

# SOPHILOS' VASE INSCRIPTIONS AND CULTURAL LITERACY IN ARCHAIC ATHENS

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## I. INTRODUCTION

IN THIS ARTICLE I EXAMINE THE INSCRIPTIONS on the extant vases and vase fragments of the early Attic black-figure painter Sophilos, whose *floruit* is generally thought to be 590–570 B.C. (580–570, according to Boardman 1974: 18). My purpose in undertaking this study was to discover whether Sophilos ought to be considered literate, and if so, in what senses of that word. I find that he was a competent and consistent speller; that he knew how to construct simple sentences; that he was well in tune with his society's mythology; in short, that he was literate both in the literal meaning of that word and in what we might call "cultural literacy." Sophilos was one of the first Attic painters to paint letters on his vases, and he wrote at a time when the Greek alphabet was probably less than two hundred years old.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances, applying the standards of, for example, late twentieth-century western Europe or North America for determination of "literacy" is anachronistic. Judging early archaic inscriptions

This paper is one of a series written in the context of a long-term project undertaken by the two authors named. In each case, the first-named author is the one most implicated in the article in question. Kilmer has consulted Develin at every stage of the preparation of this article, but has written this article in the first person. Only the Conclusions should be considered to be of true joint authorship. I am particularly grateful to Louis Kelly for his help in the linguistic portions of this paper; to Eleanor Dickey for useful commentary on linguistic questions and for putting me into contact with Rudolf Wachter, whom I also thank for comments. To David Harvey and John Waś, my special thanks for reading early drafts and for support in many guises. My thanks also to the two anonymous readers for *Phoenix*, many of whose suggestions I have incorporated into this final version. Any errors remaining are my own.

*Epigraphical note:* Sophilos' archaic letter forms (see Fig. 1) differed significantly from those used in later Ionic script. We have preserved his spellings in transcription to the lower-case system in common use for archaic vase inscriptions (see Immerwahr 1990; Jeffery 1990). Sophilos' "heta" (replaced eventually by the rough-breathing mark) is represented by *h*, his "check-mark" lambda by *λ*, his lambda-shaped gamma by *γ*, his sigma (almost always three-bar) by *σ* and *ς*, his "plus"-shaped khi by *χ*, and his pi with one short leg (easily confused with the classical upper-case form of gamma) by *π*. Almost all forms used on the vases are reserved later for upper-case letters. We have thus chosen not to "correct" the spelling of words which in Classical times were spelt with geminate consonants: this was not the usual archaic form. "Correction" in publications is one of the things which has led to the general—and quite erroneous—perception that the archaic Attic painters of pottery had as a rule a shaky control on the writing of Greek. For the most part, Sophilos uses letter forms similar to those used by Kleitias, Exekias, and the Amasis Painter.

The catalogue numbers given in parentheses are based on Beazley 1956 and Beazley 1963 (B = *ABV*, R = *ARV*). For further detail, see the Appendix, below, 37.

<sup>1</sup>For further discussion, see, e.g., Powell 1991; Robb 1994. This topic is controversial.

on the basis of Attic spelling conventions of the Classical period, though less spectacularly anachronistic, presents some of the same difficulties. The research of Leslie Threatte on phonology (Threatte 1980) has laid the foundations for establishing the patterns of archaic Attic spelling; and Henry Immerwahr's *Attic Script* (1990) presents a substantial body of transcribed inscriptions, the great majority of them from pottery, including many new readings. Allen's *Vox Graeca*<sup>3</sup> (1987), though focused on classical Greek literary language, gives useful information on the development of the written language and its relations to the spoken language after the period of direct interest here. In many cases, extrapolation bridging to the evidence for the earlier period covered by Threatte has led to unexpected conclusions.

In order to determine the "literacy" of someone in Sophilos' circumstances, we ought to look primarily at two questions. First, when the painter writes the same word on two (or more) vases, is his spelling consistent? We might call this "internal consistency." Second, when other vase painters contemporary or nearly contemporary with Sophilos write these words, are their spellings the same as his, or at least close enough that we should most reasonably assess them as variants? I have cast my net rather wide within the range of archaic Attic painted pottery. The degree of consistency is significant enough overall that it is clear that many painters of archaic Attic pottery had little difficulty in writing whatever they chose to write on a vase. Sophilos, as a pioneer in this new venture, might reasonably be expected to have considerable difficulty. In fact, as I hope this paper demonstrates, he exhibits a high degree of internal consistency; and his consistency with other painters of the early Archaic period, and even with painters down into the early fifth century (at least for most words for which there are later matches), is remarkably high. I emphasize that—with one exception, the "caption" identifying the (funeral) games of Patroklos—Sophilos has so far revealed only two certain classes of inscriptions: "signatures"—all those that are complete or near complete are "painter"-signatures, consisting of only two or three words—and the names of heroes and divinities. This restriction reduces the probability of matches with other painters. We are fortunate that some of the most crucial names—names with spelling that has appeared idiosyncratic in the extreme when compared to their classical versions—prove to have enough exact matches that we must accept them as normal spellings for Sophilos' time.

Although we have remnants of many of Sophilos' vases, and several fully or almost fully reconstructible, there are relatively few inscribed vases extant in his oeuvre. He is early among black-figure painters, belonging to the second generation of the style. His predecessors in the developed medium were the Nettos Painter,<sup>2</sup> the Gorgon Painter (whose career began while the Nettos painter was

<sup>2</sup>The name of the centaur whom he shows in conflict with Herakles in his most famous work, the amphora in Athens (B4/1), the painter spells Νετος. Modern scholars have regularized the spelling to conform to later Attic usage, doubling the tau. They have not called him the "Nessos Painter"—which

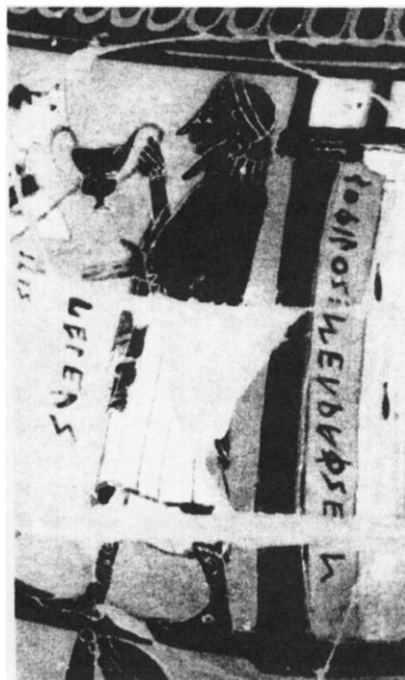


Fig. 1: Fragment from the Erschine Dinon (B40/16.1) illustrating Sophilos' normal letter-forms in his signature and the name Peleus. Photo: courtesy of British Museum, London, after Williams 1983, fig. 25 (portions of break "removed" by computer enhancement).

still active, and who may well have been Sophilos' teacher or at the least the senior member of the workshop in which he started his career: see Bakir 1981: 1–3; Beazley 1986: 16), and a few other painters whose careers are briefly noted in Beazley's *ABV* and at greater length in his *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Beazley 1986: 12–16 and pls. 10–15).

Before Sophilos, Attic painting gives little in the way of inscriptions apart from the names of a few divinities and some heroes and their opponents.<sup>3</sup> Sophilos may be the first Attic pottery painter to give his name with the verb *εγραψεν*, meaning "drew" or "painted" (Fig. 1): later Attic orthography would make this *ἔγραψεν*; but the spelling with *φσ* is standard for the time in question (see below,

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would conform to later spelling in most of the Greek world—perhaps to avoid confusion with the proto-Attic "Painter of the New York Nessos." I have often wondered why scholars have not adopted the sensible expedient of calling this early black-figure artist the Netos Painter, using the spelling we know him to have used. Threatte reports (1980: 540), in discussing the name Ὀδυσσεύς and variants, occurrence of the spelling *Νεσος* on a Tyrrhenian amphora (B96/13) attributed to the Prometheus Painter. Tyrrhenian amphorai are generally considered to be of Attic manufacture, and this spelling remains exceptional. The hero Odysseus is found with the spelling *Ὀλυτεύς* (retr., Olyteus) on a fragmentary vase by Kleitias (B76/A) from Egypt, as well as on the François Vase (B76/1), in the chariot-race scene: Wachter 1991: 89, no. 50. In another example, a kantharos by the Sokles Painter, *Ὀλυτεύς* <ς> is in attendance for the arming of Akhilles (B173/1).

<sup>3</sup>See Immerwahr 1990: 20–21 for examples.

32–33). He is thus the first Attic pottery painter known to have signed his work (Beazley 1986: 16).<sup>4</sup> He is much more generous in his use of labelled human and divine figures than was the norm with his predecessors; and he has left us many more inscriptions than have they, and he used the inscriptions, it would seem, primarily in order to identify these mythological figures for his audience.

## II. FRAGMENTARY VASES: SIGNATURES

### *(a) Fragments from the Athens Wedding Dinos (B39/15): Mythical Wedding*

We may begin with the painter's signed vases, though they are not numbered among his earliest. His fragmentary dinos in Athens has preserved complete on fragment c the retrograde vertical inscription Σοφίλος<sup>5</sup> ἐγραψεν (Sophilos drew [this]; Plate 1). All of the sigmas in this painter-inscription are in the form normal for orthograde sigma in later inscriptions (that is to say, their direction reversed from that of the standard retrograde sigma: thus their first down-strokes slope down towards the left).<sup>6</sup> The alpha is of the closed type,<sup>7</sup> the nu of the high-swung early type; and, in short, all of the letters are of forms unexceptionable for their period.

Sophilos has chosen a prominent position for the inscription. It is written vertically, retrograde, to our right side of the bronze-decorated door of a building.

<sup>4</sup>At least one of his inscribed vases, the Athens Wedding Dinos (B39/15) was dedicated on the Akropolis at Athens. It was large and ornate (on the same scale as the Erskine Dinos), and was most probably made specifically for dedication. If so, it probably carried a painted dedication inscription (Sophilos left no graffito inscriptions), which has not survived. It will certainly be worth the effort to study the remains of early dedications on pottery—and particularly those of the sixth century—as a corpus. It can usually be determined with considerable probability which graffito inscriptions were done before firing (thus belonging to the manufacturing process) and which were incised after firing. There is a subset of pots with dedicatory inscriptions “painted” on them—some found far from their places of manufacture (for example, Ionian pottery found at Graviscae in Etruria: Various 1993), others, such as those from the Akropolis at Athens, very close to home. Dedicated manufacture, often as ἀπαρχε “first fruit,” denotes a special relationship between potter and/or painter and the divinity so honoured—or may reflect the intentions of a patron. Such dedications may begin as early as the late eighth century. They certainly continue to the end of the sixth century. Sophilos' fine dinos was likely the potter/painter's dedication on the Akropolis to Athena, patroness of craftsmen (especially potters) and patroness of Athens.

<sup>5</sup>Vowel values in this name are not known; nor can we know whether later Attic usage would have doubled the lambda or not. Beazley (1956: 37) says it is “impossible to say whether the name is Σόφιλος, Σοφίλος, or Σόφιλλος.” These three forms of the name are attested; but they are not the only possibilities. Immerwahr (1990: 21) transcribes the painter's name as though it were Σόφιλος, without discussion. So also does Threatte (1980: Index). I retain the archaic spelling, and add no accent because I am not convinced that we know where the accent ought to go. See Pape and Benseler 1959: nos. 1430–78; Kirchner 1966: nos. 261, 299.

<sup>6</sup>Immerwahr (1990: 21) refers to these as “reversed.” Either the “direction” of sigma had not as yet been fixed, or Sophilos was interested in letters for their decorative qualities as well as for the additional meaning they could give his figures.

<sup>7</sup>Beazley 1956: 39, no. 15 gives (in a rare slip) the open alpha form.

This building is generally taken to be the house of the bridegroom (Peleus?), the place towards which the procession (the vase's principal subject) moves. This suggestion is supported by the similar building on the Erskine Dinos in London (B40/16.1; Fig. 1), which we shall discuss later (below, 14, 28–30); and, at a slightly later date, by the building Kleitias uses on the François Vase (B76/1) for the starting-point and ending-point of the same scene.<sup>8</sup> The border below the building is similar to that preserved in fragments b, f, and g of the same vase.<sup>9</sup> Also parallel to the door, and thus flanking the inscription, are a Doric column (painted white, and with what may be intended as a narrow base—a feature not known in large-scale Doric architecture in stone of the Archaic and Classical periods) to our right and an anta in black, with incision marking its base. The column capital is broad and shallow, set off by a convex necking-band which somewhat recalls the shallow hawk's-beak mouldings of some capitals of the so-called "basilica" at Paestum.<sup>10</sup> On fragment b is found the lower portion of the left anta of the house along with one foot of an individual who must be facing away from the building. On the analogy of the Erskine Dinos, this would be the bridegroom: the minor detail of horizontal incised lines decorating the ankle portion of the boots of both individuals gives some slight further support to this hypothesis. On the Erskine Dinos, unfortunately, only two pairs of male feet are preserved other than those of the bridegroom: those of Dionysos and the human forefeet of the centaur Khiron, both of whom are barefoot.

Other fragments provide some of the guests in procession on their way to the celebration. On fragment g, the names Λετο (Leto) and Χαρικόλο (Khariklo) are written orthograde vertically before the two female figures, without interpunct, but with a space left between the words larger than that between other pairs of letters. The names are written free-hand, with irregularly placed bases, not along the base-line (usually either not drawn in, or meant to be invisible after firing) used often by later painters, and occasionally used by Sophilos. Leto is the mother of Artemis and Apollo; Khariklo (much less well known to us) the wife of the centaur Khiron.

Sophilos uses ϙ (qoppa) in a number of places where later Attic spelling would use κ (kappa). He uses it, in preserved inscriptions, only preceding λ (lambda), as here, on the Athens Dinos fragment from Pharsalos (B39/16), and on the Erskine Dinos (Fig. 3). On the other hand, Kleitias, working most likely no more than ten years after this, spells Khariklo with kappas (Wachter 1991: 90, no. 82). Kleitias does use qoppa once on the François Vase, for the dog ϙοραχς (Qorakhs, "raven") in the Kalydonian Boar scene (Wachter 1991: 87, no. 16). This is a "speaking name": guttural qoppa perfects the imitation of the raven's cry. Kleitias'

<sup>8</sup>For the many inscriptions on the Erskine Dinos, see Bakir 1981: A1, pls. 1–2, figs. 1–4. Williams (1983: 13–34) gives additional fragments and transcriptions of the inscriptions. For the building on the Erskine Dinos, see Williams 1983: figs. 25–26.

<sup>9</sup>Numbering as in Bakir 1981: pl. 3.

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, Lawrence 1983: 156, fig. 121.

use here confirms, for me, that he used qoppa for the guttural stop corresponding to kappa.

Sophilos' use of qoppa preceding lambda suggests a strongly gutturalised pronunciation. λ following κ forces κ into the guttural. (For a concrete demonstration of this, try speaking the words "capital" and "closet" aloud, and feel the positions of those consonants in your mouth and upper throat.) Jeffery (1990: 33–34) describes qoppa as "the guttural *k* before the vowels *u* and *o*." This description works well with the early inscriptions (of the seventh and the earliest sixth centuries) as she reports them (1990: 70); and with the single preserved use of qoppa by Kleitias on the François Vase. Sophilos' preserved inscriptions never show ϣ immediately preceding a vowel, nor do we have any case, in his oeuvre, of κ immediately preceding *o* or *υ*. We do not know what his choice would have been for this combination. Threatte comments (1980: 21) that "(Qoppa) is regularly used before *o*-vowels, even when *l* intervenes." In this context he may see qoppa as a spelling variant, rather than as a letter indicating a different sound. It is certainly also true that Sophilos' and Kleitias' knowledge of letters is not based solely on the Attic tradition (see Immerwahr 1990: 155; Threatte 1980: 21–23). The animal friezes of both painters have strong Corinthian ties; and the Corinthian painters contemporary with these two Attic painters were becoming adept at supplying names for their mythological characters. Like Sophilos, these painters regularly use qoppa before lambda: see, for example, Περικλυμενος (Periklymenos) on the amphora from Cerveteri (Paris E640: Amyx 1989: 270, no. 6; Carpenter 1991: 269). Sophilos' retrograde dipinto Πατροφλυσ: ατλα (see Plate 2) provides another parallel.<sup>11</sup>

Khiron may also have been shown on this dinos, as he is on both the Erskine Dinosaurs and the François Vase. As in both of those, he would apparently have been shown separate from his wife, not beside her—otherwise we ought to see at least traces of his figure or of his name on this fragment. Both Leto and Khariklo wear complex dresses with polychrome animals reminiscent of the Corinthian painted creatures who serve as models for so much in Sophilos' animal parades.<sup>12</sup> To our right, walking in front of these two figures, is another pair of female figures: Δε[μ]ετερ (Demeter) is written retrograde top-to-bottom along the line of her back, letter-bases towards her (the first two epsilons and the tau partial), ἡεστια (Hestia) orthograde curving downward before the face of the woman in the lead (with closed heta, σ in the form later normal for retrograde inscriptions): the name Hestia clearly goes with the figure farther from the viewer. The placement of Demeter's name, written as it is along the back of the nearer figure, reinforces that. Next to our right is a figure only partially preserved, probably Iris. No inscription remains; but comparison of her apparent position at the head of the

<sup>11</sup> Threatte (1980: 22) transcribes this Πατροφλυσ with κ in place of ϣ, and cites it as an exception to Sophilos' usage in Χαριφλο. Immerwahr (1990: 21, no. 62) transcribes the hero's name correctly, but does not comment on the qoppa. See below, 20.

<sup>12</sup> On such dresses with "story-friezes" and the techniques needed to make them in the absence of true tapestry, see Barber 1992: esp. 112–117.

procession, her costume, and her attributes to those of the figure labelled "Iris" on the Erskine Dinos can leave little doubt. There is the same white flesh, similar short-sleeved and short-skirted *khitoniskos*,<sup>13</sup> and the lower end of the herald's staff (complete on the Erskine Dinos) which shows the goddess's office. For this occasion, she may be imagined to act as a sort of travelling butler, introducing the divinities to the bridegroom as they arrive, as well as announcing the arrival of the procession as a whole.

On the analogy of both the Erskine Dinos and the parallel scene on the François Vase, this fragment ought to represent the leading figures of the wedding procession (those closest to the bridegroom's house), although on the François Vase Iris walks beside Khiron the centaur, whose human foreparts actually slightly precede her. Kleitias has not felt bound to follow every detail of any earlier version known to us:<sup>14</sup> for instance, his Iris' short chiton is decorated in a form of plaid rather than the solid colour of both Sophilos examples; and Khiron takes Peleus' hand above an altar which Sophilos certainly did not include on the Erskine Dinos, and cannot be shown to have used here.

Fragment j gives us the head of Ποσειδῶν (Poseidon), his name sloping down retrograde behind his head, the ε partial. Partly obscured by him and a touch ahead is his wife Ἀμφιτρίτη (Amphitrite), written orthograde to the right from her forehead (v partial).<sup>15</sup> Though her name is poorly preserved, the reading is highly probable: the couple appear together on the Erskine Dinos, the goddess's name spelt with initial Av as here, and also on the François Vase, with the same spelling (Wachter 1991: 90, no. 68; 99). On the latter two vases, the divine couple are mounted on a chariot. Here, although it would be consonant with their riding in a chariot that their heads almost touch the upper border of the scene (we can compare the figures of fragment c, for whom the reins and whip or goad are partially preserved), the heads of others who are not chariot-borne come almost into contact with that border; and the walking Iris' head must have touched.

Fragment d shows a serpentine creature who (again on the analogy of the Erskine Dinos and—though less completely—the François Vase [Wachter 1991: 89, no. 91; 99]) could be Okeanos.<sup>16</sup> The draped male figure walking on the far side of the sea-serpent body, however, has no equivalent on the Erskine Dinos, where the space behind Okeanos' human torso is taken up by two female figures (see below, 30).<sup>17</sup> Beazley had already suggested (1986: 27) for the equivalent

<sup>13</sup> Though here the hem/selvage is marked by short vertical incisions, rather than the "painted" maecander of the figure on the Erskine Dinos.

<sup>14</sup> Whether that "model" was visual, poetic, or based more on his own imagination, whatever its original inspiration.

<sup>15</sup> For v in place of the later standard μ before plosives, see Threatch 1980: 595–596. Ἀμφιτρίτη is the standard spelling on the many Corinthian pinakes in the Berlin Charlottenburg collection which present these gods (*vidi*).

<sup>16</sup> But see Beazley 1986: 27 and below, n. 18.

<sup>17</sup> There may be two walking figures rather than one. The dark segment of clothing on the right, however, looks—even in enlarged colour photographs—just like the inside of the sleeve to our left.

figures (poorly preserved) on the François Vase that the human-bodied figure must be Okeanos, and the serpent/composite companion perhaps one of the Tritons.<sup>18</sup> This seems also the best interpretation here, with Okeanos (human in body; nothing remains of his head) in charge of the sea-creature. The fact that the human figure walks aft of the foreparts of the sea-creature makes good sense. After all, people on Greek vases (and in real life) herd cattle like this; and literary metaphors for Okeanos and other marine divinities make them herdsmen of various underwater beasts.<sup>19</sup> No part of either name is preserved, leaving speculation little to grasp. Stewart's suggestion (1983: 59) that this is Okeanos with Hephaistos walking beside, is problematic. Early images of Hephaistos, which generally go out of their way to show the deformity of his leg(s), make this improbable. For Sophilos on the Erskine Dinos, as later for Kleitias, Hephaistos is too badly crippled to walk or to stand in a chariot, and must ride his mule or donkey side-saddle.



Fig. 2: Fragment i of Athens Wedding Dinos (B39/15) with inscription naming the Nyssai. Photo: M. Kilmer.

Fragment i preserves one frontal female face and two more female faces at right, turned to our left. The frontal female plays the syrinx. The inscription sloping down to the right of the two profile heads (orthograde, though the  $\sigma$  is written as later retrograde sigmas will be) is the word ΝΥΣΣΑΙ (Nyssai; Fig. 2). Stewart (1983: 59) and Beazley (1986: 17) take the two profile women as Nyssai, "Dionysos' companions," so also does Immerwahr (1990: 186). These nymphs of Mount Nyssa, though minor characters for us moderns, are also known from myth as nurses of Dionysos.<sup>20</sup> Despite this simple interpretation, the inscription has given (and continues to give) rise to an inordinate amount of difficulty, caused at least

The incised line which meets the curved back of the sea monster makes sense as the underside of the left forearm of the same figure: the arm is stretched out before him, and his cloak must travel with it. The closed hand to our left is best taken as a closed right hand: the short straight line below the base of the thumb is not part of the painter's intention.

<sup>18</sup> Okeanos on the François Vase has "a human body but the head and neck of a bull" (Beazley 1986: 27). We may also compare the figure of Nereus (perhaps rather "a Triton") shown perhaps in combat with Herakles (?) on Sophilos' column-krater in Athens (B40/24). The belly pattern is somewhat simpler; but this sea-monster has a bearded serpent growing from his back. See also below, 25–26.

<sup>19</sup> For an extended scene enlarging the metaphor, of Proteus, see Hom. *Od.* 4.400–570.

<sup>20</sup> See Threatte 1980: 260–261; Immerwahr 1990: 21, no. 61. Henrichs (1987: 116, n. 41) follows West (1978: 373–374) in identifying the Nyssai as tree-nymphs. Immerwahr (1990: 186 *Add. et corr.*) supports this. For the Nysai (or Nyssai) as nurses of Dionysos, see Graves 1960: 104; for this



in part by scholars' assumption that what is difficult to understand in inscriptions is likely to be ancient error. Vanderpool (1953: 322) offered the suggestion that the word should be read as <M>υσαι (i.e., Μοῦσαι, Muses) "although it involves a rare case of υ for μ." This reading also requires an unusual use of upsilon, rather than omikron, for the ου of later Attic.<sup>21</sup> Sophilos may use upsilon to represent the spurious diphthong later written ου in the name Πατροφλυς (probably for the later genitive form Πατροκλοῦς) on the Athens Dinos fragment from Pharsalos (B39/16; see Plate 2). Considerably later (ca 540), a parallel whose implications are much clearer than in our text, is the inscription on an amphora of Panathenaic shape in London (B307/59): Δυνεικετῡ : ἡπος : νικαι ("the horse of Dy(s)niketos is the winner"), where the final υ of the owner's name is clearly intended to be the Attic ου genitive ending. The preserved text of Sophilos' inscription, however, makes good sense as it stands. If we were dealing here with a manuscript, rather than with an inscription on a pot, few scholars would argue in favour of an emendation which does not improve on the manuscript reading for sense or for context. Most scholars would be doubly cautious about an emendation which additionally requires changes which go against the normal usage of the author (and of the "manuscript"—that is, the preserved inscriptions) in question. The emendation requires us to accept that Sophilos here wrote υ where he ought to have written μ (here and nowhere else). It requires us to accept that Sophilos here made a hash of writing a word (Μοῦσαι) which in other places gives him no difficulty at all. This is not reasonable. These women are Nyssai.

The syrinx-player Stewart takes to be the Muse Kalliope, though this requires a somewhat difficult logic. Kleitias names as Kalliope, among the Muses in the wedding procession, the frontal syrinx-player. Because of Kleitias' special treatment of Kalliope, Stewart (1983: 57–58) takes her to be, for Kleitias, chief of the Muses.<sup>22</sup> On this basis, the syrinx-playing female whom Sophilos grouped with the two women clearly named as Nysai, Stewart believes to be the Muse Kalliope. On the Erskine Dinos, in the first group of Μοσαι (Muses; Williams 1983: fig. 31) Stewart (1983: 61) once again identifies the frontal syrinx-player as Kalliope (with rather more probability, as the painter calls these women Muses). On the Athens fragment, she could be simply a Nyssa playing the syrinx—nymphs, after all, are expected to be musical. Kleitias, however, names

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they were later to be honoured as the constellation of the Hyades. The Nyssai are to be treated in a supplement to *LMC*, along with "Kentauroi" and assorted others. On this matter I align myself with Beazley, Stewart, and Immerwahr rather than with Vanderpool and (though more tentatively) Threatte. Either group makes a formidable ally.

<sup>21</sup> On υ for ου, see Threatte 1980: 260–261; Immerwahr 1990: 162. For the standard orthography of this period, omikron representing what later Attic Greek writes as the spurious diphthong ου, see, for example, Buck 1955 [1933]: 30.

<sup>22</sup> So also Wachter 1991: 107–108, stressing the similarity of most of Kleitias' Muses' names to those in Hesiod.

Kalliope in a scene in which he writes the names of all nine Muses.<sup>23</sup> Sophilos on the Erskine Dinos shows two groups of Muses: one Muse playing the syrinx, flanked by two others to each side, and a group of three Muses walking beside the horses that draw Hermes and Apollo—eight Muses in all. Each group bears the group label Μοῦσαι. No individual Muse is named. Since the number of Muses is not the (later) canonical nine, and none of them bears an inscribed personal name, there seems little reason to transfer Kleitias' iconography of Kalliope to the Muses on the Erskine Dinos; and still less to assume that the syrinx-player shown among the Nyssai here is anything other than one of their number. On the analogy of the group of five Muses on the Erskine Dinos, we might suggest completion of the fragmentary vignette here with two profile females to our left of the syrinx player. Sophilos' reuse of the iconography for a separate mythological group would be well in character for him. His placement of the Μοῦσαι inscription over the right-side flanking pair on the Erskine Dinos is like the placement of the Νύσσαι inscription here. Sophilos likes paratactical arrangements—and he is particularly fond of “ringing the changes” on what often seem on first exposure like mere repetitions.

One more fragment, c, has a partial inscription. The nearer figure is a bearded male, the farther a female. Starting just before her forehead, the letters *βε* are complete (closed heta, as is usual for Sophilos; the horizontals of the *ε* slant down to the right, another preferred form). Following the *ε* there is only the short lower end of the hasta of a letter, spaced slightly farther from the ends of the bars of the *ε* than the vertical hasta of the *ε* is from the nearer vertical of the heta. In a stoichedon inscription, particularly one on stone, the spacing would be important. Here, with the painter doing his lettering entirely freehand, spacing cannot weigh heavily in the argument. Immerwahr (1990: 21) takes the remnant as the hasta of a rho,<sup>24</sup> as does Bakir (1981: 65); and, on the basis of the perceived parallel with the Erskine Dinos, makes this *βε*ρ[α] (Hera) and the male figure Zeus. The pairing is natural; and on the Erskine Dinos Zeus' name is written between goad and reins, which could also be done here, starting just to the right of the break. It should be borne in mind, however, that even should the partial letter be a rho, Hera's is not the only name that could fit. *βε*ρμες (Hermes) works as well for the letters, though it is difficult to see how the painter could then follow his common pattern for writing the name of the female figure. Maia, Hermes' mother, would be suitable, and has a nice short name—and that is the pairing on the François Vase (Wachter 1991: 89, nos. 92–93). Even with Sophilos' exuberant lettering, it is difficult to make this a *β* (for example, for Hebe, whom we find on the Erskine Dinos though not on the François Vase). We ought not, however, to exclude *a priori* such relatively minor

<sup>23</sup>Wachter 1991: 90, nos. 66–67, 70–73, 76–77. On Kleitias' non-canonical Muse name Στεσικήοπε (Stesikhore), see Stewart 1983; Wachter 1991: 107–108.

<sup>24</sup>This would be the long-stemmed ρ (rho) used several times in other words on this vase rather than the stemless (or nearly stemless) D-shaped ρ of Khiron and Hera on the Erskine Dinos.

figures as *ἑρσε* (Herse);<sup>25</sup> and even *ἑρακλες* is possible, though one would like to see an attribute.

The hasta could work (its position, rather far from the ε, gives some slight support for this) as that of a φ, with Hephaistos the most probable supplement. It would be surprising to have the lame Hephaistos in a chariot,<sup>26</sup> and still more curious to have his lawful wife, Aphrodite, beside him: on both Erskine Dinos and François Vase Aphrodite rides with her lover Ares, not with her husband, though on the François Vase we see only the inscribed names, not the couple: the handle is attached as though on top of their figures. On the whole, however, the positioning of the fragmentary name, when compared with the rest of Sophilos' name-placements, connects it most probably to the female figure rather than the male. Suspension of judgment might be an appropriate response at this stage of the investigation.

*(b) Dinos from Pharsalos (B39/16)*

Of the second signed vase, the dinos from Pharsalos (B39/16), there survives only a single inscribed fragment which shows an animal frieze on the lip, a pattern of tongues separating lip from body, a small but telling segment of the main pictorial scene, and below that a magnificent lion to one side of a complex floral.<sup>27</sup> Of the principal scene (Plate 2) there are preserved a pair of horses in the foreground; to the far side of them, the heads and forehooves of a second pair of chariot-horses. In the space before the horses is written (retrograde, and sloping down towards the horses' forelegs), the "painter" inscription Σοφίλος : μ'εγραψε.ν.

The initial σ is written in the form which will become standard for retrograde inscriptions; and what remains of the σ in *εγραψε.ν*, though it is badly damaged, looks to belong to the same form. Curiously, the initial σ, though surely intended as a three-bar sigma, has enough of a bend in its lower limb to suggest the four-bar form which becomes standard in Attic inscriptions only substantially later, within the fifth century.<sup>28</sup> This peculiarity occurs in others of Sophilos' sigmas, making them look sometimes more like the Corinthian crooked iota than like a sigma. Uncharacteristic of Sophilos is the initial ε of *εγραψε.ν* which is inserted into the narrow space between the μ and the γ as though it were an afterthought; so much so that he has had to fit it above the centre-line of the rest of the letters, taking advantage of the divergence of the lines of alpha and gamma. Different also from the signature on our first fragmentary dinos is Sophilos' inclusion here of the pronoun *με*. Inclusion of *με* in this phrase was clearly optional; and we

<sup>25</sup> What scholar would have been so foolhardy as to conjecture Νουσι with only the first two letters complete, or only the last three?

<sup>26</sup> See above, 16.

<sup>27</sup> Bakir 1981: A.3, pl. 6. Two further fragments are identified (Bakir 1981: pl. 7), neither of them inscribed and neither joining.

<sup>28</sup> Immerwahr 1990: xxiii S 4 and 5. On the forms of sigma, see Immerwahr 1990: 157–160. Four-bar sigma is fairly common in sixth-century vase inscriptions, particularly in early red-figure (Immerwahr 1990: 158).

have no reliable way of recovering the motivation for a painter's choice between speaking in his own voice (albeit in the third person) or having the vase speak for him, as here: "Sophilos drew me."<sup>29</sup>

Below this signature, and roughly parallel with it, is the retrograde inscription Πατροφλυσ : ατλα (for ἄθλα)<sup>30</sup> ("the games [or prizes] of Patroklos"; Plate 2).<sup>31</sup> Spelling of the hero's name with qoppa, Πατροφλυσ, also occurs, rather later, on the Sokles Painter's kantharos B173/1 (*vidi*).<sup>32</sup> The shape of this Berlin kantharos strikes me as quite close to kantharoi from the workshop of Nikosthenes (for example, one signed by Nikosthenes as *poietes*, R132/a, whose date is not likely to be much earlier than 520–510). 510 is too late for the Sokles Painter's kantharos; but a date as late as 530–520 seems reasonable.

In discussions of his version of the same funeral games on the François Vase, Kleitias is sometimes said not to know the Iliadic version of the two-horse chariot race, which Diomedes won (Wachter 1991: 96–97; for refinements, see Snodgrass 1998: 119–121). Given the fact that the remains of early epic other than the canonical *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are scant, it may be foolhardy to make such accusations. Major contests, military or sporting, make excellent material for poetry with an epic flavour. Why should there not have been other (poetic?) versions of these games extant and known to Kleitias, and to Sophilos before him?

Sophilos' inscription establishes the context of his chariot race. He has provided stands for spectators,<sup>33</sup> who look out in two directions, one group looking at the chariot race, the others now looking out across the break to the right of our fragment. One spectator in the upper seats turns his head right around to look at what is going on behind him—and thus strengthens the link between the events to either side of the stands. Over the spectators on the right side the name Αχιλες

<sup>29</sup> Svenbro (1993 [1988]: 26–63) discusses this phenomenon. I do not find his presentation convincing.

<sup>30</sup> Threatte 1980: 453. The reverse of this spelling variant, θ written for τ, occurs for example on the group of ostraka (many written by a single hand) nominating Θεμισθοκλες (Themisthokles) for ostracism: see, for example, Harris 1989: fig. 1; Immerwahr 1990: no. 579, fig. 155; no. 581, fig. 152. Immerwahr (1990: 21, n. 4) suggests "Tau for theta in ἄτλα may be due to the following lambda" (citing Threatte 1980: 453).

<sup>31</sup> On this inscription, see also n. 11. On the scene and the findspot of the fragmentary vessel, see Snodgrass 1998: 116–118.

<sup>32</sup> Although Beazley classifies the Sokles Painter's work with the Little Master cups (and Droop cups), he notes that the name Sokles (as *poietes*, and spelt Σοκλες—not with qoppa, but with double epsilon) occurs on a red-figure plate (R164/a; Paris CA 2181) from Chiusi "which recalls the Cerberus Painter [Paseas]" (Beazley 1956: 173). Paseas is roughly contemporary with Oltos. Beazley notes that this Sokles need not be the same potter for whom the Sokles Painter worked, but certainly does not exclude the possibility; he also notes that the "signature" may not be genuine.

<sup>33</sup> These may have been referred to as ἱκρία: cf. Eustathius on *Od.* 1.132; Suda s.v. ἱκρία. Sophilos, unfortunately, does not name them—something Kleitias might well have done had he included stands on the François vase.

(Akhilleus; Plate 2) is written retrograde,<sup>34</sup> and that hero may be present (though his figure is completely lost) either as an umpire as on the François Vase, or as a participant in whatever contest was taking place in the missing portion of the dinos next to right of our fragment. The sigma in this word is of the form which was to become standard for retrograde. I suggest that the stands on this vase fragment served much the same purpose as the house on the Erskine Dinos: that they mark the key place in the racing oval where the race began—and where it ended after running right around the dinos.

There is preserved, above the horses at the left side of the fragment, a pair of letters: ος. There is also a fragment of a third letter, the top of a vertical hasta which could belong to ι, φ, or χ (in its then-standard form †). Beazley took it as φ, and the group of three letters as the start of a retrograde *poietes* signature, for example, Σοφ[ιλος : <μ'>εποιεσεν] (Sophilos made <me>). This is one of only two places in Sophilos' preserved work where a *poietes*-signature is possible. The word ἐποίησεν in such contexts is taken by some scholars to mean something more in the line of "from the workshop of," or "designed by."<sup>35</sup> In examples as early as Sophilos, it seems to me probable that the most straightforward translation of the verb, as "made"—i.e., "potted"—is the correct one. Martin Robertson's "*poietes*-signatures" (1992a, 1992b) provides an elegant solution to the dilemma. The "double signatures" as *poietes* and as "painter" which are certain for Exekias (and all but certain for Nearkhos) around the middle of the sixth century (they may begin as early as Sophilos, though apparently not in the same format) make it abundantly clear that the functions of *poietes* and painter were seen as separate, or at least separable. *Poietes*-“signatures” started as early as the mid-seventh century, when we find the “signature” of Aristonothos on a krater (now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Capitoline Museum, Rome) made apparently at Cerveteri in Etruria. “Made” in this case may include both potting and painting. The introduction of the εγραψεν-“signatures” suggests that εποιεσεν was tied strongly to the making of the vessel. Thus a person who wished his work as painter to get the same recognition as the work of the potter signed as painter. In Attica, Sophilos appears to have been the first painter to do this. Use of ἐποίησεν to mean the “maker” seems also incontrovertible in the case of the bronze diskos (findspot unknown, thought to belong to the late sixth century, and characterized as Boiotian by its lettering) in the Ortiz collection (Ortiz 1994: cat. no. 128; see also Neils 1992: 166, cat. no. 33). This discus bears the inscription Σιμος μ'εποιφεισε (all sigmas three-bar, the digamma certain and intentional, omitted in Neils' transliteration). I find it

<sup>34</sup> Here, as usual, Sophilos uses the single consonant (λ) where later Attic writers will use the geminate. Immerwahr (1990: 21, n. 4) suggests the spelling with -εσ as a variant for Αχιλλεύς rather than an error.

<sup>35</sup> For recent discussion of the matter, see M. Robertson 1992a: 4–5, 44–45, 186, 294, and comments *passim*, with substantial bibliography; 1992b.

improbable that this meant that Simos was the designer of this particular diskos, or the owner of the bronze-works where the diskos was made. This, of course, represents another medium at a later date. The diskos belongs even more to the mundane world than does painted pottery, but the parallel is not without significance.

Immerwahr (1990: 21, no. 62) takes the letters as  $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma$  (1 partial), a word-ending with the  $\sigma$  reversed. This would best be taken as a proper name, most likely that of a charioteer (as on the games scene on the François Vase). Sophilos, unfortunately for any attempted solution, shows flexibility in the forms of his sigmas, tending perhaps to the “reversed” forms more often than to the “standard” in both his orthograde and his retrograde writing. Even on this single fragment, we see “correct”  $\sigma$  in retrograde in the word  $\text{Αχιλλεϛ}$  and in the initial  $\sigma$  of the painter-signature. The  $\varsigma$  in  $\text{ΠατροϜλυς}$  (retrograde) is “reversed”; and the  $\sigma$  in  $\text{εγραϕσεν}$  is badly damaged, though it looks as though it may have been a “correct” retrograde similar to the initial letter of the painter’s name on the same line. Thus on this one fragment we have two certain “correct” sigmas, one certainly “reversed,” one damaged—and the  $\sigma$  in the fragmentary word, which works as a “correct” sigma if the word is retrograde, and a “reversed” one if it is orthograde. Statistical analysis is not going to help with this problem. It may in fact be time to question how firmly  $\sigma$  directions had become established by this time. The remainder of Sophilos’ inscriptions will, I think, strengthen the sense of vacillation or, perhaps better, variation on Sophilos’ part.

(c) *Excursus: The Signature on the Erskine Dinos (B40/16.1)*

There is one further complete painter signature, that on the Erskine Dinos (B40/16.1; Fig. 1). As on the Athens Wedding Dinos discussed above (B39/15; see Plate 1), the signature is placed along the side of a building, this time between column and anta, and to the left of the doorway. This time the painter has had no problems of spacing (or of afterthought) as on the dinos fragment from Pharsalos.  $\text{Σοφιλος: μ'εγραϕσεν}$  is written retrograde<sup>36</sup> in a remarkably neat hand—the principal anomaly being that the letters get broader as the painter writes. Once again Sophilos has left us a problem with sigmas: the initial one is “correct”; the other two are “reversed.” The phi of  $\text{εγραϕσεν}$  has an extra short line at upper right, which makes it look as though the painter may have written—or started to write—his (“reversed”) last sigma one space too soon, but made the correction more or less immediately.

<sup>36</sup>The recent impressive restoration has inserted a broad space between the final nu and the epsilon preceding it. An earlier restoration using inappropriate materials is the principal culprit: see Williams 1983: 9. The letter spacing would surely look better if the original arrangement could be restored. Even without the modern problem, the nine letters of  $\text{μ'εγραϕσεν}$  take close to twice the space used by the seven letters of the name plus the interpunct.

*(d) Menidi Louterion (B40/21)*

A further signature is found on the fragmentary louterion from Menidi, now in Athens, which Bakir takes to provide our earliest signature.<sup>37</sup> On one of the smaller fragments, whose surface is rather badly worn, we can make out to our left of the attachment point of a spout a horse's head with chariot-harness, a bearded serpent, the sandaled foot of a woman facing to our left (lower right of fragment), and the inscription [Σοφ]ίλος: μ' ἐπόξε. Unfortunately for us, the diagnostic letters of the verb are missing apart from extremely small traces. ε following μ, though damaged, is virtually certain. The scrap of the second preserved sigma shows that it—like the final sigma of the name—was “reversed.” There is comfortable space for three letters done to the scale of the surviving ones. We have seen, however, that Sophilos was no purist about letter widths. Given the example of the painter-signature on the Pharsalos dinos fragment with its wedged-in ε, we should be ill-advised to be dogmatic about this. The four letters γρᾱφ could be made to fit the space with no more than Sophilos' usual gerrymandering; and thus the hoped-for maker signature is not to be found here with significantly greater certainty than on the Pharsalos dinos.<sup>38</sup>

There is another line of writing “above” the signature line; and in this can be made out with some security an interpunct (the last element of the line, at far left: this suggests that whatever was written here was meant to be read as continuous with the better-preserved line) preceded by what might be a “standard” retrograde sigma, a long vertical (possibly the hasta of a tau) at about the middle of the length of the inscription, and a few more scraps including, at far right, remains of a gamma or (less likely) an orthograde mu or nu. Bakir (1981: 68) makes no attempt to reconstruct this line, calling it indecipherable.

Both lines are written as though along a vertical baseline, invisible to us. “Below” them—spaced far enough away that they are clearly meant to be taken as quite distinct—are three letters: ἐπο[ . The ε and the ρ are both in their retrograde forms;<sup>39</sup> the ο is partial but virtually certain. There appear to be scraps of at least two letters following the incomplete omicron; but to my knowledge, no convincing supplement has been offered. This may well be part of the name of the woman whose sandal-shod foot is preserved: the name could begin near her face; and the letter-bases are turned towards her.

The second and substantially larger fragment of this louterion has as its lower element a Corinthianizing row of animals: to our left, a lion, then a panther, and finally a siren. Above the animals is the principal decoration of the piece, which illustrates a battle between a human and some centaurs. There are three letters,

<sup>37</sup> Bakir 1981: 68–69, cat. no. A20 and fig. 7 (drawing) and pls. 8–10; for its date, see *ibid.* 25.

<sup>38</sup> For a useful and realistic discussion of this, see Bakir 1981: 6–7.

<sup>39</sup> Since Sophilos has used the stemmed rho here, we can be certain of its orientation. The stemless form of the letter is often difficult to distinguish from delta, and is commonly impossible to “read” for orientation. Since the ε has the same orientation as the rho, we can be reasonably sure that this was an intentional retrograde inscription.

and a part of a fourth, preserved on the right upper corner of this fragment: κετα[.....].<sup>40</sup> The human figure is the one closest to the start of the inscription. He has dropped his bow (it is still strung, and obviously a powerful composite recurved bow like the one Odysseus knew how to handle) and holds a centaur by the hair, with his (lost) weapon drawn back for a mortal blow. The centaur holds the hero's left forearm or perhaps reaches towards his chin in an appeal for mercy.<sup>41</sup> His equine forelegs are already giving way in a manner that recalls the Nettos Painter's amphora (B4/1). He has already lost whatever weapon he once held in his right hand. It is clear he has not much longer to live. Another centaur is already down: we can see his body just to the left of our human subject. A third, this one with his equine hair incised (recalling the shaggy pelts of satyrs), is about to try to make off to our left or is confronting another of the opposing force. At all events, he is already seriously wounded. Blood pours from a wound in his equine chest, and we can see his right hand reaching down towards the wound, perhaps hoping to staunch the flow, perhaps simply because his human torso is collapsing.

The scene has been identified as Herakles and the centaurs.<sup>42</sup> This would have to be the clash after the most unfortunate opening of the wine at the house of Pholos, not the fight with Nessos. That combat is always shown as a duel, not part of a general brawl. The attributes which suggest Herakles (his iconography was not yet standardized, though some elements do appear to be already in place by the late seventh century) are the bow (dropped) and the quiver full of arrows at his waist, and the fight in which no other human is seen. The assumption is plausible, but perhaps should not be taken as proven. We have Herakles certain (because he is named) on the Nettos Painter's name amphora. There his weapon is the sword, as it probably is here.<sup>43</sup> We have at least one other possible Herakles from the hand of Sophilos, perhaps in combat with a rather co-operative-looking Triton (B40/24). The serpent "Triton" carries and the serpent growing out of his back suggest that, like Nereus and Proteus—and

<sup>40</sup> See Threatte 1980: 487 on the omission of  $\nu$  before  $\tau$  in κένταυροι: could this rather be a proper name for the centaur or for the individual human next to it? Position and direction of writing "attach" it more naturally to the human than to the centaur. If  $\kappa\epsilon < \nu > \tau\alpha$  is the correct supplement, there could be a name connected with the verb κεντέω (to prick, goad, spur). Another connected word could be κέντρον and related words (goad, sharp point, etc.). If the transcription should rather be  $\kappa\epsilon\tau$ , there are Κήτειοι, an unknown race in Mysia (Hom. *Od.* 11.521; cf. Strabo 13.1.70). For Pindar (*Pyth.* 2.78–90) the Kentauroi are children of Kentauros and the wild mares of Mount Pelion in Magnesia. Kentauros was the son of Ixion and the cloud-Hera Zeus had made to preserve the real Hera's honour (and his own).

<sup>41</sup> In photographs, the hand looks closed.

<sup>42</sup> So Beazley 1956: 40, no. 21; Bakir 1981: 68–69, cat. no. A20 fig. 7 (drawing), and pls. 8–10; Immerwahr 1990: 21, cat. no. 63–64; Threatte 1980: 487.

<sup>43</sup> B-W 1, a proto-Attic standered ovoid krater in Berlin (SMPK A 21; *vidi*) by the Checkerboard Painter shows a hero holding a centaur by the forelock, and running him through with a sword. The Nessos—if Nessos he is: Morris (1984: 74) prudently calls the human "a man," and does not name the centaur—appears to drop the rough branch he has used as a weapon, and reaches out his left hand to touch the hero's chin.



like the sea itself—he is a shape-changer. Here “Herakles” wears a sheathed sword slung on a baldric and has a quiver on his back. Hermes—at all events, a man with a *kerykeion*—appears to greet him, and two more adult males (one at least armed with a long slender spear) accompany him: possibly Zeus and Poseidon. The difficulty in accepting this Triton-rider as Herakles stems in part from the fact that heroes other than Herakles are known to have done battle with sea-monsters: Menelaos with Proteus, Peleus with Thetis. The Erskine Dinos provides ample evidence that the story of Peleus and Thetis was one which interested Sophilos and presumably also his clients. For Herakles, we might also cite the fragmentary dinos in Athens discussed earlier (B39/15): fragment c with its inscription *ἑρ*[ could possibly present Herakles again—in which case the female figure with him could be anticipated to be Athena. Unfortunately, this is no help in the dilemma of the centauromachy.

The word written on the centauromachy fragment is taken by all commentators I have encountered as *Κε<ν>ταύροι* (centaurs).<sup>44</sup> Like Sophilos’ *Μοσαι* for the Muses and *Χαριτες* for the Graces (both on the Erskine Dinos), and like his *Νυσαι* on the Athens Wedding Dinos (B39/15; Fig. 2), this would then be a collective name—much as Kleitias, a few years later, will write *Σιλῆνοι* over his silens and *Νυφαι* over his nymphs on the François Vase rather than giving an individual name to each satyr and each nymph.<sup>45</sup> Little notice seems to have been given to the possibility that the name goes with the human, not with the centaur at all. The alpha’s uncertainty calls for at least a little caution. We have seen that Sophilos has a slight preference for beginning names quite close to the faces of those they identify. This is borne out more forcefully by the inscriptions on the Erskine Dinos (B40/16.1), the best-preserved of all of Sophilos’ inscribed pieces (see below, Section III).

*(e) Athens Fragment (B43/4)*

A fragment from the Agora of Athens (B43/4) Bakir (1981: 75, cat. no. B19 and pl. 83 [photo]) places in the circle of Sophilos, rather than ascribing it to Sophilos himself. There is part of a chariot-horse, an old man with his hand at his head as though grieving, and the middle portion of another figure at right. The preserved inscription, above the old man, is just three letters long: *-]χος*, surely to be taken as the last letters of a name. If we supplement Antiochos (or Antimachos, both good Homeric warriors’ names; other supplements are equally possible), it would go with the chariot-rider rather than with the old man, whose pose is remarkably reminiscent of the old seer on the pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. The lettering is crisper than Sophilos’ norm, and appears to have higher relief, suggesting use of a thicker slip for this inscription.

<sup>44</sup> See above, n. 40.

<sup>45</sup> Wachter 1991: 91, nos. 124–125.

(f) *Izmir Fragment (B40/20)*

This fragment (B40/20), with rather more preserved, is thought to show Kastor and Polydeukes at the wedding of Menelaos to their sister Helen.<sup>46</sup> (There was also a variant of the legend in which Theseus married Helen after abducting her. It would be interesting if Sophilos had represented it here; but this cannot go beyond conjecture.)<sup>47</sup> This is a fragmentary standed nuptial lebes (*lebes gamikos*) from Old Smyrna. Between draped figures and their four horses is written Κ|ἄστορ (horizontal above the reins); above that, also horizontal, Πολυδ|ε|υκ|ε|ς. The twins must be the figures in the chariot(s). Their names are written starting fairly close to their faces. The next figures could represent the bride and either her mortal step-father Tyndareos or—perhaps more likely—the groom.<sup>48</sup> The man drives the chariot. Only one name is preserved, written this time above the level of the characters' heads: ἡ|ε|λ|ε|ν|ε| (Helen). The man's name would have been written either just below this (as with Zeus and Hera on the Erskine Dinos) or immediately behind him. Both of these areas of the vessel are missing. Although the photograph in Bakir (1981: pl. 45) is not of excellent quality, the initial letter evidently has the squared corners of closed heta. The lettering is very large indeed, and with its placement such that it virtually fills the spaces between passengers and horses, we can see that the letters, in addition to informing us of the names of the participants in the mythological scene, are a very important part of the purely decorative aspect of the piece.

(g) *Athens Kotyle-Krater(s) (B40/17–18)*

Fragments of a kotyle-krater in Athens (B40/17–18)<sup>49</sup> give parts of a mythological scene, though what survives does not allow us to establish the myth illustrated. On one fragment there are two draped female figures moving to the left, one of them holding out a corner of her himation in her right hand. Before the women is the name Πανδρ|ο|σ|ο|ς (Pandrosos), retrograde, vertical,

<sup>46</sup> Bakir (1981: 69, cat. no. A21; pls. 39–45 [photos]; figs. 32–38 [drawings]; 33–38 [discussion]) places this in Sophilos' middle period, along with the Erskine Dinos. In the Beazley Archive there is an excellent reconstruction drawing by Sir John Boardman of the section of the vase which bears the names of the Dioskouroi. His transcription of the name ἡ|ε|λ|ε|ν gives its first letter as theta. The sigma in the name Kastor he transcribes with four bars rather than Sophilos' more usual three. Although I have not seen this fragment other than in photographs, I would expect the initial letter of Helen's name to be heta, perhaps with the corners of the letter more rounded than usual.

<sup>47</sup> Simon 1996: 13, referring to Shapiro 1992.

<sup>48</sup> This would put the iconography into close relationship with the Amasis Painter's New York lekythos (B155), and would show that this second mode of presenting the wedding (mythological or human) existed already in Sophilos' lifetime. The Amasis Painter depicts a much less grand procession. The bride is surely illustrated in the cart beside her groom, who controls the donkeys with a long flexible rod. The bride carries a wreath, and holds her mantle out in much the way that Hera later will as a symbol of her patronage of marriage and particularly of brides. Here also only one house is shown.

<sup>49</sup> Beazley (1956: 40, nos. 17–18) listed these two fragments separately as from lipless dinoid vessels, making their separateness specific. Bakir (1981: 26) assigns them to a single vessel. I have not seen the first of these two fragments, and so cannot add usefully to the discussion.

letter-bases towards them. Both sigmas are "reversed," and there is considerable spalling as well as surface wear. None of the letters is so badly damaged as to make the reading uncertain. Behind the two women comes a bearded man with a scepter—probably Kekrops, Pandrosos' father. Bakir (1981: 26) suggests the second woman should be either one of Pandrosos' sisters (Aglauros and Herse) or her mother. If this woman's name was included, it most probably was written in line with the name Pandrosos, much like the names of Leto and Khariklo on fragment g of the Athens Wedding Dinos (B39/15). Immediately in front of the women are the remains of a *kerykeion*, on the basis of which Bakir (1981: 27) restores Hermes. While this is plausible (Hermes is one of Sophilos' favourite characters, especially in his early period), we have also seen that for Sophilos, Iris can carry the *kerykeion*, as on the Athens Wedding Dinos (B39/15) and the Erskine Dinos (B40/16.1). Certainty is impossible, and there are no further clues.

The second fragment has at its far right side most of the head of a bearded male and, partly obscured by him, the head of a female. Between these figures and the single horse behind them is written the name Ποσειδον (Poseidon), orthograde, vertical, the letter-bases towards the horse. "Poseidon" is an improbable name for a horse, since horse names tend to refer to colours and to equine behaviours.<sup>50</sup> The name thus belongs to the divinity. Given the orientation of the letters, it is reasonable to suppose that they name the rider in the chariot before whose horse they are written.

The occasion and the myth behind the occasion remain obscure for us. If we accept that both fragments belong, the preserved figures do not fit the same pattern as the Erskine Dinos and the Athens Wedding Dinos, where all figures move to the right except for the groom, who stands firmly planted, facing his oncoming guests. The presence of Poseidon could make Theseus a candidate for central figure in a celebration. The connection of Theseus to (Kekrops and) Pandrosos is not so clear. In at least some versions of the tale Theseus' putative mortal father, Aigeus, was a son of Kekrops' son Pandion, making Theseus Kekrops' (step)-great-grandson.<sup>51</sup> Chronology in this version does not easily allow Pandrosos to be present at her great-nephew's wedding; but we have no reliable actuarial tables for Athens in the Bronze Age, and in myth all things (or nearly all) are possible.

<sup>50</sup> For example, Κυλλαρς (Kyllaros) "Hermit-crab" on Exekias' marvellous Vatican amphora B145/13—the horse may be shy or skittish—or Καλλιφορας (Kalliphoras) "Fair-bearer" or "Beautiful brood-mare"—presumably a name of good omen—on an amphora in Toledo (B146/1.1). The same name is found in the same form on one of Exekias' Berlin plaques (Berlin SMPK, 1820; Beazley 1986: pl. 75.2 *vidi* and, without final ς (i.e., possibly in the vocative) with Demophon's horse on Exekias' amphora in Berlin (B143/1). Immerwahr (1990: 32, no. 129) suggests that "Kalliphoras" may have been the name of a famous stallion alive at that time. A second horse on the Toledo vase is Πυρρικός (Pyrrhikhos), "Fiery," the name related to that of Akhilles' son Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos: this horse is most probably a roan.

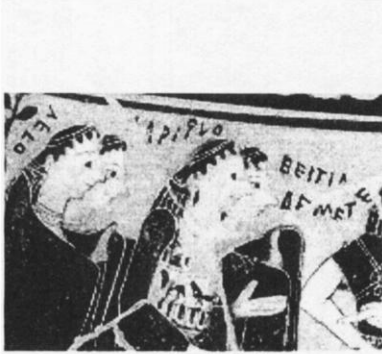
<sup>51</sup> See, for example, Graves 1960: 94–95, 320–325.

## III. THE ERSKINE DINOS

The Erskine Dinos (B40/16.1) is one of the most complex works of Sophilos to survive, and, fortunately for us, one of the best preserved. The scene is the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Starting at the van of the procession, the arrival of the procession at the house of Peleus, we see Πελεὺς (Peleus) standing outside his house to welcome his guests, his name written in bold letters flanking his lower body (Fig. 1). We can also see the painter-signature Σοφίλος: μ' ἐγράψεν (with interpunct and με) written in much the same position as on the fragmentary dinos with which we began. The first of the guests is Ἥρις (Iris), who will stay with Peleus and announce the guests as they arrive (Fig. 1). Just after her come Ἥστια (closed heta, σ "reversed": Hestia) written above Δεμετε[ρ] (Demeter); then Χαρίφλο (written starting at her face: Khariqlō, the wife of Khiron)<sup>52</sup> and Λέτο (vertical behind her head, letter bases towards her: Leto) (Fig. 3); then (Fig. 4) Διονύσος (Dionysos), followed by Ἥβη (Hebe). Χίρων (Khiron) follows her, carrying game on a branch and looking back. Next come Θέμις (Themis) and three Νύφαι (Nymphs) (Fig. 5). Next come three ladies whose collective name is lost. These are commonly taken to be the ὥραι (Hours or Seasons);<sup>53</sup> their name is preserved on the François Vase, where they walk behind Dionysos [*LIMC* 5.2: *Horae* 45, pl. 348]). The *Horai* on the François Vase share a mantle. This does not seem to be the case for the three ladies on the Erskine Dinos. These walk beside the horses which pull Ἥρα (Hera) and Ζεύς (Zeus) in their chariot. Next (Fig. 6) come the three Χαρίτες (Graces) walking beside the horses of Ποσειδών (Poseidon: his name has to change direction, its last letters turning the corner and becoming retrograde), in whose chariot is his wife Ἀμφιτρίτη (Amphitrite: ε placed above τ to avoid bumping into the heads of the *Kharites*). Next come five Μοῦσαι (Muses), the central one drawn frontal and playing a syrinx. Williams (1983: 31) suggests that the syrinx accompanies Apollo, who plays and sings the *gamelios hymnos*, and that the other Muses "perhaps join in the chorus" (though their closed mouths at this moment would allow them only to hum). In the chariot next in line are Ἀφροδίτη (Aphrodite) written above Ἀρεῖς (Ares), generally considered illicit lovers in the extant literary sources, but here treated apparently as a recognized couple. Next come three more Μοῦσαι beside the horses that draw Ἑρμῆς (Hermes) (Fig. 7) and [Α]πόλον (Apollo). Behind

<sup>52</sup> *LIMC* s.v. Chariklo I, pls. 150–151. She is variously daughter of Okeanos (hence an Okeanid), of Apollo, or of Perses (*LIMC* 3.1: 189–191).

<sup>53</sup> Sisters of the *Moirai* (children of Zeus and Themis). V. Machaira (*LIMC* 5.1: 508, *Horae* 44, pl. 348) accepts these as the *Horai* on the parallel of the François Vase, speculating (reasonably enough) that their name has been lost to the lacuna above their heads; so also Williams 1983: 28, pointing out that any remnants of the letters were lost when the fragment was filed down for an earlier restoration. The loss of a name is near-certain. What that collective name may have been is quite another matter. I would argue that Sophilos' version of this wedding and Kleitias' are not interdependent, and do not derive from a single visual source. If this is correct, it is a mistake to import figures named on one to fill lacunae in the other.



3  
Leto, Khariklo, Hestia, and Demeter  
(Williams 1983: fig. 26).



4  
Hebe, Dionysos, and Leto (Williams 1983:  
fig. 27).



5  
Themis and three Nymphs (Williams  
1983: fig. 28).



6  
Amphitrite, Poseidon, and three Graces  
(Williams 1983: fig. 30).



7  
Hermes (Williams 1983: fig. 32).



8  
Hephaistos (Williams 1983: fig. 34).

Figs. 3–8: Scenes from the wedding procession on the Erskine Dinos (B40/16.1). All photos are courtesy of the British Museum, London (after Williams 1983).

them come three Μ[ο]ῖραι (Fates) beside the horses of Ἀθηναια (Athena) and Ἀρτεμις (Artemis). Athena drives the chariot, and Artemis wears the pretty clothes. Οκεανός (Okeanos) comes next, and, just a little behind his human foreparts, two female figures, Θεθυς<sup>54</sup> (Tethys) and Ἠλεθυα<sup>55</sup> (Eileithyia) with Ἥ[ε]φαιστος (Hephaistos) on his donkey bringing up the rear (Fig. 8).

Noticeable for her absence is the bride, Thetis. There are two plausible reasons for this. The bride, before the procession begins, is in the house of her father, Nereus. At the end of the procession, she is in the house of her new husband, Peleus. It follows that she does not appear in the procession—and the one house stands in for both her former house and her new marital residence. Kleitias, on the François Vase, places Thetis (named) inside the building, with just her seated legs showing (Wachter 1991: 90, no. 89). There also the single house likely serves as both beginning and end of the procession, though Thetis' seated position fits rather better in the marital residence, where she is hostess, than it does in her father's house, where we might reasonably expect her to be preparing for her move.<sup>56</sup>

#### IV. ORTHOGRAPHY, PHONOLOGY, AND CULTURAL LITERACY

Sophilos' own literacy in the basic sense of that word has been demonstrated in the earlier sections of this paper. It shows in his ability to write his own name and the requisite form of the verb γράφειν. He is also able to write the names of a good assortment of divinities, demigods, and heroes with consistency. We have seen a number of names in which Sophilos' spelling is significantly different from the "standard" spelling of surviving literary texts, and some examples of other vase painters' spellings of the same names. For the most part I have reported spellings of near contemporaries, but in some instances have included examples as late as the early fifth century. It is eminently clear that Sophilos' spelling is consistent within its own apparent rules and that he uses spellings consistent with those we find in most Attic and related vase-painters of his time.

More interesting than basic literacy is what we might call cultural literacy: that is, familiarity with the myths which characterize the society in which the person lives. Sophilos clearly demonstrates that he has this. He seems to assume that

<sup>54</sup>This is surely Tethys. I have no question that Sophilos' upsilon is intentional. In black-and-white photographs, the lettering is difficult to distinguish from the serpent's forked tongue; in colour, or in person, there is no difficulty. A closely similar spelling appears about seventy years later for a kindred name in the tondo of Peithinos' Berlin name vase R115/2 (*vidi*), where the nymph Thetis (wrestling with Πελεύς) is called Θεθίς, the adjacent aspirated syllables an apparent violation of "Grassman's law."

<sup>55</sup>We find the same divinity as Ἠλυθυα on Euthymides' fragmented and scattered cup R29/19. Clearly the initial aspirate had not been dropped at that date, late in the sixth century, at least to the ears of Euthymides.

<sup>56</sup>A graduate student at Exeter pointed out (June 1996) that in Catullus' *epyllion*, the gods come not for the wedding itself, but on the following day. Could this also be what Sophilos had in mind?

his clients also have it. Thus, the mythological names placed with the figures are expected (once the mythological setting has been established) to be not so much new information as confirmation. In this context, it is a help to realize that the attributes of mythological characters were still in the process of establishment in the visual arts. In fact, Sophilos appears to have made important contributions to the development of mythological iconography (as also did Kleitias). This makes his inclusion of names all the more understandable.

The issue of literacy can also be approached from a different angle. In the recent past, under the influence of McLuhan and others, we have come to think of writing primarily in terms of its usefulness in communicating complex matter (facts, ideas, attitudes, etc.) rather than at a more basic level. Alphabetic writing, when first introduced, presented to potential readers a group of signs which, when sounded out according to convention, allowed them to speak the words intended. Each letter had a limited group of sounds for which it might stand on its own and a still limited but much larger group of sounds which it could represent when used in combination with other letters.<sup>57</sup> When we look at this from the standpoint of people early in a society's literacy, we must recognize that they can have access to only a limited tradition. Writing must often present to them challenges of types which become rarer in a culture with a long tradition of literacy. When there is no established tradition of orthography for a particular word, the writer must call on the rules of sound ("phonology") for general direction, but also must often try something less easily characterized. The writer must attempt to make the letters tell any reader as nearly as possible how to say the word. This is difficult enough in a language such as Latin in which a chart of sound values versus letter forms is relatively simple. English is a much more difficult challenge (one need only cite the conglomerate "ough" to demonstrate this: see Powell 1991: 75, 115). Greek stands somewhere between Latin and English in the complexity of sound versus symbol. The challenge was greater for the Attic writer in the Archaic period than for the writer in the later fifth century or after, who had a larger alphabet with greater flexibility and a longer tradition to follow. We should perhaps bear in mind that Sophilos may be among the first Athenians (i.e., residents of Attika: we do not know either his birthplace or his citizenship) who tried to put some of these names into written form and others he may never have seen written. He should not be condemned for illiteracy because people at a substantially later date used a different and more flexible system for writing the same words.

Stewart (1983) and, more recently, Wachter (1991) have shown that on the François Vase Kleitias' so-called errors in spelling are not best explained as "copying errors." In fact, for most "errors" poor copying provides a weak explanation for the variants in spelling. Using their work as a starting point,

<sup>57</sup>I make no attempt here to trace the steps by which Greek people first reached this set of conventions: the attached bibliography includes several works which discuss the matter. Svenbro (1993 [1988]: 2) says that "Greek writing was first and foremost a machine for making sounds," which is not a bad characterization.

and factoring in the research of Threatte on phonology and Immerwahr on letter forms, I would say that most of what has been characterised as error in the inscriptions of both Kleitias and Sophilos stems from the fact that the sixth-century painters were working with an alphabet different from that used in Attika in the later fifth century and onward, and with a quite different set of conventions of spelling. Archaic Attic inscriptions use, for the most part, an alphabet of only twenty-one letters. In their Ionic forms, these would be written Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η (heta), Θ, Ι, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Ο, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ, Υ, Φ (phi), Χ (khi). Ϙ (qoppa/koppa) they use as an occasional adjunct (Threatte 1980: 19). The advantage offered by the small number of letters was apparently a close link between each symbol and the sound(s) it denoted. The Ionian alphabet (which enters the repertory primarily after the Persian wars, as far as the evidence of writing on pottery indicates, and was not adopted for formal public inscriptions until the end of the fifth century) gave two new vowel symbols, Ω for long Ο (omega), Η for long Ε (eta). The letter-form Η had for over a century represented the aspirate, mostly at the beginning of words.<sup>58</sup> Use of the sign Η as the vowel eta meant that the form which had been expressing initial aspirates could no longer be used for that purpose. At this time, the expedient adopted was simply to rely on the reader to provide initial aspirates wherever necessary: the “rough breathing” mark was a much later (Hellenistic) invention. Two further consonants were added: ψ (“ps”) replaced φσ and ξ replaced χσ. The archaic Attic forms which the “double consonants” ψ and ξ replaced seem to have represented a somewhat different pronunciation: the Ionian letters do not, in their native region, include the aspirate which both φσ (“phs”) and χσ (“khs”) include.

The consonants φ, θ, χ were aspirates, not fricatives. As Allen (1987: 19–20) argues, “Other clear evidence comes from the language itself. When a voiceless unaspirated plosive (π, τ, κ), as in, e.g., οὐκ or elided ἄπ’, κατ’, stands before an aspirated vowel (i.e., initial [h]), it is changed to φ, θ, χ; which can only mean that φ, θ, χ here stand for aspirated [ph], [th], [kh], and not for fricatives.” We should now examine some diagnostic cases from the corpus of Sophilos’ inscriptions, and from those of his (later) near-contemporary Kleitias, in the hope of eliciting phonological implications. Of principal interest are these aspirated consonants.

In the earlier sixth century, the time of Sophilos, the word εγραψεν was apparently pronounced something like “e-graph<sup>h</sup>sen,” with some degree of separation and distinctness for the consonant sounds represented by the aspirated consonant

<sup>58</sup>Threatte (1980: 25–26) lists exceptions—rh, mh, lh in mid-word. To Threatte’s examples for μ<sup>h</sup> as the initial consonant group we should add the word Μῆνοϝ from the Amasis Painter’s Aigina tripod pyxis (B157). On ϖ<sup>h</sup>, see also Allen 1987: 40–45. The name Λῆον (Λέων, Leon = Lion) occurs on an unattributed BF cup in Athens, NM Akr 1632 (Carpenter 1986: pl. 15A), where it is probably a dog name, in a battle of gods and giants. I owe this reference to Heather Loubé, a doctoral student at the University of Ottawa. The same spelling is found on a band cup with the *poietes* signature of Neandros (and by the Neandros Painter), this time the label for a lion attacking a boar: Λῆον τον καρπον (verb “killing” *vel sim.* to be understood).



Φ combined with Σ. The later spelling ἔγραψεν need not in its first adoption represent a change in pronunciation. It simply uses a letter-form borrowed from Ionia, which is conventionally accepted to represent the same grouped-consonant sounds "phs." It is more difficult to pronounce the separated consonant sounds: natural human laziness could be expected to lead eventually to some form of simplification of the consonantal sounds.

We can see a similar process in the shift to ξ from χς, though this pairing is not represented in extant words from Sophilos' hand. Kleitias, a younger contemporary of Sophilos, displays χσ for this sound-sign cluster, for example, in the name of a hunter in the Kalydonian Boar hunt, Θοραχς (Thorak<sup>hs</sup>: B76/1; Wachter 1991: 87, no. 4) and in the name of one of the youths in the scene of Theseus and the young Athenians, {β}Ευχσισρατος, Eukhsis(t)ratos, pronounced apparently as "Euk<sup>h</sup>sis(t)ratos" (B76/1; Wachter 1991: 88, no. 35).<sup>59</sup> The dog Φοραχς (Qorak<sup>hs</sup>) in the Calydonian Boar scene displays the same spelling for this sound cluster (Wachter 1991: 87, no. 6; for the qoppa, see above, 13). The potter/painter Exekias, in all of his extant "signatures," writes his name Εχσεκίας.<sup>60</sup> This spelling probably represents a pronunciation something like "ek<sup>h</sup>-sekias." Had the aspirate not been part of the name as it was spoken, the painter surely would have written it with the appropriate letter: the simple velar kappa, or the guttural qoppa.<sup>61</sup> I refer the reader to Svenbro's dictum (1993

<sup>59</sup> Use of σρ where later orthography would use στρ is common in the sixth century: see Threatte 1980: 571–572.

<sup>60</sup> A small cup in Munich, which I have examined and photographed, may appear to contradict this: B147/3 (top). Between palmettes, on each side, "signatures" (Beazley 1971 corrects the reading given in Beazley 1956). (A) Εχσεκίας:εποιεν. The omikron is small and solidly filled, iota of εποιεν blobby. The middle horizontal line of ε is sometimes the longest of the cross-strokes. (B) Χσεκικας:εποες complete fore and aft: the name never had its initial epsilon, and the second kappa is unmistakable. The verb is left incomplete. The quality of the potter-work, and the black slip used to decorate the stem and interior and to apply the broad stripe on the exterior of the bowl, are consistent with Exekias; the palmettes are of moderate quality. The inscriptions are written with thin, rather pale slip, rather than the rich black with significant relief which is Exekias' norm. The lettering is careless, orthography and grammar shaky. Exekias does not misspell his own name elsewhere. Although the letter-forms have, for the most part, reasonable resemblance to those Exekias uses, I do not believe that these were written by Exekias. Nor does Immerwahr (1990: 36, no. 148).

Immerwahr (1990: 32–36), following Beazley (1956: 143), consistently transcribes this potter-painter as though he wrote his name Ἐξηκίας. As with the name of Sophilos, it seems to me that more caution would be appropriate; thus I have retained the archaic letters for him, without presuming to add accents or change vowel values. See also Kirchner 1966: 314, nos. 4729–32, all fourth-century, all the same family. Pape and Benseler (1959: 361–362) cite only the vase-painter, and appear to connect the name to the verb ἐξήκω.

<sup>61</sup> A reader for *Phoenix* remarks that Exekias had no choice, as that was the convention. My first response to this is to point out that archaic Attic has a very high correlation of speech to the written word. With very few exceptions, what you see written gives a very precise idea of how you are to say it aloud. I would also point out that Exekias could, if he had chosen, have used Ionic script rather than Attic. Should someone then ask what evidence there is that Exekias knew Ionic letter forms, I would point out that he certainly knew the Chalcidian script (which has many more differences from Attic

[1988]: 2) that “Greek writing was a machine for making sound.” The Amasis painter, working at about the same time as Exekias, spells the name of Achilles’ older companion, Phoenix, Φοινιχς (B152/27), which suggests a pronunciation “Phoinikh<sup>s</sup>” rather than the “Foinix” suggested by the later spelling Φοινιξ. In all of these, later Attic orthography would use the double consonant Ξ (ksi) rather than the aspirated consonant χ (khi) plus sigma.

The letter θ (theta) bears some relation. If we look, for example, at the spelling Sophilos chose for the marine goddess Tethys, we find her on the Erskine Dinos as Θεθυς. As Sophilos wrote it, it should be pronounced “The-thys,” the *t* emphatic in both positions. Kleitias’ spelling of the word for nurse, later spelled τροφος, as θροφος<sup>62</sup>—which might be taken simply as parallel to Sophilos’ Θεθυς, if the rho did not present complications—may mean any one of three things: there really was an aspirate in the initial consonant cluster, making it “*t*hrophos”; or there could be difficulty, at least for some individuals, in distinguishing τ-aspirate from unaspirated τ in the spoken language;<sup>63</sup> or the aspirate required for pronouncing the letter rho<sup>64</sup> was expressed in the aspirated consonant θ rather than by writing the consonant sounds with three separate letters.

It might be argued that Grassman’s law militates against these spellings (the objection must stand against both Sophilos’ Θεθυς and Kleitias’ θροφος), which thus must represent errors by the vase-painters. This descriptive law says that when two successive syllables of a Greek word begin with aspirates, the first syllable loses its aspiration. The inscriptions cited here suggest that, for Athenians of the early sixth century, Grassman’s law was not yet universally applied. That this state of affairs continued, at least for some writers (and, I should think, some speakers), into the early fifth century, the Douris cup (R444/421) suggests and the ostraka with the name of Themistokles seem to me to confirm (see above, note 30). On this questions Rudolph Wachter writes (pers. comm. to Eleanor Dickey): “The cases of throphos, hekho etc. are a tricky matter. (1) They could be cases which passed by Grassman, a law which is never quite complete in its

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than Ionic does) at least well enough to copy a beautiful inscription—one of his most complex—in it. At least one of his pots, in the British Museum, appears to include H as eta (London B 209, Immerwahr 1990: 33, no. 134; the inscription is otherwise also problematic). On the Chalcidian inscription, see Immerwahr 1990: 34, no. 142: “I do not know whether the inscriptions were written before or after firing, but they appear to me to be by Exekias.” M. Robertson (1991: 6 and fig. 2a–c) suggests that it is a post-firing incision (as far as I can judge from the photograph, that is correct). He firmly states (1991: 6–8) that the same hand wrote this as wrote Exekias’ *poietes*-signature on the same vase; and is equally certain that Exekias wrote both. The vase in question is the dinos in the Villa Giulia (50599), B146.20.

<sup>62</sup> On the François Vase, see Wachter 1991: 88, no. 44. The same word in this same spelling is also found on the cup by Arkhikles and Glaukytes, Munich 2443, B163/2. The context is closely related—Ariadne and her nurse look on at the combat of Theseus and the minotaur.

<sup>63</sup> On this, see 20, n. 30.

<sup>64</sup> For discussion of this, see also Threattle 1980: 25–26.

actions and moreover worked at different periods [i.e., episodically]. (2) They could be restored forms, by analogy (hekso, threpso) or by chance (assimilation). I don't see how we could tell with certainty." I would add to this that in archaic Attika the futures of the verbs ἔχειν and τρέφειν would have been written *ἡχσο* (hek<sup>h</sup>so) and *θρεψο* (t<sup>h</sup>rep<sup>h</sup>so) with the double aspiration clearly denoted.

In particular, it looks as though some individuals found the letters τ and θ difficult to differentiate. This may suggest that the aspiration was not always strongly marked in the spoken word. One could offer the modern partial parallel (more marked in the U.S.A. and Canada than in Britain) of the loss of the initial aspirate in words such as "which" and "white," which many pronounce as though they were "wich" and "wite" (or "witch" and "wight"! ). London's Cockney dialect offers a more localised parallel, with both abandonment of opening aspirate (when compared to "standard English") and addition of aspirate to opening vowels *not* aspirated elsewhere.

Later Greek orthography places the "rough breathing" mark, a sign indicating aspiration, before rho whenever rho is the first expressed consonant of a word. This system presumably reflected actual pronunciation of the sound represented by the letter rho. In our period, lambda and mu as initial consonants are commonly paired with heta (see above, note 58). Rho within words (especially when geminate) often seems to have carried with it some degree of aspiration.<sup>65</sup>

Kleitias' spelling *θοροφος* could, perhaps, simplify an earlier spelling which included heta as part of the opening consonant cluster. We might also look for parallels to later spellings of complex words. For example, the word for "hair" in the nominative is *θρίξ* (th<sup>h</sup>rix); the genitive of this, once Grassman's law works on it, is *τριχός* (trik<sup>h</sup>os). The aspirate is important enough that it changes its association in the word between the τ and the κ. That the rules (or customs) for visual expression of aspirates remained complex may be gleaned from later examples, such as Douris' cup (R444/421) in which the second person singular imperative of ἔχειν is written as *ἡχε* (hek<sup>h</sup>e) not *εχε* (ek<sup>h</sup>e). Its date is after 500.<sup>66</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to be drawn from this study, however modest they may be, are not to be taken as covering all archaic Attic vase painters: they apply directly only to Sophilos. His contemporaries and near-contemporaries will have been in

<sup>65</sup> Allen 1987: 41–45. Fossil examples of aspirated liquids might include words such as *χρῶμα* (not *κρῶμα*), *χλωρός* (not *κλωρός*), the name *Χλόη* (not *Κλόη*). Unfortunately for the etymologist, Linear B did not express aspirates, which makes it particularly difficult to trace the earlier history of these words. My suggestion here is admittedly sheer speculation.

<sup>66</sup> At Kilmer 1993: 83 (R577\*) I quoted the inscription from Dover 1978, misguidedly "correcting" both this form and Douris' "misspelling" of *ἡσυχος* as *ἡσειχος*. I would now take *ἡσειχος* as an acceptable variant spelling.

a similar position, but we shall be able to make secure judgments about the ranges of similarity and of variation only when an adequate corpus of vase inscriptions has been assembled and studied. Since this article was first submitted, one of us (Kilmer) has collected a large number of inscriptions (photographs, drawings, and transcriptions) from archaic Attic pottery. These are being prepared for worldwide access in the reasonably near future through the Internet.

On the matter of internal consistency, the few names written more than once in the extant oeuvre of Sophilos (for example, Demeter, Khariqlo) are spelt consistently where complete; and the preserved letters in partially preserved but certain names match the spelling of their better-preserved parallels (for example, compare Poseidon on the Athens Wedding Dinos [B39/15] with that on the Erskine Dinos [B40/16.1; Fig. 6]). Sophilos is also consistent in his spelling of the one verb he repeats: ἐγραψεν. The complex sound clusters represented in classical Attic Greek by ξ and ψ, Sophilos writes consistently as χσ and φσ. When other archaic Attic painters write a word Sophilos has written, the spellings are, as a rule, either the same or so closely similar that we ought to have no difficulty in understanding them as minor variants—rarely as far apart as standard British English and standard U.S. spellings often are. Further demonstration of this must await future publications.

In the matter of cultural literacy, we suggest that Sophilos was fully at home with the mythology of his time. We would suggest that he knew more about mythology than many of his contemporaries knew. He illustrates characters and episodes from myth on many of his surviving works. Those myths which we also know from literary sources reveal many variants in their written forms even within the Homeric, Archaic, and Classical periods. Where Sophilos' version may differ from what is often taken to be canonical form, we think it ill-advised to criticize him for "not knowing" the version usually considered authoritative. Our guess is that he knew the Homeric stories very well (whether in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* or not) and that he knew other literary versions even of well-known stories, or versions preserved as folk-tale rather than as more formal literature. Scholars take it for granted that writers had "permission" to make up their own variations on familiar stories. Euripides told of individual episodes, in different plays, in ways which are impossible to reconcile with one another; and his version of a tale is often substantially different from the "same" story as told by Aiskhylos or by Sophokles. Why should not painters also have had the freedom to change elements of a story? That this is inconvenient for the modern scholar is true, and in some ways unfortunate. It is by no means a reason to devalue the work of Sophilos.

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## APPENDIX: INSCRIPTIONS ON ARCHAIC VASES

In this Appendix, each inscription is given in upper-case transcription (left column), its equivalent in classical Greek (central column), and in English translation (right column).

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABV</i>	Beazley 1956
<i>ARV Add</i>	Carpenter 1989
<i>ARV</i> <sup>2</sup>	Beazley 1963
<i>ARV Para</i>	Beazley 1971

## PROTO-ATTIC

B-W1 Berlin A21: standed ovoid krater from Aigina

Morris 1984: 74 and pl. 19; *CVA* Berlin 1, pls. 10–11. *Vidi*

[No inscription] Herakles and Nessos?

## BLACK-FIGURE

*Nettos Painter*

B4/1 Athens NM 1002

*ABV* 4.1, 679; *ARV Para* 2.6; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 1; Immerwahr 1990: 20.55

NETOΣ <sup>1</sup>	Νέσσος/Νέττος	Nessos
HEPAKΛEΣ <sup>2</sup>	Ἡρακλῆς	Herakles

*KX Painter*

B27/36 Athens Agora P10507

*ABV* 27.36; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 8; Moore and Pease Philippides 1986: pl. 15.126; Immerwahr 1990: 21.60.

HEKA[.....]	Ἑκα[.....]	??
-------------	------------	----

*Sophilos*

B39/15 Athens NM Akr 15165 (587): dinos (fr): Athens Wedding Dinos

*ABV* 39.15, 681; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 10; Immerwahr 1990: 21.61; Bakir 1981: A2 pls. 3.5–5.9, 89.187–190.94; Beazley 1986: pl. 15.2; *LIMC* s.v. Amphitrite 53 pl. 580 and s.v. Chariklo I pl. 150. *Vidi*

ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣΕΓΡΑΦΕΝ	Σοφίλος ἔγραψεν	"Sophilos drew"
ΛΕΤΟ	Λητώ	Leto
+ΑΡΙΦΛΟ	Χαρίκλω	Khariqlo/Khariklo
ΔΕ[Μ]ΕΤΕΡ	Δημήτηρ	Demeter
ΗΕΣΤΙΑ	Ἑστία	Hestia

<sup>1</sup>Three-bar sigma.

<sup>2</sup>Retrograde; four-bar sigma; stemmed rho.

ΠΟΣΕ[ΙΔΟΝ]	Ποσειδῶν	Poseidon
ΑΝ[ΦΙΤΡΙΤΕ]	Ἀμφιτρίτη	Amphitrite
ΝΥΣΑΙ	Νύσαι	Nysai/Nyssai
ΗΕΡ[....]		
Many possible supplements; best contenders	Ἥρα, Ἥφαιστος, Ἑρμῆς, Ἥρακλῆς	?Hera, Hephaistos, Hermes, or Herakles
ΗΕΡΑ, ΗΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ, ΗΕΡΜΕΣ, ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ		

B39/16 Athens NM 15499: dinos (fr.) from Pharsalos

*ABV* 39.16, 681; *ARV Para* 18; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 10; Immerwahr 1990: 21.62, fig. 13; Bakir 1981: pl. 6 A3. *Vidi*

ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ : ΜΕΓΡΑΦ- ΣΕΝ	Σοφίλος μ' ἔγραψεν	"Sophilos drew me"
ΠΑΤΡΟΦΛΥΣ : ΑΤΛΑ Α+ΙΛΕΣ	Πατρόκλος ἄθλα Ἀχιλλεύς	the games of Patroklos Akhilles, Akhilleus
ΣΟΦ[ΙΛΟΣ : ΜΕΠΟΙ- ΕΣΕΝ] <sup>3</sup>	Σοφ[ίλος μ' ἐποίησεν]	"Sophilos made me"
or		
ΣΟΦ[ΙΛΟΣ : ΜΕΓΡΑΦ- ΣΕΝ]	Σοφ[ίλος μ' ἔγραψεν]	"Sophilos drew me"
or		
if orthograde ....]ΙΟΣ		Name ending in "ios." <sup>4</sup>

B40/16.1 London 1971.11–1.1 (once London, Erskine): dinos with stand; Erskine Dinos *ABV* 40.16*bis*; *ARV Para* 19, 523; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 10, 1974: 24; Immerwahr 1990: 21.65; Bakir 1981: A1 pls. 1–2, figs. 1–4; Williams 1983: 13–34, with additional fragments. *Vidi*

ΣΟΦΙΛΟΣ : ΜΕΓΡΑΦ- ΣΕΝ	Σοφίλος μ' ἔγραψεν	"Sophilos drew me"
ΠΕΛΕΥΣ	Πηλεύς	Peleus
ΙΡΙΣ	Ἴρις	Iris
ΗΕΣΤΙΑ	Ἑστία	Hestia
ΔΕΜΕΤΕ[P]	Δημήτηρ	Demeter
+ΑΡΙΦΛΟ	Χαρίκλω	Khariklo
ΛΕΤΟ	Λητώ	Leto
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ	Διόνυσος	Dionysos
ΗΕΒΕ	Ἥβη	Hebe
+ΙΡΟΝ	Χίρων/Χείρων	Khiron
ΘΕΜΙΣ	Θέμις	Themis
ΝΥΦΑΙ	Νύμφαι	Nymphs
ΗΕΡΑ	Ἥρα	Hera
ΙΕΥΣ	Ζεύς	Zeus
+ΑΡΙΤΕΣ	Χάριτες	Kharites
ΠΟΣΕΙΔΟΝ	Ποσειδῶν	Poseidon

<sup>3</sup>The reading very dubious.

<sup>4</sup>Another letter with hasta extended upward, such as phi, may be substituted for the I.

ΑΝΦΙΤΡΙΤΕ	Ἀμφιτρίτη	Amphitrite
ΜΟΥΣΑΙ	Μοῦσαι	Muses
ἈΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ	Ἀφροδίτη	Aphrodite
ΑΡΕΣ	Ἄρης	Ares
ΜΟΥΣΑΙ	Μοῦσαι	Muses
ΗΕΡΜΕΣ	Ἑρμῆς	Hermes
[ΑΠΙ]ΟΛΟΝ	Ἀπόλλων	Apollo
Μ[ΟΙ]ΡΑΙ	Μοῖραι	Moirai/Fates
ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ	Ἀθηναία/Ἀθήνη	Athenaia/Athene
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ	Ἄρτεμις	Artemis
ΟΚΕΑΝΟΣ	Ὀκεανός	Okeanos, Ocean
ΘΕΘΥΣ	Θηθύς/Τηθύς	Thethys/Tethys
ΗΙΛΕΘΥΑ	Εἰλειθυία	Eileithuia <sup>5</sup>
ΗΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ	Ἥφαιστος	Hephaistos

B40/17–18 Athens NM Akr 585a–b: lipless dinoid vessels (Beazley); kotyle krater (Bakir) (frr.)

*ABV* 40.17–18; *ARV Para* 18; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 11; Immerwahr 1990: 21–22.66; Bakir 1981: A17 pl. 35.64–65, 36.67–68; text 26, fig. 17 (drawing). *Vidi*

ΚΑΣΤΟΡ	Κάστωρ	Kastor
ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ	Πάνδρσοος	Pandrosos
ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ	Ποσειδῶν	Poseidon

B40/20 Izmir 3332: “Nuptial Lebes,” stander (“lebes gamikos”), from Old Smyrna

*ABV* 40.20, 714; *ARV Para* 18; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 11; Immerwahr: 22.67; Bakir 1981: A21 pls. 39–45, figs. 71–82, text 34–37, figs. 32–38 (drawings of A, B)

Κ]ΑΣΤΟΡ	Κάστωρ	Kastor
ΠΟΛΥΔ[Ε]ΥΚ[ΕΣ]	Πολυδεύκης	Polydeukes
ΗΕΛΕΝ[Ε]	Ἑλένη	Helen <sup>6</sup>

B40/21 Athens NM 15942, 15918 (2035.1–2): Stander krater, *Ausgusskessel*, louterion, from Menidi

*ABV* 40.21, 42.36; *ARV Para* 18; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 11; Immerwahr 1990: 21.63–64; Bakir 1981: A20 p. 11.7 (drawing), 8.15–10.20. *Vidi* one of the two frags.

[ΣΟΦ]ΙΛΟΣ : ΜΕΠΟΞΞΕ	[Σοφ]ίλος μ' ἐποίησε	“Sophilos made me”
or		
[ΣΟΦ]ΙΛΟΣ :	[Σοφ]ίλος μ' ἔγραψε	“Sophilos drew me”
ΜΕΓΡΑΦΞΕ		
...]ΕΡΟ[...]	...]ερο[...]	...ero...
ΚΕΤΑ[. or	κετα[.?	?? or
ΚΕ<Ν>ΤΑ[ΥΡΟΙ]	κένταυροι	centaurs [plural not certain]

<sup>5</sup>The aspirate form is standard into the early fifth century, though there is much variance in vowels. Compare ΗΕΛΕΙΘΥΑ: Tyrrhenian Amphora, Berlin (F1704) B96/14 (Kyllenios Painter); ΗΙΛΕΙΘΥΑ: Tyrrhenian amphora B96/13 (Prometheus Painter); ΗΙΛΥΘΥΑ: Euthymides cup R29/19.

<sup>6</sup>Initial heta rounded, perhaps miswritten as theta? A variant letter form seems to me the better explanation—Sophilos' hetas and thetas are more than usually variable.

B40/24 Athens, NM 12578 (N911): column-krater

*ABV* 40.24; *ARV Para* 18; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 11; Bakir 1981: A15 pls. 18–23, figs. 33–44, text 21–22, figs. 12–16.

[No inscription]

*Circle of Sophilos*

B43/4 Athens Agora P18567: Athens, Agora fragment

*ABV* 43.4 centre; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 12; Bakir B19 83.171; Moore and Pease Philippides 1986: pl. 121.1921. *Vidi*

...]+ΟΣ

...]χος

...khos

*Kleitias*

B76/1 Florence 4209: François Vase

*ABV* 76.1, 682; *ARV Para* 29; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 21; Immerwahr 1990: 24–25.83, figs. 18–19; Stewart 1983: pls. 4.1–4.3.

For the inscriptions transcribed, see Wachter 1991 [without illustration].

B77/2 Basle, Cahn: fr. of volute krater

Johnston 1991: pl. 88a: from Egypt; Shapiro 1994: 55, fig. 34; Bothmer attributes the Moscow fragment with Perseus (Pushkin Museum 2986; *ABV* 77.2; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 21; Beazley 1986: 2, pl. 30.1) to the same vase: see Beazley 1986: 33; Shapiro *loc. cit.*

ΟΛΥΤΕΥΣ

Ὀλυτεύς/Ὀδυσσεύς

Olyteus/Odysseus

ΠΕΡΕΥΣ

Περσεύς

Perseus

*Nearkhos*

B82/1 Athens NM Akr. 15155 (611): Large kantharos or kantharoid krater?

*ABV* 82.1; *ARV Para* 30, *Add*<sup>2</sup> 23; Immerwahr 1990: 26.94. *Vidi*

ΝΕΑΡ+ΟΣΜΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ Νέαρχος μ' ἔγραψεν κα[ποίησεν "Nearkhos drew me  
ΚΑ[ΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ [and made me]."<sup>7</sup>

*Tyrrhenian Amphora*

B96/13 Paris E852

*ABV* 96.13; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 25; Immerwahr 1990: 40.172.

ΝΕΣΟΣ

Νέσσος/Νέττος

Nessos

*Exekias*

B143/1 Berlin 1720 (Pergamon Museum): Neck amphora with spirals

*ABV* 143.1, 686; *ARV Para* 59; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 39; Beazley 1986: pl. 62.1; 63.1–3, Bothmer 1985: 29, fig. 16 (lip); Immerwahr 1990: 32.132

B145/13 Vatican 344

*ABV* 145.13, 686; *ARV Para* 60; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 40; Immerwahr 1990: 33.136; Beazley 1986: pls. 64–66.4

<sup>7</sup> Beazley's supplement on the analogy of Exekias' double "signatures."



*Exekian*

B146/1.1, Group E?, Toledo, Ohio, 80.1022A *ABV* 146.1*bis*; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 391, 400; True 1987: 115.69 (lid); Immerwahr 1990: 32.129.

B147/3 (top) Munich 2125 (J.25)

*ABV* 147.3 (top); *ARV Para* 61. *Vidi*

A) Ε+ΣΕΚΙΑΣ:ΕΠΟΙΕΝ	Ἐξεκίας ἐποίηεν	"Exekias made"
B) +ΣΕΚΙΚΑΣ:ΕΠΟΕΣ <sup>8</sup>	Ξεκικάς ἐπόες	"Xekikas ????"

*Amasis Painter*

B152/27 Boston 01.8027 from Orvieto, neck amphora (shouldered, special model)  
*ABV* 152.27; *ARV Para* 63; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 44; Beazley 1986: pl. 49; Immerwahr 1990: 37.160, figs. 37–39

ΦΟΙΝΙ+Σ	Φοίνιξ	Phoenix
---------	--------	---------

B155/s.n. New York 56.11.1

*ARV Para* 66; *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 45 (155); Bothmer 1985: 64, 182–183, figs. and colour pl. 4 (no. 47).

B157/A Aigina: Tripod pyxis from Aigina

M. Ohly-Dumm in Bothmer 1985: 236–238; Immerwahr 1990: 36–37.152

*Arkhikles and Glaukytes*

B163/2 Munich 2443

*ABV* 163.2; Shapiro 1989: pl. 66b

ΘΡΟΦΟΣ	τρόφος	nurse
--------	--------	-------

*Sokles Painter*

B173/1 Berlin SMPK F1737

*ARV Para* 72 (*ABV* 173.1); *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 49; Boardman 1974: 122. *Vidi*

*Neandros Painter*

B176/3 Boston 61.1073

*ARV Para* 69–70.1 (to *ABV* 167.3, 168.1); *ARV Add*<sup>2</sup> 21; Immerwahr 1990: 49.229

*Swing Painter? Princeton Painter?*

B307/59 London 1849.11–22.1 [B144]

*ABV* 307.59, attributed to the Swing Painter; Böhr 1982: 110, attributed to the circle of the Princeton Painter; Immerwahr 1990: 57.298. *Vidi*

<sup>8</sup> Complete fore and aft.

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## ERRATUM

Figure 2 in Martin F. Kilmer and Robert Develin, “Sophilos’ Vase Inscriptions and Cultural Literacy in Archaic Athens,” *Phoenix* 55 (2001) 9–43, at 16, should have appeared as follows:



Fig. 2: Fragment i of Athens Wedding Dinos (B39/15) with inscription naming the Nyssai. Photo: M. Kilmer.

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## SOPHILOS' VASE INSCRIPTIONS



Plate 1. Athens Wedding Dinos; fragment with retrograde vertical inscription Σοφίλος ἐγράφεν  
Photo: M. Kilmer, with permission of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

## PHOENIX



Plate 2. Dinos from Pharsalos; fragment with chariot race and retrograde inscriptions Σοφίλος; μ' ἐγροφθεν and Πατροόλος; ; ἀτλα.  
Photo: M. Kilmer, with permission of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.