

# THE “KOTTABOS-TOAST” AND AN INSCRIBED RED-FIGURED CUP

(PLATES 97–100)

THERE IS a small red-figured stemless cup in London (B.M. 95.10-27.2) decorated inside and out with eight symposiasts singing, making music, conversing, and playing kottabos.<sup>1</sup> Their song and conversation is rendered by inscriptions:

in the tondo (retrograde; Pl. 97:a)

\$ O A I P Y O \$ E T A I A      O      ←

on Side A (boustrophedon; Pl. 97:b)

I O T      ←  
A X E T I      →

<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to B. F. Cook for permission to study the cup and D. Williams for assistance at the British Museum. We wish to thank T. J. McNiven, O. Murray, W. J. Slater, and especially H. R. Immerwahr for advice on various aspects of this paper, E. R. Malyon for the drawing of Figure 1, and F. Lissarrague for permission to use his drawing for Figure 2. F. W. Hamdorf of the Munich Antikensammlungen and B. Tailliez of the Musée du Louvre graciously undertook to provide for our specific photographic needs. Both authors gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Barron = J. P. Barron, “Religious Propaganda of the Delian League,” *JHS* 84, 1964, pp. 35–48  
*Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> = T. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup> and Paralipomena*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1989  
 Hartwig = P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen*, Stuttgart/Berlin 1893  
 Herzog = R. Herzog, *Die Umschrift der älteren griechischen Literatur in das ionische Alphabet*, Basel 1912  
 Immerwahr, 1990 = H. R. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey*, Oxford 1990  
 Jacobsthal, 1912 = P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen nebst einer Abhandlung mit Συμποσιακά* (*AbhGött* XIV, No. 1), Berlin 1912  
 Jahn = O. Jahn, “Kottabos auf Vasenbildern,” *Philologus* 26, 1867, pp. 201–240  
 Lissarrague = F. Lissarrague, *Un flot d’images. Une esthétique du banquet grec*, Paris 1987  
 Peschel = I. Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6.–4. Jahrh. v.Chr.*, Frankfurt 1987  
 Schneider = K. Schneider, *s.v.* Kottabos, *RE* XI, 1921, cols. 1528–1541  
 Weber = M. Weber, “Ein Gastmahl in Theben?” *Gymnasium* 91, 1984, pp. 485–495  
 Wilamowitz = U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides*, Berlin 1913

The cup is illustrated in Jacobsthal, 1912, pl. 22; R. Lullies, “Zur Boiotisch rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei,” *AM* 65, 1940 (pp. 1–27), pl. 3; M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen*, Berlin 1949, pl. 30:1; Weber, pl. 24.

and on Side B (boustrophedon; Pl. 97:c)

Although few artifacts of the age of Pindar allow so full an opportunity to view and eaves-drop upon the practice of the symposium, the cup has suffered unjustly from neglect, suspicion, and abuse: "Altogether the cup is poor evidence for anything."<sup>2</sup>

The bad reputation dates back to the very first record of its existence. The British Museum Registry for October 27, 1895 reads as follows:

Fictile red-figured kylix, an ancient imitation, in style and subject, of the work of Duris; int. and ext. three scenes of banqueters with incised inscriptions, the genuineness of which is open to doubt. Ht. 1 3/4 in. Diam. 4 3/8 in. Purchased of Mr. A. Decaristo. From Thebes.

The doubt about the inscriptions probably arose from the rather unusual (but by no means unparalleled) fact that they were incised after firing<sup>3</sup> and from the apparent unintelligibility of Side A. Perhaps there was also some question of the reliability of the dealer or his source; one of the six items purchased together with the cup from Mr. Decaristo was soon withdrawn as a forgery. But whatever the oddities of both cup and inscriptions, any doubts about their authenticity must give impossible credit to the scholarship and ingenuity of 19th-century forgers.

It would have been more profitable to doubt not the age but the provenience ascribed to the cup. Mr. Decaristo's claim that the cup came from Thebes encouraged Jacobsthal to declare the work a Boeotian imitation of Douris.<sup>4</sup> More recently, Weber, with an eye to the apparently Oriental headgear worn by one of the symposiasts, has gone so far as to suggest that it represents the Theban banquet of Attaginos described by Herodotos (9.15).<sup>5</sup> There are, however, specific grounds for doubting the cup's Boeotian manufacture.<sup>6</sup> The cup is dated stylistically to *ca.* 470–460 B.C.,<sup>7</sup> yet Boeotian red figure is very rare until about

<sup>2</sup> D. A. Campbell, "Flutes and Elegiac Couplets," *JHS* 84, 1964 (pp. 63–68), p. 66, note 13.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobsthal's assertion that graffito inscriptions of this sort are un-Attic (1912, p. 60), accepted by E. Pfuhl (*Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, II, p. 774), is corrected by Lullies ([footnote 1 above] p. 7). Apart from signatures (e.g. Sotades: see Immerwahr, 1990, p. 104), however, graffito inscriptions do not occur at the time the London cup was manufactured. Professor Immerwahr points out to us that this does not necessarily eliminate the possibility that the vase painter added the inscriptions himself, since the letters are as crude as the figures in this careless piece while the use of graffito for writing can be explained by the absence of added red in the painted scenes.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobsthal, 1912, pp. 53–61. For another imitation of an earlier work, see the ram-head cup by the Painter of the Naples Hydriaskai, from a Sotadean mold: Vatican, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1267, 23; H. Hoffmann, *Attic Red-figured Rhyta*, Mainz 1962, no. 121, pl. 23:1 and 2.

<sup>5</sup> Weber.

<sup>6</sup> And general grounds too: "... a great deal of pottery both Boeotian and non-Boeotian that appears on the market, especially in Athens, is given a Boeotian provenience, no matter what its true finding place" (B. A. Sparkes, "The Taste of a Boeotian Pig," *JHS* 87, 1967 [pp. 116–130], p. 117).

<sup>7</sup> P. Jacobsthal, review of G. Jacopi, *Scavi nella necropoli di Camiro, 1928–1930* (*ClRh* IV, 1931), in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1933 (pp. 1–16), p. 10; Lullies (footnote 1 above), p. 6; Pfuhl (footnote 3 above), II, p. 714.

430 B.C.<sup>8</sup> Martin Robertson convinced Sparkes that the "shape, glaze and details of potting point to Attica."<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Jacobsthal himself later recanted and recognized the cup as Attic.<sup>10</sup> In any case, the dialect and lettering of the inscription are unambiguously Attic.

Since the doubts expressed in the British Museum Registry no one has openly questioned the antiquity of the inscriptions (or the cup). Rather, concern about the value of the inscriptions has focused on the fact that, because the incisions were made after firing, there is no guarantee that they have any direct connection with the painter's inspiration: Campbell, for example, used this argument to dissociate the pipe player and the lyre player from the inscriptions of their respective scenes, a lyric fragment and a putative elegiac,<sup>11</sup> and by the same means Weber sought to dissociate the Attic graffiti, something of an embarrassment to her theory of the painting's specifically Boeotian inspiration:

Da die Buchstaben . . . nicht gemalt, sondern geritzt sind, d.h. technisch nach der Bemalung und nach dem Brand hinzugefügt sein müssen, dürften sie unabhängig von der Malerei, zumindest nicht vom originalen Vorbild übernommen worden sein. Daher kann das mit ihnen verbundene Problem hier ausser Betracht bleiben.<sup>12</sup>

There are, however, serious limits to these attempts at dissociation. One might first mention an argument by Jacobsthal in support of the derivation of the inscription from the supposed copy's original. The tondo inscription twice shows dotted delta ( $\Delta$ ), a very rare letter form, but so characteristic of Douris' middle period that Jacobsthal felt the inscriber must have found the letters where the copyist found the images, on a cup of Douris.<sup>13</sup> Hindsight helps show that the letter form is not so idiosyncratic as to urge an attribution of the model to a specific painter. Nevertheless, the form does demonstrate the close contemporaneity of the style of the images and inscriptions on this cup. Unique to Attic inscriptions, dotted delta first appears on late 6th-century B.C. ceramics,<sup>14</sup> enjoys a certain popularity in Athens between *ca.* 495 and 480 B.C.,<sup>15</sup> then slowly fades from view. In the second quarter of the 5th

<sup>8</sup> We are grateful to Ian McPhee for information concerning the chronology of Boeotian red figure.

<sup>9</sup> Sparkes (footnote 6 above), p. 123, note 56.

<sup>10</sup> Jacobsthal (footnote 7 above), p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Campbell (footnote 2 above), p. 66.

<sup>12</sup> Weber, p. 494.

<sup>13</sup> Jacobsthal, 1912, p. 60. Other features offered support to the "attribution". For example, Douris experimented with the stance of the symposiast at the right on Side B (Pl. 97:c), a rear view from the head of the couch (London, B.M. E 49, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 432, 52). Although dotted delta is the only really distinctive Dourian letter form, three-stroke sigma is characteristic of Douris' middle and later phases, the upsilon in the tondo is standard Dourian (but the forked upsilon on Side B has parallels on late vases by Douris), and upright chi and circular phi (here lacking cross stroke) are typical. The tondo does not seem to have the tailed rho generally used by the painter. On Douris' letter forms, see Immerwahr, 1990, p. 87.

<sup>14</sup> Barron, p. 45; H. R. Immerwahr, "A Lekythos in Toronto and the Golden Youth of Athens," in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 19), Princeton 1982 (pp. 59–65), p. 60. Immerwahr (1990, p. 136) adds nos. 918 and 918a. See now M. Lang, *The Athenian Agora*, XXV, *Ostraka*, Princeton 1990, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*, Gütersloh 1894, p. 96; Barron, p. 46 and notes 60 and 61; M. Lang, "Writing and Spelling on Ostraka," in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 19), Princeton 1982 (pp. 75–87), p. 79; Immerwahr, 1990, pp. 81, 136, and nos. 919 and 920. Immerwahr (1990, pp. 81, 137) suspects an origin from inscriptions on bronze. It is found on the bronze Persian helmet dedicated at Olympia and discovered in a deposit with a contextual date in the 450's (E. Kunze, *OlBer* VII, Berlin 1961, p. 136) and on

century it appears on a calyx-krater by the Altamura Painter (*ca.* 460 B.C.), and on one (mid-century) ostrakon found in the Agora.<sup>16</sup> In the third quarter of the century dotted delta appears in inscriptions on two pelikai by the Painter of the Birth of Athena (450–440 B.C.), on a number of inscribed stamnoi of Polygnotos and his Group down to *ca.* 430, on a krater fragment by the Kleophon Painter, and on an oinochoe fragment of *ca.* 430 B.C.<sup>17</sup> It also appears, somewhat surprisingly, on three marble boundary stones in Samos of the later 5th century B.C., written in Attic dialect and alphabet and probably to be associated with an Athenian clerouchy.<sup>18</sup> Since the London cup has nothing in common with the products of the later painters, it can be argued that the letter form best suits a date before *ca.* 470 B.C. and is probably not later than *ca.* 450 B.C. The three-bar sigma, the V-shaped upsilon (in the tondo; Side B has a transitional Y-shaped upsilon), and the Archaic Attic lambda also favor a date in the first half of the 5th century B.C.<sup>19</sup>

The Archaic nature of the letter forms, however, will not suffice to demonstrate that the London cup was inscribed by an Archaic hand. One can explain the Archaic letter forms by supposing that the inscription on the London cup is only a copy of an Archaic inscription and could have been made at any time after the manufacture of the cup. Therefore, the image and inscription are still dissociable in two respects: (1) although the original of the inscription must be Archaic, the date at which it was copied onto the London cup is so far indeterminable and could be much later than the date of the cup's manufacture; (2) since it is possible that we are dealing with a copy of an Archaic inscription, we need not suppose that the inscription was copied from the same source as the images.

An examination of the peculiar stance of the letters may permit a closer determination of the relation between the pot and its inscription. At the time of the manufacture of the London cup, retrograde writing was out of date except on vases where it was attached to speaking figures who face left (e.g. Rome, Villa Giulia 50329; see Appendix, No. 12).<sup>20</sup> The London cup is in perfect conformity with this norm but is unique in one respect: the inscription on the tondo and the first word of the inscription on either side are not true retrograde. Although the sequence runs from right to left, the letters consistently face right. Parallels exist in which a few letters are turned around in this way, but the consistency of the confusion here shows a hand that is totally unfamiliar with retrograde writing. One can imagine a number of scenarios to explain this abnormality, yet, for the present purpose, it is more useful to consider those which the presence of this unusual feature would eliminate. It

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bronze dedications from the Akropolis (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 418, 440, 448) and Brauron (G. Daux, "Chronique des Fouilles," *BCH* 86, 1962 [pp. 629–974], p. 676, fig. 11) thought to antedate the Persian sack.

<sup>16</sup> Malibu 81.AE.219 = Immerwahr, 1990, p. 136, no. 921. Lang, *loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Pelikai: Villa Giulia 20846 and 20847 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 494, 2 and 3; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 250; Immerwahr, 1990, pp. 102, 136, nos. 691 and 692). Stamnoi: J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases, IV," *AJA* 45, 1941 (pp. 593–602), p. 601; Barron, p. 46, note 60. Krater: formerly Naples, Kleinenberg (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1144, 22; Immerwahr, 1990, pp. 111, 136, no. 769). Oinochoe: Tübingen 5640, unattributed (Immerwahr, 1990, p. 136, no. 922).

<sup>18</sup> M. Schede, "Aus dem Heraion von Samos," *AM* 44, 1919 (pp. 1–46), p. 2; Barron, pp. 36, 45–46; K. Tsakos, «Ἐπιγραφές Σάμου», *Δελτ* 32, 1977, *Μελ.* (1982; pp. 70–79), pp. 76–79.

<sup>19</sup> Lang (footnote 15 above), p. 77; Immerwahr, 1990, pp. 158, 161.

<sup>20</sup> H. R. Immerwahr, personal communication; we are also much indebted to Professor Immerwahr for pointing out and suggesting some explanations for the peculiar retrograde of the London cup.

is not likely, for example, that the inscriber of the London cup copied the reversed letters from his model. We assume that such deviation from the normal practice of retrograde would seem sloppy by contemporary professional standards, so that the right-facing stance of the letters is better ascribed to the carelessness and inexperience of the inscriber of the London cup (in conformity with the general quality of the painting) than to that of the hypothetical inscriber of its model. But if the inscriber of the cup is responsible for the stance of the letters, then he must also be responsible for their Archaic forms, for it is unlikely that he was careful to copy the rare and outdated forms of the letters on his model and yet totally disregarded their stance. It follows that the Archaic letter forms cannot simply be ascribed to an earlier model: they are the forms which came naturally to the actual inscriber of the London cup and can be used to date the graffito. If copied, the copy was made in the earlier part of the 5th century B.C. If *not* copied, then an earlier 5th-century date for the graffito must hold *a fortiori*.

At the very least, then, inscription and image are linked by the background of a shared culture: both are Athenian, both products of the Late Archaic period. Therefore, to say that the letters "need not be the work of the artist, who in any case was only a copyist" is not enough to demolish the testimony of the inscription.<sup>21</sup> An unknown ancient graffiti artist (who employed an impeccable Late Archaic Attic script) may still have known as much about contemporary symposia as the most admired writers and artists of the Classical *Who's Who*. If we admit, with Weber, that one cannot discount the possibility that an Attic wit, good at adding captions, supplied the inscriptions at some date after acquiring the pot, and that therefore the inscriptions need not impinge directly upon our interpretation of the scene, this does not also mean that the inscriptions are "unabhängig" in the converse sense: the illustration is necessary to the interpretation of the inscriptions. A close examination of the painting shows that the inscriptions are very skillfully adapted to their visual context, such that, so far as their value as evidence is concerned, they are no less eloquent and instructive than they would be if one could affirm with certainty that they were etched by the painter's hand.

In the tondo a diaulos player accompanies a singer as they recline on a couch covered with an elaborately decorated textile (Pl. 97:a).<sup>22</sup> Singing symposiasts on Attic vases adopt a distinctive posture.<sup>23</sup> The head is bent back, and the right hand rests on the nape or the crown of the head, presumably to expand lung capacity. At times men who adopt the pose appear to be only listening because their mouths are closed, but even these may be singers since inscribed lyrics sometimes issue from mouths not obviously open (e.g. Munich 2646; see Appendix, No. 11). Such musical inscriptions, though not common, are well enough known (see Appendix).<sup>24</sup> The first letter issues from the singer's mouth even if the flow is

<sup>21</sup> Campbell (footnote 2 above), p. 66.

<sup>22</sup> The *kline* covering on the tondo is decorated with a frieze of Pygmies and Cranes. Although the subject is more renowned for its examples in 6th-century Attic black figure, a few notable examples also occur in red figure of the second quarter of the 5th century. See F. Brommer's list (*Heldensage*<sup>3</sup>, p. 547).

<sup>23</sup> J. D. Beazley, "Brygan Symposia," in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson* II, St. Louis 1953 (pp. 74–83), p. 75. See also: E. Vermeule, "Fragments of a Symposium by Euphronios," *AntK* 8, 1965, pp. 34–39; Lissarrague, pp. 120–129.

<sup>24</sup> Hartwig, pp. 255–258; Jacobsthal, 1912, pp. 61–63; Herzog, nos. 6–14, pp. 17–21; J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases, I," *AJA* 31, 1927 (pp. 343–353), pp. 348–349. See especially Lissarrague's discussion

thereby interrupted by the singer's raised arm:<sup>25</sup> proximity to the mouth rather than clarity of inscription is the primary goal. In the London cup, given the combination of *diauletes* and symposiast in "singing" pose,<sup>26</sup> it is not surprising to find here a verse flowing from the mouth, retrograde, as is customary, from a left-facing singer: ΟΔΙΑΤΕΣΘΥΡΙΔΟΣ (ὦ διὰ τῆς θυρίδος). Occasionally, as here, the verse is a recognizable fragment of lyric poetry.<sup>27</sup>

Three symposiasts recline on Side B, and a young cup-bearer approaches from the left (Pl. 97:c). The nearest symposiast is intent upon tuning his barbiton. The other two are engaged in close discussion.<sup>28</sup> Their gaze interlocks. One rests his right hand on his left shoulder at ease;<sup>29</sup> the other lifts his beaker in his right hand as if to urge his point. Beside him runs the boustrophedon inscription ΦΑΣΙΝΑΛΕΘΕΤΑΥΤΑ (φασὶν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα).<sup>30</sup> The position of the letters clearly shows that the phrase emanates from his mouth. Jacobsthal and Herzog take the words to be a song,<sup>31</sup> but their accompanying gesture does not connote "singer". Rather, the words carry on a conversation or introduce a story with ταῦτα looking forward to a narrative which follows (= τάδε), as often in Greek prose.<sup>32</sup> In either case, words match gesture extraordinarily well.

of some of the texts (Lissarrague, pp. 120–129) and of representations in red figure of papyrus scrolls with texts (pp. 129–133). For fuller catalogues of the latter, see H. R. Immerwahr, "Book Rolls on Attic Vases," in *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honour of Berthold Louis Ullman* I, Rome 1964, pp. 17–48; *idem*, "More Book Rolls on Attic Vases," *AntK* 16, 1973, pp. 143–147, with references; Immerwahr, 1990, p. 99, note 6.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., Munich 2646: OY arm ΔΥΝΑΜΟΥ (Appendix, No. 11); Munich 2636: K[ΑΛΟ] arm ΣΕΙ (Appendix, No. 4).

<sup>26</sup> Owing to lack of space, a problem of poor planning throughout the cup, the head does not tilt back as much as usual.

<sup>27</sup> Praxilla 8 (Page). See below, footnote 43 and Appendix, Nos. 11, 13.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, p. 121.

<sup>29</sup> T. J. McNiven, who is engaged in compiling a lexicon of gestures in Attic vase painting, kindly informs us that this shoulder-holding gesture is comparatively rare and that many of the examples he has collected are in conversation scenes.

<sup>30</sup> Boustrophedon is exceedingly rare after ca. 530 B.C. On stone inscriptions it last occurs, probably as a deliberate archaism, in the inscriptions from the Eleusinion in the Athenian Agora; the latest of these is dated ca. 500–480 B.C. See L. H. Jeffery, "The Boustrophedon Sacral Inscriptions from the Agora," *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 86–111. On pottery it appears in a book roll on a Late Archaic cup (ca. 480 B.C.) by Onesimos (Oxford G 138.3,5,11 = *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 326, 93; Immerwahr, 1964 [footnote 24 above]; Lissarrague, fig. 105). The report of a reading φασὶν ἀληθῆ ἰκνυται by Weber (p. 494) is surely a copy error.

<sup>31</sup> Jacobsthal, 1912, p. 62; Herzog, no. 12, p. 20.

<sup>32</sup> For ταῦτα = τάδε, see, e.g., H. W. Smyth and G. M. Messing, *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge, Mass. 1956, p. 308. Jacobsthal and Herzog (*loc. cit.*) were inspired by the identification of a known verse fragment in the tondo to suppose these words begin a lost elegy or skolon. On this theory a *gnome* would follow the utterance as in Simonides, fr. 5 (West):

ἦν ἄρ' ἔπος τόδ' ἀληθές, ὅτ' οὐ μόνον ὕδατος αἶσαν,  
ἀλλὰ τι καὶ λέσχης οἶνος ἔχειν ἐθέλει

and a similar fragment of Nikias of Miletos (= *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, edd., Berlin/New York 1982, fr. 566, p. 279):

ἦν ἄρ' ἀληθές τοῦτο, Θεόκριτε. οἱ γὰρ Ἑρωτες  
ποιητὰς πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξαν τοὺς πρὶν ἀμύσους.

Although Wilamowitz (p. 121) cites the latter parallel (albeit incorrectly as ἦν ἄρ' ἀληθῆ ταῦτα, probably because he is citing from memory), he saw that the figures on the vase were engaged in conversation, not singing. Nonetheless he also supposed that, as in the elegiacs, there followed "ein weises Dichterwort." We

It is the inscription on Side A which has caused problems (Pl. 97:b). Here again three symposiasts recline. The man on the left raises a cup to his lips and gazes blankly at the viewer. The central man, wearing a peaked hat with lappets, turns his head back towards his neighbor and holds his right hand in a gesture of speech, while cradling wine in the left. His interlocutor whirls a cup to show that he is playing kottabos. The inscription comprises two words, one retrograde, reading TOI, the other apparently orthograde, on which the letters AXETI are clearly visible. The words are not written on the same line, but TOI is written on a line above AXETI as on the boustrophedon inscription of Side B. Unlike Side B, however, the change in line and direction is not for want of space but because the inscriber deliberately wished to separate the words. TOI issues directly from the mouth of the kottabos player. AXETI follows after the central man's gesturing hand. Even though the second word does not appear to issue directly from the mouth of the second speaker in the customary fashion, the position of the words clearly indicates an exchange of dialogue.

Indeed, Jacobsthal noted that the inscription on Side A, like the tondo inscription, had more than a casual connection to its visual context.<sup>33</sup> The kottabos player's TOI shows him to belong to a small group of cup-whirling *λάραξ*-tossers who speak through inscriptions on Attic red-figured vases:

1 (Pl. 98). Leningrad 644 (St. 1670). Psykter, Euphronios, ca. 520 B.C. “Hetären-Symposion” with four nude women. TINTANΔΕΛΑΤΑΣΣΩ ΛΕΑΓΡΕ (retr.) (ARV<sup>2</sup> 16, 15; 1619; *Paralipomena* 509; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 153; Peschel, pl. 42; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 361, pp. 63–64, 74).

2 (Pl. 99). Munich 2421. Hydria (shoulder), Phintias, ca. 520 B.C. “Hetären-Symposion” with two women. ΚΑΛΟΙ (retr.) ΣΟΙΤΕΝΔΙ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΔΕΙ (ARV<sup>2</sup> 23, 7; 162; *Paralipomena* 323; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 155; Peschel, pl. 44; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 389, p. 67).

3 (Fig. 1, Pl. 100). Munich 2636. Cup (tondo), Proto-Panaetian Group, ca. 500 B.C. Single nude woman on *kline*. TOITEN (ARV<sup>2</sup> 317, 16; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 214; Peschel, pl. 47; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 502, p. 84). See also Appendix, No. 4.

4 (Fig. 2, Pl. 100). Louvre G 114. Stamnos (A), Copenhagen Painter, ca. 480 B.C. Dionysos, Herakles, and a satyr as cup-boy. TOITENΔΕ|ΛΥΚΟΙ (ARV<sup>2</sup> 257, 14; 1596; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 204).

All four vases depict kottabos-playing symposiasts whirling their cups by the handle around their extended right index fingers in precisely the same way as the gentleman on Side A of London cup. The words of the kottabos-players inscribed on 2, 3, and 4 are in the normal position with initial letters in immediate juxtaposition to the speaker's open mouth (Figs. 1, 2, Pls. 99, 100). On 1, however, the words issue from the back of the hetaira's head (Pl. 98). The abnormality of this position is explained by Klein as representing the frozen traces of words produced before she turned her head in preparation for launching a difficult backwards shot.<sup>34</sup> The hetaira of 3 and the Dionysos of 4 say nearly the same thing: 3 reads

owe to Professor Immerwahr the alternative suggestion that *φασὶν ἀληθῇ ταῦτα* directly introduces a story. Compare the question-narrative beginning Lucian's *Runaways* (*Fug.* 1.1): ἀληθῇ ταῦτά φασιν, πάτερ, ὥς ἐμβάλοι τις φέρων αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ κατέναντι Ὀλυμπίων, ἥδη πρεσβύτης ἀνθρώπου, οὐκ ἀγεννῆς θαυματοποιοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα;

<sup>33</sup> Jacobsthal, 1912, p. 61.

<sup>34</sup> W. Klein, *Euphronios*, 2nd ed., Vienna 1886, p. 110; cf. FR, II, p. 16, Schneider, col. 1539. A different interpretation is offered by C. A. Mastrelli (“Per una interpretazione del greco kóttabos, gioco siciliano,”



FIG. 1. 3. Munich 2636: Proto-Panaetian Group, cup (I), ca. 500 B.C. Drawing by E. R. Malyon after museum photograph

(retrograde) TOITEN;<sup>35</sup> 4 reads (also retrograde) TOITENΔE. The first words of the hetaira's speech on 2 have been variously read: originally published as ΔΟΣΤΕΝΔΕ,<sup>36</sup> Brunn established the dominant 19th-century reading TOITENΔE,<sup>37</sup> and Furtwängler the dominant 20th-century reading ΣΟΙΤΕΝΔΙ.<sup>38</sup> There can be no doubt that this formula somehow

*Bollettino del Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani* 5, 1957 [pp. 1–41], p. 20). The same might be true of 3; only a tip survives from the hetaira's head. It looks less like the nose restored by Hartwig (p. 129, fig. 18) than the end of a sakkos.

<sup>35</sup> The location of the gap near the inscription on the tondo will not allow the usual restoration TOITEN[ΔE]. The drawing in Hartwig (p. 129, fig. 18) misleads; see Pls. 99:b, 100.

<sup>36</sup> O. Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung König Ludwigs in der Pinakothek zu München*, Munich 1854, p. 4; later revived by P. J. Meier ("Zu den Vasen mit Meistersignaturen," *AZ* 42, 1884 [pp. 237–252], p. 252).

<sup>37</sup> H. Brunn, "Giunta all'articolo sul giuoco del cottabo," *BdI* 31, 1859 (pp. 219–220), p. 219; Jahn, p. 223; Klein (footnote 34 above), p. 111; Kretschmer (footnote 15 above), p. 87, note 3; J. C. Hoppin, *Euthymides*, Leipzig 1896, p. 16.

<sup>38</sup> FR, II, p. 63; J. C. Hoppin, *Euthymides and his Fellows*, Cambridge 1917, p. 115; J. D. Beazley, "Three Red-figured Cups," *JHS* 39, 1919 (pp. 82–87), p. 83; *idem*, "Two Inscriptions on Attic Vases," *CR* 57, 1943 (pp. 102–103), p. 102; R. Lullies, *CVA*, Munich 5 [Germany 20], p. 18; Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 23, 7; R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, London 1972, p. 253; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period*,

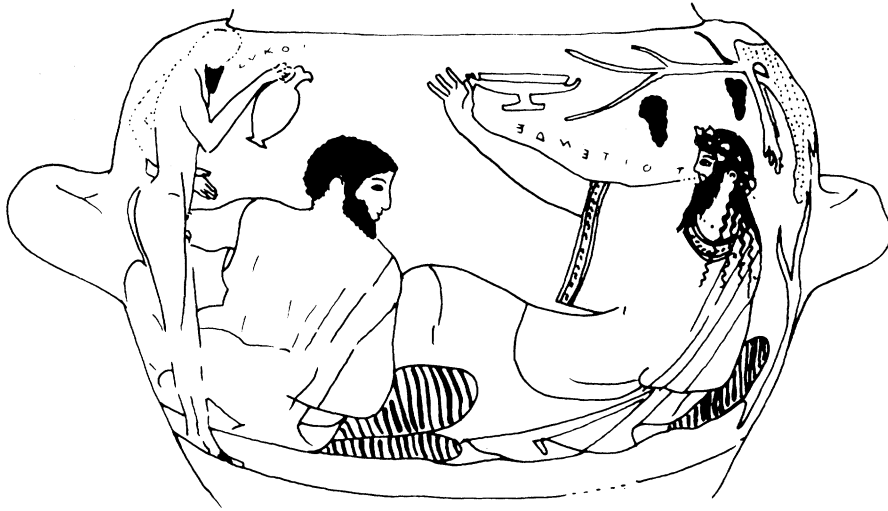


FIG. 2. 4. Louvre G 114: Copenhagen Painter, stamnos (A), ca. 480 B.C. Drawing courtesy of F. Lissarrague, after Lissarrague, fig. 71

relates to the customary “toast” by which a kottabos player names the object of his (or her) affections before hurling the wine lees at the kottabos. For this there is abundant literary evidence, although Greek literature gives no examples of a specific formula beginning TOI.<sup>39</sup>

It is clear that the TOI on the London cup must be an abbreviation of the TOITENΔΕ formula, which is itself generally taken to be an abbreviation of something like τοὶ τῇνδε λάταγα ἦμι “I toss these wine lees for you.” To this formula a name in the dative is added in 2<sup>40</sup> and 4, 1 adds a name in the vocative, and 3 is simply the bare formula. We should expect that the remainder of the inscription on Side A of the London cup will also represent a proper name in the dative in conformity with this pattern. As it stands, however, it resembles no recognizable Greek word, proper name or otherwise. Jacobsthal’s solution to this problem was to take the gibberish at face value: making a connection between the un-Greek word and the un-Greek hat of the man closest to the inscription, he decided that the man must

London 1975, p. 30; Lissarrague, p. 80; Peschel, p. 71; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 389, p. 67. Only Schneider (col. 1538) and S. Mazzarino (“Kottabos siculo o siceliota,” *RendLinc*, ser. 6, 15, 1939 [pp. 357–378], p. 361, note 3) retained the older reading TOITENΔΕ. Our reasons for preferring Brunn’s *tau* are given in footnote 55 below.

<sup>39</sup> Schneider, col. 1538.

<sup>40</sup> On the authority of Brunn ([footnote 37 above] p. 219) most 19th-century scholars read Εὐθύμιδες, including Jahn (p. 223), who originally read Εὐθυμίδη ([footnote 36 above] p. 4). Kretschmer ([footnote 15 above] p. 87, note 3) pointed out that Εὐθύμιδες is not Greek, the vocative being in fact Εὐθυμίδη. K. Meisterhans (*Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1900, p. 196) read nominative Εὐθυμίδης, supplying the predicate ἔγραψεν, a supplement which takes no account of ΚΑΛΟΙ lining the other border of the scene and is, in any case, demolished by the attribution of the painting to Phintias. Since the name certainly has nine letters and this does not appear to be an instance where one might allow the nominative to substitute for the vocative, the reading Εὐθυμίδη seems inevitable and has been almost universally adopted, the notable dissenters being Schneider (col. 1538) and Mazzarino ([footnote 38 above] p. 361, note 3), who continued to read the pseudovocative.

speak “echtes oder fingiertes barbarisch.”<sup>41</sup> One year later Wilamowitz made the second and last attempt to explain AXETI, one more purely philological and a little less sensitive to the visual context: “ἀχέτι, was der Nächste sagt oder singt, wird der Anfang eines Liedes an eine Cicade sein, die ἀχέτι sehr gut nach dem ἡχέτα τέττιξ genannt werden konnte.”<sup>42</sup>

Neither interpretation is satisfying. First, Wilamowitz’ word for cicada has a unique inflexion not known to any Greek dialect. Secondly, Doric ἀχέτας for Attic-Ionic ἡχέτης might be excusable if it represents the beginning of a lyric poem, but not on this cup where the fragment of Praxilla incised in the tondo (identified by Wilamowitz himself) is Atticized.<sup>43</sup> Thirdly, Wilamowitz’ interpretation ignores the evident desire of the vase painter to show the hat wearer in conversation with the kottabos player: the man’s gesture is interlocutory and not comparable to the type of the singing symposiast. By contrast, Jacobsthal’s interpretation depends rather too heavily on a single detail of the immediate context, the hat which he terms *skythische Mütze*, and the assumption that Oriental hats are necessarily worn by Orientals.<sup>44</sup> One might add, incidentally, that no Athenian would have invented a “Scythian word” of this sort, since the distinctive feature of Scythian speech was its failure to reproduce aspirated consonants. This is abundantly clear from Aristophanes’ parody of the Scythian “police” (*Thesmophoriazusae* 1001–1225).

There is a possible solution to the problem of understanding AXETI which, for a good reason, has eluded previous commentators. A recent cleaning of the cup in preparation for its publication in a forthcoming volume of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (British Museum) has removed modern over-painting of the damaged surface extending below the hat wearer’s eye from the hat’s lappet to his upraised right hand. This 19th-century restoration, visible on all the published photographs (including our Plate 97:b), concealed the possibility of a lacuna in the text, for if the inscriber began his text in the usual fashion by placing the initial letter as close as possible to the speaker’s mouth, the break destroyed every trace of it. As in the tondo, there is ample space for an incised letter between the face and arm of the speaker. One should not hesitate to supply a lambda, the only letter which can offer a satisfactory reading of the inscription: [Λ]AXETI, dative of the Athenian masculine name Laches and a kalos-name which appears six times on vessels by and in the Manner of the Antiphon Painter (ca. 500–480 B.C.).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Jacobsthal, 1912, p. 61.

<sup>42</sup> Wilamowitz, p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> D. Page (*Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1967, fr. 752 [Praxilla 8]) is in agreement with Herzog (p. 19) and Wilamowitz (p. 120, note 1) that the singular of the London cup *θυρίδος* is preferable to the plural *θυρίδων* cited by Hephaestion, yet Page prints the plural in his text. W. Aly (*s.v.* Praxilla, *RE* XXII, ii, 1954 [cols. 1762–1768], cols. 1764–1765) unconvincingly denies Praxilla’s authorship of the fragment in Hephaestion and connects the tondo inscription with the “Lokriikon” in Athenaios, 15.697b–c.

<sup>44</sup> The “Scythian symposiasts” are now collected in M. C. Miller, “Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?” in *Dining in a Classical Context*, W. J. Slater, ed., Ann Arbor 1991, pp. 59–81, where their identification as Orientals is challenged.

<sup>45</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1591; a seventh “Laches kalos” is now reported from the Geneva Market (*Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 396). The presence of the name may link (remotely) the London cup with the circle of the Antiphon Painter. D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck wondered whether the Tyszkiewicz Painter’s Lacheas was the same man (*A Study of the Greek Love-Names*, Baltimore 1937, no. 165, p. 132). Despite the excessively long time frame, Robinson and Fluck argued that the Λάχης καλός of ca. 490 was the Athenian general of the Peloponnesian War, Laches Melanopou (pp. 141–142). Such an association had been rejected by K. Wernicke (*Die griechischen*

The situation here is exactly parallel to 4, on which the retrograde letters TOITENΔE streaming from the mouth of Dionysos are answered by the orthograde ΛΥΚΟΙ, “for Lykos,” streaming from the mouth of the satyr (Fig. 2, Pl. 100). On the London cup, the reading Λάχητι “for Laches,” gives a response to the kottabos player’s TOI that seems admirably suited to the visual details of the situation. The two speaking figures are in communication, one making an appropriate response to the words of the other, not Scythian in response to Greek, nor Doric song in response to spoken Attic, but Attic speech for both alike.

The presentation of the “toast” on 4 (Fig. 2, Pl. 100) and on the London cup (Pl. 97:b) in the form of a dialogue shared by two speakers is quite strange and demands some sort of explanation. This must involve us in another longstanding problem of interpretation. Since Brunn, TOI has commonly been deciphered in the light of 1 (Pl. 98), where the retrograde inscription TINTANΔΕΛΑΤΑΣΣΟ appears behind the head of the hetaira (ΣΜΙΚΡΑ) and, on a lower line, also retrograde, ΛΕΑΓΡΕ.<sup>46</sup> The inscription is easily recognized as the Doric phrase τὴν τάνδε λατάσσω Λεάγρε “I throw these dregs for you, Leagros.” On the analogy of TIN in 1, TOI is generally taken as equivalent to σοί, the second person singular dative pronoun: τοὶ = σοί is, in fact, a form found in literary Doric, in Ionic, and hypothesized for Old Attic-Ionic.<sup>47</sup> The major obstacle to this interpretation is the lack of evidence for τοὶ = σοί in Attic speech. Those who attempt to explain the form regard it as a Doric formula and point to the ancient tradition of the Sicilian origin of kottabos.<sup>48</sup> Now, the problem is that 1 shows that the Doric formula uses the Doric second-person dative singular form τὴν not τοὶ,<sup>49</sup> and so one is forced to hypothesize two (interchangeable) Doric formulas for the kottabos “toast”, one beginning with τὴν, the other with τοὶ. This explanation generates a further problem. The inscribed cups have variations on τοὶ τήν, not τοὶ τάν as we would expect if we were really dealing with a Doric formula. Jahn tries to excuse this chimaera as a partial Attic naturalization of a Doric phrase:

Aus diesen beispielen geht klar hervor, dass die stehende formel des zurufs beim kottabos war τὴν τάνδε λατάσσω oder τοὶ τήνδε. Charakteristisch ist es, dass sie einmal rein dorisch, das anderemal mit dem attischen τήνδε versetzt ist. Denn sowie es begreiflich ist dass von Sicilien mit dem spiel und seinen einrichtungen auch die nationalen ausdrücke und

*Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen*, Berlin 1890, p. 122), Hartwig (p. 568), and tacitly by J. Kirchner who assigned *Laches kalos* a separate number from that of Laches Melanopou (*Prosopographia Attica* II, Berlin 1903, no. 9009, no. 9019). See also J. D. Beazley in CB, III, p. 42. In fact, between ten and fifteen Athenians named Laches are attested for the 5th century (some are not closely dated; the count has been made easier and more accurate by a printout from the Athenians Project courtesy of J. S. Traill). Without a patronymic or demotic it would be unwise to associate our Laches with any known figure.

<sup>46</sup> H. Brunn, “Acclamazione usata nel giuoco del cottabo,” *BdI* 31, 1859 (pp. 126–128), p. 128.

<sup>47</sup> Jahn, pp. 225–264; Schneider, col. 1538; Lissarrague, p. 80. See C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955, p. 98, §118, 4.

<sup>48</sup> The danger of taking these reports at face value and of assuming “Sicilian” = “Dorian” are set out by Mazzarino (footnote 38 above). The etymology of the word “kottabos” is most thoroughly treated by Mastrelli (footnote 34 above).

<sup>49</sup> W. Schulze, review of P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht in Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1896 (pp. 228–256), p. 252 (= *idem*, *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen 1934 [pp. 692–717], p. 714): “... den Spruch als nur halbattische Umformung des dorischen Originals zu betrachten, TOI also für das Dorische zu reklamieren, geht deshalb nicht recht an, weil es ja in dem uns bekannten Original gar nicht τοὶ, sondern τὴν heisst.”

formeln herübergebracht und beibehalten wurden—wie ja bei manchen kartenspielen und beim billiard auch von solchen und für solche, die es nicht verstehen, französisch gezählt und notiert wird—, so konnte es dagegen auch nicht fehlen, dass im täglichen verkehr die gewohnten formen sich eindrängten und ein mischdialect entstand.<sup>50</sup>

This explanation will have to do, at least for the moment, but one cannot be really comfortable with it: the problem is not in the transference of sympotic language from Doric to Attic, which is paralleled elsewhere and otherwise easily explained,<sup>51</sup> but in the linguistic mix and mutation. If the formula is  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\epsilon$  ( $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\omega$ ), it does not explain  $\tau\omicron\iota \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\delta\epsilon$ . If an unattested alternative Doric short formula  $\tau\omicron\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\epsilon$  is hypothesized, it is awkward to explain the partial Atticization  $\tau\omicron\iota \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\delta\epsilon$ . Was it to save the alliterative jingle?

The interpretation TOI = ΣOI is further embarrassed by the fact that the inscriptions usually identify the recipient of the “toast” as someone other than the person to whom the kottabos player is speaking. Thus on 1 Smikra “toasts” Leagros in the second person at a symposium where only hetairai are present (Pl. 98); on 2, similarly, one hetaira is shown speaking to another, but the “toast” is for Euthymides (Pl. 99); on 4 Lykos, the recipient of the “toast”, is presumably someone other than the satyr or Herakles addressed by Dionysos (Fig. 2, Pl. 100). The fact that the “toastee” is nowhere present led Schulze to read TOI not as the second person pronoun but as  $\tau\hat{\omega}$ , the definite article, indicating “der Abwesende”, and in this he was followed by Jacobsthal.<sup>52</sup> Wilamowitz also saw TOI as a form of the definite article “das wird nur ‘dem’ sein, ‘dem N.N.’.”<sup>53</sup> After Wilamowitz, however, translations continue to read TOI as “for you”.<sup>54</sup>

The appearance of two painted pots showing a divided “toast” may seem to support the reading TOI =  $\tau\hat{\omega}$ . When a kottabos player looks at a fellow symposiast and shouts “for you”, it is not easy to see why the other should answer “for Laches” or “for Lykos”, unless we are to supply a  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  and dream up a scenario in which the second speaker attempts to deflect the compliment onto the head of another in an otherwise very un-Greek display of modesty. It is better to take it as a single complete “toast” begun by one speaker and finished by another and directed by both to a third party. Yet it is equally unlikely that both speakers collaborate in a “toast” to some second person singular who stands outside the fictional world of the painting as the imagined recipient of the cup: surely if this were the case, we would expect  $\sigma\omicron\iota \Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma\omicron\iota \Lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma$  rather than  $\sigma\omicron\iota \Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\omega$ , and  $\sigma\omicron\iota \Lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\tau\iota$ .<sup>55</sup> If we accept the reading of TOI as the definite article, we must assume that the partition of the “toasting”

<sup>50</sup> Jahn, pp. 225–226.

<sup>51</sup> See Beazley, 1943 (footnote 38 above), pp. 102–103.

<sup>52</sup> Schulze (footnote 49 above), p. 252 (= *Kleine Schriften*, p. 714): “Ich vermute, dass dieser Spruch dem Abwesenden galt—wie des Theramenes  $\text{Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ}$ —und nach Anleitung des Homerverses  $\Lambda 186 \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \text{Ἐκτορι μῦθον ἐνίσπες}$  zu schreiben ist:  $\tau\hat{\omega} \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\delta\epsilon \text{Εὐθυμίδῃ}$  sc.  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha \text{ἴημι}$ .” Jacobsthal, 1912, p. 61.

<sup>53</sup> Wilamowitz, p. 121.

<sup>54</sup> Schneider, col. 1538; Lissarrague, p. 80; Peschel, p. 73.

<sup>55</sup> The normal practice of following a second person pronoun with a proper name in the vocative rather than in the dative suggests that 2 should read  $\tau\hat{\omega} \tau\eta\nu\delta\iota \text{Εὐθυμίδῃ}$ , not  $\sigma\omicron\iota \tau\eta\nu\delta\iota \text{Εὐθυμίδῃ}$ . One need hardly point out that the present corpus of kottabos inscriptions, small though it be, is overwhelmingly in support of the pre-Furtwängler reading TOI (see above, footnote 37).

formula between two speakers shows fellow symposiasts breaking in upon a “toast”, either with jocular anticipation or with a humorous perversion of the “toaster’s” intended words. On 3, then, where only one figure appears, the speaker says no more than TOITEN as if inviting the viewer to fill in the blank (Fig. 1, Pl. 100).

There is another possible and, we think, better solution to the problem, one which gives an economic account of both the form of TOI and of the divided “toast” on the vases. It is to read TOI as the common form of the interrogative pronoun “τῷ;” and to interpret the formula as a question “For whom [shall I toss] the wine lees?” answered by “For Laches!” and “For Lykos!” and on 2, depending on the reading adopted, “For the handsome Euthymides!” But is such a question-and-answer formula consistent with it being a toast? Or does it serve some other function?

The ancient sources allow three different interpretations of the object of kottabos: a dedication, an oracle, or a party game. Accordingly, we could take the words spoken by the kottabos player as a sort of toast or dedication to a lover;<sup>56</sup> as a prognostic question about the possibility of love’s requital, answered by the success or failure of the lover’s throw;<sup>57</sup> or as establishing a prize for the winner of the contest. The inscribed pots have always been read as “toasts”, largely because Euphronios’ psykter (1), with its apparently unambiguous dedication, served as both a paradigm and a sort of architext for the group. Yet on our reading, the London cup does not favor the interpretation of the kottabos formula as either a toast or an oracle. A man just about to toss his wine lees asks “For whom do I make this shot?”; another answers “For Laches”. No notion of “toast” or “oracle” provides a suitable cognitive frame for the interpretation of this text. A lover does not ask another to furnish a suitable object for his toast or a suitable subject for his oracular enquiry.

Forty years ago Paolino Mingazzini questioned the received notions of the function of kottabos and cast doubt upon its alleged “oracular function”. He demonstrated that the concrete situations described in Classical and Early Hellenistic literature show the game played for a prize and frequently for the kisses or erotic possession of a slave or hetaira. He also argued that the function of kottabos as “toast” to a love object was secondary and derivative from its function as contest with a love prize.<sup>58</sup>

The exchange on the London cup is more intelligible within Mingazzini’s framework. The kottabos player asks the man in the foreign hat to set a prize for the contest. He employs a sort of dative of cause or purpose: τῷ [λάταγα ἵημι]; (cf. Ἡρακλεῖ λάταξ in the fragment of Achaïos preserved by Athenaios, 668a–b). The man in the hat replies “[We will play] for

<sup>56</sup> Athenaios, 10.427d: ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τὸ μὲν σπένδειν ἀποδοδόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς, ὁ δὲ κότταβος τοῖς ἐρωμένοις.

<sup>57</sup> *Etymologium Magnum* 533.20: κοτταβίζειν ἦν δὲ τοῦτο σημεῖον τοῦ ἐράσθαι ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἢ παίδων. Scholiast to Aristophanes’ *Peace* 343: κοτταβίζειν εἰ ἐγένετο μείζων ψόφος, ἐδόκουν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐράσθαι . . . καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐκχυθῇ τοῦ οἴνου, ἐνίκα καὶ ᾗδει ὅτι φιλεῖται αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρωμένης. Scholiast to Lucian’s *Lexiphanes* 3 (fr. 195 R): ᾗχον ἀποτελοῦσιν, ὃς εὐφραίνει τὸν ἑρωτα, ὥς τῶν παιδικῶν κατευστοχοῦντα ἑρωτικῇ γὰρ ἢ παιδιᾷ. εἰ δὲ τῶν πλαστίγγων ἢ λάταξ διαμάρτοι, ἡττᾶσθαι δοκεῖ ὁ ἐρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν ἡμελῆσθαι.

<sup>58</sup> P. Mingazzini (“Sulla pretesa funzione oracolare del kottabos,” *AA [JdI]* 65–66, 1950–1951, pp. 35–47), followed by B. A. Sparkes (“Kottabos: An Athenian After-Dinner Game,” *Archaeology* 13, 1960 [pp. 202–207], p. 207) and R. Hirschmann (*Symposienszenen auf unteritalischen Vasen*, Würzburg 1985, pp. 24–25).

Laches." Zahn once suggested that the man in the hat was the symposiarch (*βασιλεὺς τοῦ συμποσίου*);<sup>59</sup> if so, we would expect him to be in charge of the distribution of prizes.

If there is one fault in Mingazzini's argument, it is that he leaves us prepared to place too much emphasis on concrete agonistic situations and too much faith in the relevance of that general *mania greca dell'agone*<sup>60</sup> to the particular context of the symposium. The agonistic spirit is indeed there, but tempered to suit the convivial atmosphere. Symposiastic games, says Plutarch, should skirt the frontier between levity and earnest: "I have heard many say that the most pleasant cruise is that which hugs the shoreline, and the most pleasant walk is that which borders the sea. Just so, the good symposiarch mixes play with earnest, so that the guests are still somehow earnest at their games and, conversely, cheerful while in earnest, holding playfulness in their gaze like sailors looking landward."<sup>61</sup>

The inscribed kottabos vases manifest the danger of overstressing the competitive aspect of kottabos. The standard agonistic format with its clear concepts and material rewards is missing. Unlike the literary passages mustered by Mingazzini in which the favors of slaves or hetairai are offered as prizes, it seems fairly clear that the names on the vase inscriptions, Laches, Leagros, Lykos, and Euthymides, belong to free men, and in the case of the first three, probably young aristocrats, whom one cannot literally hand over to the successful kottabos player or otherwise dispose of at will.<sup>62</sup> Still less can we suppose that self-respecting Athenian youths of good family have agreed to serve in this capacity: the absence of these *ἐρώμενοι* on the painted scenes is not likely to be an oversight on the part of the painter. Does what is known of the social context of Athenian life then contradict and override the testimony of the inscriptions interpreted in the context of the painted images? Clearly not; to read the evidence in this way amounts to a "documentary fallacy". The pots are not, after all, slices of life but elaborate fictions subject to all the distortions which an artist's wit and fantasy can produce. This is clear from the very setting of the earliest vases (1–3). We may freely doubt the existence of "Hetärensypnosien" in Archaic Athens. Did hetairai really get together to drink and play kottabos? Or is this simply a humorous inversion of reality (where prostitutes play for the favors of free youths), an erotic daydream, and the painter's witty compliment to a *παῖς καλός*, a symposium joke for the symposium?

The London cup, however, is more realistic in this respect, and perhaps in some sense, it is a slice of life after all. The wit and fantasy which we attribute to the vase painter or inscriber may just as well be attributed to the real-life symposiast: *οὕτως παραβαλεῖ τῇ σπονδῇ τὴν παιδιάν*. Mingazzini posits a general evolution of the meaning of the verbal formula from a purely pragmatic exchange establishing a prize in a concrete agonistic situation to a final phase in which the original meaning of the formula was lost and replaced with

<sup>59</sup> Jacobsthal, 1912, p. 62, note 2; the interpretation is doubted by Miller (footnote 44 above), p. 67.

<sup>60</sup> Mingazzini (footnote 58 above), p. 39.

<sup>61</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia* 621 D 5–10.

<sup>62</sup> Leagros remains top of the *kalos* charts in red figure. Lykos was evidently a popular beauty in the earlier 5th century; Beazley suggests that Lykos of 3 is the same as *Λύκος καλός* (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1595–1596). For Laches see footnote 45 above. Euthymides is another matter. He is commonly identified with the vase painter, like Phintias one of the circle of the "Pioneers" who frequently address each other on their vases; Euthymides is "kalos" also on other vases. See Beazley, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 30 and Immerwahr, 1990, pp. 58–74, esp. pp. 72–74.

vaguer notions about the dedicatory and oracular function<sup>63</sup> of the game. If such an evolution took place, the London cup exemplifies an early stage in the departure from a material to a purely ideational content for the kottabos formula, a stage in which the game was played for an imaginary prize.

## APPENDIX

### Singers of Lyric Verse in Attic Red Figure

The following list is given in the order of appearance in *ARV*<sup>2</sup> for easy reference; earlier lists can be found in Hartwig, p. 255, note 6, and Herzog, nos. 6–14, pp. 17–21. "Standard" means that the head is tilted back and the right hand held to the top of the head. "πρὸς μυρρίνην" is adopted from Hartwig (pp. 255–258) to refer to men whose head is tilted back but who extend a garland in the right hand. Singing komasts are included as related material. The list does not pretend to be complete.

For lyric inscriptions in other contexts (book rolls, etc.), see *Poetae Melici Graeci* 938 and footnote 24 above. The famous Hipponax fragment is inscribed after firing on a fragmentary cup foot: West Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde 10984: IMOIGENOIT = Hipponax F. 119 (West) εἴ' μοι γένοιτ[ο παρθένος καλή] (τε καὶ τέρεινα); J. Boehlau, "Ein neuer Erosmythos," *Philologus* 60, 1901 (pp. 321–329), p. 329, plate facing p. 480.

\* refers to the appearance of a line drawing of the figure and inscription in Lissarrague.

1. Munich 8935: (A) ΟΠΟΛΛΟΝΣΕΤΕΚΑΙΜΑΚΑΙ[PAN] (retr.). Unusually, the singer is frontal and holds his cup in his right hand at his chest (Euphronios, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> [14, 3bis]; 1619; 1705; *Paralipomena* 322; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 152; *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis* 317; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 363, p. 64).
2. \*Paris, Louvre G 30: (B) ΜΑΜΕΚΑΠΟΤΕΟ around head of singer, from mouth. Cf. Sappho, fr. 36 (6 App.) Lobel-Page (καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι; F. Studniczka, *JdI* 2, 1887, p. 162). Reclining lyre player (Euphronios, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 15, 9; 1619; *Paralipomena* 322; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 152; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 360, p. 63).
3. Copenhagen 13365: (A) ΠΙΕΝΙΕΣ. Possibly standard pose; (B) ΙΟΟΟ from mouth of older komast (Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 185, 32; *Paralipomena* 340; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 187; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 488, p. 82). (Compare: \*Munich 2416: ΟΟΟΟΟ from Alkaios' mouth: Brygos Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 385, 228; 1649; *Paralipomena* 367; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 228; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 550, p. 88.)
4. Munich 2636: (A) ΕΓΕΙ[ΡΕ] (retr.). Cup extended in right hand. (B) Κ[ΑΛΟ]ΣΕΙ, sung(?) πρὸς μυρρίνην (Proto-Panaetian Group, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 317, 16; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 214; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 502, p. 84).
5. \*Erlangen 454: (I) ΕΙΜΙΚΩ[ΜΑ]ΖΩΝΗΥΠΑΥ(ΛΩΝ) \*orthograde to mouth, so ΑΥ are more emphatically the last letters voiced with ΛΩΝ anticipated. Young komast with lyre (Antiphon Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 339, 49; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 218).
6. Paris, Louvre G 316: (A) ΗΟΠΑΙΣ (retr.), sung? Standard pose (Antiphon Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 339, 61; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 218).
7. \*Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 546: (I) ΟΠΟΛΩΝ (retr.). Compare No. 1 above. Standard pose (Brygos Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 372, 26; *Paralipomena* 365; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 225).

<sup>63</sup> Mingazzini fails in his attempt to force the late evidence to support his own theory ([footnote 58 above] pp. 42–44).

8. \*Florence 3949: (I) ΠΙΛΕΚΑΙ, i.e., *φίλε καί*, sung *πρὸς μυρρίνην* (Brygos Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 376, 90; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 549, p. 88).
9. Possibly: Louvre G 156: (B) Λ.Ε. (Pottier). Komast (Brygos Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 380, 172; 1649; *Paralipomena* 366; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 227).
10. Boston, M.F.A. 10.193: (I) (Ε)ΣΠΑΝΙΟΝΙΕΝ, i.e. *εἰς Πανιωνίην*, orthograde from lips. Older komast with a lyre ("somewhat akin to the early work of Douris", *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1567, 12; *Poetae Melici Graeci* 938b).
11. \*Munich 2646: (I) ΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΟΥ (retr.). Theognis 695? (*οὐ δύναμαί σοι θυμέ* . . . ; Schulze [footnote 49 above] p. 237) or Theognis 939? (*οὐ δύναμαι φωνῇ λιγ' αἰείδμεν* . . . ; Hartwig, p. 258). Standard pose (Douris, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 437, 128; 1653; *Paralipomena* 375; *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 239; Immerwahr, 1990, no. 532, p. 87).
12. Rome, Villa Giulia 50329: ΣΟΙΚΑΙΕΜ[ΟΙ] (retr.). Cf. Theognis 1055 (Beazley). Standard pose (Manner of the Tarquinia Painter, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 872, 26; J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Greek Vases: VI," *AJA* 38, 1954 [pp. 187–190], p. 190, pl. 31:5).
13. \*Athens, N.M. 1357: (I) ΟΠΑΙΔΟΝΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΕ (retr.). Theognis 1365. Singer extends right hand to rabbit below couch (Unattributed, *CV4*, Athens 1 [Greece 1], III Ic, pl. 3 [25]:1).

E. CSAPO

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
Department of Classics  
University College F-105  
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1

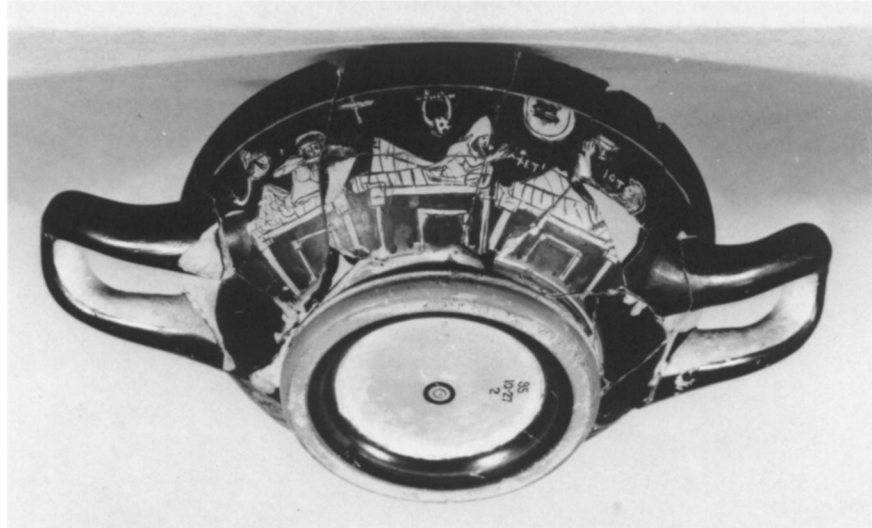
M. C. MILLER

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
Department of Fine Art  
100 St. George St.  
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1

London, B.M. 95.10-27.2.  
Unattributed stemless cup,  
470-460 B.C. Courtesy,  
Trustees of the British Museum



a. Tondo



b. Side A

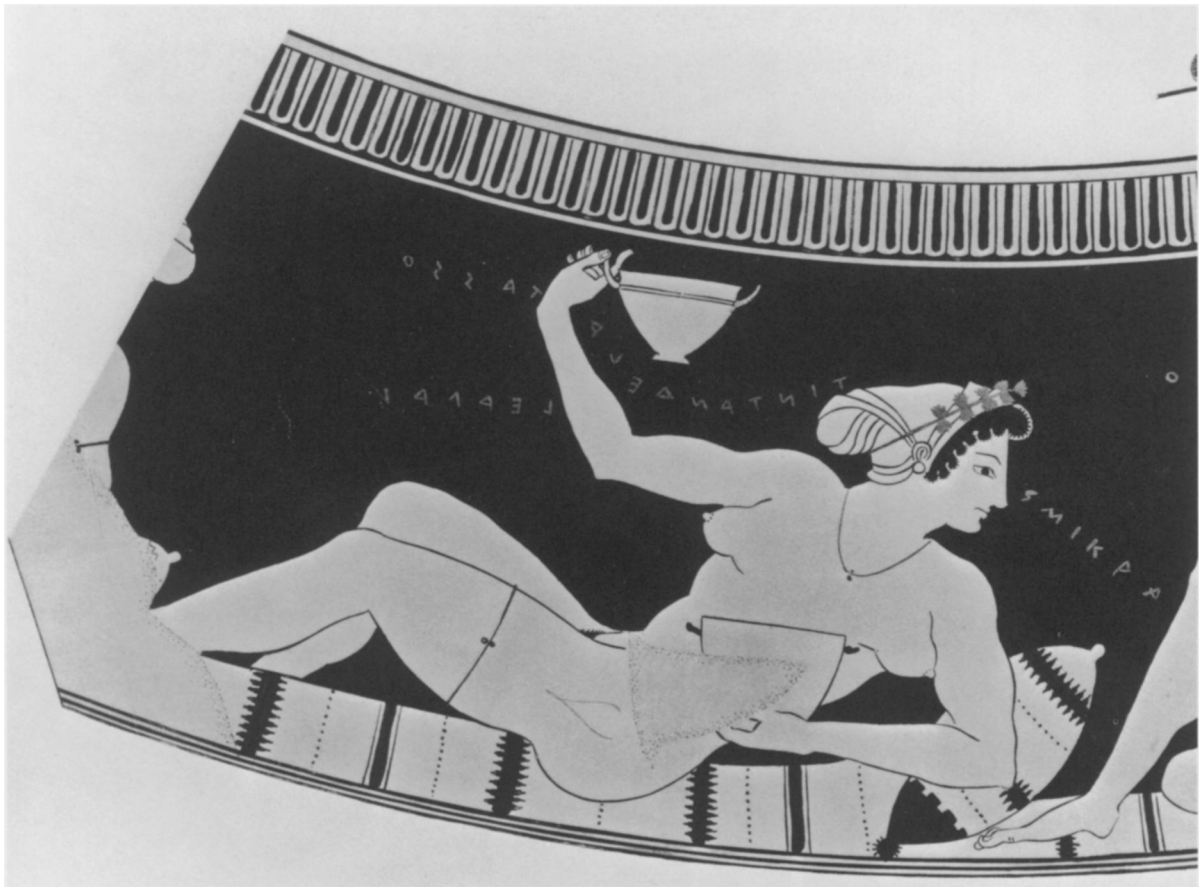


c. Side B

1. Leningrad 644 (St. 1670): Euphronios, psykter, ca. 520 B.C.



- a. After A. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofiguriye Atticheskiye Vazy v Ermitazhe*, Leningrad 1967, pl. 15



- b. After Furtwängler and Reichhold, pl. 63



a. Courtesy, Staatlichen Antikensammlungen München



b. After Furtwängler and Reichhold, pl. 71.1

2. Munich 2421: Phintias, hydria (shoulder), *ca.* 520 B.C.

E. CSAPO AND M. C. MILLER: THE "KOTTABOS-TOAST" AND AN INSCRIBED RED-FIGURED CUP



3. Munich 2636: Proto-Panaetian Group, cup (I), *ca.* 500 B.C. Courtesy, Staatlichen Antikensammlungen München



4. Louvre G 114: Copenhagen Painter, Stamnos (A), *ca.* 480 B.C. Courtesy, Département des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines