

## ILLUSTRATING ARISTOPHANES\*

(PLATES XII–XVII)

EDITIONS of Aristophanes need illustrations. By this I do not mean illustrations of theatrical antiquities in the shape of terracottas, vases, etc., that help us to visualise the appearance of the actors and the Greek theatre. Such a visualisation is, I think, proper in dealing with drama, but there are in Aristophanes two other visual aspects. There is first a wealth of vocabulary that refers to objects that the audience of his day would have seen in the theatre in the form of properties. One need only mention such things as Dicaeopolis' chopping board (τὸ ἐπίξηνον τοδί, *Ach.* 366), Strepsiades' whirl (διὰ τουτονὶ τὸν δῖνον, *Nub.* 1473), Prometheus' parasol (τουτὶ τὸ σκιάδειον, *Av.* 1508), and the pots and pans in *Ecclesiazusae* (τὰ σκευάρια ταυτὶ, *Ecc.* 753). These properties can be thought of as naturalistically made or fantastically exaggerated. The second group of words comes in the form of mental pictures—images, however weak, that the mention of an object will raise. Much of the richness of effect and of a play's texture is conveyed by these two groups of words, the immediacy of the comic situation is sharpened by the visual and mental images. Old Comedy more than most Greek literature is rooted in contemporary life, and one is anchored in late fifth century Athens as much by the impedimenta as by the political jests. The tang and savour of the author depend on catching the images he is presenting in specific, visual terms, and in order to achieve that, I suggest that one should have as clear a picture of an article as possible. Professor Dover has recently<sup>1</sup> remarked on Aristophanes' tendency to transform a concept into a material object, citing the samples of wine in *Acharnians*, which represent the peace treaties available. Indeed, despite the evidence for increased literacy in this period,<sup>2</sup> the majority of the audience in the theatre would see what was being *said* quite as much as what was being *shown* them not as words but as objects.

Editors of Aristophanes, in studying a text and attempting to elucidate it, have not always paid attention to the archaeological thread in the material. The most recent editors of the Oxford editions are exceptions to this stigma, but the emphasis on this aspect is very recent. For instance, I have found only one archaeological reference in Platnauer's edition of *Peace*—strangely to an article of my own.<sup>3</sup> This is flattering but puzzling, as

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PLATE XIII*f* is taken from B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* vol. ii, pl. 64, 759, b.

It gives me great pleasure to thank Professor Dover and the Editor for their useful comments.

<sup>1</sup> K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (Batsford, 1972) 45; cf. S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*<sup>2</sup> (1898) 371–2, *Hermathena* xxi (1949–50) 35–6 (G. J. de Vries); H.-J. Newiger, *Metaphor und Allegorie* (1957) 52 f.

<sup>2</sup> *CQ* xxi (1927) 117–18 (J. D. Denniston).

<sup>3</sup> *Peace*, ed. M. Platnauer (Oxford, 1964) note at vv. 1242–4.

there are over seventy passages in the play that need comment of an archaeological kind. Dr Ussher, however, in his excellent commentary on *Ecclesiazusae* published in 1973,<sup>4</sup> has been at pains to give precise archaeological references for the τροχήλατος λύχνος 'the wheel-made lamp', v. 1, depilation in vv. 12–13, storehouses in v. 14 and so on through the play. But it is unwise to assume that meanings and distinctions of meanings in such words are widely understood amongst all scholars.<sup>5</sup>

Some plays of Aristophanes have fared better than others from editors who are archaeologically aware, but even where attention has been paid to such matters, the result may not be completely satisfactory. For whereas a pertinent linguistic or literary parallel can be, and often is, quoted in the commentary, with visual items the reader is sent (and perhaps with decreasing enthusiasm) to what for many may be the terra incognita of a library's archaeological section. I am not suggesting that an editor should operate an infant school flash-card system and that every mention of a chair or tripod be accompanied by the relevant picture.<sup>6</sup> One may indeed with reason ask whether a written description of the cheese-grater mentioned by Lysistrata (*Lys.* 231–2) may not reveal just as much as a picture of one about the sexual proclivities which lie behind the reference. But where a scene is likely to gain in clarity and effect from a proper understanding of the *Realien*, an editor should seek to elucidate their meaning quite as much as the syntax of the sentence or the literary allusions, and if necessary, provide an illustration. For many of the objects that to us are words on the page, had counterparts outside the theatrical performances in the everyday lives of Aristophanes' audience.

First, one must enquire how one is to go about gathering information for this visualisation. To say that one starts with the vocabulary of Aristophanes is true, but it is a dangerous simplification. There are snares in the way. The text may be faulty. For some time I grappled with the strange phrase δξίς ἢ φάλαγξ; (*Vesp.* 1509), as a puzzled question asked by Philokleon when one of the dancers appears at the conclusion of *Wasps*: 'vinegar cruet or spider?'. What did an δξίς look like? One could comfort oneself with Starkie's plea 'the pointlessness of the comparison may be the only thing humorous in the line',<sup>7</sup> but the question remained. Borthwick, however, has now relieved us of the need to take that course and removed the word δξίς by his new reading of ὄπιος ἢ σφάλαξ;—'owl or mole?' which are the alternative suggestions offered to account for the dancer who has just appeared darting his head from side to side as though blinded by the unaccustomed light.<sup>8</sup> Here I feel sense is restored. Borthwick has also rid the text of another teasing problem at *Peace* 1079 where the words of the MS reading κώδων ἀκαλανθίς, the 'bell goldfinch',<sup>9</sup> had prompted Platnauer to write 'it would certainly be unwise to attempt to extract much sense out of them'.<sup>10</sup> But the dividing line between imperfect sense and perfect nonsense is certainly difficult to draw, especially with a comedian as ingenious as Aristophanes. So the text may need alteration or attention.

More important perhaps is the need to distinguish the different styles of language that Aristophanes uses, as linguistic levels affect the meanings of material words just as much as those in other spheres. Tragedy, rhetoric, political jargon, slang and technical vocabulary,

<sup>4</sup> *Ecclesiazusae*, ed. R. G. Ussher (Oxford, 1973).

<sup>5</sup> The new Greek primer *Lampas*, by B. R. Rees and M. E. Jervis (Blackwell, 1970), has for its title a word which I had assumed to mean 'torch' but its cover and title page are decorated with a wick-bearing *lychnos*. One can only ask the authors and designers of that book to suggest to Praxagora that she attend to the intimate details of her toilet with a *lampas* and see what response they get.

<sup>6</sup> This is common practice on television news

where every story has a picture, and was carried to its logical, absurd conclusion in a comedy programme when separate pictures were shown to illustrate the three parts of 'Lord Privy Seal'.

<sup>7</sup> *Wasps*, ed. W. J. M. Starkie (Macmillan, 1897) note at v. 1509.

<sup>8</sup> *CQ* xviii (1968) 44–51 (E. K. Borthwick).

<sup>9</sup> *CR* xviii (1968) 134–9 (E. K. Borthwick).

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* note at v. 1079.

together with others, have to be kept in mind if one is to assess correctly the purpose for which a particular word is being used. In trying to understand the particular visual impression a phrase was likely to make on the audience of the time, one must judge the strength or weakness of the image, the freshness or staleness of the phrase. One must try to distinguish the common from the abstruse and resurrect the audience's reaction to them. Jean Taillardat's recent work, *Les Images d'Aristophane*,<sup>11</sup> has shown the variety of source for Aristophanes' vocabulary. Reaction to such poetic words as *λόγχη*, *πέδιλον*, *λέχος*, *μέλαθρα* was no doubt different from that to the everyday language of *φορμός*, *κέραμος*, *χάραξ*, *ὀβελίσκοι*. The audience was able to recognise basic words and to appreciate Aristophanes' use of them or departure from them.

Another factor, which causes us to pause before accepting a word at its face value, is the humour of the usage. The presence of assonance, as at *Acharnians* 1109–10 with *λοφείον* and *λεκάνιον* or at *Peace* 431–2 with *τὴν φιάλην . . . 'φιαλοῦμεν* should make us wary of treating the words as if they were used in a plain context. The choice of a word to sustain a joke, as the *kantharos* scene in *Peace* or the *lekythion* section in *Frogs*, will suggest to us that we should give due weight to the reasons Aristophanes had for choosing a particular word and not take the usage at too simple a level. Sexual humour is fecund with objects—*ἀλάβαστος*, *σκύταλον*, *σχοινίον*, *ἐπικλιττρον*; and Shakespeare's use of such words as 'standards', 'bugle', 'let's to billiards' and 'the bawdy hand of the dial is on the prick of noon' shows the continued vigour of such usage. That words are going to be used in a slightly different way from the normal is to be expected in comedy.

Hypocoristic words<sup>12</sup> must be recognised for what they are. Praxagora's serving girl towards the end of *Ecclesiazusae* (1119) speaks of *τὰ Θάσι' ἀμφορείδια*, 'the dear little jars of Thasian wine', but she has no thoughts of small size, it is the attractiveness of the contents that elicits her darling diminutive. In some contexts the diminutive will be used persuasively, as Dicaeopolis before Euripides (*Ach.* 415–63) with his *ράκιον*, *πιλίδιον*, *σπυρίδιον* *κουτίσκιον* and *χυτρίδιον*; actual size doesn't count here either.

One also has to keep in mind the speed or slowness with which meanings change in relation to objects. Can we be certain that the *λύχνος* 'lamp' in *Acharnians* 453 and the *λοπάς* 'casserole' in *Knights* 1034 would raise the same picture in the audience's mind when the two words appear in *Wealth* forty years later? A parallel from the stylistic development of objects themselves suggests that one had best keep such a consideration in mind.

More problematic is the question of how far the words do in fact stand for specific objects and the extent of the area over which a word may be spread. Few words have fixed significations like chemical formulae or 'pi',<sup>13</sup> and words for objects are no exception. A one-for-one correspondence of word and object is not to be expected or desired—a dreary equation it would no doubt prove—but it makes the task of definition and identification a difficult business. English has many words that have a general area of applicability but a specific enough meaning that derives from the context. No one is going to misunderstand me if I say that I am 'up for the Cup, with my old bag', phrase and context add the needed precision to the general words. It is easy to say that the use of *ἀσκάντης* and *σκήμους* as words for the same 'cheap bed' in *Clouds* (254, 633, 709) shows their identity, but this will only apply for the purpose of this scene; that is to say, they had enough points of similarity in this context for two words to be used to signify the same thing, but other scenes may demand that they be kept apart. At *Frogs* 1159 we are invited to consider the identity of *μάκτρα* and *κάρδοπος*:

*χρήσων σὺ μάκτραν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, κάρδοπον.*

Dionysus' gloss on Euripides' literary criticism is sufficiently humorous for the context, but

<sup>11</sup> Paris, 1965 (corrected reprint of 1962 edition).  
Cf. *Quaderni Urbinati* ix (1970) 7–23 (K. J. Dover).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Simeon Potter, *Our Language* (Pelican, 1950 and 1966) 104.

<sup>12</sup> *Symbolae Osloenses* xl (1965) 1–16 (L. Amundsen).

one might ask whether an Athenian housewife would have found the two words so readily interchangeable. Identity of purpose need not betoken identity of shape, size, or whatever. The three words for the same object in *Ecclesiazusae*, ἡμιδιπλόδιον (318), κροκωτίδιον (332), χιτώνιον (374), all meaning a 'dress', are looking at the garment from three different points of view; style, colour and type. One object can be designated by a number of words without those words having a single and identical meaning. In certain cases, of course, a non-Attic word will exist beside the Attic, with perhaps very little distinction of meaning.

Beyond the present canon of the eleven plays of Aristophanes lie the fragments—just as dangerous allies whether one is attempting to resurrect the plot of the play from them or to visualise the appearance of the objects mentioned in them. In missing the context of the usage one is deprived of the reason for the choice of the word and one is consequently at a loss to understand and interpret it. This is one of the reasons why the rest of comedy has to be approached with caution as well. Aristophanes is our only full source and though all comic writers were working within certain conventions and against much the same sort of background, one cannot assume that they all (or indeed any of them) used language in quite the same way as Aristophanes.

In seeking to elucidate Aristophanes' vocabulary one must step outside comedy. Contemporary Attic writers are likely to provide the closest correspondences in vocabulary and the meaning of that vocabulary. None is so rich, however, in Aristophanes' type of words. Once one moves back and forward in time, the objections mentioned earlier come into play—the word may look the same, but one must not assume that it stood for the same thing in the recipient's mental picture. Naturally in default of other evidence one has to widen the net to gain a small advance, but extra care must be taken.

The ancient scholia and lexica must be approached with an open mind and discarded if (but only if) we can ascertain that the compilers are speaking nonsense or guessing from the passage at hand. Their understanding of the actual objects mentioned is patchy. In some cases they are trying to visualise something they may never have seen from a mention in the text which was mostly left undefined from the very opposite reason, that the audience could be assumed to know it. As Kenyon remarked à propos of allusions to books in ancient authors,<sup>14</sup> they are 'intelligible enough to those for whom they were written, but not intended for the information of distant ages, and in no case amounting to formal descriptions'. Although Aristophanes was studied little more than a century after his death,<sup>15</sup> no performances were given, and indeed the change in the general social picture meant that some of the objects that were intimately bound up with the political and social life of late fifth century Athens had no place later on. In some scholia and lexica, there are precise descriptions which can now be tested against archaeological evidence contemporary with the plays and found to be trustworthy, in others one can see that an inference has been made from a particular passage. For instance, Pollux (vii 88), writing in the second century A.D., says the *Λακωνικάί*—that is, Laonians, a type of shoe, as we might say 'Oxfords'—were red and of Spartan invention or origin. Ussher in his note at *Ecclesiazusae* 74 refers to Pollux and says that the shoes were normally red. But we do not know where Pollux obtained his information; it may be suspected that he found the Laonians described as red in one passage and copied this down as though it were the only colour. One might compare the *βλάβρη*, another type of shoe, mentioned by Hermippus (fr. 47K.4) as 'white' where the very presence of the adjective should indicate that it was not always so coloured. So, an inference may be made from a single passage and stated as a fact in the ancient commentary. In some scholia and lexica a string of defining words—themselves in need

<sup>14</sup> F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (2nd ed., Oxford 1951) 1. (Oxford, 1968) 105–7; L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (Oxford, 1968) 15.

<sup>15</sup> R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship*

of definition—follow the key word. If we consult Hesychius for the word *ἰπνός*,<sup>16</sup> we find it defined as *κάμινος, φούρνος, φανός, κλίβανος, μαγειρείον καὶ μέρος τι νεώς, Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Κωκάλῳ καὶ τὸν κοπρῶνα οὕτως εἶπεν*. Let us not deny it any of the meanings ‘oven, lantern, furnace, kitchen, part of a ship or privy’ without a thorough check of the evidence, but one must admit that the entry does not help us to pinpoint any particular group of objects. One is reminded of Jespersen’s story of the little girl who made the discovery that pigs are called pigs ‘because they are such swine’.<sup>17</sup>

If we move on for elucidation from the literary field, a valuable source of evidence is to be found in the inventories inscribed on stone, whether from sanctuaries, listing temple treasures and the like, or such examples as the ‘Attic Stelai’ recording the sale of the property of Alcibiades and others after the mutilation of the Hermae.<sup>18</sup> In such cases precise description was needed—the actual state of each object was given and consequently we have a statement that describes an object as it was and gives precious details that are omitted elsewhere. The very fact that an object is mentioned as lacking a piece of itself is good evidence for the total picture of the original object. Also, the presence in the Attic Stelai of such words as *σκήμπος* and *χάμεινα*, both words mentioned in Aristophanes for a bed (*Nub.* 254, 709; *Av.* 816), should indicate that they are everyday words and existed on the level of popular speech.<sup>19</sup> Other epigraphical sources, such as building accounts, are quantitatively less useful but cannot be left out of the count.

What evidence do we have to set against the words? Basically, it belongs to two categories: the actual objects and representations of them. Both have their drawbacks. The objects themselves are a scatter of odds and ends that have been lucky enough to survive and cannot claim to indicate the range of materials and shapes mentioned in literature. Those objects that have survived have sometimes been given ancient Greek names in recent times, and in this respect modern conventional terminology has created a further barrier to an understanding of the equation of object and word. It is mainly those names which were given to pottery shapes at the beginning of the nineteenth century and which have clung to the shape over the intervening years that do most damage. Back in 1829 in a review of Panofka’s *Recherches sur les véritables noms des vases grecs*,<sup>20</sup> Ussing<sup>21</sup> wrote:

etenim ille, centum et sex Graecis nominibus productis, quae ex Athenaeo fere omnia sumpsit, suam cuique formam tribuit tanta temeritate, ut fere miremur si uno et altero loco forte fortuna verum invenerit.

Some of this nomenclature is still current, other ancient names have been divorced from their first modern partner and attached to other shapes no more fitted to carry them. Archaeologists must communicate with one another and have had to fix on a consistent terminology, but literary scholars who explore excavation reports and such are not going to agree with many of the ancient words pressed into this service.

The representations, whether in vase painting, figurines or large-scale sculpture, produce a much wider range of artefact, but are open to several snags, not the least of which is that the artist’s hand comes between reality and the representation of it. It would be a more serious drawback if Greek art were less straightforward in the way it imitates nature, but it is still there. One also has to ask how far one can spread one’s net both geographically and chronologically. Webster has shown in the field of theatrical antiquities how useful

<sup>16</sup> *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, rec. et emend. K. Latte, vol. ii (Munksgaard, 1966) 368.

<sup>17</sup> O. Jespersen, *Language* (London, 1922) 122.

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia* xxii (1953) 225–311 (W. K. Pritchett); xxv (1956) 178–328 (W. K. Pritchett); xxvii (1958) 163–310 (D. A. Amyx).

<sup>19</sup> Professor R. F. Willetts refers me to Phrynichus 44; *σκήμπος λέγε, ἀλλὰ μὴ κράββατος*. He notes

Robert Browning’s use of the stricture in *Medieval and Modern Greek* (Hutchinson, 1969) 53 where he is comparing it with *Mark* 2.9.

<sup>20</sup> T. Panofka, *Recherches sur les véritables noms des vases grecs et sur leurs différents usages d’après les témoignages des auteurs et des monuments anciens* (Paris, 1829).

<sup>21</sup> J. L. Ussing, *De nominibus vasorum Graecorum disputatio* (Copenhagen, 1844) 21.

this double sorting of geography and chronology can be, indeed how essential it is if one is to make any sense of the developing picture. If one's evidence can be drawn from Attica, so much the better; at least the start must be made there. Attic vase painting is obviously a powerful source for any study of this sort, and here one's efforts to be strict in the chronological use of evidence come up against a stumbling block. If one is to be so rigorous as to claim that only representations contemporary with Aristophanes' plays must be sought, then the style of painting between 430 and 380 B.C. is going to defeat one's enthusiasm, as it degenerates from our point of view from the awfully pretty to the pretty awful.

A category of evidence that mediates between language and object is that of the inscribed object. It literally says what it is, often using the first person in which to do so. In fact at first sight one would imagine that it provided a solution to a number of problems of matching word to article, but the picture presented is complicated. Most examples are containers; let us take three examples. The word *κάδος* is not found in Homer, appears first in Archilochus,<sup>22</sup> and in Classical Greek often has the meaning of 'well-bucket' or 'pail'. This is its meaning in *Ecclesiazusae*, vv. 1002-4. Objects have been found at the bottom of wells in plenty; the material is usually earthenware,<sup>23</sup> though some were made of metal.<sup>24</sup> That we would be right in naming the metal and earthenware examples *κάδοι* is not in doubt. Their residence at the bottom of wells, their appearance at well-head scenes or in scenes that suppose water, as in Onesimos' picture of the girl going to wash (PLATE XIIa)<sup>25</sup> point to this. Also, the recent discovery of an inscribed bucket in the Kerameikos excavations,<sup>26</sup> with the inscription on the shoulder *ΚΑΔΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ*: 'I am a kados', gives welcome confirmation (PLATE XIIb). That we should be wrong in assuming that this and only this shape went by the name *κάδος* is shown by the evidence of a late sixth-century Attic black-figured type A amphora<sup>27</sup> which has on one side a duel over a dead warrior, on the other Athena driving a quadriga. Vertically in front of the right horse is an inscription, painted before firing: *καλος ho kados*. Beazley's guarded comment<sup>28</sup> was 'No doubt the word kados had a wider significance, but to use it of an amphora Type A would not have been wrong'. A further extension of its area of applicability is to be noted in the last book of the *Republic* where Plato, in helping his readers to visualise the spindle-whorl of the universe composed of ever decreasing whorls that fit inside one another, gives the comparison *καθάπερ οἱ κάδοι οἱ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀρμόττοντες* (616 d). Neither the well-bucket nor the amphora can be made to do that. Athenaeus<sup>29</sup> spreads the net wider in telling us that the Ionians call *τὸ κεράμιον κάδον*, quoting from Cleitarchus' *Glossary*; and Aristophanes' use of both *κάδος* and *καδίσκος* for a 'voting-urn'<sup>30</sup> may mean that an Athenian was also

<sup>22</sup> *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, iii, 3 ed. E. Diehl, 5A.7 = *Iambi et elegi graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, ed. M. L. West, vol. i (Oxford, 1971) 4.7.

<sup>23</sup> *Agora* xii 201-3.

<sup>24</sup> See Gomme-Sandbach, *Menander* (Oxford, 1973) 165-6, n. to *Dyskolos* v. 190. There is one in the Eretria Museum.

<sup>25</sup> Brussels A 889: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 329, no. 130, 1645; *Paralip.* 359, Onesimos. For a different shape of bucket at a well and at a laver, see the Attic red-figure cup Louvre G 291: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 322, no. 36, 1706, Onesimos; R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* (Paris, 1962) pl. 13, 40 and pl. 14, 41.

<sup>26</sup> Athens, Kerameikos 7357. I am indebted to Dr Ursula Knigge for permission to use this example in my lecture and for its publication here. It is now published in *Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen* ix.

<sup>27</sup> *Ars Antiqua Auktion* iv (1962) pl. 44, 131. Cf. an Attic bf amphora of Panathenaic shape in the

Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, which carries the painted inscription *καδος τωι κυβιστειωι*. It is de Ridder 243: de Ridder, *Catalogue des Vases Peints* (1901) p. 152; *CVA* 2 (10) pl. 88 (474) 1 and 4, pl. 89 (475) 1 (the text here gives a different reading; see *JHS* lii (1932) 141 (Beazley's review) and *BVAB* xiv (1939) 10-14 (Beazley)); Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (1972) 78 (different reading); Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases, a Handbook* (Thames and Hudson, 1974) 168.

<sup>28</sup> L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Boston Vases* iii (Boston MFA, 1963) 1.

<sup>29</sup> xi 473b.

<sup>30</sup> *Av.* 1032, 1053; *Vesp.* 321, 853, 854. In scenes of voting, the urn is sometimes a lekane (as understood in *Agora* xii 211-16 with pls. 81-7) e.g. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 416, no. 7, or a hydria, e.g. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 829, no. 37; *Paralip.* 422.

willing to give a wide range of meaning to the word. *κάδος* is then a fairly general word that takes its specific meaning from the context.

Another word which Aristophanes used was *ἀμῖς* or 'chamber-pot', as that supplied to Philokleon in *Wasps* 807–8:

*ἀμῖς μὲν, ἦν οὐρατιάσης, αὐτῆι  
παρὰ σοὶ κρεμήσεται ἔγγυς ἐπὶ τοῦ παττάλου.*

Many years ago Miss Lucy Talcott felt that she had identified the shape (PLATE XIIc)<sup>31</sup> in a hooded pot with an opening high on one side and a handle above. This seemed entirely fitting, if not to say convincing. The date was good also, as this and others like it are to be dated to the second half of the fifth century. However, there are a number of details that cause doubt. Why have so few been found? The Agora excavations boasts a mere half-dozen. Why no representations? Why none elsewhere? Why none earlier? If one is to agree with the identification, one has to admit that this cannot be the whole story. Athenaeus (xii 519 e) ascribes the invention of the *ἀμῖς* to the Sybarites, and this seems very much in character. He tells us that the partygoers carried them round to symposia: *πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ ἀμίδας ἐξεύρον, ἄς εἰσέφερον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια*, so perhaps we should look to such scenes for enlightenment. There are a number of red-figure scenes (PLATE XIIId)<sup>32</sup> which show symposiasts relieving themselves from the consequence of their drinking, and their usual receptacle is a one-handled jug (PLATE XIIe).<sup>33</sup> Dozens of these have been found, covering a much greater chronological span than the other shape. A recently found fragment of such a jug (PLATE XIIIf)<sup>34</sup> carries an inscription scratched on its shoulder after firing, above the stripe of glaze: *ἀμῖς Νικο*[, an amis belonging to a man whose name began Niko-, obviously someone who was anxious to keep his possessions to himself. Let us not now conclude that the earlier suggestion does not hold water,<sup>35</sup> nor that only two shapes of jug went by that name; let us rather admit, as in the case of the *κάδος* which itself is pressed into such service in Aristophanes *fr.* 269K, that usage was fluid, if that is the right expression. An *ἀμῖς* was whatever was to hand, provided that it answered the demands of a desperately full symposiast; both the jug (PLATE XIIe) and the specialist shape (PLATE XIIc) might be thought to do so.

The word *κώθων* has been a bone of contention for years.<sup>36</sup> We meet it at *Knights* 600 and *Peace* 1094, both in military contexts. In archaeological terminology the name kothon has been given to a low bowl, with or without a stem, with a deeply inturned lip quite unsuitable for drinking, sometimes fitted with a horizontal handle (PLATE XIIIa).<sup>37</sup> This has seemed one of the least satisfactory correspondences made in modern times, and whilst retained for convenience, has been shown to be mistaken. Recently, *ἐξάλειπτρον* has been suggested<sup>38</sup> for the shape on PLATE XIIIa, the dish brought by the bridesmaid in *Acharnians* (1063) and filled with the wine of peace for the desperate bride. What then of the word *κώθων*? The discovery of a fragment of a mid-fifth-century mug with the word *κοθων* scratched on the underside (PLATE XIIIb)<sup>39</sup> raises two questions. How is one to interpret the word and is it possible that this shape would fit the literary requirements? PLATE XIIIc

<sup>31</sup> Agora P 2026: *Hesperia* iv (1935) 494, fig. 16, 72; *Agora* xii pl. 96, 2013.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. those listed in *Agora* xii 65, n. 41. The one illustrated here is London BM E 37: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 72, no. 17, 1623; *Paralip.* 328, Epiktetos.

<sup>33</sup> Agora P 8866: *Agora* xii pl. 8, 149, and see pp. 64–5. At Aelian *VH* xiii 40, Themistokles complains that the Athenians use the same vessel as amis and as oinochoe.

<sup>34</sup> Agora P 28053. I am grateful to Mrs M. Z. Philipides for allowing me to publish this piece.

<sup>35</sup> The late fifth century is after all a period of sophistication in shapes.

<sup>36</sup> See *Agora* xii 180–81.

<sup>37</sup> New York 07.286.46, Rogers Fund: *ABV* 348, no. 2; *Paralip.* 159. Black.

<sup>38</sup> *Byzantion* xxv (1965) 208–20 (A. Leroy-Molinghen); *Jb* lxxix (1964) 73–108 (I. Scheibler); *AA* 1968, 389–97 (I. Scheibler).

<sup>39</sup> Corinth IP 2047a: *Hesperia* xxviii (1959) pl. 70 i (Broneer), from Isthmia.

shows the general type to which the fragment belongs.<sup>40</sup> There is no objection to understanding the word *κοθον* to refer to the shape on which it is scratched, but the existence of the proper names *Κώθων* and *Κωθωνίας* complicate the issue,<sup>41</sup> and the inscription may be an owner's name. The literary evidence puts it in the hands of travellers, and Athenaeus' quotation from Polemon<sup>42</sup> which describes a painting or relief speaks of a bald-headed satyr, holding in his right hand a kothon with one handle and fluted sides: *ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ κώθωνα μόνωτον ῥαβδωτὸν κρατῶν*, a very common version of the shape. Mingazzini has recently<sup>43</sup> suggested that we call the pilgrim-flask (PLATE XIII*d*)<sup>44</sup> by the name *κώθων* and cites much literary evidence to back up his identification. But the drawback is the same that we have met before, no one shape will meet all the literary requirements, and it has to be admitted that usage in most cases allowed for a wide spread. The need is to know the limits within which one is working—and these limits may be very wide—and to be able, where possible, to understand the more specific meaning that the context implies.

The three words we have just treated—*κάδος*, *ἀμύς* and *κώθων*—present complicated problems, some Aristophanic words are much simpler. Let us now look at some specific words. I have chosen those examples which can be dealt with most simply. The illustrations are not new to students of archaeology, just as the text of Aristophanes is well-known to the students of literature; the attempt to match the two may help towards a clearer understanding of Aristophanes.

From what has been said earlier, it can be seen that it is the rarer, more particularised words that are the easiest to pinpoint. In *Acharnians* the word *κιλλίβαντες* is mentioned at v. 1122, it is otherwise encountered rarely.<sup>45</sup> The scholiast is however able to define it: *τρισκελῆ ἐστὶ τινα ξύλα, ἐφ' ὧν τιθέασι τὰς ἀσπίδας διαναπαυόμενοι ἐπειδὴν καμῶσι πολεμοῦντες*: that is, it is a three-legged stand for a shield, a shield-horse. Such an object has naturally not survived but there are five representations of it in Attic red-figure,<sup>46</sup> and all the vases issued from the same shop in the years around 450 B.C. PLATE XIII*e* shows one:<sup>47</sup> a simple scene of a departing warrior by the Niobid Painter with the shield supported on the floor between the two figures. The brief period of popularity in art might suggest that the object was enjoying a temporary vogue and that Aristophanes may be alluding to this fashion. As H. R. W. Smith commented of the contraption,<sup>48</sup> 'At home, within reach of wall or a clean floor, an incredibly superfluous luxury; on the march and on shipboard, a cumbrous nuisance, and in most sorts of fighting also a dangerous one'. A fit object for Aristophanes' scorn, one might think, but we must be careful to note that the word *κιλλίβαντας* is linked to the parallel word in the next line *κριβανίτας* and may owe its presence chiefly to the need for assonance.

Also in a military context and again in *Acharnians* the word *σάγμα* at v. 574 is used with the meaning of 'shield-case', a covering of cloth or leather in which the shield was stored

<sup>40</sup> Agora P 28077: *Agora* xii pl. 11, 191. See *AK* xi (1968) 8–9 (Sparkes); *Agora* xii 70–76.

<sup>41</sup> W. Pape and G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (1911) 750.

<sup>42</sup> xi 484c.

<sup>43</sup> *AA* 1967, 344–66 (P. Mingazzini).

<sup>44</sup> Bowdoin College 1915.29: K. Herbert, *Ancient Art in Bowdoin College* (1964) no. 194. Attic, fifth century.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. Athenaeus v 208c (quoting Moschio); Pollux i 143, vii 129; Hesychius s.v.

<sup>46</sup> 1. Berlin, Private collection: *AA* 1967, 176; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 610, no. 25; *Paralip.* 396, Manner of the Niobid Painter.

2. Ferrara, from Spina T 579: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 612, no. 1,

1662; *Paralip.* 397, The Painter of Bologna 279.

3. Munich 2454: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 607, no. 84, The Niobid Painter.

4. Munich 2359: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1661, 'recalls the Spreckels Painter'. See *Gnomon* xxviii (1956) 551 (D. A. Amyx).

5. San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honour 1813: *CVA* 1 (10) pl. 18 (478) 1 and pl. 19 (479) 1b; *AA* 1967, 177; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 610, no. 27, Manner of the Niobid Painter.

<sup>47</sup> No. 3 in the previous note.

<sup>48</sup> *CVA* San Francisco 1 (10) text p. 38 (H. R. W. Smith).

when not in use.<sup>49</sup> This was a commoner piece of equipment than the shield-horse, and we find a number of representations of it; for instance on a crater rim by the Kleophrades Painter, of the early fifth century, the battle is just beginning and a shield is being unwrapped (PLATE XIII*f*).<sup>50</sup> Euripides at *Andr.* 617 has *τεύχη* in fine coverings, *ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι*, which should mean that the word *σάγμα* was not confined solely to a connection with shields.

In another sphere, that of childhood, study of the precise meaning of *Clouds* 880, *ἀμαξίδας τε σκυτίνας ἠργάζετο*, has concentrated attention primarily on the choice between *σκυτίνας* 'leather' and *συκίνας* 'figwood'/'sycophantic' as the material of the toy carts, at the expense of remarking that small carts are a feature of the decorated jugs for children (PLATE XIV*a*).<sup>51</sup> At least, apart from references to the specific applicability of the cart to a horse-mad Pheidippides, I have not seen the popularity of the children's cart stressed at this point in relation to the painted evidence.<sup>52</sup> The jug illustrated dates from about the time of the production of *Clouds*, and such carts seem to have been presents at the festival of the Anthesteria. Earlier in *Clouds* (864), we have Strepsiades recalling the time when he spent his first jury-pay on a cart for Pheidippides at the festival of the Diasia.

In music, the *φορβεία* or pipe-strap, is said by the scholiast at *Wasps* 582 to be made of leather and to equalise the breathing; MacDowell and others have added many further advantages that the wearing of such equipment would bring to a professional player. But I miss any direct reference to the many vase scenes that show the harness in place. On PLATE XIV*b*, we have a well-known representation,<sup>53</sup> by Epiktetos, of a young man playing the double pipes and a girl dancing and accompanying herself on the castanets, the *κρόταλα* that we find used in *Clouds* 260, in the singular, in a metaphorical sense for one who rattles on in talk.

Wells and well-heads have come into prominence since the discovery of Menander's *Dyskolos*, and the emphasis given there to the objects has been well dealt with in Handley's edition.<sup>54</sup> Similar words occur in Aristophanes. In 1949 Mabel Lang published a well-head<sup>55</sup> from the Agora excavations which carried the inscriptions *ισ[τ]μιον πρεα[*, for *ἴσθμιον φρέατος*, and on another part, the proper name *Εὐκλες*. It was an idle scribble but useful in telling us that one person in Athens gave this name to the object. This inscribed piece is very fragmentary, but there are many others, both actual specimens (PLATE XIV*c*),<sup>56</sup> and representations (PLATE XIV*d*).<sup>57</sup> Some of the representations show more complicated machinery than the simple well-head, and such, as Webster has suggested,<sup>58</sup> we may connect with the *κηλωνεῖον* or swing-beam of Aristophanes *fr.* 679K. Perhaps PLATE XIV*e*<sup>59</sup> gives us some idea of the mechanism and the attendant confusion at a well-head when satyrs are near. Another word we meet in this connection in Aristophanes is *τροχιλία* at *Lysistrata* 722. A scholium *ad loc.* equates the *trochileia* with a pulley at a well-head, and indeed this was a type in existence at the time, as a column-kra-  
ter

<sup>49</sup> The presence of the word for shield in this verse may indicate that the word had wider significance; see below.

<sup>50</sup> Athens, Acropolis 759: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 187, no. 54, The Kleophrades Painter. A good picture of a shield case enclosing a shield hanging on a wall is to be seen on Käppeli inv. 415: Schefold *Meisterwerke* no. 320; *Kunstwerke der Antike* no. 12; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 868, no. 45; *Paralip.* 426, The Tarquinia Painter. A good one for the unwrapping is Bologna PU 274: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 793, 78, The Euaion Painter.

<sup>51</sup> London BM E 536: van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (1951) no. 640, fig. 93; *EWA* ii pl. 54, above, right.

<sup>52</sup> van Hoorn, *op. cit.*, shows many examples.

<sup>53</sup> London BM E 38: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 72, no. 16, 1623;

*Paralip.* 328, Epiktetos. See *HSCP* iv (1893) 29–30 (Howard).

<sup>54</sup> *The Dyskolos of Menander*, ed. E. W. Handley (Methuen, 1965).

<sup>55</sup> *Hesperia* xviii (1949) 114–27 and pls. 6–8. The one with the inscription is no. 7, pl. 8 and figs. 3 and 4.

<sup>56</sup> Agora A 957: *Hesperia*, *op. cit.*, no. 10, pl. 7.  
<sup>57</sup> Milan 266: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 379, no. 145, The Brygos Painter.

<sup>58</sup> *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* xlv (1962–3) 256, no. 4; cf. Handley on *Dyskolos* v. 536, also Gomme-Sandbach, *Menander* 219, n. to *Dyskolos* v. 536.

<sup>59</sup> Berlin V.I. 3228: Pfuhl fig. 276: Buschor, *Satyrtänze* fig. 74.

by the Naples Painter shows, with a scene of soldiers at a well (PLATE XIVf).<sup>60</sup> Lysistrata has found an Athenian woman wriggling down from the pulley

τῆνδ' ἐκ τροχιλείας αὐ κατελυσωμένην

Should we be satisfied with the explanation in the scholium, or are we to ask, with Jongkees, 'what should she do at the bottom of a well?'<sup>61</sup> We are getting dangerously near Lady Macbeth and the irrelevant number of her children with that sort of question, but the use of the word in the building inscriptions of the Erechtheum for 'block and tackle' or possibly 'crane' perhaps gives a more likely picture that the word would have raised in the minds of the audience in 411 B.C. as they sat beneath the Acropolis.

Most wells must have had less sophisticated equipment than this, and the references in *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus* give no indication of anything fancy, and indeed the mention of the well in the earlier play is only there to elaborate the joke which points to the similarity between the old woman and the κρεάγρα. The latter is, as the components of the word suggest, literally a 'meat-hook', and scholium at *Knights* 772 defines it as εἶδος ἐργαλείου μαγειρικοῦ χειρὶ παρεοικὸς, μόνον ἐγκεκαμμένον τοὺς δακτύλους. Precise parallels for this are not uncommon.<sup>62</sup> Such an object could do double duty as the hook for the well, though the representation of the well-head scene (PLATE XIVd), by the Brygos Painter,<sup>63</sup> shows what must have been the more normal shape for the job, a single hook at the end of the rope. Both ἀρπάγη and ἄγκιστρον are used in such contexts.<sup>64</sup>

In the sphere of ritual, the word κανὸν features in Aristophanes a number of times, but neither Platnauer at *Peace* 948 and 956 nor Ussher at *Ecclesiazusae* 732 help their readers to visualise the object, though in fact it is commonly seen on red-figure vases.<sup>65</sup> The word is used by some authors to mean household basket, but in Aristophanes its context is always that of ritual, at which time it held barley, fillet and knife: ὀλὰς ἔχον καὶ στέμμα καὶ μάχαιραν, the lighter equipment for the cult mentioned at *Peace* 948. A late sixth-century representation by the Gales Painter (PLATE XVa)<sup>66</sup> shows a girl carrying the kanoun on her head, as she leads a sacrificial procession. The object is a flat basket with high handles that are sometimes solid at the sides, sometimes open. A mid-fifth-century procession to Apollo (PLATE XVb)<sup>67</sup> has the kanephoros carrying a more elaborate basket on her head, and it has small feet. Not all are of this shape, and some are shown with sprigs projecting from above, but the general effect is much the same and one should have a figure such as this in mind for Dicaeopolis' daughter or, better, for the members of the chorus in *Lysistrata* in their younger days, as they recall them at vv. 641-7. The increased use of gilding on objects in late-fifth-century red-figure and the reference to gold in connexion with the κανῶ as stated in two scholia<sup>68</sup> may represent accurately the expense to which Athenian families would go in equipping their daughter for this honour.

<sup>60</sup> Madrid 11039: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1097, no. 17, The Naples Painter; and see *Hesperia* xxv (1956) 304-5 (W. K. Pritchett).

<sup>61</sup> *Mnemosyne* ix (1956) 224 (J. H. Jongkees), citing *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 374, 142 = L. D. Caskey, H. N. Fowler, J. M. Paton, G. P. Stevens, *The Erechtheum* (1927) i p. 386, ll. 22-3 (408/7 B.C.). Jongkees is careful to point out that work had not been resumed on the Erechtheum in 411 B.C., but he hazards a guess that there was building machinery still on the Acropolis in that year. Indeed, a close association with the one temple is unnecessary, the fact of linguistic usage suffices.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 142 (= 96.9.375): G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Bronzes* (New York, 1915) no. 665.

<sup>63</sup> See above n. 57.

<sup>64</sup> Menander *Dyskolos* 599, and see Gomme-Sandbach, *Menander* 227, n. to v. 599; Pollux vi 88.

<sup>65</sup> See *Jb* xl (1925) 213 (Deubner); Caskey and Beazley, *Boston Vases* iii 77.

<sup>66</sup> Boston MFA 13.195: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 35, no. 1, 1621, The Gales Painter. For a list of processions to Athena, see *Auktion MM* xviii, 1958, text pp. 27-8 to no. 85 (a black-figured Attic band cup). Brian Shefton (*AR* 1969-70, 59) has quoted Aristophanes *Ach.* 253-4 in connection with a red-figured pelike by the Pan Painter in Newcastle upon Tyne, which shows a *kanephoros* followed by an elderly woman (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1659, middle (Lucerne Market, AA); *Paralip.* 386; *AR* 1969-70, 59, fig. 13).

<sup>67</sup> Ferrara, from Spina T 57C VP: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1143, no. 1, 1684; *Paralip.* 455, The Kleophon Painter.

<sup>68</sup> *Ach.* 241; *Lys.* 647.

A word often found with *κανοῦν* is *χέρνυψ*; it occurs in *Peace* 956 and *Birds* 850:

παῖ παῖ, τὸ κανοῦν αἵρεσθε καὶ τὴν χέρνυβα.

The meaning was 'lustral water', but one might ask to what extent in this and other cases an object and its contents were thought of as separate things. There would obviously be occasions when the two needed to be separated, and *χερνυβείον* in Aristophanes *fr.* 316K was for the actual container. On PLATE XVc<sup>69</sup> we have a scene of sacrifice on a late-fifth-century bell-krater in the manner of the Chrysis Painter. Around the altar stand an attendant with sheep, a bearded man and an acolyte holding a *κανοῦν* in his left hand and a small basin in his right towards which the older man is stretching his fingers. In both cases if asked what the acolyte was holding in his right hand one would undoubtedly say the *χέρνυψ* because one would be thinking of the contents not the container, but if one wished to imagine what the audience would see the servant bring on stage, it is likely to have been a bowl such as this. There are by contrast those material words that have lost their purely physical meaning and have taken on in some contexts a less specific slant. *λύχνος* means both 'lamp' and 'lamplight', as at *Peace* 692 *πρὸς λύχνον* 'by lamplight', or 'lamp market' as at *Clouds* 1065 *οὐκ τῶν λύχνων* 'the man from the lamp market'. *χύτραι* too besides meaning 'kettles', means 'the pot market' as at *Lysistrata* 557 *ἐν ταῖς χύτραις*. So one has a weakening of the physical image that such words raise.

In the area of trades, we have the *ἐπίξηνον*, over which Dicaeopolis is to speak at *Acharnians* 496. Eduard Fraenkel's note<sup>70</sup> at *Agamemnon* 1277 showed that the word was used only for a chopping block, not for that of an executioner. So we would be right in looking for the *mageiros* at work, if we wished to imagine the appearance of the *ἐπίξηνον*. A Boeotian red-figured pelike of the early fifth century (PLATE XVIa),<sup>71</sup> closely modelled on Attic work of the same period, has a *mageiros* at a chopping block. The block is on three legs, a form still seen in some near Eastern countries, easily movable and so possible as a stage property. This may have been called by the name *ἐπίξηνον*, though *τράπεζα* is a possibility as at *Peace* 1033, or perhaps *τρίπους*. A slightly earlier Attic black-figured oinochoe (PLATE XVIb)<sup>72</sup> shows the *mageiros* and his young assistant. In the background a table carries the strips of meat that have already been cut, with a bowl beneath it. The tree behind may indicate that the feast this time is an open-air barbecue. The block in the left foreground is a columnar stand with a slightly wider top. *κορμός*, a word meaning 'log', is given in the scholium to *Ach.* 318 to define *ἐπίξηνον*: *ὁ μαγειρικὸς κορμός*.<sup>73</sup>

Fraenkel, in the enlarged edition of his book on Plautus, *Elementi Plautini in Plauto*,<sup>74</sup> has a useful note on *ἐπίξηνον* and also gives the cleaver held by the man on PLATE XVIa the name *κοπίς*, mentioning Pollux' citation from the *Γῆρας* of Aristophanes (*fr.* 138K): *κοπίδι τῶν μαγειρικῶν*. Another word with a similar type of meaning as *κοπίς* is, of course, *μάχαιρα* (*Pax* 1017):

λαβέ τὴν μάχαιραν εἶθ' ὅπως μαγειρικῶς  
σφάζεις τὸν οἶν.

The allied meaning of the two words is also seen from the fact that both can be used of a 'sabre', and a similar shape of blade to the one on PLATE XVIa-b is to be noted in scenes of fighting.<sup>75</sup> The use of *μάχαιρα*, however, in connexion with hair-cutting leads one to

<sup>69</sup> Boston MFA 95.24 (C. P. Perkins Fund): Caskey and Beazley, *Boston Vases* iii Suppl. pl. 26; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1159, iii; *Paralip.* 458, near the Chrysis Painter. See Caskey and Beazley, text pp. 78-9, and Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 311-18.

<sup>70</sup> *Agamemnon*, ed. Eduard Fraenkel (Oxford, 1950) p. 593.

<sup>71</sup> Munich 2347: *AM* lxx (1940) pls. 1 and 2, 1; cf. Erlangen Univ. 486: *AM* lxx (1940) pl. 2, 2;

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 250, no. 21, 1639, The Syleus Painter.

<sup>72</sup> Boston MFA 99.527: ABV 430, no. 25, The Guide-line Class (see *Paralip.* 184); Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases, a Handbook* fig. 287.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the cryptic entry in the Souda: *ξηρός* · ὁ κορμός.

<sup>74</sup> *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence, 1960) 412-3.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. New York, Metropolitan Museum 06.1021.117: Richter and Hall no. 35; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1656,

suppose that that type of *μάχαιρα* differed in size, if nothing else, from the cleaver or the sabre.

References to hair cuts and the like are numerous in Aristophanes. Besides the adulterer's cut, which the *μία μάχαιρα* of *Ach.* 849 is to deal,<sup>76</sup> we have what we would call the 'pudding basin' style at *Thesmophoriazousae* 838 by cutting and at *Birds* 806 by plucking. The word used in both places is *σκαφίον*, and this introduces a whole family of related words of which *σκάφη* and *σκάφος* are the most common. The basic meaning should be any shape that is dug out or hollowed, hence its range of meanings: boat, cradle, tub, chamber pot, etc. Amyx,<sup>77</sup> in publishing a pelike by the Geras Painter,<sup>78</sup> suggested that the bowl on the knees of the satyr on the left (PLATE XVIc) was a *σκάφη* and quoted the *Etymologicum Magnum* on *φυστή*: ἡ ἐν ταῖς σκάφαις τριβομένη καὶ ἡρέμα ἀναδευομένη μᾶζα, a cake that was kneaded in skaphai. Such a shape connects with the skaphephoroi of the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon frieze, though the remaining figures are very fragmentary.<sup>79</sup> Pollux lists it also under the category *ἐργαλείων γεωργικῶν ὀνόματα* (i 245). One place where it seems to have been used was at the grape-pressing. On PLATE XVIId<sup>80</sup> we have a mid-fifth-century red-figured column krater with a vintage scene. As usually on vases, the vintagers are satyrs and sometimes Dionysus is at hand. A satyr brings grapes in a skaphe, whilst another treads the grapes in a vat and a third treads them down in a basket which itself is set in a spouted trough. The grape basket has various forms in the representations. This is the *τρύγοπος*, which is mentioned in *Peace* 535 along with ivy and the bleating of the sheep as some of the blessings that Peace brings with her.<sup>81</sup>

Also in a rural context the word *κυβέλη* has recently been studied in relation to an object found in the American excavations at Rachi at the Isthmus of Corinth (PLATE XVIIa).<sup>82</sup> This two-handled tub of terra-cotta, c. one foot high, was identified as a beehive, and this was followed up by a brilliant article in *REA* by Georges Roux, entitled 'Kypsele: Où avait-on caché le petit Kypsélos'.<sup>83</sup> The similarity in shape to the vessel shown on the coins of the Thracian town of Cypsela makes the matching of shape and name attractive,<sup>84</sup> but naturally one is not to assume that all beehives were this shape nor of this material, and there are other words besides *κυβέλη* for the same purpose, e.g. *σμηῆνος* and *σίμβλος*.<sup>85</sup> A feature of the beehive on PLATE XVIIa and the one identified earlier from the Fortress of Justinian at Isthmia,<sup>86</sup> is the vertical grooving on one half of the inside; this provided a grip for the honey combs. Such an essential feature enables other shapes to be connected

bottom. Boston MFA 13.196: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 631, no. 38; *Paralip.* 399, The Chicago Painter. And see *BCH* lxxxvii (1963) 579–602 (Bovon) and *AK* xvii (1974) 78–85 (Hölscher).

<sup>76</sup> I still find the precise meaning of *μία μάχαιρα* puzzling. See *Eranos* lii (1954) 81–7 (Erbse).

<sup>77</sup> *AJA* xlix (1945) 508–18 and figs. 1–4. For a discussion of *σκάφη*, see Ginouvès, *Balanautike* 51–60. That one should beware of making too precise correspondences is shown by the fact that on a fragmentary bf plaque from the Acropolis, which shows a scene of grape picking and of men carrying shallow dishes like the Geras Painter's one, the inscription in the field mentions *κανῆ*. Does this refer to the trays they carry or to deep baskets on the ground which are on the missing fragments of the plaque? See *AJA* xlix (1935) 477–8 (Beazley).

<sup>78</sup> Berkeley 8.4583: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 286, no. 10; *Paralip.* 355, The Geras Painter. A good picture of a skaphe is *Auktion MM* xl, 1969, no. 95, pl. 39, and see *CVA Oxford* 1 (3) pl. 2 (94) 9 and pl. 7 (99) 3 with Beazley's text.

<sup>79</sup> North frieze in B.M.: A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (1910) pl. 42 and text p. 56. South frieze in B.M.: Smith, *op. cit.* pl. 87. North frieze in Vatican: *RM* xlvi (1931) pl. 11 with pp. 87–9 and *cf.* p. 88, fig. 4 for Carrey's drawing; G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano* (1937) no. 399, pl. 74; Schefold, *Meisterwerke* 300, p. 245.

<sup>80</sup> Lecce 602: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 569, no. 39; *Paralip.* 390, The Leningrad Painter.

<sup>81</sup> In Platnauer's edition 'ivy' has a note and the bleating of the sheep a parallel, but the grape basket receives no mention.

<sup>82</sup> Corinth IP 586: *Hesperia* xxvii (1958) 32, no. 42 and pl. 14b; *AJA* lxv (1961) 264–5. Hellenistic.

<sup>83</sup> *REA* lxv (1963) 279–89.

<sup>84</sup> Head *HN* 257; J. M. F. May, *Ainos: its history and coinage 474–341 B.C.* (1950) 96, n. 2 and pl. 10, K 2–3.

<sup>85</sup> *Hesperia* xxv (1956) 260–61 (W. K. Pritchett).

<sup>86</sup> Corinth IP 2139; *Hesperia* xxviii (1959) 337, fig. 11 and pl. 72c (Broner quoting Pallas).

with beekeeping, such as the example on PLATE XVII**b** from Athens in a context of the late fifth century.<sup>87</sup> In *Peace* 631 the Chorus speak about the shattering of an ἐξμέδιμον κυψέλην— a six-bushel tub much larger than the two shown. It is easy to see how an object like the one before us could have been used as a dry storage vessel, with the name κυψέλη being used as well. Certainly the objects are being recognised in different parts of Attica now that the first identification has been made.<sup>88</sup> Also it makes some of the other meanings given to κυψέλη in the lexica and scholia easier to understand. Many years ago Percy Ure<sup>89</sup> tackled this problem and pointed out that Hesychius had mentioned a part of a furnace as being one of the meanings of κυψέλη: τῆς καμίνου μέρος τι. Ure suggested that the material should be terracotta and pointed to such a representation as PLATE XVII**c**, a black figure oinochoe of about 500 B.C.<sup>90</sup> Above the shaft of the furnace sits a large container which one might consider sufficiently like the terracotta beehives to have shared the same name.

Behind the furnace on PLATE XVII**c** one sees part of the bellows. These were made of leather and worked singly or in pairs, as one sees Hephaistos using them on the Siphnian frieze at Delphi.<sup>91</sup> They are professional pieces of equipment, and when we come to consider what is meant by the word ῥιπίς in *Acharnians*, we should imagine something simpler. The word occurs twice, once in a choral passage (669) when the chorus are invoking the Muse of Acharnae, and singing of the spark which is ἐρεθιζόμενος οὐρία ῥιπίδι, 'roused by a favouring fan'. Later in a passage of dialogue (888), Dicaeopolis, delighted with the Boeotian's gift of eels, calls to his servants to bring out the equipment for cooking:

δμῶες, ἐξενέγκατε  
τὴν ἐσχάραν μοι δεῦρο καὶ τὴν ῥιπίδα.

Although one can imagine the comic business likely to ensue if someone is bringing out a pair of bellows, it is more likely that a simple mat is what was meant, and a black-figure stand (PLATE XVII**d**)<sup>92</sup> shows one man on the left pouring something from a basket on to a fire (charcoal from a λάρκος?), whilst the man on the right fans it with a mat, to waft the flames.

We had cause earlier to mention the word ἐξάλειπτρον in connection with the discussion of kothon. Both Pollux and Hesychius<sup>93</sup> compare it to a phiale, the shape of which is certain,<sup>94</sup> being a shallow dish. The scholiast at *Acharnians* 1063, however, calls it an alabastron and translates Aristophanes ὑπεχ' ὠδε δεῦρο τοῦξάλειπτρον by πρόφερε τὸ ἀλάβαστρον, then defines it as τὴν τοῦ μύρου λήκυθον. He had perhaps been led to this conclusion by comparing the lines earlier where the best man asks for a share of peace for the bridegroom to be poured into an alabastos. The best man's stage property would have resembled the late fifth-century Attic alabastoi in PLATE XVII**e**;<sup>95</sup> these are both made of stone but there were of course many made of terracotta and covered with a white slip to imitate the appearance of alabaster. An actor would not have missed the obscene possibilities offered when holding one of these and saying the line

ἵνα μὴ στρατεύοιτ', ἀλλὰ βινοίη μένων,

or in Alan Sommerstein's excellent recent translation 'He's keener on making love than war

<sup>87</sup> Agora P 11017: *Agora* xii pl. 88, 1853 and see pp. 217–8.

<sup>88</sup> A full treatment has now appeared in *BSA* lxxviii (1973) 397–414 (Jones, Graham and Sackett with J. D. Bu'Lock) and 443–8 (Geroulanos) and 448–52 (Jones).

<sup>89</sup> P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny* (Cambridge, 1922) 197–207.

<sup>90</sup> London BM B 507: *ABV* 426, no. 9, The Keyside Class; Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases, a Handbook*, fig. 285.

<sup>91</sup> Delphi Museum: *Fouilles de Delphes* iv (1909) 74–5; P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Delphes* (1943) pl. 82; P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au musée de Delphes* (1956) pl. 23.

<sup>92</sup> Toledo, Ohio 1958.69: *Paralip.* 169; Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases, a Handbook* fig. 209. Beazley's suggestion that the man on the right is using a sieve seems unlikely.

<sup>93</sup> Pollux vi 106; x 121; Hesychius s.v.

<sup>94</sup> *Agora* xii 105–6 with bibl.

<sup>95</sup> *Agora* ST 201 and 193.

just at the moment'.<sup>96</sup> Later in the scene such stage business would not need repeating, and it seems more likely that the bridesmaid held a dish or shallow bowl.<sup>97</sup>

The share of peace that the best man seeks for the groom is given as *κύαθον εἰρήνης ἕνα* in line 1053, or as Sommerstein has it 'a thimbleful of peace'.<sup>98</sup> The word *κύαθος* is a common one and is often used to indicate a small measure, and such we may consider it at this passage. It does, however, also have the meaning of 'ladle' and two inscriptions, one on a ladle of silver and one on a ladle of bronze,<sup>99</sup> give the shape we see represented here that name, a small cup with a long handle rising vertically from the rim (PLATE XVIIIf).<sup>100</sup> The lekythos on PLATE XVIIIf is one of many vases that show this shape of ladle being used, and we should perhaps imagine it on stage in this scene. If so, we may find it being called *οἰνήρυσσις* at the end of the scene—and there are undoubtedly many other names by which it might on occasion have been called: *ἐτνήρυσσις*, *ζωμήρυσσις*, *ἀρύστιχος*, *ἀρύταινα*, *ἀρυστήρ*, *ἀρύβαλλος*, *κοτύλη*. We are as usual in the position of having on the one hand specific objects which the Greeks must have called by a name or names, and on the other hand names that must have been applied to an object or objects, and our own use of language is enough to show that this is not a monogamous association but both polygamous and polyandrous.

It is dispiriting to read in the introduction to Gulick's fifth volume of the Loeb Athenaeus 'As for attempting to identify all the names of pottery catalogued in Book xi with extant vases, I have been obliged to conclude, with many others who are wiser than I, that the game is not worth the candle'.<sup>101</sup> I think one would not speak so slightingly of candles today and since the time he wrote that preface, 1933, new material has come to light and new approaches to Greek literature have emerged which make that sort of 'game' not only worthwhile but conducive to a fuller understanding of the texts we read.

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<sup>96</sup> Penguin Books, 1973, p. 97.

<sup>97</sup> In *Maia* xv (1963) 22–3, Dover points out the significance of magic at this stage in the scene. I notice that the entry for *ἐξάλειπτρον* in the supplement to LSJ says 'for "unguent-box" read "unguent-flask" or "-basin"'. A case of hedging one's bets!

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 97.

<sup>99</sup> Silver ladle: *AJA* xlvii (1943) 209 ff.; bronze

ladle: Königsberg inv. F 28: R. Lullies, *Antike Kleinkunst in Königsberg Pr.* (1937) no. 192, pl. 31.

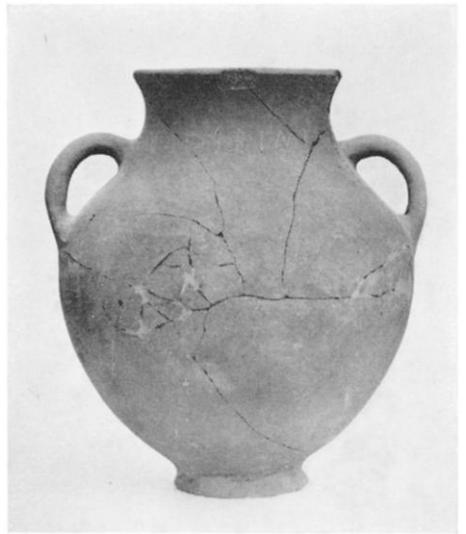
<sup>100</sup> Haverford College, Pennsylvania: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 557, no. 116, 1659; *Paralip.* 387, The Pan Painter.

<sup>101</sup> Loeb, 1933, p.v. Gulick's inclusion of twelve illustrative plates of pottery, mainly red- and black-figure, with the conventional ancient names beneath, is very odd in view of his opinions.



(a)

(b)



(c)



(d)



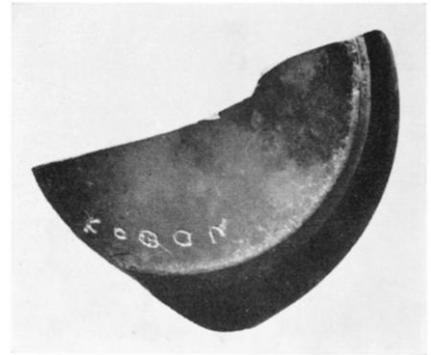
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(f)



(a)



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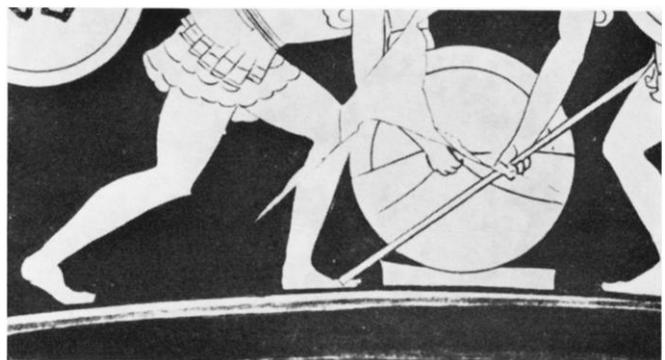
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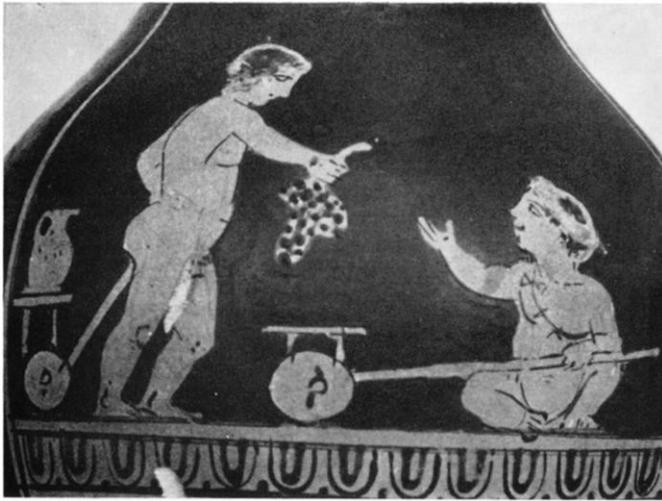
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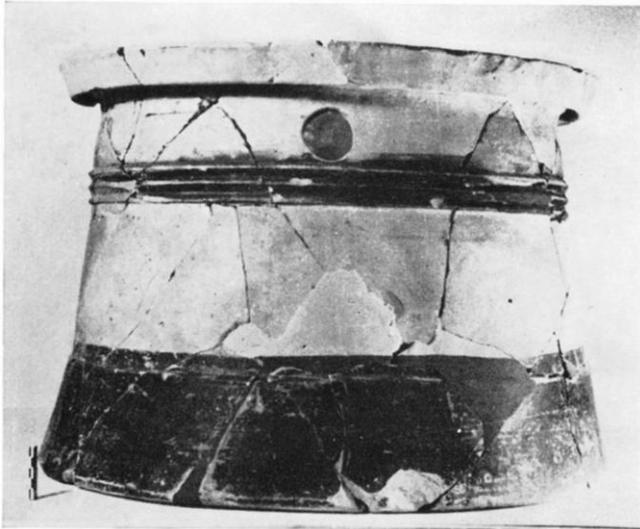
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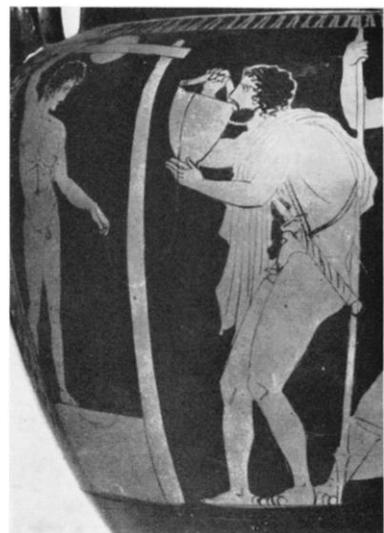
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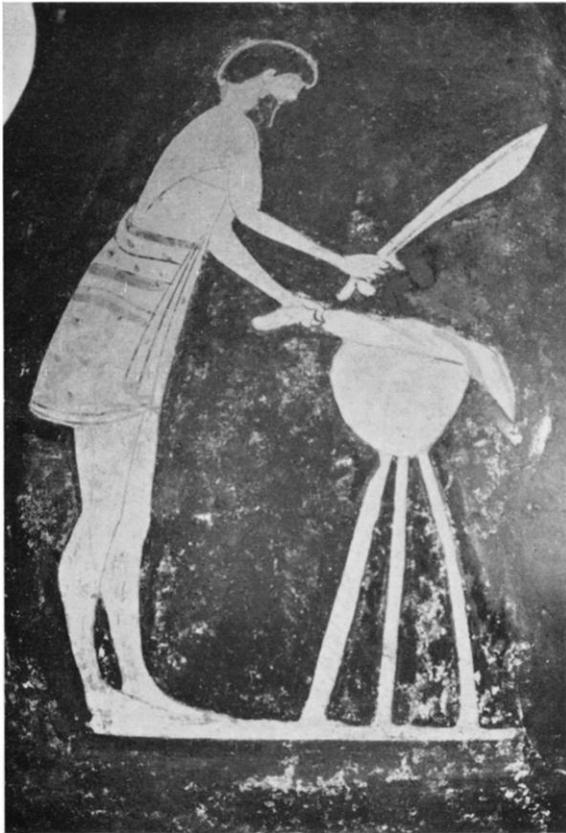
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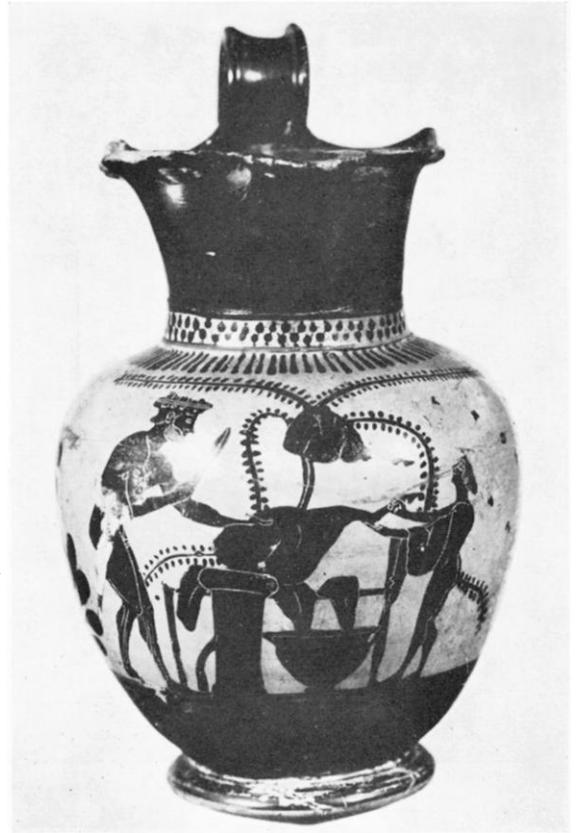
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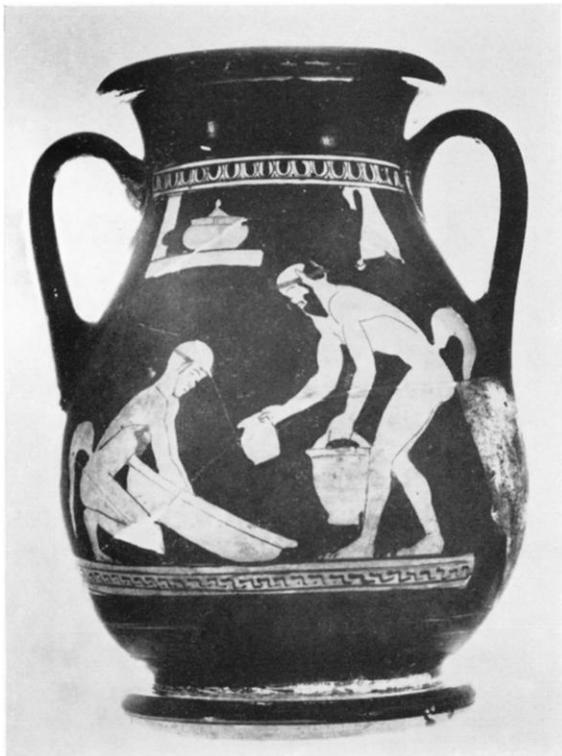
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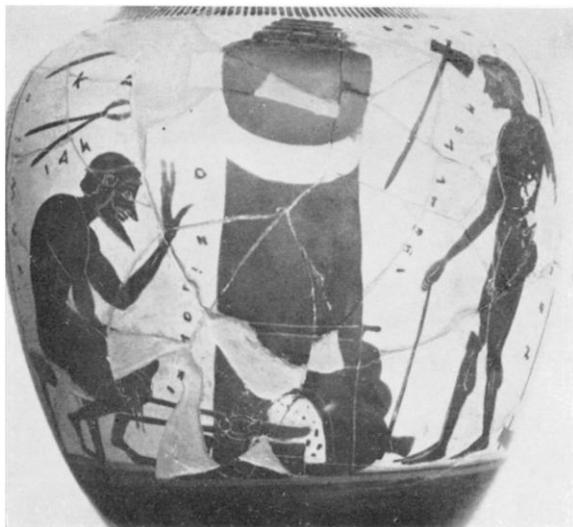
(d)



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)