

## ON THE MEANING OF ΑΥΛΩΔΙΑ, ΑΥΛΩΔΙΟΣ\*

Although the question of ἀυλωδία and ἀυλωδός was thoroughly examined at the end of the nineteenth century, new epigraphical material, publications of vase paintings, and availability of search engines such as TLG call for its reexamination in light of new evidence.

Aulodia seems to be the least popular solo musical competition at the Greek festivals. It is rarely mentioned in agonistic catalogues: according to the TLG (which is far from comprehensive for epigraphy, but still can be statistically significant), the item αυλωδ- occurs only 8 times in Classical inscriptions, whereas αυλητ- occurs 339 times, κιθαριστ- 104 times, and κιθαρωδ- 63 times. The same is true for Greek literary sources: the TLG mentions αυληταί (all cases) 801 times, κιθαρωδοί 535 times, κιθαρισταί 266 times, but ἀυλωδοί only 18 times.

It is reported (Paus. 10. 7. 4–6) that at the Pythian Games, the most ancient and the most important of ἀγῶνες μουσικοί, the competition in aulodia took place only once, in 586 BC; at the following festival it was removed by the Amphictyons.<sup>1</sup>

Aulodia was part of the famous Attic Panathenaia, where, one assumes, the official musical (as well as athletic and equestrian) contests were introduced around 566 BC.<sup>2</sup> There is no literary evidence

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<sup>1</sup> This evidence is the most detailed and refers to the documents and thus deserves confidence, though the other sources do not mention rejection of the aulodia: Strab. 9. 3. 10, p. 421 C (προσέθεσαν δὲ τοῖς κιθαρωδοῖς αὐλητάς τε καὶ κιθαριστάς χωρὶς ᾠδῆς), Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 674 D (παραδεξάμενοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τρισὶ τοῖς καθεστῶσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, αὐλητῇ Πυθικῶ καὶ κιθαριστῇ καὶ κιθαρωδῶ...), and *Sch. Pind. Pyth.* hyp. d (ἔθετο δὲ ἀγῶνα κιθαρωδικὸν ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον, προσέθηκε δὲ αὐλητὴν καὶ ἀυλωδόν).

<sup>2</sup> See J. A. Davison, “Notes on the Panathenaia”, *JHS* 78 (1958) 26–29. Despite Plutarch’s evidence (*Per.* 13. 11), there is no doubt that in Pericles’ time the musical

for the Panathenaic aulodic competitions before the fourth century BC, but vase-painting proves their existence for the sixth and the fifth century.<sup>3</sup>

The main argument is provided by the so-called pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae. In addition to prize amphorae with the official inscription ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ and pictures of armed Athena on side A and of athletic competitions on side B, there are smaller not-inscribed black-figured amphorae of the same shape and with the same kind of decoration. Though their actual purpose is not determined,<sup>4</sup> their images are acknowledged to provide legitimate evidence for the depicted Panathenaic competitions for the period in which they were made.<sup>5</sup> The contests of ἀὐλοφοί are most probably shown on four pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae, which date from the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century BC:

1. London, The British Museum B 141 (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup>

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contests were not introduced, but only reorganized, see E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London 1910) 230–231; E. Preuner, “Amphiarraia und Panathenaia”, *Hermes* 57 (1922) 94–95, 98–99; Davison, *op. cit.*, 36–41; M. F. Vos, “Aulodic and Auletic Contests”, in: H. A. G. Brijder, A. A. Dukker, C. W. Neeft (eds.), *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery Presented to J. M. Hemelrijk* (Amsterdam 1986) 127–128; H. Kotsidu, *Die musischen Agone der Panathenäen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*. Diss. (München 1991) 31–34; H. A. Shapiro, “Mousikoi Agones: Music and Poetry at the Panathenaia”, in: J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton 1992) 57, 61–62.

<sup>3</sup> I owe my list of Attic vases depicting aulodes to the following publications: D. von Bothmer, “Attic Black Figured Pelikai”, *JHS* 71 (1951) 42–44; Davison (n. 2) 42; idem, “Addenda to ‘Notes on the Panathenaia’”, *JHS* 82 (1962) 141–142; K. Schauenburg, “Herakles Musikos”, *Jahrb. DAI* 94 (1979) 66 n. 71, 67 n. 77; Vos (n. 2) 130; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. pp. 293–315; Shapiro (n. 2) 53–75.

<sup>4</sup> There is evidence, at least for the fourth century BC, that the prizes for the victors of the musical (unlike athletic) contests at the Panathenaia were not olive oil, but silver and gold: *Ath. Pol.* 60, confirmed by *IG II–III*<sup>2</sup> 2311 (see below n. 42 and p. 16) On the prizes for musicians cf. Gardiner (n. 2) 231; Preuner (n. 2) 95–98; Davison (n. 2) 37 f.; Vos (n. 2) 124; Kotsidu (n. 2) 90–103; Shapiro (n. 2) 58–60.

<sup>5</sup> R. R. Heinze, “Panathenaische Amphora des akademischen Kunstmuseums zu Bonn”, *Bonner Studien. Aufsätze aus der Altertumswissenschaft. Reinhard Kekulé zur Erinnerung an seine Lehrthätigkeit in Bonn gewidmet von seinen Schülern* (Bonn 1890) 246–247; Preuner (n. 2) 95; W. Zschietzschmann, “Homer und die attische Bildkunst um 560”, *Jahrb. DAI* 46 (1931) 58; Davison (n. 2) 26.

<sup>6</sup> A. B. Cook, “On the Thymele in Greek Theatres”, *CIR* 9 (1895) 372; *CVA Great Britain* 1 (*Brit. Mus.* 1) III H e, pl. 6. 1; Zschietzschmann (n. 5) 55 fig. 8 (B); A. G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education* (Sydney 1975) pl. 44. 236; L. Polacco (ed.), *Il teatro antico di Siracusa, pars altera* (Padua 1990) fig. 161; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. P 1; Shapiro (n. 2) 62 fig. 40 (side B); *Beazley Archive Databases* (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm>) no. 4092. Ca. 560–520 BC.

2. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.89 (fig. 2).<sup>7</sup>
3. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 43 (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup>
4. Fr. Athens, Acropolis 1060 (fig. 4).<sup>9</sup>

In addition, there are Attic vases of other shapes that also represent two figures on a platform (βῆμα), one playing a double aulos and the other probably singing,<sup>10</sup> in the most cases in the presence of an audience (judges, managers of an agon, teachers, other competitors, simply listeners), in the Classical period accompanied as well by Nikai. The series lasts into the end of the fifth century BC:<sup>11</sup>

5. Rf. belly-amphora, Basel BS 491 (fig. 5).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> D. von Bothmer, “Notes on the Princeton Painter”, *Antike Kunst* 30 (1987) 65 pl. 9. 2; Shapiro (n. 2) 63 cat. 18; *Beazley Archive Databases* (n. 6) no. 42 104. The Princeton Painter, ca. 540 BC.

<sup>8</sup> A. Greifenhagen, “Attische schwarzfigurige Vasen im Akademischen Kunstmuseum zu Bonn”, *Arch. Anz.* 50 (1935) 443–444, fig. 31–32; Heinze (n. 5) 240–247; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. P 3. Ca. 540 BC.

<sup>9</sup> B. Graef, F. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I* (Berlin 1925) pl. 62; Beazley, *ABV* 396, 12; Vos (n. 2) no. 43; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. P 9. The Eucharides Painter, ca. 500 BC.

<sup>10</sup> It is not obvious how to paint the process of singing (which makes it difficult to distinguish the images of citharodes from that of citharists: J. Roulez, *Choix de Vases Peints du Musée d’Antiquités de Leyde* [Gand 1854] 78; Kotsidu [n. 2] 106; Shapiro [n. 2] 58). On no. 19 of the list three circular marks in purple, probably indicating sounds of music, proceed from the mouth of a singer (similar on a hydria, the British Museum E 171). A convention employed sometimes in vase-painting was to depict a singer with his head thrown back and mouth open (Kotsidu, *ibid.*; Shapiro, *ibid.*), but it is surprisingly seldom applied while depicting aulodes (see no. 9) – perhaps because the presence of an accompanist should itself indicate a singer. According to a supposition of D. Shabalin (Д. С. Шабалин, “Музыкальное мышление античности” [“The Musical Thought of Antiquity”], *Познавая историю музыки прошлого* [Владивосток 2007] 137), the raised chin of singers on ancient Greek and Egyptian pictures indicates the larynx raised upwards and thus testifies the rendering of high pitches which, he implies, were dominating in music. Still we should weigh, whether it was just an iconographical convention for singing and inspiration in general.

<sup>11</sup> I do not include the neck amphora with twisted handles, the British Museum E 270, by the Kleophrades Painter (Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 183, 15), with a lone figure of a rhapsode reciting hexameters on side A and an aulete on side B, though it has been argued, albeit inconclusively, that the both sides together represent an aulodic performance: *CVA Great Britain 4* (*Brit. Mus.* 3) III I c, pl. 8, 2 a–d and p. 5 (“flute-player accompanying the poet”); Schauenburg (n. 3) 67 n. 78 (“Auf der Londoner Amphora ARV<sup>2</sup> 183, 15 sind Sänger und Aulet auf A und B verteilt”); H. A. Shapiro, “Hipparchos and the Rhapsodes”, in: C. Dougherty, L. Kurke (eds.), *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics* (Cambridge 1993) 95–97. *Contra* Vos (n. 2) 122–123 (and 129 no. 9); Kotsidu (n. 2) 112 (and cat. V 39).

<sup>12</sup> K. Schauenburg, “Eine neue Amphora des Andokidesmalers”, *Jahrb. DAI* 76 (1961) 50 fig. 2; Vos (n. 2) no. 33; *CVA Switzerland 7* (Basel 3) pls. I 2. 6; II 2; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 34; Shapiro (n. 2) 67 fig. 45. The Andocides Painter, ca. 525–520 BC.

6. Bf. pyxis of Nicosthenic shape, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung IV 1870 (fig. 6).<sup>13</sup>
7. Bf. belly-amphora, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 1411 (fig. 7).<sup>14</sup>
8. Bf. pelike, Gela 124/B (fig. 8).<sup>15</sup>
9. Bf. neck-pelike, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.72 (fig. 9).<sup>16</sup>
10. Bf. pelike, Palermo N.I. 1961 (fig. 10).<sup>17</sup>
11. Bf. alabastron, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1977.216.2397 (fig. 11).<sup>18</sup>
12. Bf. lekythos, Syracuse 20 903 (fig. 12).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Former Hofmuseum 318. E. Buschor, "Skythes und Epilykos", *Jahrb. DAI* 30 (1915) 39 fig. 2; Beazley, *ABV* 671; *Proceedings of the 12<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens, 4–10 September 1983 / Πρακτικά του XII διεθνούς συνεδρίου κλασικής αρχαιολογίας, Αθήνα, 4–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983*, B (Αθήνα 1988) pl. 28. 1–2; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 6; Shapiro (n. 2) 54 fig. 32 b; *Beazley Archive Databases* (n. 6) no. 306 451. 530–520 BC.

<sup>14</sup> Beazley, "Groups of Mid-Sixth-Century Black-Figure", *ABS* 32 (1931–32) 14, no. 40; idem, *ABF* 311, 2; *CVA Deutschland* 3 (*München* 1) pl. 41. 3; E. Böhr, *Der Schaukelmaler* (Mainz 1982) pl. 183 b; Vos (n. 2) no. 35; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 7. The Painter of Munich 1410, ca. 520 BC. It can be doubted if an aulodic performance is depicted, for there is no bema and so the figure (its upper part missing) confronting the aulete may turn out to be a judge. But the central position of two figures, assumingly of an aulete and an aulode (and not of only one figure, that of an aulete), flanked by two listeners on each side, backs up the hypothesis of an aulodic contest.

<sup>15</sup> O. Benndorf, *Griechische und sizilische Vasenbilder*, Hf. 1 (Berlin 1869) pl. 43. 4 a–b; Bothmer (n. 3) 44 no. 63; J.-C. Poursat, "Les représentations de dance armée dans la céramique attique", *BCH* 92 (1968) 573 no. 16, 571 fig. 25; *CVA Italia* 56 (*Gela* 4) pls. 5. 2; 8. 1, 2; Vos (n. 2) no. 42; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 25. The Eucharides Painter, ca. 500–480 BC.

<sup>16</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Greek Collections* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 62, pl. 43 d; G. M. A. Richter, M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York 1935) fig. 32; Bothmer (n. 3) 46 no. 5, pl. 22 b (side B); M. Wegner, *Griechenland: Musikgeschichte in Bildern. II. Musik des Altertums* (Leipzig 1963) 70–71 fig. 42; *Aspects of Ancient Greece: an exhibition organized by the Allentown Art Museum with the cooperation of Gloria Ferrari Pinney and Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway ... Allentown Art Museum, September 16 through December 30, 1979* (Allentown 1979) no. 27 with fig.; Vos (n. 2) no. 39; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 22; Shapiro (n. 2) 52 cat. 19. Ca. 575–500 BC.

<sup>17</sup> Former Palermo 156. Mentioned by Bothmer (n. 3) 42 no. 3; Vos (n. 2) no. 40; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 23. 550–500 BC.

<sup>18</sup> *CVA USA* 8 (*Fogg Museum*) pl. 21, 3 a, c; Vos (n. 2) no. 37; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 29; Shapiro (n. 2) 71, fig. 49b. Ca. 500 BC.

<sup>19</sup> *Monumenti Antichi* 17 (1906) 67–68 fig. 40; E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936) [henceforth *ABL*] 208, 73; Vos (n. 2) no. 41 (*ABV* 208, 73 is indicated by Vos erroneously); Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 11. The Gela Painter, 525–500 BC.

13. Bf. lekythos, once Athens, market (*non vidi*).<sup>20</sup>
14. Bf. lekythos, once New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries (fig. 13).<sup>21</sup>
15. Bf. lekythos, Athens, Agora (*non vidi*).<sup>22</sup>
- 16–17. Bf. Nolan amphora, London, The British Museum B 188 [sides A and B] (figs. 14, 15).<sup>23</sup>
18. Rf. cup fr., Rome, Villa Giulia.<sup>24</sup>
19. Rf. pelike, London, The British Museum E 354 (fig. 16).<sup>25</sup>
20. Rf. pelike, Leiden RO II 60 (fig. 17).<sup>26</sup>
21. Rf. calyx-crater, Larisa, Archaeological Museum 86/101 (fig. 18).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Unpublished; Haspels, *ABL* 252, 61; Vos (n. 2) no. 44; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 17. The Theseus Painter (after 500 BC).

<sup>21</sup> *Parke-Bernet Galleries, Antiquities, Public Auction: Friday, January 24, 1969* (New York 1969) 69, lot 215. Ca. 500 BC.

<sup>22</sup> Mentioned by Schauenburg, (n. 3) 66 n. 71: “Sehr schlecht erhalten eine Lekythos im Agoramuseum, auf der zwei nach r. bewegte Mantelfiguren auf hoher Basis zwischen zwei sitzenden Figuren erscheinen, einer mit Stab, der andere mit Instrument (?)”.

<sup>23</sup> Cook (n. 6) 372; Gardiner (n. 2) 231, fig. 32 (side A); S. Bleeker Luce, Jr., “The Origin of the Shape of the ‘Nolan’ amphora”, *AJA* 20 (1916) 453, 457 fig. 11 (side A); *CVA Great Britain 4 (Brit. Mus. 3) III H e*, pl. 45. 10 a, b; Haspels, *ABL* 219, 64; Vos (n. 2) no. 38; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 15. The Edinburgh Painter, ca. 500–480 BC.

<sup>24</sup> Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 432, 50; Vos (n. 2) no. 45; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 51; D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris, A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-Figure* (Mainz 1995) pl. 60 no. 91; *Beazley Archive Databases* (n. 6) no. 205 094. The Douris Painter, 500–450 BC.

<sup>25</sup> Schauenburg (n. 12) 69 fig. 25; Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1119, 5; D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum I* (London 1975) pl. 139 a; Vos (n. 2) no. 49; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 90; T. Mannack, *The Late Mannerists in Athenian Vase-Painting* (Oxford 2001) 39 and pl. 41 a; *Beazley Archive Databases* (n. 6) no. 214 813. The Painter of Oxford 529, 450–425 BC.

<sup>26</sup> L. J. F. Janssen, *De Grieksche, Romeinsche en Etrurische Monumenten van het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden* (Leiden 1843–1848) 185 no. II 1874; C. Leemans, “Het Muzykexamen; eene grieksche beschilderde vaas”, *Caecilia, muzikaal Tijdschrift* 3 (1847); Roulez (n. 10) pl. 18; J. H. Holwerda, *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Afdeling Griekenland en Italië, eerste deel, Vaatwerk* ([Leiden] 1905) 108–109, XVIII no. 42; Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1084, 16; *CVA Netherlands 5 (Leiden 3)* pls. 135. 1, 136. 1–5; T. H. Carpenter et al., *Beazley Addenda* (Oxford <sup>2</sup>1989) [henceforth *Add*<sup>2</sup>] 327; Vos (n. 2) no. 46 and p. 123 fig. 1; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 82. The Cassel Painter, ca. 450–440 BC.

<sup>27</sup> Shapiro (n. 2) 61 and fig. 39 b; M. A. Τιβεριος, “Ενας κρατηρος του ζωγράφου του Μονοχου 2335”, in: idem, *Περικλεια Παναθηναία* (Αθήνα 1989) 81–134, summary in English 135–142, fig. 2, 11, 12, 13; Kotsidou (n. 2) 118. The Painter of Munich 2335, ca. 440–430 BC. Since only the legs of two figures on a bema are preserved, this could as well be a synaulia, but aulodia is more probable, given that the representations of synaulia are very rare (see below n. 145).

22. Rf. hydria fr., Athens, Agora P 7912 (fig. 19).<sup>28</sup>  
 23. Rf. column-crater, Baranello 86 (fig. 20).<sup>29</sup>  
 24. Rf. calyx-crater, Bologna PU 286 (fig. 21).<sup>30</sup>  
 25. Rf. bell-crater, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1960.1220 (fig. 22).<sup>31</sup>  
 26. Rf. column-crater, Ferrara 2813 (fig. 23).<sup>32</sup>  
 27. Rf. column-crater, Ferrara 2996 (fig. 24).<sup>33</sup>

Such common details as the platform, festal garments, and listeners make it quite probable that a musical contest is depicted,<sup>34</sup> still it cannot be taken for granted that they indicate anything more than a public performance; in fact, only judges and Nikai are obvious signs that a competition is taking place,<sup>35</sup> but the judges themselves are not quite clearly distin-

<sup>28</sup> Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1150, 30; Vos (n. 2) no. 50; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 94; M. B. Moore, *Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery*, The Athenian Agora 30 (Princeton 1997) pl. 7. 15; *Beazley Archive Databases* (n. 6) no. 215 241. The Kleophon Painter, 450–400 BC.

<sup>29</sup> G. Dareggi, *Ceramica Attica nel Museo di Baranello*, Materiali del Museo di Baranello 2 (Comune di Baranello 1974) 22–23 no. 19, pl. 28; eadem, *Ceramica greca e italiota nel Museo di Baranello* (London 1977) 28 no. 22, pl. XI a, b; Vos (n. 2) no. 47; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 88; C. Thöne, *Ikongraphische Studien zu Nike im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Untersuchungen zur Wirkungsweise und Wesenart* (Heidelberg 1999) cat. Cc 30. The Orestos Painter, ca. 460–425 BC.

<sup>30</sup> G. B. Passeri, *Picturae Etruscorum in vasculis I* (Romae 1767) pl. 7; *Antiquités Etrusques et Romaines*, gravées par F. A. David, avec leurs explications par d'Hancarville, II (Paris 1785) pl. 35; F. Inghirami, *Pitture di vasi fittili* (Fiesole 1835–1837) pl. 361, 362; Th. Panofka, *Bilder antiken Lebens* (Berlin 1843) pl. IV 9; G. Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti delle collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria* (Bologna 1900) 46–48 no. 286, fig. 34; Beazley, *ARV* 793, 13; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1158 (III); T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London 1972) 133; Vos (n. 2) no. 51; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 337, 1158; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 95; *Beazley Archive Databases* (n. 6) no. 215 331. Near the Dinos Painter, 450–400 BC.

<sup>31</sup> *The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Report of the Visitors* (1960) pl. 4, b; Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1186, 24 bis; Vos (n. 2) no. 52 and p. 125 fig. 2; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 341; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 99; Thöne (n. 29) cat. Cc 29; Sh. D. Bundrick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 2005) 171 fig. 100; *Beazley Archive Databases* (n. 6) no. 215 713. The Kadmos Painter, 430–420 BC.

<sup>32</sup> S. Aurigemma, *La necropoli di Spina in Valle Trebbe* (Rome 1960) pl. 225; Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1104, 8; *CVA Italia* 37 (Ferrara 1) pl. 38. 3; Vos (n. 2) no. 48; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 86. The Orpheus Painter, 450–400 BC.

<sup>33</sup> F. Berti, D. Restani (eds.), *Lo specchio della musica: Iconografia musicale nella ceramica attica di Spina* (Bologna 1988) no. 19 with fig.; Kotsidu (n. 2) cat. V 87.

<sup>34</sup> In any case, an agonistic form of performance seems dominating and thus the most probable for ancient Greek artists. On agonistic spirit in Ancient Greece see, e. g., A. Zäicev, *Das griechische Wunder. Die Entstehung der griechischen Zivilisation*, *Xenia* 30 (Konstanz 1993).

<sup>35</sup> Vos (n. 2) 124. Some scholars consider the bema to be a decisive proof of representing a contest: Roulez (n. 10) 78; Kotsidu (n. 2) 105 (“Die Angabe des Bemas

guishable from the public.<sup>36</sup> In some cases, a private occasion can be supposed: on no. 7 the bema is absent; on no. 6 most probably school events are depicted. But if indeed a public festival is represented, it is presumably the Panathenaic contest, since Attic vase-painters were unlikely to show any other aulodic competition.

On some pictures (nos. 12, 14, 19, 21, 25, 27), the musicians are placed by the columns, which should indicate an indoor performance;<sup>37</sup> since this element appears in the most cases (but no. 12 and 14) in the second part of the fifth century, the columns are sometimes considered to represent the Periclean Odeion where the Panathenaic musical contests were held at that time (Plut. *Per.* 11).<sup>38</sup>

Evidence from vase-paintings seems to be either earlier than 470 or later than 450 BC. This led some scholars to postulate the hiatus in the musical<sup>39</sup> or just aulodic<sup>40</sup> contests at the Panathenaia in the Early Classical

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bildet den einzigen gesicherten Hinweis darauf, daß das Vasenbild die Abhaltung eines öffentlichen musischen Agons zeigt”), though the performers at a concert (see below n. 58, 71, 72, 73, and Athen. 12. 54, 538 b) would surely stand on it, too.

<sup>36</sup> Kotsidu (n. 2) 107–108; see E. Reisch, “Agonothetes”, *RE* I (1894) 870–877; H. Schween, *Die Epistaten des Agons und der Palästra in Literatur und Kunst* (Kiel 1911) 29 f., 40 ff., 51 f., 57 f. Such features usually attributed to judges, as being adult (bearded), wearing long mantle, wreath or taenia, sitting on a δίφρος or κλισμός, holding or linking on a staff, are in fact not restrictive and are shared by other characters (staffs, as fashion accessories, are sometimes hold even by aulodes [nos. 5, 7, 15?]).

<sup>37</sup> *Contra* Kotsidu (n. 2) 108: “Die abgebildeten Säulen versetzen den agonistischen Vortrag in einen nicht näher bestimmbar architektonischen Zusammenhang, etwa vor einer Säulenhalle oder einer Gebäudefront, nichts deutet auf den Darstellungen jedoch darauf hin, daß der Wettkampf im Inneren eines Gebäudes stattfindet... Im Gegensatz dazu erhellt aus der Darstellung der schwarzfigurigen Lekythes des Gelamalers in Syrakus [no. 12 in the list above. – N. A.] mit den im Hintergrund abgebildeten Säulen, daß das Geschehen vor einer Säulenhalle zu denken ist”. But what other means did a vase-painter have at his disposal to represent a scene *inside* a building? The perspective, influenced by major painting, is traced only sporadically on some vases of the Late Classical period and is alien to vase-painting in general, for its aim is to emphasize the surface of a vessel rather than indicate the depth of field. And it is hardly possible to imagine the columns placed in the foreground, hiding the musicians behind them (evidently this would not be the case even in a concert-hall). – K. Schauenburg ([n. 3] 66) supposed that the columns could indicate a sacred area: “Säulen sind natürlich, vor allem nach Errichtung des Odeions im 5. Jahrhundert, kein absolut zwingender Beweis, daß die musikalische Darbietung in einem Heiligtum vonstatten geht, machen es jedoch wahrscheinlich”.

<sup>38</sup> R. Meinel, *Das Odeion. Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäuden* (Frankfurt/M. 1980) 29; 139; Shapiro (n. 2) 200 n. 53. On the Odeion see Davison (n. 2) 33–36; *contra* Kotsidu (n. 2) 130–170, esp. 141–154, with literature.

<sup>39</sup> Davison (n. 2) 38, 41; idem (n. 3) 141.

<sup>40</sup> M. F. Vos, *CVA Netherlands 5 (Leiden 3)* p. 33; eadem (n. 2) 123, 127–128; Kotsidu (n. 2) 125. According to Vos and Kotsidu, the lacuna in other musical

period that made their re-introducing by Pericles necessary. The suspension of aulodia is possible, “but given the accidents of preservation of Attic vases, such inferences based solely on the absence of representations in a given period are unwarranted”.<sup>41</sup>

It is only from the first half of the fourth century BC that we have at least a list of prizes, albeit incomplete, at the Panathenaia,<sup>42</sup> which mentions ἀνδράσιν ἀλφδοῖς in line 12 of the text preserved.

Approximately to the same period belongs the only mention of aulodia in Greek literature of Classical time,<sup>43</sup> that of Plato *Leg.* 700 d–e: those notorious new musicians who have no idea περὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Μούσης καὶ τὸ νόμιμον confuse in their compositions the things that should never be mixed, in particular καὶ ἀλφδίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρωδίας μιμούμενοι. Thus we are brought to the notice that singing to the aulos and singing to the cithara were appreciated as two quite different arts, requiring different skills and producing different effects, and hence justifiably bearing two different names, ἀλφδία and κιθαρωδία.<sup>44</sup>

The epigraphical evidence from the fourth century mentions two further festivals with aulodic competitions. First, the decree of Eretria<sup>45</sup> of 340 BC introducing the Artemisia establishes among others the prizes ἀλφδοῖ παιδί ... δευτέροι ... τρίτοι. Second, there is an ἀνήρ ἀλφδό(ς) in a catalogue of victors at the Amphiarraia in Oropos.<sup>46</sup>

A remarkable feature of the agonistic documents mentioned above is an indication of age groups, namely ἀνδρῶν and παίδων. Since no women

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competitions is not attested by vase-paintings; see also D. Schafer, “Musical Victories in Early Classical Vase Paintings” (abstract of paper), *AJA* 95 (1991) 333–334.

<sup>41</sup> Shapiro (n. 2) 200 n. 34. – Cf. the date of no. 18.

<sup>42</sup> *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 1055 = *Michel* 880 = *IG* II 965 = *IG* II–III<sup>2</sup> 2311. H. Kotsidu ([n. 2] 24) adduces the date of 366–338 BC. See H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 35; A. W. Johnston, “IG II<sup>2</sup> 2311 and the Number of Panathenaic Amphorae”, *ABS* 82 (1987) 125–129.

<sup>43</sup> As a matter of fact, one more reference dates back to the fifth century BC: according to Clem Al. *Strom.* 1. 3. 24. 3, there was a satyr play named Ἀλφδοί by Iophon, son of Sophocles (see E. Diehl, “Iophon 2”, *RE* 9 [1916] 1899).

<sup>44</sup> H. Guhrauer, *Zur Geschichte der Aulodik bei den Griechen*, Programm des Gymnasiums Waldenburg im Schlesien (Waldenburg 1879) 4: “Wie wir also heut zu Tage etwa Opersängern oder Liedersängern, so ungefähr scheiden die Griechen Auloden und Kitharoden”.

<sup>45</sup> *Eph. Arch.* (1902) 101–102 = *IG* XII 9, 189 = *SGDI* 5315 = *LGS* II 88, lines 15–16.

<sup>46</sup> *Arch. Eph.* (1923) 46–49 no. 125 = *Michel* 889 = *IG* VII 414, line 5; E. Preuner, “Griechische Siegerlisten. I. Siegerliste von Oropos”, *MDAI Ath.* 28 (1903) 338–346 (*Michel* – ca. 325, *Preuner* – 366–338 BC).

were allowed to perform in the sacred competitions, an interest in the peculiar high timbre of the boys' voices seems natural. The inscription from Eretria, which is preserved almost completely, mentions boy aulodes (though there is no such category for men performers), thus providing the parallel that makes possible a restoration of ἀλφῶδος παῖς in line 3–4 of Oropian catalogue.<sup>47</sup>

As for the Panathenaic list, the mention of an aulodic contest for men would not necessarily imply the existence of this contest for children (as the same Eretrian document shows), but it still seems possible to supply a mention of a boys' aulodic competition somewhere in the damaged lines of the inscription.<sup>48</sup> In any case, one would assume the broadest possible program for the famous Panathenaia.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the supposition of boy aulodes at this festival is supported by vase-painting.

There seems to be evidence for children's competitions, though not quite irrefutable, even for the Archaic period. It has been argued by R. R. Heinze long ago, that a performance of ἀλφῶδος παῖς is depicted on no. 3, because the two performers are shown beardless in contrast to the bearded listeners.<sup>50</sup> More examples for the youthful musicians opposed to the bearded audience could be given (nos. 2, 16, 17; aulode only nos. 12, 14). But this contrast cannot be considered a safe proof, because the beardless young men could well have competed in the adult age group; nor can the smaller size of the both musicians, for it is often caused by their standing on the bema (nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17). It is more tempting to interpret in the same vein no. 9, where the beardless singer is definitely shorter than the bearded aulete. Still it should be noted that on no. 8 all figures are bearded, but the vase-painter did not manage a single scale, so that the figure of a singer is smaller than that of an aulete, and both seem shorter than a seated judge. Thus, we cannot conclude with confidence about the contest

<sup>47</sup> Preuner (n. 46) 339.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 341; Preuner (n. 2) 91–92 (at the beginning); Johnston (n. 42) 126. 127 (between the bottom of A.I 22 and the top of B.I 4). Parke ([n. 42] 35) supposed that the prizes for children were not mentioned in the list because boys could be awarded nothing more valuable than plain olive crowns.

<sup>49</sup> Preuner (n. 46) 341. Moreover, it seems probable that the similarities of the programs of these three festivals, including the definition of age groups, are accounted by the circumstance that the Oropian and the Eretrian games followed the glorious Attic Panathenaia, see: Н. А. Алмазова, “Детские музыкальные состязания в эллинистическую эпоху” (N. Almazova, “The Children Musical Competitions in the Hellenistic Period”), *Cathedra Petropolitana*, *Philologia Classica* VI (St. Petersburg 2004) 175–176, cf. Preuner (n. 2) 83 f., 89–93.

<sup>50</sup> Heinze (n. 5) 245.

αὐλοδῶν παίδων at the Panathenaia in the Archaic period, though it looks probable.

Yet in the Classical period the images of boy aulodes are quite unmistakable and quite popular (nos. 18,<sup>51</sup> 19, 20, 21,<sup>52</sup> 22, 23, 24, 26, 27). Their predominance<sup>53</sup> even let M. Vos believe that aulodic competitions were revised by Pericles, so that from his time onwards only small boys could participate in them,<sup>54</sup> but it would look very odd and contradict the epigraphical evidence. The reasons for the painters' partiality to the children contests are to be sought in the demands of their own art, not that of the singers. First, the youthful appearance is typical for the characters of High Classical art: even the gods grow younger,<sup>55</sup> and so do the contestants, both athletes and musicians.<sup>56</sup> Second, depicting children was a novelty mastered by the vase-painters of the fifth century. For the inventors of such a composition the figures of boys would look advantageous and add variety to a scene; for their followers it became an iconographical convention. The Panathenaic aulodic contests of the Classical time were surely not reduced to boys' ones, but the existence of the children competitions in this period cannot be doubted.

Meanwhile, the excavations of the twentieth century have enriched us with one more agonistic inscription dealing with the age groups for aulodes, which dates approximately from the third century BC: it is a catalogue of victors at the Great Erethimia in Rhodes,<sup>57</sup> where in lines B 10 and 12 [αὐλοδοῦς παίδων] and [αὐλοδοῦς ἀνδρῶν] are restored.

In the Hellenistic period, it seems that the aulodia was still considered an important part of program in the case of most representative and impressive musical performances, such as the famous wedding in Susa held by Alexander the Great in 324 BC. Artists from all over Greece assembled to the party, and all the popular ἀκροάματα, including two αὐλοδοί, were produced (Athen. 12. 54, 538 b). An aulode took also part at least at two of

<sup>51</sup> The cup by Douris is the only evident example (though the upper part of the both figures is missing) dating from the first half of the fifth century BC.

<sup>52</sup> Τιβεριοῦς (n. 27) 137: "...two musicians of apparently different ages... On the basis of other similar scenes, we can be sure that the younger figure is singing while the elder plays the double flute".

<sup>53</sup> It may look like *all* the extant Classical vases have boy singers (Vos [n. 2] 127, Shapiro [n. 2] 60), but I doubt if no. 25 depicts a boy, cf. Buxton (n. 31) 170 and n. 155.

<sup>54</sup> Vos (n. 2) 128.

<sup>55</sup> See, e. g., J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vase Painters. The Archaic Period* (London 1975, repr. 1997) 223.

<sup>56</sup> Shapiro (n. 2) 58, 200 n. 52.

<sup>57</sup> *BCH* 99 (1975) 102.

the four Pythaiads sent to Delphi by the Athenians supported by their guild of τεχνῖται who tried to do their best in performing a splendid concert in 128/7<sup>58</sup> and a musical competition in 97 BC.<sup>59</sup>

Changes in public taste for musical contests can be judged by the Museia in Thespieae, a festival well attested by numerous documents for a long period of time. The aulodia was in program already in the third century BC, as appears from a decree giving a new status of ἀγὼν θυμελικός at the Museia as στεφανίτης ἰσοπόθιος.<sup>60</sup> After that, the aulodia is mentioned in the catalogues of victors from the first century BC,<sup>61</sup> but is completely absent in the documents from the Roman Imperial period (II–III AD).<sup>62</sup>

The competitions of ἀύλωδοί at the Amphiarraia in Oropos attested for the fourth century (see above) did not last till the first century BC: no mention of them is found in the catalogues of that time.<sup>63</sup> But in the same century aulodes competed at a number of other festivals: the Charitesia in Orchomenos,<sup>64</sup> the Ptoia in Acraephia,<sup>65</sup> the Sarapieia in Tanagra.<sup>66</sup> A musician from a catalogue of Soteria in Acraephia could have been either an aulete or an aulode.<sup>67</sup>

In the most cases, the competitions that include aulodia are Boeotian:<sup>68</sup> it seems that mainly there the interest in aulodia was still preserved in the first

<sup>58</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 698 A = *FD* III 2, 47 line 23 (line 20 ἀκροάματα τὰ συναυξήσαντα τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμέρας).

<sup>59</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 711 L = *FD* III 2, 48 line 31 (lines 29–30 τοὺς συναγωνιζαμένους τὸν θυμελικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν σκανικὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμέραις).

<sup>60</sup> The response of the Athenians accepting the new status of the festival: *BCH* 19 (1895) 322–326 no. 2 col. b line 7 = *IG* VII 1735 b; the response of the Isthmian-Nemean guild of the artists of Dionysos: *BCH* 19 (1895) 313–322 no. 1 line 19 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 457 = *Michel* 1012.

<sup>61</sup> *BCH* 19 (1895) 332–333 no. 6 line 13 = *Michel* 891; *BCH* 19 (1895) 333–334 no. 7 line 8 = *IG* VII 1762; *BCH* 19 (1895) 337–339 no. 12 line 25; *BCH* 19 (1895) 340 no. 13 line 21 = E. Reisch, *De musicis Graecorum certaminibus capita quattuor* (Vindobonae 1885) Appendix [henceforth: Reisch] IV = *Michel* 892 = *IG* VII 1760.

<sup>62</sup> *BCH* 19 (1895) 340–341 no. 15 = *IG* VII 1773; *BCH* 19 (1895) 341–343 no. 16 = *SEG* III 334; *BCH* 19 (1895) 343–345 no. 17; 345–346 no. 18 = *IG* VII 1776; *Arch. Eph.* (1917) 167.

<sup>63</sup> See *IG* VII 416 = Reisch IX; *IG* VII 419 = Reisch VIII; *IG* VII 420 = Reisch VII.

<sup>64</sup> *IG* VII 3195 = Reisch I = *Michel* 894; *IG* VII 3196 = Reisch II; *IG* VII 3197 = Reisch III.

<sup>65</sup> *BCH* 44 (1920) 251–252, no. 10.

<sup>66</sup> *SEG* XIX (1963) 335 (improving *IG* VII 540; *BCH* 2 [1878] 590 no. 22; Reisch XII; *Michel* 890; *Arch. Eph.* [1956] 36).

<sup>67</sup> Σ]ωσιμένης Σωσικ[λέους? *IG* VII 2727 line 16 = Reisch XIV–XV; I. E. Στεφανίς, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται. Συμβολὲς στὴν προσωπογραφία τοῦ θεατροῦ καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων* (Ἡρακλεῖο 1988) no. 2353.

<sup>68</sup> The supposition made by the first editors (*JHS* 7 [1886] 148 f. = *Michel* 901) that an aulode was mentioned in a catalogue of Heraia on Samos (II BC) has proved erroneous, cf. *ZPE* 1 (1967) 230.

century BC. It should not surprise, as Boeotia was for a long time famous for its school of aulos-playing and its liking for aulos music.<sup>69</sup> An attempt was made to restore a mention of aulodes in two more inscriptions related to some unknown (perhaps Theban) festivals,<sup>70</sup> although these inscriptions may be dating from the Imperial age and thus be unparalleled for the contests in aulodia.

Finally, we have some evidence for performances of ἀὐλοδοί outside the competitions, all of them dating from the second century BC: in Iasos,<sup>71</sup> Kyrene,<sup>72</sup> and, most probably, on Delos.<sup>73</sup>

It is significant that all the epigraphical sources relating to the aulodic performances do not postdate the first century BC. It does not mean, of course, that people stopped singing to the aulos after that, but I am inclined to think that by that time aulodia, that is, a solo singing of a νόμος to an aulos accompaniment, gradually ceased to be a part of official musical competitions.

The unpopularity of aulodia as compared with other kinds of performance is proved not only by the scanty evidence. The existing list of prizes at the Panathenaia shows that aulodia was estimated lower than other categories:<sup>74</sup> five prizes, the first of them a golden wreath worth 1000 drachmae and 500 drachmae in silver, the rest 1200, 600, 400 and 300 dr., were established for citharodes; three prizes, the first of them a wreath of 500 dr. and 300 dr., the third 100 dr., for citharists; and only two, a wreath of 300 dr. and 100 dr., for aulodes.<sup>75</sup> Similar is the relative value of the more modest prizes at the

<sup>69</sup> See, e. g., Plut. *Pelop.* 19; *Alcib.* 2, 6; *Sch. Aristoph. Ach.* 862 a. Guhrauer ([n. 44] 15) calls Boeotia “ein Eldorado jeglicher Art Aulos-Musik”.

<sup>70</sup> *IG VII 2448 = MDAI Ath.* 3 (1878) 142 = Reisch XI; *IG VII 2449 = MDAI Ath.* 3 (1878) 143.

<sup>71</sup> *LBW 256 = IK 28.1 164 line 12* (190–180 BC).

<sup>72</sup> *ASAA 39/40 = N. S. 23/24* (1961–1962) 273 no. 103 line 21 = *SEG XX* (1964) 716.

<sup>73</sup> ἀὐ[λω]δοί: *IG XI 133 line 78* (170 BC), see E. Capps, “Studies in Greek Agonistic Inscriptions”, *TAPhA* 31 (1900) 121; idem, “Athenikon 2”, *RE Suppl.* I (1903) 221 (“anstatt κομφοδός ist ἀὐ[λω]δοί zu lesen”).

<sup>74</sup> See above n. 42. H. Kotsidu ([n. 2] 88, 102) interprets *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2311* not as referring to some particular Panathenaic festival, but as a permanent list of prizes.

<sup>75</sup> The lines concerning auletes are not completely preserved, it can only be seen that the prizes were no less than two. Strange enough is therefore H. A. Shapiro’s assertion ([n. 2] 58) that “the contest for solo flute was the least prestigious [sc. among the musical events at the Panathenaia. – N. A.], with the smallest prizes”. His impression of auletics being less popular than aulodia in Athens (intended to explain the absence of age groups for auletes in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2311*) is based as well, and mainly, on the asserted less numerous representations of auletic contests in vase painting compared to that of aulodic ones (*ibid.*, 61). Still the evidence for auletes and aulodes seems at least commensurable: H. Kotsidu ([n. 2] 293–315) adduces 22 reliable cases for aulodic contests and 21 for auletic ones, not counting the pictures of lone auletes and some other disputable cases.

Artemisia in Eretria:<sup>76</sup> 200, 150 and 100 dr. for citharodes; 120, 50 and 20 dr. for rhapsodes; 110, 70 and 55 dr. for citharists; 50, 30 and 20 dr. for aulodes (the latter surpassing only parodes, with their 50 and 10 dr.).

The preference for stringed instruments over wind-instruments was a frequent subject of ancient philosophical considerations,<sup>77</sup> e. g. as formulated by Olympiodorus (*In Plat. Alcib.* 66 Westerink):

διὰ πολλὰς δὲ αἰτίας οὐκ ἐπετήδευον τὸν ἀυλὸν· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐκστατικὸς οὗτος καὶ μάλλον ἐνθουσιαστικὸς καὶ οὐ παιδευτικὸς. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ κιθαρίζειν δυνατὸν καὶ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀυλεῖν οὐδαμῶς· οὐ μόνον δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ δύναται λόγῳ χρῆσθαι ἢ ᾄδειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλου ᾄδοντος ἀκούειν, θορυβώδης γὰρ οὗτος...

They [sc. the Athenians] did not practice aulos because of many reasons, mainly since it excites and enrages rather than educates. The playing of cithara can be accompanied by words, but not the playing of aulos; not only the performer cannot sing or use words himself, but cannot hear anyone else singing, as aulos is too noisy.

Further, the analysis of vocal genres in the *Problems* of Pseudo-Aristotle (19. 43, 922 a) gives an additional reason for such a low estimation of aulode's efforts (although it is argued there, quite on the contrary, that a combination of a voice with an aulos is more agreeable than with a lyre, because both aulos and voice are wind-instruments and so fit better together):<sup>78</sup>

ἔτι ὁ μὲν ἀυλὸς πολλὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἤχῳ καὶ τῇ ὁμοιότητι συγκρῦπτει τῶν τοῦ ᾄδοῦ ἀμαρτημάτων, οἱ δὲ τῆς λύρας φθόγγοι ὄντες ψιλοὶ καὶ ἀμικτότεροι τῇ φωνῇ, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θεωρούμενοι καὶ ὄντες αὐτοῖς συμφανῆ ποιούσι τὴν τῆς ᾄδῆς ἀμαρτίαν, καθάπερ κανόνες ὄντες αὐτῶν.

In addition to this, the *aulos* by its own sound and its similarity (to the voice) masks many of the mistakes *of the singer*, while the *sounds* of the lyre, being isolated and not blending so well with the voice, being noticed separately and actually being separate *for them* [sc. the audience], make a mistake in the song obvious, acting as *their* criteria.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See above n. 45.

<sup>77</sup> The most famous passages are perhaps Plat. *Rep.* 399 d–e and Aristot. *Pol.* 1341 a.

<sup>78</sup> Transl. by W. S. Hett: Aristotle, *Problems. Books I–XXI*, LCL 316 (Cambridge, Mass. – London 1993), with my alterations in italics.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Plut. *De recta ratione audiendi* 41 C: ὡς γὰρ τῶν ὑπ' ἀυλοῖς ᾄδόντων αἱ πολλὰ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀμαρτίαι διαφεύγουσιν, οὕτω περιττὴ καὶ σοβαρὰ λέξις ἀντιλάμπει τῷ ἀκροατῇ πρὸς τὸ δηλούμενον. Athen. 4. 79, 176 e: ... καὶ οὐ λέγω περὶ κιθαρωφῶδιαν μόνην, ἧς καὶ ὁ εὐτελέστατος παρ' ἡμῖν ιδιώτης προσέτι τε καὶ

That aulodia demanded less skill from a singer, is shown also in a remark of Cicero (*Pro Mur.* 29): ...*aiunt in Graecis artificibus eos auloedos esse, qui citharoedi fieri non potuerint...*

According to Pausanias (10. 7. 4–6), the reason why the competitions in aulodia were withdrawn from the Pythian Games was the mournful character of singing to the aulos, which was acknowledged unsuitable for the festival. But this evidence is hardly true.<sup>80</sup> It should be noticed that Pausanias found it necessary to explain what aulodia had been like at the time considered: ἡ γὰρ ἀλφωδία μέλη τε ἦν ἀλῶν τὰ σκυθρωπότατα καὶ ἐλεγεία προσδόμενα τοῖς ἀλῶσις. This statement implies that Pausanias' readers either were familiar with a different meaning of the word or did not understand it at all. There is more information that funeral music was associated with singing to the pipes,<sup>81</sup> but it does not mean, of course, the obligatory threnodic character of aulodia as a whole: we are each time told about an ancient period or a particular case.<sup>82</sup>

At any rate, whatever reason the Amphycions had for removing this kind of competitions from the Pythian games, their decision itself could not but contribute to the subsequent absence of aulodia from many other festivals, especially from the ἀγῶνες ἰσοπύθιοι.<sup>83</sup>

Pseudo-Plutarch supplies us with the ancient views<sup>84</sup> on the history of aulodia. Music for wind-instruments turns out (*De mus.* 1132 E–F) to be the

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ἀναλφάβητος οὕτως ἐστὶ συνήθης ὡς τάχιστα ἐλέγχειν τὰ παρὰ τὰς κρούσεις ἀμαρτήματα γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἀλῶν εἰσι μουσικώτατοι ...

<sup>80</sup> The evidence of Pausanias is convincingly discounted by E. L. Bowie, “Early Greek Elegy, Symposium and Public Festival”, *JHS* 106 (1986) 23.

<sup>81</sup> See: E. Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage bei den Griechen* (Tübingen 1938) 67–70; for the connection of elegiac poetry (accompanied by the aulos) with a lament for the dead, D. L. Page, “The Elegiacs in Euripides’ *Andromache*”, in: *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford 1936) 206–211, 214–217.

<sup>82</sup> See Bowie (n. 80) 22–27; M. M. Позднев, “Об одном мотиве застольной поэзии: Theogn. 1041 sq.” (M. Pozdnev, “One Subject of Sympotic Poetry: Theogn. 1041 sq.”), *Tradita non explorata*, *Philologia classica VII* (St. Petersburg 2007) 27–30. H. A. Shapiro notes that aulos-playing was not associated with the funeral rites at Athens, proceeding from the absence of auletes in their representations (Shapiro [n. 2] 64, see: idem, “The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art”, *AJA* 95 [1991] 629–636, esp. 633–634 n. 28).

<sup>83</sup> Guhrer (n. 44) 14. Still, as we have seen, being an ἀγῶν ἰσοπύθιος did not prevent the Museia in Thespieae from including a competition of aulodes in program (see above n. 60 and 61).

<sup>84</sup> Among his sources (for the speech of Lysias) are Glaucus of Rhegium (1132 E, the later fifth century BC), Heraclides Ponticus (1131 F, the fourth century BC), and some local documents, such as ἡ ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀναγραφή (1132 A, 1134 B). See R. Westphal (ed.), *Plutarch über die Musik* (Breslau 1865) 25, 66–73; *Plutarque. De la*

oldest one, first performed by Hyagnis, then by his son Marsyas, and then by Olympos. Orpheus the citharode still had no predecessors to imitate, οὐδείς γάρ πω γεγένητο, εἰ μὴ οἱ τῶν ἀλφῶδικῶν ποιηταί. Since no other ἀλφῶδικῶν ποιηταί are mentioned, one would conclude that the three mythical auletes named above are meant to have composed both music and poetry.<sup>85</sup> But the merit of organizing music into νόμοι is ascribed to the musicians of the next generation who can claim more historical credibility: the citharodic νόμοι were created by Terpan-dros earlier (1132 D) than the aulodic ones by Clonas, his younger contemporary (1133 A); both πρῶτοι εὐρεταί are one generation older than Archilochos (1132 E; 1133 A) and so can be dated to the first half of the seventh century BC.<sup>86</sup> Clonas is said to be a native of either Tegea (according to the Arcadian version) or Thebae (according to the Boeotian one). There existed also an opposite tradition, which named Ardalos from Troezen<sup>87</sup> as an inventor of aulodic νόμοι (1133 A).<sup>88</sup> In the next generation, Clonas was followed by Polymnestos from Colophon (1132 C).

The only genre of aulodic performance mentioned in our sources is a νόμος.<sup>89</sup> As far as we know, it was a kind of technically specialized music

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*Musique*. Édition critique et explicative par H. Weil et Th. Reinach (Paris 1900) IV–XIII; 6 n. 19–20; 8 n. 22–24; 10 n. 25–34; 14 n. 35–40; 15 n. 37; 17 n. 41; 40 n. 100; Fr. Lasserre, *Plutarque. De la Musique*. Texte, trad., comm., précédés d’une étude sur l’éducation musicale dans la Grèce antique (Lausanne 1954) 101–102; 154 n. 4; 155–156 n. 4; A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*. I. *The Musician and his Art* (Cambridge 1984) 205; 207 n. 8–10. 13; 209 n. 27. 29; 211 n. 42.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Suid. ο 219: Ὀλυμπος, Μάϊονος, Μυσός, ἀλφητῆς καὶ ποιητῆς μελῶν καὶ ἐλεγείων. The same three musicians are meant by τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας ἀλφῶδιαν above in 1133 E. This led R. Westphal (*op. cit.*, p. 5 line 8, and p. 74–75) to read ἀλφητικὴν instead of ἀλφῶδιαν and ἀλφητικῶν instead of ἀλφῶδικῶν in these passages. See also Th. Bergk, *Poetae lyriici Graeci* III (Leipzig 1867) 3–5. To keep the MSS reading, one should accept that in these two cases ἀλφῶδια is different from the aulodic νόμοι invented later by Clonas.

<sup>86</sup> Terpan-dros is named the first winner at the Carneia, in Ol. 26 (676/673 BC): Athen. 14. 37, 635 e. *Marmor Parium* ep. 34 (IG XII, 5, 444 line 49 b) dates him to 645/644 BC, and Eusebius (*Chron. can.*) to 635 BC.

<sup>87</sup> This Ardalos, called son of Hephaestus, the inventor of aulos and the founder of the cult of Muses Ardalides (Paus. 2. 31. 3), is distinguished from the younger, but still mythical Ardalos in Plut. *VII sap. conv.* 4, 149 F–150 A: ἦν δὲ Τροϊζήνιος ὁ Ἄρδαλος, ἀλφῶδός καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἀρδαλείων Μουσῶν, ὃς ὁ παλαιὸς Ἄρδαλος ἰδρύσατο ὁ Τροϊζήνιος. See Weil–Reinach (n. 84) 22 n. 53; K. Wernicke, “Ardalides”, *RE* 2 (1895) 610–611.

<sup>88</sup> Thus, most of the artists of this early period are of Peloponnesian origin, as well as the Arcadian Echembrotos, the only Pythian winner in aulodia (Paus. 10. 7. 4, 6). This makes H. Guhrauer ([n. 44] 8) suppose that aulodia was at first developed in the Peloponnesus. The controversial evidence can reflect the old rivalry between Boeotia and Arcadia, the two centres of wind music (Weil–Reinach [n. 84] 21–22 n. 51).

<sup>89</sup> Guhrauer (n. 44) 12, 14.

with determinate rules, performed by a solo virtuoso.<sup>90</sup> Pseudo-Plutarch<sup>91</sup> gives the only list of aulodic νόμοι we have:<sup>92</sup>

Οἱ δὲ νόμοι οἱ κατὰ τούτους,<sup>93</sup> ἀγαθὲ Ὀνησίκρατες, ἀλφωδικοί ἦσαν Ἀπόθετος, Ἐλεγχοί, Κωμάρχιοι, Σχοινίων, Κηπίων τε καὶ †Δεῖος καὶ Τριμερῆς· ὑστέρω δὲ χρόνω καὶ τὰ Πολυμνήστεια καλούμενα ἐξευρέθη (1132 D).

Ἐλεγχος Franke | Κηπίων Τενέδιος Amyot Κηπίων τε καὶ Λεῖος Wyttenbach Κηπίων τε καὶ Λύδιος Salmasius Κηπίων τε καὶ Τεῖος Burette Κηπίων Ἐπικῆδειος Westphal Κηπίων καὶ Ἐπικῆδειος Weil-Reinach Κήδειος Lasserre | Τριμερῆς Xylander coll. 1134 B: τριμελής codd. | πολυμνάστεια codd., corr. Herwerden coll. Aristoph. *Equ.* 1287

γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ Πολύμνηστον ποιητὴν, Μέλητος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου υἱόν, ὃν [Πολύμνηστόν] \*\*\* τε καὶ Πολυμνήστην νόμους ποιῆσαι (1133 A).

[Πολύμνηστόν] del. Pohlenz, qui etiam <ἄλλους> τε καὶ Πολυμνηστίους νόμους

Unfortunately, for us these names are hardly anything more than *nomina nuda*. Various attempts of explaining them remain inconclusive.<sup>94</sup> A. Barker<sup>95</sup> takes the most skeptical view and argues that the lists of νόμοι known to us were created by the fifth-century BC classifiers proceeding from the alleged strict ‘laws’ that existed in music of old times.<sup>96</sup> They extracted their terminology from the hints in surviving

<sup>90</sup> See, e. g., W. Vetter, “Nomos 2”, *RE* XVII (1936) 840, 841; Barker (n. 84) 249, 255.

<sup>91</sup> Quoted from: Plutarchus, *Moralia* VI, 3. Ed. K. Ziegler, M. Pohlenz (Lipsiae: Teubner 1959).

<sup>92</sup> Pseudo-Plutarch (*De mus.*) is the only author who uses the adjective ἀλφωδικός and who distinguishes the aulodic νόμοι from the auletic ones.

<sup>93</sup> Probably τούτους should mean Κλονῶν καὶ Πολύμνηστον mentioned above (Pseudo-Plutarch is not aware of the exact authorship of each νόμος, cf. Weil – Reinach [n. 84] 23 n. 55), whereas τὰ Πολυμνήστεια καλούμενα are those ascribed to Polymnestos erroneously; cf. Westphal (n. 84) 73 ad pag. 5, 18; Barker (n. 84) 209 n. 21.

<sup>94</sup> For details, see H. Reimann, *Studien zur griechischen Musik-Geschichte. A. Der Νόμος*, Progr. des Gymn. Ratibor (Leipzig 1882) 2–3, 6; Weil – Reinach (n. 84) 17 n. 41, 18 n. 42, 22–23 n. 54, 27 n. 63; Lasserre (n. 84) 23–25; 156 n. 4; C. Del Grande, *La metrica greca*, Enciclopedia Classica, sezione II, vol. V, tomo II (Torino 1960) 425; L. Gamberini, *Plutarco “Della musica”*, *Historiae musicae cultores* 32 (Firenze 1979) 167; Barker (n. 84) 252.

<sup>95</sup> Barker (n. 84) 249–255.

<sup>96</sup> E. g., Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1133 B. According to Barker, this impression could be inferred “from remarks made by poets transitional between the old and the new, such

Archaic pieces that could allude to various features: pitch, meter, tuning-scheme, number of sections, regional style, occasion, subject matter, etc., so the typology turned out to be rather chaotic and the sense of some included terms even was not fully understood. Then this scheme of classification was extrapolated backwards to the previous period. Meanwhile, no such carefully distinguished types of compositions were in use in the seventh and the sixth century. Still “something corresponding to these rules and distinctions” (p. 249) should have existed; various kinds of musical solo at the Archaic competitions are likely to have developed into some important forms that became classic and to have provided great influence on music of later times. The existence of some rules, especially regulating structure and subject, is quite probable for competition pieces, all the more for pieces performed during festivals, which are actually cult events.<sup>97</sup> But the trouble is that the νόμοι ἀλφῳδικοί, mentioned by a single author and lacking comments, are especially obscure for us.

The scholars of the nineteenth century asserted that most of the νόμοι ἀλφῳδικοί named by Pseudo-Plutarch were called ἀλφῳτικοί elsewhere, and even discussed if each aulodic νόμος corresponded to, or was at the same time, an auletic one.<sup>98</sup> But the confusion is in fact not so great. Κηπίων is mentioned in Pseudo-Plutarch both among νόμοι ἀλφῳδικοί and κιθαρωδικοί (*De mus.* 1132 D, 1133 C, cf. Poll. 4. 65, Hesych. κ 714), so he would have meant that the aulodic νόμος existed together with the corresponding citharodic one (and was perhaps created on the basis of it). The evidence is varied about νόμος ὄρθιος, which is called citharodic (Hdt. 1. 24; *Sch. Aristoph. Ach.* 1042, *Eq.* 1278 a, 1279 a, *Ran.* 1282, *Eccl.* 741; Poll. 4. 65; Phot. *Lex.* α 1303; Suid. εἰ 146, λ 753, ν 478, ο 574, 575, 585) as well as auletic (*Sch. Aristoph. Ach.* 16; Poll. 4. 73; Suid. ο 573); if this name indicates classification by pitch, it could really refer to various high-pitched genres.<sup>99</sup> According to some of Pseudo-Plutarch’s sources, the poets associated with Polymnestes – i. e. authors of aulodia? – composed it too (1134 B), but it is nowhere called ἀλφῳδικός, and Pseudo-Plutarch hesitates if Polymnestes used it (1134 D); which is more, ὄρθιος may be opposed to the aulodic νόμοι in this passage.<sup>100</sup> The only evident

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as Pindar and Pratinas <...>, from the apparently systematic simplicity of surviving examples of the ancient music (e. g. <Ps.-Plut.> 1137 a – 1138 a, 1143 b), and from the plain fact that the structurally and harmonically ‘free’ forms of contemporary composers, beginning with Phrynis, were still felt to be audacious novelties” (*ibid.*, 250).

<sup>97</sup> Barker (n. 84) 254–255. Such rules are preserved, e. g., for an auletic (Poll. 4. 84) and a citharistic (Strab. 9. 3. 10, p. 421–422 C) νόμος Πυθικός.

<sup>98</sup> Guhrauer (n. 44) 10–12; K. von Jan, “Auletischer und aulodischer Nomos”, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 119 (1879) 580–581.

<sup>99</sup> Barker (n. 84) 252.

<sup>100</sup> Καὶ Πολύμνηστος δ’ ἀλφῳδικοὺς νόμους ἐποίησεν· εἰ δὲ τῷ Ὀρθίῳ νόμῳ <έν> τῇ μελοποιίᾳ κέχρηται, καθάπερ οἱ ἄρμονικοὶ φασιν, οὐκ ἔχομεν [δ’] ἀκριβῶς εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἰρήκασιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τι περὶ τούτου.

divergence from the information provided by Pseudo-Plutarch concerns νόμος ἀπόθετος and σχοινίων: Polydeuces calls them ἀύλητικοί two times (Poll. 4. 65, 78–79). However, this is the only term he applies to the νόμοι dealing with an aulos (see also 4. 82, 84), not opposing the auletic and aulodic ones.<sup>101</sup> Further, ἀπόθετος and σχοινίων are the only names known to him among those enumerated by Pseudo-Plutarch, and on this occasion both authors seem to have used the same source, namely the one that named Clonas, the aulodic poet, as the inventor of exactly these two νόμοι.<sup>102</sup> Whereas Pseudo-Plutarch goes into details concerning different νόμοι, Polydeuces does not show deep understanding of the matter.<sup>103</sup> Most probably he did not intend to elucidate the difference between vocal and instrumental νόμοι, but used the word ἀύλητικοί in the meaning ‘dealing with aulos’. Therefore his evidence should not prove the existence of the auletic νόμος ἀπόθετος and νόμος σχοινίων.

Aulodia is associated with elegies in our sources: Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1132 B, 1134 A (see below p. 26); Paus. 10. 7. 5 (see above p. 18). E. L. Bowie,<sup>104</sup> in his neat analysis of circumstances in which elegiac poetry could be performed, supposed that the genre sung by the aulodes at the public festivals was narrative poetry in elegiac meter, longer than any surviving specimen of elegy (about 1000 verses or more), dealing with local history, such as foundation of cities and their ancient or recent achievements, and perhaps including mythological subjects as well. As possible examples he gives Mimnermos’ *Smyrneis*, Tyrtaeus’ *Politeia/Eunomia*, Semonides’ ἄρχαιολογία of the Samians, Xenophanes’ poem(s) on foundation of Colophon and colonisation of Elea, Panyassis’ Ionian history, Simonides’ *Salamis*, and Ion’s *Χίου κτίσις*. Such a kind of poetry would emulate poems on local history in hexameters, so Bowie suggests that narrative elegy could be distinguished by “emphasis on personal views and recollections” (p. 33) characteristic of its sympotic variant. But he states that this genre did not postdate the middle of the fifth century BC, for it could not stand the competition with history in prose. Thus we are again left in the dark as to the contents of aulodia in later times.

Therefore, the information we have is far from sufficient to make an idea about the performance of an aulode in detail.

<sup>101</sup> He does oppose citharistic νόμοι to citharodic, though not quite clearly: those created by Terpandros (4. 65) are referred to as citharodic (4. 66), whereas the instrumental ones are attested as τῶν ψιλῶν κιθαριστῶν (4. 66) and κιθαριστήριοι (4. 84).

<sup>102</sup> Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1133 A: περὶ δὲ Κλονᾶ ὅτι τὸν Ἀπόθετον νόμον καὶ Σχοινίωνα πεποιηκῶς εἶη μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ἀναγεγραφότες; Poll. 4. 65: σφάλονται δ’ οἱ καὶ ἀπόθετον προστιθέντες αὐτῷ [sc. Τερπάνδρῳ] καὶ σχοινίωνα· οὗτοι γὰρ ἀύλητικοί; 4. 79: καὶ Κλονᾶ δὲ νόμοι ἀύλητικοὶ ἀπόθετός τε καὶ σχοινίων. Cf. Westphal (n. 84) 71; Weil – Reinach (n. 84) VIII; 17 n. 41; 21 n. 51.

<sup>103</sup> Guhrauer (n. 44) 9–10.

<sup>104</sup> Bowie (n. 80) 27–35.

The term ἀλφῶδός meant evidently a singer. For his performance he needed a second person to accompany him on an aulos, but it was the singer who would get the credit for the performance and would be crowned, as clearly explained in Athenaeus (14. 14, 621 b):

ψάλλει δ' ἀντῶ [sc. τῶ ἰλαρωδῶ] ἄρρηγν ἢ θήλεια, ὡς καὶ τῶ ἀλφῶδῶ.  
δίδοται δὲ ὁ στέφανος τῶ ἰλαρωδῶ καὶ τῶ ἀλφῶδῶ, οὐ τῶ ψάλτη  
οὐδὲ τῶ ἀλφητῆ.

He (sc. the hilarode) is accompanied on a stringed instrument by a man or a woman, just like an aulode. And the crown is given to the hilarode and the aulode, not to the cithara-player or to the aulos-player.

At the end of the nineteenth century Karl von Jan<sup>105</sup> claimed that in earlier times only one musician, who alternated singing and playing, took part in the performance. But this idea could not be sustained, as von Jan himself was forced to admit<sup>106</sup> in the course of discussion<sup>107</sup> raised by his publication.<sup>108</sup> *Communis opinio* was expressed in 1900 by J. Frei: “Aulodum fuisse cantorem ... cui tibicen concinuit ... inter homines doctos nunc constat”.<sup>109</sup>

Von Jan's main argument, that no evidence of accompanying auletes was known, is now refuted by the vase-paintings listed above.

Polydeuces (Poll. 4. 83) makes ἀλφῶδία an example of εἶδος προσαυλήσεως, that is, an art where the aulete acted as an accompanying musician (according to Polydeuces' sources, the same could be his role in a συναυλία, understood as playing the cithara to the aulos accompaniment).<sup>110</sup>

When other artistic activities of an ἀλφῶδός are mentioned, it is mostly singing. Phrynus, the famous citharode of the fifth century BC, is said to have been active as an aulode before his teacher Aristocleides

<sup>105</sup> Von Jan (n. 98) 577–592 (a review of Guhrauer [n. 44]).

<sup>106</sup> K. von Jan, Rec.: “Reimann, Studien zur griechischen Musik-Geschichte...” [n. 94], *Philologische Rundschau* 3 (1883) 437.

<sup>107</sup> H. Guhrauer, “Zur Geschichte der Aulosmusik. Eine Entgegnung”, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 121 (1880) 689–705; Reimann (n. 94) 13.

<sup>108</sup> Still one should agree with von Jan ([n. 98] 581–584), that a passage in Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1144 E (ὕποκρίνειε γὰρ ἂν τις ἀκούων ἀλφητοῦ, πότερον ποτε συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ ἀυλοὶ ἢ οὐ, καὶ πότερον ἢ διάλεκτος σαφῆς ἢ τοῦναντίον) has nothing to do with aulodia, pace Guhrauer ([n. 44] 1–3).

<sup>109</sup> J. Frei, *De certaminibus thymelicis*. Diss. (Basileae 1900) 33. Misinterpretations are rare and, it seems, inadvertent, see Webster (n. 30) 160, 165 and, recently, Bundrick (n. 31) 239.

<sup>110</sup> Poll. 4. 83: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ συναυλία τις ἐκαλεῖτο· συμφωνία τις αὐτῆ τῶν ἐν Παναθηναίοις συναυλοῦντων. οἱ δὲ τὴν συναυλίαν εἶδος προσαυλήσεως οἶονται ὡς τὴν ἀλφῶδιαν. καὶ μὴν ἰαμβοὶ γε καὶ παριαμβίδες νόμοι κιθαριστήριον, οἷς καὶ προσηγύλου. Cf. n. 144 below.

taught him to play the cithara.<sup>111</sup> A certain Rhodippos won the victories as an aulode<sup>112</sup> and as a leader of a men chorus.<sup>113</sup> Pythocles, the priest of a Dionysian artistic guild in the third century BC,<sup>114</sup> acted as a leader or a member of the men chorus<sup>115</sup> and was glorified as a singer in a badly preserved poetical inscription on the base of his statue;<sup>116</sup> in the same poem he is thought to be called ἀὐλω]δός (line 9) and κωμω]δός or ῥαψω]δός (line 10). Such combinations of activities correspond well to the statement of Athenaeus: an aulode did not have to play an aulos.

It is of interest if the comparative importance of the both performers of aulodia was reflected in their representations in vase-painting. Their arrangement seems not significant, for there are examples of every possible scheme. In many cases, the singer and the aulete face each other, the aulode standing either to the left (nos. 1, 2) or to the right (nos. 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 16, 19, 24, 27). They can also be placed one behind the other (no. 15<sup>117</sup>), always turned to the right,<sup>118</sup> the aulode first (in the Classical period: nos. 18, 20, 21?, 22, 23, 25, 26) or next (in the Archaic period: nos. 4, 8, 9, 11<sup>119</sup>). The least common is the position side by side (nos. 5, 10, 17). But I do not think that the arrangement of the musicians in vase-painting can tell us something about their actual position in the course of performance. Though it need not have been regulated officially, the most suitable position would be side by side (or half-turned to each other, cf. no. 24), so

<sup>111</sup> *Sch. Aristoph. Nub.* 971 a = Suid. φ 761: παραλαβὼν δὲ τὸν Φρῶνιν ἀὐλωδοῦντα κιθαρίζειν ἐδίδασκεν (this is the only case where the verb ἀὐλωδέω is used, and, remarkably, as a participle). See W. Riemschneider, "Phrynis", *RE* 20 (1941) 925–928.

<sup>112</sup> *IG VII* 3197 = Reisch III lines 13–14; *BCH* 44 (1920) 251 no. 10 lines 19–20; *Arch. Eph.* (1917) 167 lines 13–14.

<sup>113</sup> *IG VII* 3197 = Reisch III lines 44–45 (ἄνδρας ἡγεμόνας at the Homoloia).

<sup>114</sup> G. Nachtergaele, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes* (Bruxelles 1977), attachment: Corpus des actes relatifs aux Sôtéria de Delphes, p. 391 ff. [henceforth: Nachtergaele] no. 3 = *FD III* 1, 477 line 3; no. 4 = *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 489 lines 7–8; no. 5 lines 8–9 = *SEG* 18 (1962) 235. Cf. Nachtergaele p. 317–323.

<sup>115</sup> Nachtergaele no. 3 lines 14–15; no. 8 = *SGDI* 2564 lines 29–30.

<sup>116</sup> Nachtergaele no. 15 bis = *IG IV* 682: line 9 ἐγ κυκλίοισι χοροῖσιν; line 15 τὸν ἄοιδόν.

<sup>117</sup> Only some details of this representation are known to me (cf. n. 22).

<sup>118</sup> Citharodes and citharists are also represented turned to the right: the cithara was held in the left hand, so the opposite view would make the face of the musician partly hidden by his instrument (Kotsidu [n. 2] 109–111). As for the aulos-players and singers, the same convention could be explained as an adoption from representations of cithara-players, which are more numerous, to those of other musicians. One can also think of a different artistic convention: in duels, the winners are usually placed on the left side and turned to the right.

<sup>119</sup> On nos. 4 and 11, the heads of the musicians are missing, but, as the folds of their garments show, the figures standing in front have their arms raised up and thus prove to be auletes.

that the performers could face the audience and at the same time exchange glances to synchronise. Still the conventions of vase-painting would prevent exactly this way of placing figures, for the profile view was the only possible in the early period and remained the most common even after the painters mastered frontal and three-quarter views. The few attempts of “approximation to life” made the figure at the background look almost indiscernible and so proved unsuccessful. Consequently, the musicians standing side by side could be depicted either as facing the same direction<sup>120</sup> or turned one to another.

As for the costumes, the singer is always wrapped in a long mantle, his arms hidden; the accompanist usually wears a chiton and mantle or just a mantle<sup>121</sup> (both have their dress embroidered on nos. 5, 16, but not the aulete on no. 17 – perhaps in order to make both figures more discernible). Both can have wreaths (nos. 8, 16, 17, 19, 23, 24, 25) or taeniae (nos. 12, 13, 20, 26, 27; an aulode only on no. 3; on no. 6 the aulode wears a taenia and the aulete, it seems, a wreath); so can the judges and the listeners. At first sight, an aulode’s dress does not look more ornate than that of an aulete. But, as M. Vos observed,<sup>122</sup> the accompanying auletes (in all cases except those not counted by Vos: no. 1, one of the earliest, and no. 14) do not wear special festal garments worn by their solo-playing colleagues: a long not girdled heavy tunic (no. 14) or a long chiton with an ependytes (no. 1).<sup>123</sup> This is the only way in which their secondary role is emphasized.

No satisfactory answer can be given to the question of the authorship of aulodia: was it a singer, an aulete, or someone else who composed the text and the music? Presumably, all these variants were possible. One should be cautious while ascribing to the ancient public modern views that the composer should at any rate be taken into account in a competition and be crowned as a victor. We know that only the singers, ἀλφῶδοί, are mentioned in agonistic catalogues. In Pseudo-Plutarch Clonas, the creator of aulodic νόμοι, is called ὁ πρῶτος συστησάμενος τοὺς ἀλφῶδικοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ προσόδια, ἐλεγείων τε καὶ ἐπῶν ποιητής (*De mus.* 1132 B), ὁ τῶν ἀλφῶδικῶν νόμων ποιητής (1133 A), but he is nowhere attested as ἀλφῶδός or ἀλφητής, so we can only guess if he competed at all. In some other cases Pseudo-Plutarch does provide information about the activities of his πρῶτοι εὔρεται as performers.<sup>124</sup> But the explanation for the absence of

<sup>120</sup> Wegner (n. 16) 70 and Kotsidu (n. 2) 111 also interpret placing figures one after another as a way to show them standing side by side.

<sup>121</sup> Vos (n. 2) 127; Kotsidu (n. 2) 128.

<sup>122</sup> Vos (n. 2) 128.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>124</sup> *De mus.* 1132 E: ἔοικε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὴν κιθαρωδικὴν ὁ Τέρπανδρος διενηνοχέναι· τὰ Πύθια γὰρ τετράκις ἐξῆς νενικηκῶς ἀναγέγραπται. 1134 A:

such data on Clonas or Polymnestos can be that his sources were dealing only with the Pythian victories, which were not attainable for aulodes.

Suid. α 2657: Ἀντιγενίδης Σατύρου, Θηβαῖος, μουσικός, ἀλφωδὸς Φιλοξένου – might look like evidence for a cooperation of a composer with an aulode. But Philoxenos was a famous dithyrambic poet,<sup>125</sup> his works were performed by a chorus, and Antigenides is known as an aulete,<sup>126</sup> so the word ἀλφωδός is used here erroneously instead of ἀλλητής. The reasons for such a mistake will be examined further.

Yet there appear to be mentions of two composers of aulodia who were auletes at the same time, as could be inferred from a passage of Pseudo-Plutarch (*De mus.* 1133 F–1134 B):

Καὶ ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος νόμος καλούμενος Κραδίας, ὃν φησὶν Ἴππωναξ Μίμνερμον ἀλλῆσαι. ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ ἐλεγεία μεμελοποιημένα οἱ ἀλφωδοὶ ᾄδον· τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ ἡ τῶν Παναθηναίων <ἀνα>γραφὴ ἢ περὶ τοῦ μουσικοῦ ἀγῶνος. γέγονε δὲ καὶ Σακάδας <ὁ> Ἀργεῖος ποιητὴς μελῶν τε καὶ ἐλεγείων μεμελοποιημένων· ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ἀλλητὴς ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὰ Πύθια τρεῖς νενικηκῶς ἀναγέγραπται· τούτου καὶ Πίνδαρος μνημονεύει· τόνων γοῦν τριῶν ὄντων κατὰ Πολύμνηστον καὶ Σακάδαν, τοῦ τε Δωρίου καὶ Φρυγίου καὶ Λυδίου, ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰρημένων τόνων στροφὴν ποιήσαντά φασι τὸν Σακάδαν διδάξαι ἄδειν τὸν χορὸν Δωριστὶ μὲν τὴν πρώτην, Φρυγιστὶ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, Λυδιστὶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην· καλεῖσθαι δὲ Τριμερῆ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον διὰ τὴν μεταβολήν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀναγραφῇ τῇ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν Κλονῶς εὐρετὴς ἀναγέγραπται τοῦ Τριμεροῦς νόμου.

Κραδίης Weil–Reinach ex Hesychio | παρ' ἀθηναίων αA<sup>1</sup>εοπ<sup>1</sup>π<sup>2</sup> | γραφὴ codd.: corr. Cobet | ὁ add. Westphal | μελῶν] ἐπῶν Weil–Reinach | ἀλλητὴς Wyttenbach: ποιητὴς codd. | τριμελῆ ... τριμελοῦς Xylander Burette Weil–Reinach, cf. 1132 D

There is one more ancient *nomos* named Cradias, Hipponax says that Mimnermos had performed it on an aulos. For at first the aulodes sang elegies set to the music, as it is attested by the Panathenaic document about the musical contest. Sacadas from Argos also was the author of melic poetry

γέγονε δὲ καὶ Σακάδας <ὁ> Ἀργεῖος ποιητὴς μελῶν τε καὶ ἐλεγείων μεμελοποιημένων· ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ἀλλητὴς ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὰ Πύθια τρεῖς νενικηκῶς ἀναγέγραπται.

<sup>125</sup> Suid. φ 393; cf. διθυραμβοποιός Suid. α 2862, δ 1178, εἰ 291, θ 475, κ 2647, σ 1192; see P. Maas, “Philoxenos 23”, *RE* 20 (1941) 192–194.

<sup>126</sup> M. Dinse, *De Antigenida Thebano musico* (Berlin 1856) esp. 39; K. von Jan, “Antigenidas 3”, *RE* 1 (1894) 2400–2401; Guhrauer (n. 44) 11 n. 4.

and of elegies set to the music; there is evidence that he was a good aulete as well and has won the Pythian games three times. Pindar mentions him also: as at the time of Polymnestos and Sacadas there had been three systems of tuning, the Doric, the Phrygian, and the Lydian ones, it is said that Sacadas has composed a strophe in each of the systems named and has taught the chorus to sing the first in the Doric system, the second in the Phrygian, the third in the Lydian, so the *nomos* was called Tripartite because of the modulation. And in the Sicyonian document concerning the poets and composers it is Clonias who is called the author of the Tripartite *nomos*.

In this passage, Pseudo-Plutarch finishes, with the νόμος Κραδίας, the enumeration of the auletic, not the aulodic νόμοι, but after the mention of Mimnermos he gives a sudden passing reference to the repertoire of ἀλφῶδοί.<sup>127</sup> We need to supplement a missing link in his argument. The readers of *Περὶ μουσικῆς* would know Mimnermos mostly as an elegiac poet; but here he is said to have performed solo as an aulete.<sup>128</sup> Hence an explanation that in Mimnermos' times elegies were set to music and sung to the aulos (implicitly: *so that the poet had to master this instrument in order to accompany them and could even become a virtuoso*). Next, the author recalls a similar case: Sacadas, the famous aulos-player, who is referred to (Poll. 4. 79, 84; Paus. 2. 22. 8) as an inventor of the auletic νόμος Πυθικός, was at the same time a composer of poetry set to the music.<sup>129</sup> In particular, we are told that he had created an aulodic (cf. Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1132 D) νόμος Τριμερής for a chorus. This is the only passage that allows us to connect the term ἀλφῶδια with chorus music, but unfortunately Pseudo-Plutarch's information is suspicious.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> This even made some editors transpose the whole passage ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ – τοῦ Τριμεροῦς νόμου: see Westphal (n. 84) 7 ad loc. (to 1134 C) and Weil – Reinach (n. 84) 24 n. 57 ad loc. (to 1133 B).

<sup>128</sup> Further references to Mimnermos as ἀλφητής: Hermesianax fr. VII. 35–40 ap. Athen. 13. 71, 598 a and Strab. 14. 1. 28, p. 643 C.

<sup>129</sup> Judging by this passage, one could suspect an author of aulodia in any aulete said to have composed melic or elegiac verse, e. g. Suid. τ 1205: Τυρταίος, Ἀρχεμβρότου, Λάκων ἢ Μιλήσιος, ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ ἀλφητής. Cf. the hypothesis of E. L. Bowie, above p. 22.

<sup>130</sup> The performers of all kinds of agonistic νόμοι are elsewhere considered soloists: see, e. g., H. Guhrauer, "Der pythische Nomos", *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Supplbd. VIII (1875/76) 326 f.; E. Hiller, "Sakadas der Aulet", *RhM* 31 (1876) 86 f.; von Jan (n. 106) 439 f.; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (New York 1963 [1906]) xxi, lxii n. 1; W. Schmid, O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, Teil I, Bd. I (München 1929) 331 and n. 2; Vetter (n. 90) 840, 841; Barker (n. 84) 214 n. 63, 251, 253; cf. Reimann (n. 94) 1–8; W. Vetter, "Musikalische Sinndeutung des antiken Nomos", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1935) 291. Besides, such a modulation is improbable for the Archaic period, see Weil – Reinach (n. 84) 26 n. 62; Barker, *ibid.*, 251; cf. Vetter, "Musikalische Sinndeutung des antiken Nomos", 297; Lasserre (n. 84) 23, 159 n. 3.

Thus we are facing a terminological problem. Singing to the aulos accompaniment was quite common in various genres, such as elegiac poetry sung at symposia, chorus performances, and vocal parts of both the actors and the chorus in drama. So was it possible to use the word ἀὐλωδία in any of these cases? Was the term ἀὐλωδός ever applied to the symposiasts singing to the pipes at a feast? Was a solo monody of an actor in drama considered a kind of ἀὐλωδία?<sup>131</sup> Could a performance of a chorus accompanied by an aulete, either in a dramatic or a dithyrambic contest, be called ἀὐλωδία, and a member (or at least the leader) of a chorus, ἀὐλωδός? Since all these artists were singing to an aulos, we find it possible;<sup>132</sup> so could the ancient Greeks, still the lack of such evidence should itself be regarded as significant. The words ἀὐλωδία and ἀὐλωδός seem to have been used until the turn of the first century AD mainly, if not solely, as *termini technici* referring to the performance of a νόμος at the musical competitions.

However, the situation changed when the aulodic contests disappeared from the festivals. The words ἀὐλωδός and ἀὐλωδία were, of course, etymologically transparent and so could not become entirely obscure. But their meaning as technical terms was being gradually forgotten by those who had no special interest in musical contests of older times.

As a result, in some Greek texts beginning from the end of the first or the turn of the second century AD, we find these words applied to *instrumental* wind music.

Plutarch (not Pseudo-Plutarch) seems to be the first evidence surviving to use ἀὐλωδός instead of ἀὐλητής (*Quaest. conv.* 7. 5, 704 C–D).<sup>133</sup>

Ἐν Πυθίοις Καλλίστρατος, τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐπιμελητής, ἀὐλωδόν τινα πολίτην καὶ φίλον ὑστερήσαντα τῆς ἀπογραφῆς τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος εἶρξε κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐστιῶν δ' ἡμᾶς παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἐσθῆτι καὶ στεφάνοις, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγῶνι, μετὰ τοῦ χοροῦ κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπῶς.

At the time of the Pythian Games, Callistratus, who was a director of the Amphictyons, had, in accordance with the rule, disqualified for late

<sup>131</sup> Guhrer (n. 44) 16: “handelte es sich da nicht bei allen den arienartigen Monodien einzelner Schauspieler um das, was wir als ἀὐλωδία definiert haben, um kunstmässigen Solo-Gesang zum Aulos? Sicherlich”.

<sup>132</sup> E. g., all the musicians mentioned in the inscriptions as leading singers (ἀίδοντος τοῦ δεῖνα) in a competition of men choruses (P. Amandry, Th. Spyropoulos, “Monuments chorégyques d’Orchomène de Béotie”, *BCH* 98 [1974] 185–209, nos. 5–9, 11–17, 19–20, Orchomenos, the end of the third century BC) are referred to as ἀὐλωδοί by Stephanis (Στηφανίς [n. 67] nos. 43, 140, 142, 310, 436, 1030, 1499, 1944, 2615).

<sup>133</sup> As noted already by Guhrer (n. 44) 14 n. 1.

registration a certain flute-player who was a fellow citizen and friend of his. But when he gave a dinner for us, he brought the man before the party, with his dancing group, splendidly arrayed as for a contest, in costume and garlands.<sup>134</sup>

This statement, if taken literally, would have proved the reestablishment of aulodic contests at the Pythian games, but it contradicts the information of Pausanias 10. 7. 4–6 (see above p. 5) as well as the impression of the decline of ἀύλωδία given by the epigraphical evidence. It is most probable that an aulete is meant here, namely a χοροούλης. The auletes performing together with a chorus are known to have played the first parts<sup>135</sup> from about the second half of the fourth century BC:<sup>136</sup> they are mentioned in agonistic context as the winners μετὰ χοροῦ<sup>137</sup> (exactly as Plutarch puts it), and even the contest itself is referred to as a competition of auletes instead of choruses.<sup>138</sup>

The use of ἀύλωδός by Plutarch could be explained if the whole performance of an aulete with a chorus were called ἀύλωδία: in this case, naming of a chief musician in this genre as ἀύλωδός seems explicable. The same assumption would be valid for Antigenides being called ἀύλωδός in Suid. α 2657 (see above p. 26 though Antigenides dates back to an earlier period, 400–370 BC), but it does not help in other cases of the confusion.

<sup>134</sup> Transl. by E. L. Minar, Jr.: Plutarch, *Moralia* IX, LCL 425 (Cambridge, Mass. – London 1961).

<sup>135</sup> The analysis of the Athenian choregic monuments of the fifth and the fourth centuries BC shows that the name of an aulete, at first not included in the inscriptions at all, finally replaces the name of a διδάσκαλος: cf. Reisch (n. 61) 27–42.

<sup>136</sup> The increasing role of an instrumentalist is indicated even earlier, towards the end of the fifth century, by Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1141 C–D: ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀύλητικὴ ἀπὸ ἀπλουστέρως εἰς ποικιλοτέρως μεταβέβηκε μουσικὴν· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἕως εἰς Μελανιπίδην τὸν τῶν διθυράμβων ποιητὴν συμβεβήκει τοὺς ἀύλητάς παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν λαμβάνειν τοὺς μισθοὺς πρωταγωνιστοῦσης δηλονότι τῆς ποιήσεως, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεφθάρη.

<sup>137</sup> Athen. 12. 54, 538 f (324 BC); *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 648 B (ca. 200–194 BC); *BCH* 9 (1885) 147–149 lines 70–71 (172 BC).

<sup>138</sup> E. g., *I Priene* 19<sub>54</sub>; 53<sub>70</sub>; 54<sub>65</sub> ἀύλητῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ παιδικῷ; *SGDI* 2566<sub>17</sub> διδάσκαλοι ἀύλητῶν; Dem. 21, 156 τραγωδοῖς κεχορήγηκέ ποθ' οὔτος, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀύληταῖς ἀνδράσιν; *CIG* 3089<sub>7-8, 11</sub> παίδων ἀύλητῶν χορηγός, ἀύλητῶν ἀνδρῶν χορηγός; *CIG* 3090<sub>2-4</sub> χορηγοὶ ... ἀύλητῶν παίδων; A. Brinck, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, *Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses* 7 (Halle 1885) nos. 101, 102 ἐχορήγουν παίδων ἀύληταῖς... ἀνδρῶν ἀύληταῖς. See Brinck, *ibid.*, 75 sqq.; Reisch (n. 61) p. 59 n. 1; p. 101; idem, “Χορικοὶ ἀγῶνες”, *RE* 3 (1899) 2435–2436; Frei (n. 109) 67; E. Bethe, “Thymeliker und Skeniker”, *Hermes* 36 (1901) 598; L. Robert, *Etudes epigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938) 31–35; H. A. Алмазова, *Античная музыкальная эпиграфика*. Дисс. [рук.] (N. Almazova, *Ancient Musical Epigraphics*. Diss. [ms.] (СПб. 1998) 71–75; eadem (n. 49) 173–174.

Several authors have left evidence about the use of music to deal with animals.<sup>139</sup> According to Claudius Aelianus (*De nat. anim.* 12. 46),<sup>140</sup> the Etruscans used aulos music as a means of capturing wild boars and stags:

τὰ μὲν δίκτυα περιβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ θήρατρα, ὅσα ἐλλοχῶ τὰ ζῶα· ἔστηκε δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐλῶν τεχνίτης, καὶ ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶται τοῦ μέλους ὑποχαλᾶν, καὶ ὃ τι ποτέ ἐστι τῆς μούσης σύντονον ἔῃ, πᾶν δὲ ὃ τι γλύκιστον αὐλωδίας τοῦτο ᾄδει...

They set the nets and other hunting gear that ensnare the animals in a circle, and a man proficient on the pipes stands there and tries his utmost to play a rather soft tune, avoiding any shriller note, but playing the sweetest melodies possible.<sup>141</sup>

There is no doubt that αὐλωδία performed by only one person (called ἀνὴρ αὐλῶν τεχνίτης) is here nothing but playing an aulos.<sup>142</sup> The same should be the case of Clemens Alexandrinus (*Paedagogus* 2. 4. 41. 2) who is blaming mainly the pagan *instrumental* music. Besides the hunters' experience he mentions music for mating horses which hardly included poetry (note the word ἐπαυλεῖται<sup>143</sup>):

Καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποπεμπτέα τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα [sc. σῦριγξ καὶ αὐλός] νηφαλίου συμποσίου, θηρίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις κατάλληλα καὶ ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἀλογωτέροις. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐλάφους ταῖς σῦριγξι κηλεῖσθαι παρειλήφραμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ποδάγρας πρὸς τῶν κυνηγῶν θηρευομένας ἄγεσθαι τῷ μέλει, ταῖς δὲ ἵπποις μινυμέναις οἶον ὑμέναιος ἐπαυλεῖται νόμος αὐλωδίας· ἰππόθορον τοῦτον κεκλήκασι ν οἱ μουσικοί.

These instruments should indeed be ousted from a sober feast, for they befit animals more than men, and only those less rational among men. We are told that stags at a hunt are bewitched by syringes and taken to the nets by the melody, and that a kind of conjugal *nomos* is played on an aulos to

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Aristot. *Hist. anim.* 611 b 26; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 704 F, *Coniug. praec.* 138 B; Ael. *De nat. anim.* 15. 25.

<sup>140</sup> The same passage occurs two times in the excerption made for Constantine Porphyrogenetos: S. Lambros (ed.), *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium libri duo: Aristophanis historiae animalium epitome subiectis Aeliani Timothei aliorumque eclogis*, Supplementum Aristotelicum I, 1 (Berolini 1885) 2. 565 and (abridged) 2. 496.

<sup>141</sup> Transl. by A. F. Scholfield: Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* III, LCL 449 (London – Cambridge, Mass. 1972) 73.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. *Excerpt. Const. de nat. anim.* 2. 496: συναγωνίζεται δὲ τῇ θήρᾳ τὰ ὑτῆ καὶ αὐλός. αὐλεῖ γὰρ ἀνὴρ τεχνίτης καὶ etc.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 704 F.

mares while they are being covered – the musicians call it ‘The Stallion’s Leap’.

A further confusion concerns the explanation of the word ξυναυλία:

*Sch. Lucian.* 78. 3. 1: ἡ σύμφωνος ἀλλησις ἢ ἀπὸ β’ ἀλφῶδων περαιομένη.

*Phot. Lex.* ξ 311 = *Suid.* ξ 116: ἀλλησίς τις σύμφωνος, ὑπὸ δύο περαιομένη ἀλφῶδία.

In all other rather numerous sources, ξυναυλία points to instrumental music only: either playing a cithara accompanied by an aulos,<sup>144</sup> or, like in the present cases, a duet of pipes.<sup>145</sup> In fact, the given glosses themselves show that ἀλφῶδία is used as a synonym for ἀλλησις, and ἀλφῶδων for ἀλλητῶν, as is clearly seen when one compares some other glosses s. v. συναυλία / ξυναυλία: *Sch. Aristoph. Eq.* 9 a<sup>146</sup> ὅταν δύο ἀλληταὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀλῶσιν; 9 d ὅταν δύο ἀλληταὶ συνάδωσιν; *Hesych.* ξ 125 τὴν ὑπὸ δύο ἐπιτελουμένην ἀλλησιν; ὅταν δύο ἀλῶσι, and even the next wording in the same glossary *Suid.* ξ 117: ὅταν δύο ἀλληταὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγωσιν.

Likewise, the word ἀλφῶδός is used instead of ἀλλητής in *Scholia* to Aristophanes: Chairis, one of the poet’s targets, is once called (*Sch. Aristoph. Ach.* 16 a) κιθαρωδὸς καὶ ἀλφῶδός φαῦλος. Meanwhile, it is clear from the other passages of *Scholia*,<sup>147</sup> not to speak of Aristophanes’ own verses,<sup>148</sup> that Chairis was an aulete; moreover, the author of the same *scholion* to *Ach.* 16 did not hesitate to explain ὁ ὄρθιος performed by Chairis as ἀλλητικὸς νόμος.

The development of the meaning ‘aulos musik’ for ἀλφῶδία and ‘one who plays an aulos’ for ἀλφῶδός was most probably a part of a broader

<sup>144</sup> *Sch. Aristoph. Eq.* 9; *Poll.* 4. 83 (see above n. 110); *Athen.* 14. 9, 618 a; *Suid.* ξ 117.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Attic Classical vase-paintings depicting a duet of auletes in an agonistic context: a neck-amphora Naples SA 225 (*Jahrb. DAI* 76 [1961] 68, fig. 24; *Beazley, ARV<sup>2</sup>* 553, 32, ca. 460 BC), and a pelike London 1910.6–15.1 (*JHS* 41 [1921] pl. 7, V 4; *Beazley, ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1123, 2, ca. 430–420 BC); see *Shapiro* (n. 2) 60.

<sup>146</sup> The flogged slaves in *Eq.* 8–10 are surely imitating an instrumental νόμος of Olympos with their μυμῦ μυμῦ.

<sup>147</sup> *Sch. Aristoph. Ach.* 866 a: Χαίρις δὲ ἀλλητής Θηβαῖος ἄμουσος. *Sch. Aristoph. Pax* 951 b: ὁ Χαίρις ἀλλητής ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις; *Sch. Aristoph. Av.* 858 ἦν δὲ ὁ Χαίρις οὗτος κιθαρωδὸς ψυχρὸς καὶ γέγονεν ἀλλητής. Some scholiasts prove informed of a namesake musician who was a citharode (*sch. Pax* 951, *sch. Av.* 958).

<sup>148</sup> *Aristoph. Ach.* 866: the auletes are called Χαίριδῆς βομβαύλιοι; *Pax* 951–952: Χαίρις ... πρόσεισιν ἀλήσων; *Av.* 858: συναυλείτω δὲ Χαίρις ῥῶδᾶ.

process of using the words originally dealing with singing (with a stem φδ- or αδ-) for instrumental sounds.<sup>149</sup> As for the confusion to the opposite, no

<sup>149</sup> E. g., *Sch. Aristoph. Eq.* 9 d: ὅταν δύο ἀύληται συνᾶδωσιν; *Sch. Pind. Ol.* 5. 44 f.: Λυδίοις ἀπύων ἐν ἀύλοις; βοῶν. ἄδων; *Ael. De nat. anim.* 12. 44: κατὰδουσιν αὐτοὺς ὀργάνῳ τινί; *ibid.*: ἔοικεν ὑμέναιον ἄδειν τὸ αὐλημα (cf. ἄδει 12. 46: above p. 30); Themist. *Ἐπερ τοῦ λέγειν* 325 a: τοῖς ἀύληταις, ὅτι ἐν κοινῷ ἄδουσιν; Joh. Chrysost. *Synopsis* 56. 357: ἐν ἀύλοις καὶ κινύραις ἄδειν; Joh. Malalas, *Chron.* 458: ἀύλοὶ ἄδοντες μέλη μουσικά; Anon. in *Aristot. Rhet.* p. 217. 20 Rabe, CAG 21/2: ὁ ἀύλητής ἐκεῖνος ἄδων; Eustrat. *In Aristot. Eth. Nic.* I p. 61, 26–27 Heylbut, CAG 20: ἀύλους τέλος ὄντας τοῦ ἀύλοποιοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἄδειν αὐτῷ χρησιμεύοντας; Eustath. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4. 272: τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν τραγικὴν ὄρχησιν ἄδόμενον αὐλημα. The stem μελωδ- in Classical texts refers either to singing (e. g., *Aristoph. Av.* 226: {ΠΙ.} Οὕποψ μελωδεῖν αὖ παρασκευάζεται. {ΕΠΙ.} Ἐποποτοῖ ποποῖ, ποποποτοῖ ποποῖ; *Aristot. Pol.* 1339 b: τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν ... καὶ ψιλὴν οὖσαν καὶ μετὰ μελωδίας) or to the music as a whole (e. g., *Ps.-Aristot. Probl.* 919 a: τῆς μὲν [sc. φωνῆς] ἄδομένης τῆς δὲ ἀύλουμένης ὡσπερ μίαν ἄμφω ἄδουσιν· διὸ μόνη [sc. διὰ πασῶν συμφωνία] μελωδεῖται; cf. *Plat. Leg.* 655 d 8: τὰ ῥηθέντα ἢ μελωδηθέντα ἢ καὶ ὀπωσοῦν χορευθέντα), but later besides that we find as well the cases referring clearly to the instrumental music (e. g., *Ps.-Plut. De fluv.* 1. 2: πρὸς μελωδιαν ἀύλων; *Ps.-Plut. De Hom.* 2. 148: Οὐκ ἄδηλον δὲ ὅτι διττὴ ἐστὶν ἢ μελωδία, ἢ μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, ἢ δὲ ἐν ὀργάνοις, τοῖς τε ἐμπνευστοῖς τοῖς τε ἐντατοῖς; *Cass. Dio* 47. 43. 2: <διὰ> σαλπύγγων μελωδοῦντες; *Sext. Emp. Math.* 6. 32: οἱ τε δελφῖνες ... ἀύλων μελωδίας τερπόμενοι; *Ael. Var. hist.* 2. 44: μελωδοῦσι σάλπιγγες; *Arrian. BC* 1. 12. 106: σαλπύγγων τε ἄπειρον ἦν πλῆθος, παρὰ μέρος ὑγρότατα καὶ πένθημα μελωδοῦντων; *Heliodor. Aeth.* 10. 41. 3: ἀύλων τε καὶ συρίγγων μελωδίας; *Hist. Alex. Magni Rec.* α 1. 46 a. 1: τῆς ἀύλομελωδίας ἔμπειρος ἄνθρωπος; *ibid.*, 11: ἡ Ἀμφίονος λύρα μελωδοῦσα ἐτέλεσε τὰ τεύχη; *Greg. Nyss. In inscr. Psalm.* 5. 74: ψαλμὸς μὲν γάρ ἐστὶν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ὄργανου τοῦ μουσικοῦ μελωδία, ἢ δὲ ἢ διὰ στόματος γινομένη τοῦ μέλους μετὰ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκφώνησις; *ibid.*, 75: ὅταν διὰ μόνων τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων ἢ μελωδία γένηται; *Euseb. Comm. in Psalm.* 23. 1233: τῇ γὰρ πνευματικῇ κιθάρα τὴν θεῖαν ἀνακρουόμεθα μελωδιαν; *ibid.*, 24. 68: μελωδήσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν διὰ λύρας ... μελωδήσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐν κιθάρα; *Basiliius, Homil. super Psalm.* 29. 321: Ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἀύλος ὄργανον μουσικὸν πνεύματι συνεργῶ πρὸς τὴν μελωδιαν χρώμενον [cf. *ibid.*, 436: Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ψαλτήριον ὄργανον μουσικὸν, ἐναρμονίως τοὺς φθόγγους ἀποδιδὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐκ φωνῆς μελωδιαν]; *Origen. Selecta in Psalmos* 12. 1073 διὰ τοῦ μουσικοῦ ὄργανου μελωδηθέντας; *Joh. Chrysost. De decem milium talentorum debitore* 51. 19: ἐπὶ τῆς κιθάρας οὐκ ἄρκει μόνον ἀπὸ μίας νευρᾶς τὴν μελωδιαν ἐργάσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πάσας ἐπιέναι δεῖ; *idem, In Psalmum* 145 55. 525: Τότε γὰρ καὶ τερπνοτέρα καὶ δοκιμωτέρα ἀπὸ τῆς λύρας ἀναπέμπεται μελωδία; *Contra theatra* 56. 543: μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκουσμάτων, ἢ διὰ τῶν συρίγγων, ἢ διὰ τῶν ἀύλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων μελωδία; *Mich. Psell. Poemata* 53. 506–508: ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν χεῖρ ἢ δεξιὰ κατέκρουε τῷ πλήκτρῳ, / ἢ δ' ἄλλη χεῖρ ταῖς ἐπαφαῖς στρέφουσα τοὺς κολάβους / ποιᾶν τινα τὴν τῶν χορδῶν ἐποίει μελωδιαν; *Theodoretus, Interpretatio in Psalmos* 80. 1520: Διαφόροις ὀργάνοις κεχρημένοι τὴν θεῖαν ἀνεκρούοντο μελωδιαν). This can perhaps be considered even a universal semantic development: cf., e. g., Latin *fidicen, tibicen*.

cases of using ἀλφῳτῆς as well as ἀλφῳσις or ἀλφῳμα when speaking precisely of singing to the aulos<sup>150</sup> are known to me.<sup>151</sup>

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Хотя значение слов ἀλφῳδία и ἀλφῳδός подробно рассматривалось в работах конца XIX в., новые эпиграфические находки, публикации изображений на вазах, а также возможность использовать TLG позволяют вновь вернуться к этому вопросу. Упоминаний об авлодии в наших источниках значительно меньше, чем о других видах сольного музицирования (кифародии, авлетике, кифаристике). Впервые авлодия засвидетельствована на играх VI в. до н. э. Изображения авлодов встречаются в аттической вазовой живописи с середины VI до конца V в. Вплоть до рубежа эр слово ἀλφῳδός представлено исключительно в эпиграфических памятниках IV–I вв., связанных с мусическими публичными выступлениями, а слово ἀλφῳδία встречается лишь однажды, у Платона (*Leg.* 700 d). Начиная с I в. н. э. авлоды и авлодия исчезают из документов (а значит – и из программы) мусических игр, так что источники оказываются, наоборот, только литературными.

Наши сведения об истории авлодии и о выступлениях авлодов позволяют утверждать, что авлод – это певец, которому требовались услуги авлета-аккомпаниатора (последний не считался участником состязаний), но недостаточно, чтобы составить четкое представление о подробностях. Названия авлодических номов практически не дают никакой информации о содержании выступлений. Можно указать случаи, когда авторы авлодии, вероятно, выступали и как авлеты, но нет возможности судить о том, какова была обычная практика. Надписи IV–III вв. говорят о разделении состязаний авлодов на возрастные классы ἀνδρῳν и παίδῳν; так же можно интерпретировать ряд изображений на вазах VI–V вв. Среди известных нам игр, включавших авлодию в программу, преобладают беотийские. Как малое число упоминаний, так и прямые свидетельства доказывают, что авлодия ценилась ниже, чем прочие виды сольных выступлений.

Представляется, что вплоть до рубежа эр слова ἀλφῳδία и ἀλφῳδός использовались преимущественно, или даже исключительно, как *termini*

<sup>150</sup> On ἀλφῳτικός probably used by Polydeuces to mean all possible kinds of aulos musik, both the vocal and the instrumental ones, see above p. 21 f.

<sup>151</sup> Understanding of ἀλφῳδία in a broad meaning as ‘aulos music’ is probable in the remaining three cases not mentioned above: Ael. Arist. *Eiς Ἀθηνῶν* 14; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 3. 11. 80. 2–4; Poll. 4. 57.

*technici*, относившиеся к исполнению солистом-певцом авлодического нома на мусических играх. К другим разновидностям пения под авл (симпосиасты на пиру, хоры, вокальные партии в драме) они, видимо, не применялись ни в это время, ни впоследствии. Однако ситуация изменилась с исчезновением авлодии из программы празднеств. Оба слова, этимологически прозрачные, не могли, конечно, стать совершенно непонятными, но их терминологическое значение (во всяком случае, при отсутствии специального интереса к музыкальной агонистике прошлого) постепенно забывалось. С конца I в н. э. в наших источниках встречается употребление этих слов применительно к *инструментальной* музыке для авла (αὐλοδός = αὐλητής, αὐλοδία = αὐλησις или αὐλημα). Такое развитие можно связывать с более широким процессом (возможно – даже семантической универсалией): с применением к игре на музыкальных инструментах слов, связанных изначально с пением.