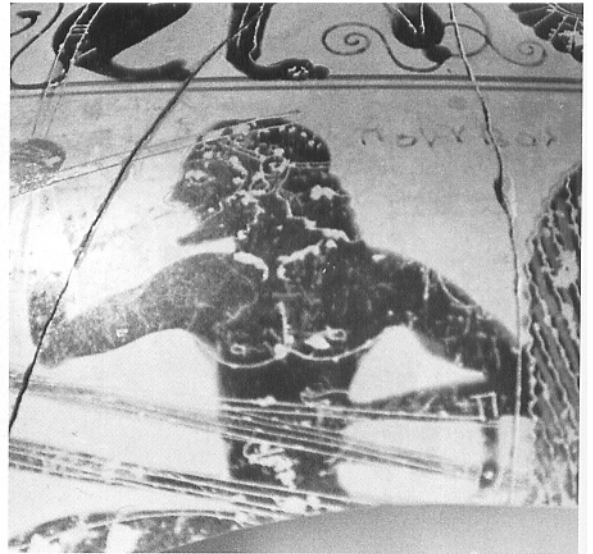


CHA 3A (c)





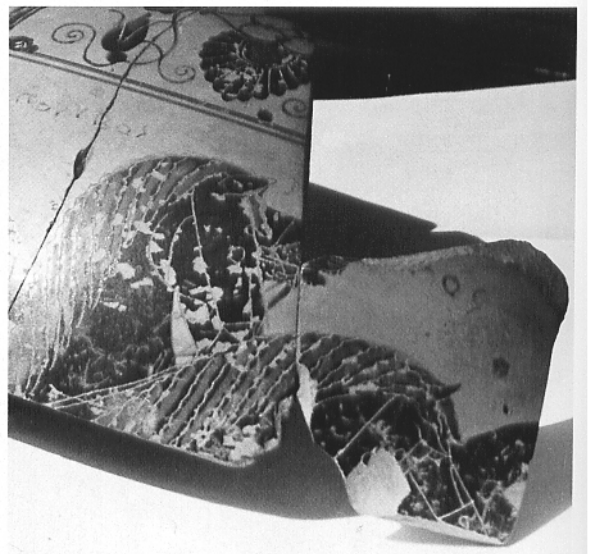
CHA 6 (Paris) (a)



CHA 6 (Paris) (b)



CHA 6 (Paris) (b, c)



CHA 9



CHA 11 (b)



CHA 11 (b, c)



CHA 13 (c-e)



CHA 15 (e)



PSC 1



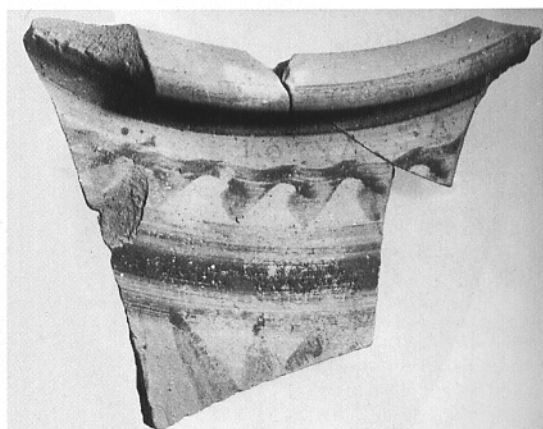
ETR 3 (a)



ETR 3 (b)

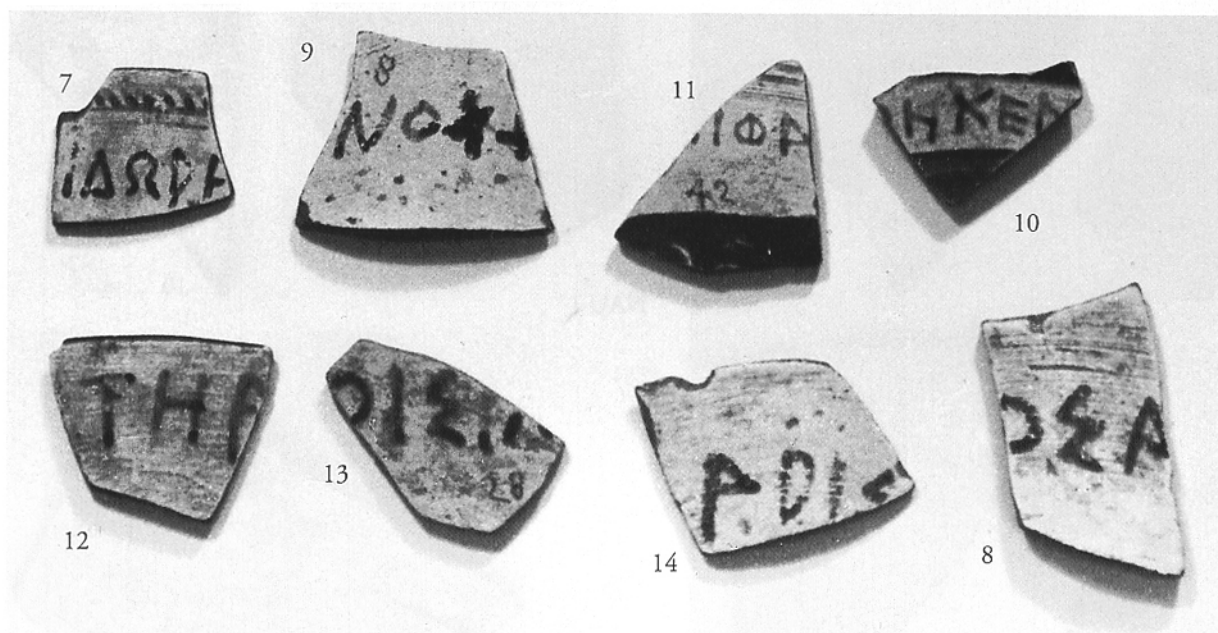


IOD 9

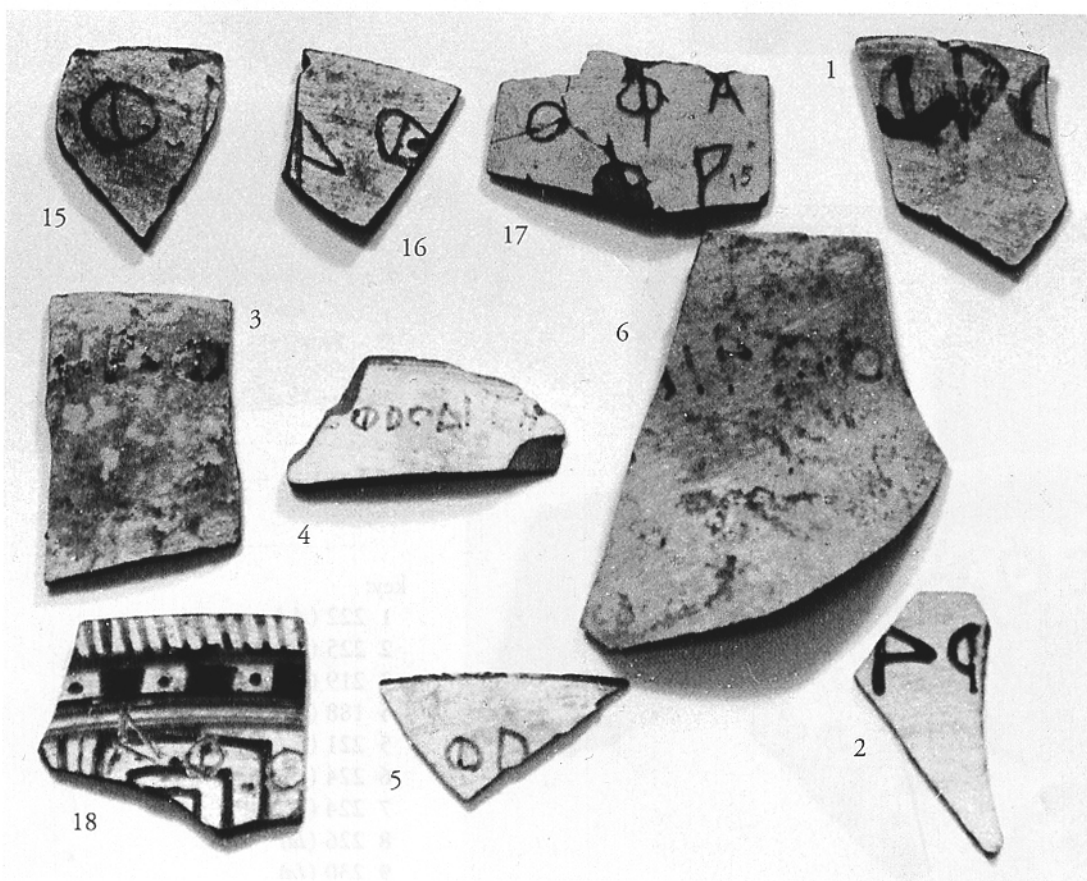


IOD 10



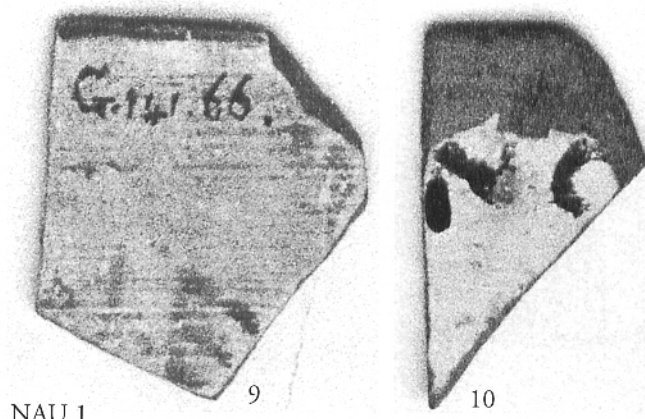


NAU 1

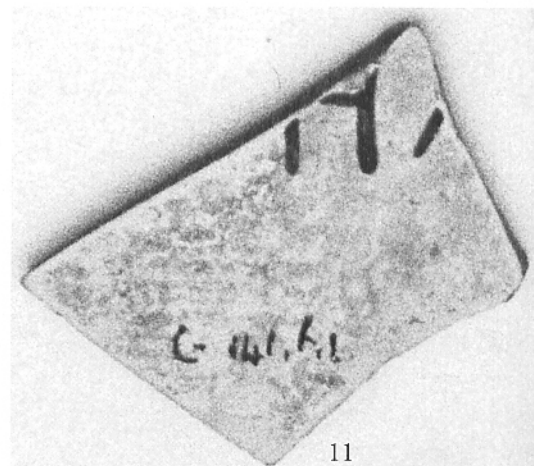


- key:
- 1 74 (*Fa*)
  - 2 140 (*Ga*)
  - 3 80 (*Ia*)
  - 4 119 (*Ia*)
  - 5 139 (*Ia*)
  - 6 167 (*Id*)
  - 7 200 (*Jh*)
  - 8 170(2) (*Jn*)
  - 9 187 (*Kd*)
  - 10 198 (*Ld*)
  - 11 201 (*Ld*)
  - 12 128 (*Oa*)
  - 13 164 (*Ob*)
  - 14 170(1) (*Oc*)
  - 15 (inv 693)
  - 16 (inv 700)
  - 17 (inv 702)
  - 18 (inv 849)

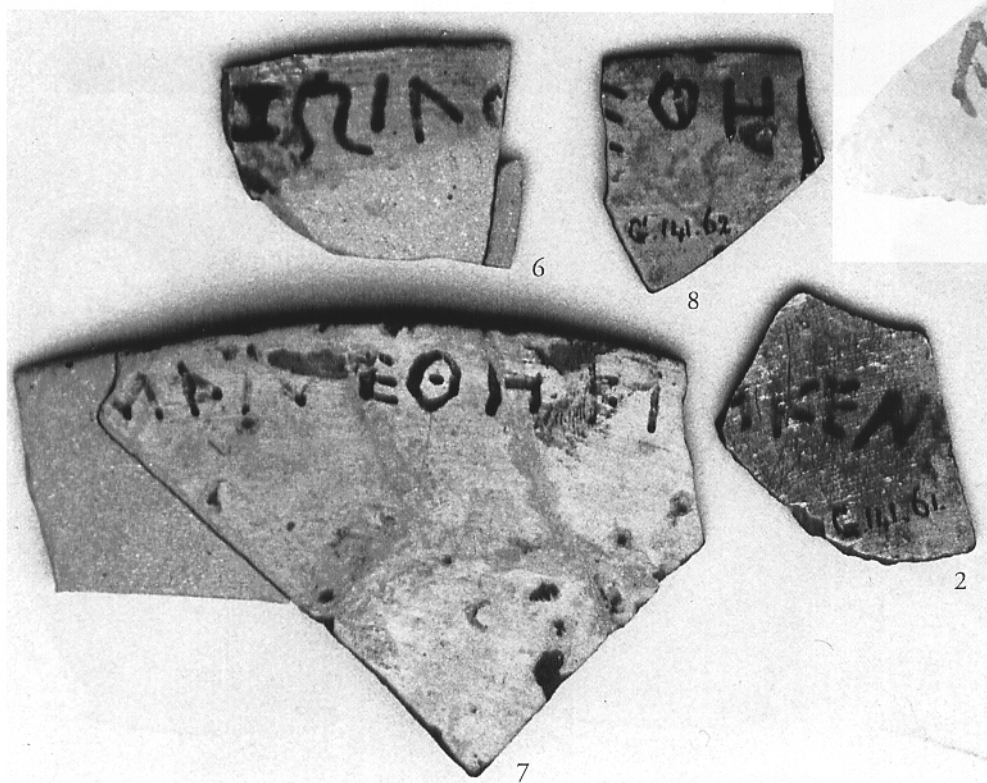
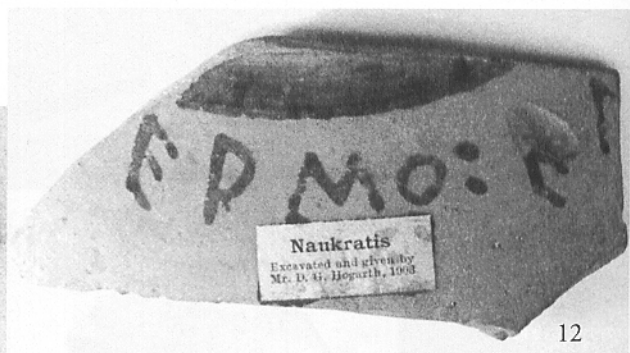
NAU 2



NAU 1



NAU.1



NAU 1

key:

- 1 222 (Aa)
- 2 225 (Ba)
- 3 219 (Da)
- 4 188 (Ea)
- 5 221 (Ea)
- 6 224 (Ga)
- 7 224 (Ga)
- 8 226 (Ia)
- 9 230 (Ia)
- 10 227 (Ke)
- 11 228 (Lf)
- 12 — (Lg)