

write *οἶρος κατέστην*; scarcely a change, since *οἶρος* could well be an incorrect interpretation of *ΟΡΟΣ*.<sup>23</sup>

Is 'watcher', however, right for *οἶρος* here? It makes sense in the context of *ἐν μεταχειμῖω*, though neutral observers in military situations are perhaps more familiar to us than they were to Solon.<sup>24</sup> But he saw his rôle as a rather more active one. Perhaps 'guard' is better: Solon was the watchdog of the constitution he had framed, as the Areopagus is later described by Aeschylus and Aristotle.<sup>25</sup> (*καθίσταμαι* is *vox propria* of guards taking up their posts; cf. S. O.C. 356, and see LSJ s.v. B.2.) The analogy of *οἶρος Ἀχαιῶν*, however, favours 'guardian', 'protector'. Two passages of Euripides are relevant here: at *Held.* 803, when Hyllus issues his challenge to single combat,

ἔσται μέσοισιν ἐν μεταχειμῖοις δορός,<sup>26</sup>

and at *Pho.* 1361, when Eteocles and Polyneices engage,

ἔστησαν ἐλθόντ' ἐς μέσον μεταίχμιον.

The contestants who take their stand in no-man's-land are the champions of their respective sides. So too a protector or guardian is most naturally a protector or guardian of one side, as Nestor is *οἶρος Ἀχαιῶν* and Achilles *οἶρος Αἰακιδῶν*. Solon does indeed claim elsewhere that he is the impartial protector of both sides (*fr.* 5.5-6):

ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβάλων κρατερόν σάκος ἀμφοτέροισιν,  
νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἶασ' οὐδέτερος ἀδίκως.

But this can hardly be the sense in *fr.* 25. *τούτων* could certainly depend on *οἶρος* rather than *μεταχειμῖω*, but the meaning would need to be more explicit, e.g. *ἀμφοῖν . . . οἶρος*.

But does *τούτων* necessarily refer to both sides? At the end of *fr.* 24, quoted just before in Aristotle, Solon claims to have benefited both the *demos* and the more powerful. Aristotle goes on: *εἰ γὰρ τις ἄλλος, φησί, ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον, κτλ.* (cf. *Plut., Sol.* 16 *καίτοι φησὶν ὡς εἴ τις ἄλλος*

<sup>23</sup> Solon would have written *οἶρος* as *ΟΡΟΣ* (possibly *ΟΥΡΟΣ*, but the impure diphthong *ou* was regularly written *o* in saec. vi and earlier saec. v Attic orthography; see Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, 1900, para.11c), and *οἶρος* as *ΗΟΡΟΣ* (words with initial aspirate are occasionally spelt without *H* in vase-paintings, but so rarely that it is probably due to negligence; see Kretschmer, *Griechische Vasenschriften*, 1894, para. 137, cf. p. 190). For anyone transcribing the poems after Ionic spelling came into use for literary texts (say c. 450), the only correct interpretation of *ΟΡΟΣ* in *fr.* 25 would be *οἶρος*, since Solon was not the mountainous queen of the Laestrygones (*Od.* 10.113), and *οἶρος* was always spelt with an aspirate (in fact *ΗΟΡΟΣ* appears regularly in inscriptions long after heta had become otherwise obsolete). The transcription of *ΟΡΟΣ* as *οἶρος* would therefore be strictly incorrect, but little more than a misinterpretation: a mistake all the more easily made because of Solon's well-known preoccupation with *δρος*.

<sup>24</sup> Mr G. W. Bond suggests that 'umpire' is the sense required.

<sup>25</sup> *Eum.* 706 *φρούριμα γῆς*; *Ath. Pol.* 4.20 *φύλαξ τῶν νόμων*.

<sup>26</sup> Hence Jaeger proposed *δορός* for *οἶρος*, a conjecture with little to recommend it.

*ἔσχε τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν, κτλ.*) We cannot be sure how long the gap was in Solon's poem, but from Aristotle's paraphrase it is likely enough to have been quite short, e.g. *ταύτης γὰρ ἄλλος ὡς ἐγὼ τιμῆς τυχὼν*. Clearly *τούτων* (*ἐν μεταχειμῖω*) could refer to both sides, though *ἀμφοῖν* would perhaps be easier. But clearly, also, *τούτων* (*οἶρος*) could equally well refer to the faction just mentioned, the *ἐσθλοί* (cf. n. 17); and if my interpretation of *πῖαρ ἐξείλεν γάλα* is right, *τούτων* has an even closer reference in *πῖαρ*, the cream of the state. The argument is inconclusive, especially as the gap in Solon's poem may be longer than Aristotle seems to indicate. But there is perhaps a pointer in *οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον*. I argued above from this phrase that in *fr.* 25 (esp. 6-7) Solon is concerned to conciliate the rich. I suggest that 7-8 show the same concern: that Solon says 'I took post in no-man's-land as protector of the *ἐσθλοί*'; and that he is here emphasising not his impartiality, as in *fr.* 5, but his achievement in securing social justice without disrupting the established order.

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### A Fragment by Onesimos

(PLATE IVc)

The purpose of this note is to make known a fine pair of joining fragments, one in the Louvre, the other in a private collection in Oxford, which come from the outside of a cup by Onesimos. The Louvre fragment, Cp. 11342, listed in the second edition of J. D. Beazley's *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters* but not previously figured, gives part of a male leaning to the right on a knotted stick.<sup>1</sup> He is draped in an himation with a two-line border pattern. His chest is frontal but he twists to the right, his right arm reaching across and down to the right, while his left, comfortably tucked in the material of the himation, rests on the top of the stick. The new Oxford fragment adds the head of the youth, his right shoulder and the tops of two of the billows of the himation as it passes over the upper part of the left arm.

Both fragments show, inside and out, a delicate tracery from the action of roots, but their surfaces are in good condition. On the Oxford fragment the relief lines for the tip of the nose and part of the lips have unfortunately flaked off and on the Louvre part the point of the chin has similarly been lost, but pale indented lines show where all once were. Dilute glaze has been used for the inner markings of the body and for the fuzz on the youth's cheek. One might note in passing a detail of the dilute glaze which is not visible in the photograph: the dilute glaze which marks the lower edge of the right shoulder blade on the Louvre part can be seen to continue on the Oxford fragment. Added red has been used for the head-band and the inscription. An ancient repair hole clips the top edge of the youth's head. The lip of the cup has a reserved line inside and out. The cup must have been a large one with a diameter of perhaps about 32 cm; the preserved part of the rim measures 5.3 cm in length.

<sup>1</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 327/97.

The action of the youth cannot definitely be determined, but on the Oxford fragment itself, unfortunately not visible in the photograph, there is to the left of the youth's right shoulder part of the 'eighth-inch stripe' of some object with a rounded end. It may perhaps have been an *haltēr*, held high by an athlete on the left of our youth. Thus the fragment could well have belonged to an athlete cup similar to that in Munich, but with a spectator/trainer near the centre of one side.<sup>2</sup> His right hand may have held the usual trainer's wand or perhaps a marker, as a youth on the later athlete cup in the Petit Palais does.<sup>3</sup>

There is an interesting series of athlete cups: all are large, all have two figures on the interior and all were probably potted by Euphronios. The earliest and finest is the trimmed fragment in the Louvre with a discus-thrower and a trainer on the inside.<sup>4</sup> They stand on a reserved exergue. Outside only the feet of more athletes and trainers remain. Our fragment, which seems to be slightly later, would perhaps have come next in the series. There follow two closely contemporary cups, slightly later than our fragment, both with the interlocking meander borders favoured by Onesimos and reserved exergues. The first is the ruined cup in Amsterdam, signed by Euphronios as potter, with an acontist and a jumper on the interior.<sup>5</sup> On the ground rests a pick and between the heads is a full discus bag. Outside exercise is over: the athletes crowd round wash-basins, scraping off and relaxing, while their boys stand by in attendance. The other is, of course, the Munich cup mentioned above. It has been attributed to the potter Euphronios by Bloesch. Again there is the pick on the ground, but this time a pair of *haltēres* separate the heads of the discus-thrower and the acontist.

Some of the other painters in Euphronios' workshop seem to have decorated cups that belong to the same series. On the Colmar Painter's fragmentary cup in the Cabinet des Médailles an interlocking meander border surrounds a jumper and an acontist, who both wear 'skull-caps'.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately not enough remains to tell if there was a reserved exergue or not, but the poses of the figures recall closely the athletes on the Munich cup. The most interesting piece, however, is the magnificent athlete cup in Oxford with a stray fragment in Florence, which Bloesch has shown was potted by Euphronios.<sup>7</sup> Inside an acontist and a trainer stand on a reserved exergue. The trainer seems to have a last friendly piece of advice for the young acontist, whose head is lowered, perhaps in concentration or even in a shyness that might reveal many of the undertones of the scene. Outside are other athletes and trainers. In the centre of one side stands a bearded trainer: a composition similar perhaps to that of the cup from

which our fragment came. The Oxford cup by the Antiphon Painter was found at Vulci and remarkably that is also the provenience of Onesimos' Munich cup. One is tempted to think that both were part of an export order placed with Euphronios' workshop.

Beazley called the Louvre part of our fragment 'still early' and the addition of the head only confirms this. It is contemporary with the Boston komos cup and the erotic cup in Schweizer's possession, all of which might be called late Panaetian.<sup>8</sup>

Our last words must be on the tantalising inscription which is clearly visible on the Oxford part and reads . . . ]*NEV*[. . . . Let us take the second half first. Onesimos has left us no *kalos* names beginning with *EV*, so that the reconstruction *Euphronios* is almost inevitable. The presence of the signature of Euphronios as potter on this piece would be perfectly in accord with his practice of signing his large cups: one thinks for example of the contemporary komos cup in Boston already mentioned. As for the *N*, since Euphronios seems always to have signed in the form *Euphronios epoiesen* and not the other way round, it is unlikely to be the end of *epoiesen*. It could, however, be the end of a *kalos* name, but the only name with a final *N* from the Onesimos group is Kephisophon, a 'tag-*kalos*' on the very much earlier Proto-Panaetian cup in the Cabinet des Médailles and hardly likely here.<sup>9</sup> We can not, of course, rule out the possibility of another *kalos* name ending with an *N* not preserved amongst Onesimos' surviving works, such as Antiphon, Menon or Alkmeon; yet on the whole one other reading seems more attractive—[*ONEῤῥIMOῤῥ EAPAΦῤῥE*] *NEV*[*ΦPONIOῤῥEΠOIEῤῥEN*]. Onesimos' name is known to us only from his ruined signature on the late cup with horsemen in the Louvre, which is also signed by Euphronios as potter.<sup>10</sup>

To conclude then, the full inscription might have read [*ONEῤῥIMOῤῥEAPAΦῤῥE*] *NEV*[*ΦPONIOῤῥEΠOIEῤῥEN*]. This reconstruction is in keeping with the height of the letters on the wall of the cup, the feeling which the letters give of a long and careful inscription and the suggested composition of the scene which places our youth near the centre of one side. One might add that the presence of Onesimos' signature on a work of his earlier period, such as this, would have been the surest way of showing that the Panaitios Painter and Onesimos were one and the same person. Let us hope that somewhere there are more fragments of this splendid cup and that one day the signatures will be complete.

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I wish to thank Monsieur N. Duval for his permission to publish the Louvre fragment and the owner of the Oxford fragment for allowing me to study and publish his part. I should also like to thank Professor C. M. Robertson not only for kindly reading a draft of this note, but also for granting me access to the Beazley Archive. I am also grateful to Dr D. C. Kurtz of the Beazley Archive for her generous cooperation. Photograph of the Louvre fragment by M. Chuzeville.

<sup>8</sup> Boston 95.27; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 325/76; Bloesch p. 71, Euphronios no. 6. Arlesheim, Schweizer; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 326/86 bis.

<sup>9</sup> Cabinet des Médailles 523; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 316/4 and p. 1589.

<sup>10</sup> Louvre G. 105; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 324/60; Bloesch p. 73, Euphronios no. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Munich 2637; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 322/28; Bloesch p. 71, Euphronios no. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Petit Palais 325; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 322/38.

<sup>4</sup> Louvre G. 287; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 321/24.

<sup>5</sup> Amsterdam 1820; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 322/27.

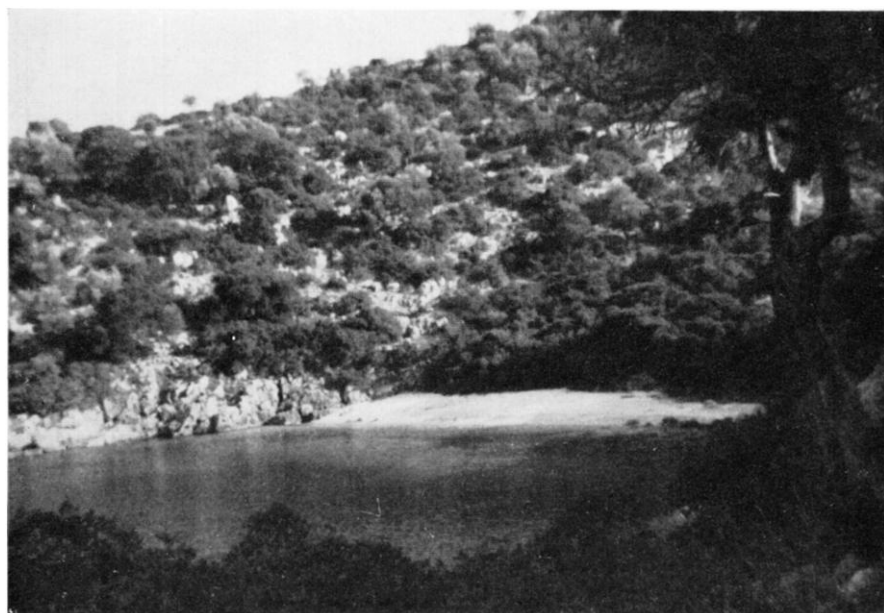
<sup>6</sup> Cabinet des Médailles 'part of 521 (L. 27 only), plus, frr. '; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 353/12.

<sup>7</sup> Oxford 1914.729 and Florence 9 B 38; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> p. 340/73; Bloesch p. 71, Euphronios no. 10.

(a)



(b)



(c)



ASTERIS AND THE TWIN HARBOURS (a-b)  
A FRAGMENT BY ONESIMOS (c)