University of Reading

Music in Ancient Sparta: instruments, song, archaeology, and image.

PhD in Classics

Department of Classics, School of Humanities

James Lloyd

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

'Declaration: I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.'

ABSTRACT

By gathering a broad range of sources (literary, epigraphic, archaeological, iconographic, and organological), this study provides the first extended critique of what we know about Spartan music. The chronological focus of the thesis is the sixth to fourth centuries BCE, showing how previously overlooked evidence reveals that the musical culture of Sparta remained in a fluid state of change, reflection, and development, both during and after its fabled heyday in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.

I suggest that the unique elements of Spartan music (primarily its conservative and homeostatic nature) are either not overly unique or not entirely believable. That being said, aspects of Spartan musical performance do indeed appear to be distinctly local, such as the hereditary role of military aulos-players, but this obscures the point that music is a reflection of the culture in which it is created, and that as a tool to foster social cohesion and moral and political understanding, music played much the same role in Sparta as it did in other states. What is unique about Spartan music is the extent to which it was believed to be different.

A number of specific contributions to our understanding of ancient music and Spartan society are made: the Sparta auloi fragments belong to at least two different pairs of pipes; Simonides, rather than a poet tied to regent Pausanias, made a substantial contribution to Spartan politeia and paideia more broadly; Laconian material culture points to a vibrant performative environment. I also highlight the success of Sparta's progressive Roman musical culture from the 1st C. BCE - 3rd C. CE, and its tensions with deliberate archaising 'traditions'. In sum, this thesis argues that Spartan music needs to be re-conceived. Like the Spartan government, despite pleas for its stability and unchanging nature, Spartan engagement with music was constantly being reconsidered and reinvented, at home and abroad.

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To my family: Mum, Dad, Daisy, Grandma and Grandad.

In memory of Marion and Tom Lloyd

οὔ μ' ἔτι, παρσενικαὶ μελιγάρυες ἱαρόφωνοι,

γυῖα φέρην δύναται· βάλε δὴ βάλε κηρύλος εἴην,

ὅς τ᾽ επὶ κύματος ἄνθος ἅμ' ἀλκυόνεσσι ποτήται

νηλεές ἦτορ ἔχων, ἁλιπόρφυρος ἱαρὸς ὄρνις.

Dedicated to Olivia

λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσωι τακερώτερα

δ' ὕπνω καὶ σανάτω ποτιδέρκεται·

οὐδέ τι μαψιδίως γλυκῆα κήνα·

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION, AND ABBREVIATION

The spelling of ancient names in this thesis is one which follows a relatively standard practice, but which requires clarification with regards to certain areas. Those names and words which are commonly known of in English (including most ancient authors and proper names) are spelled in their Latinised forms (e.g. Alcman, Thucydides, Lycurgus, Lacedaemonian, Tyrtaeus, chorus, paean, stele, ethos, etc.), but those words not commonly used in English, especially those from inscriptions, are not (e.g. Achradatos in **[Section 2]**, rather than Achradatus, but also, Karneia, Gymnopaidiai, etc.). When specific terminology is derived directly from the Greek, it is transliterated and italicised (e.g. *paidikoi agōnes*, *nomos*, *melē* etc., but not *paian* etc. – see above).

However, the decision has been made not to italicise ancient musical instruments. The reasons for this include: reducing intrusive italicisation; the performance of these instruments is undergoing a revival, and so the terms are not extinct; to avoid unsightly hyphenations such as '*aulos*-player'. In this regard, I have favoured using lyre-player and aulos-player instead of lyrist, *aulēte* or *aulētris* (the latter being a particularly loaded term), or aulete (as some use), but kitharode is employed throughout, as are kitharody and aulody, which are necessitated by their relation to specific categories of performance in the main circuit of *mousikoi agōnes*, as well as kitharist. Cymbals, bells, castanets, and drums are used too, but syrinx is used instead of panpipes (to avoid the implied association with that god). 'Apollo kitharoidos' is used to refer to the iconographical schema where Apollo is shown holding a lyre or kithara, but the term was not an ancient epithet.

All translations and texts are from either the Loeb Online Library or the Perseus Classical Library, unless otherwise stated.

Ancient works of literature are referred to and abbreviated according to the Oxford Classical Dictionary 4th edn.; modern journals, monographs, corpora, and catalogues etc. are abbreviated according to *APh*, with the addition of the following:

AGM = West, M. (1992). *Ancient Greek Music*. Oxford University Press.

AO = Dawkins, R. (ed.). (1929). *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.* The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies; Supplementary Paper No.5.

Calame = Calame, C. (1983). *Alcman.* Edizioni dell'Ateneo.

Campbell = Campbell, D. (ed.). (1982-1993). *Greek Lyric Vols.1-5*. Loeb Classical Library, 142-144, 461, & 476. Harvard University Press.

DAGM = Pöhlmann, E., & West, M. L. (2001). *Documents of ancient Greek music: the extant melodies and fragments.* Oxford University Press.

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SECTION ONE: THE NEED FOR SPARTAN MUSIC ARCHAEOLOGY

1.1 PROLOGUE

At some point in the early 4th century Timotheus of Miletus, a famous kitharode and dithyrambist, travelled to Sparta.[1] Like many before him, and many after him, he competed at the Karneia, a festival with a long tradition for musical excellence. Its kitharodic *agōn* was founded by Terpander of Antissa in the 7th century,[2] and from then on, Lesbian kitharodes dominated at the Karneia.[3] But despite his non-Lesbian heritage, Timotheus might have felt quite confident in his abilities to woo the Spartan judges. Like Terpander, he had also increased the number of strings on the kithara.[4] Yet a storm was brewing, and the legacy of Timotheus would influence musicological debates for centuries, if not millennia, to come.[5]

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[1] The exact dates of Timotheus are unclear. His floruit was c.398 BCE (Diod. Sic. 14.46.6), and he died between c.365-356 BCE, aged 90 or 97 (*Marm. Par.* 76, and Suda). The early stages of Timotheus' career seem to have coincided with the end of Phrynis of Mytilene's, when he defeated him at the Panathenaea c.416 BCE (PMG 802 and Aristot. *Metaph.* 2.1.993b 15f). Later sources refer to a close friendship between Timotheus and Euripides (Satyrus, *Vita Euripides*, P.Oxy, 1176 fr.39 col.22 and *A.P.* 7.45).

[2] See Power, 2010, 318 n.4 for a discussion of the problems with dating Terpander, also Franklin, 2012, 759, who neatly explains the date for Terpander given by the Parian Marble (645-644 BCE) as referring to the end of Terpander's *floruit*. See Power, 2010, 394-403 in particular for Terpander in Sparta.

[3] Ps.Plut., *De Mus*., 6.1133c gives Pericleitus as the last continuous Lesbian kitharode to win at the Karneia. See Power, 2010, 332-333. So vital was the role of Lesbian musicians in the Spartan mindset that the phrase 'μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν' ('after the Lesbian singer') became proverbial there. The earliest reference to the phrase is Cratinus *Cheirons* (fr. 263 K-A), c.440-430 BCE, so it is likely that it was known to Timotheus. For a full discussion of the phrase and the *diadochai* of Terpander, who often claimed to be his *apogonoi*, see Power, 2010, 331-335.

[4] Terpander was credited with increasing the number of strings on the lyre from four to seven (e.g. [Arist.] *Prob.* 19.32, ps.Plut., *De Mus*., 1140f and 1141c, and Strabo 13.618), but this is often regarded as ahistorical. The number of strings which Timotheus was supposed to have used (or added) varies according to the source, but twelve is generally accepted: for twelve strings (χορδαῖς δώδεκα: Pherecrates fr. 155 K-A = ps.Plut., *De Mus.*, 30. 1141f–42a); added the tenth and eleventh strings (ὃς τὴν ι´ καὶ ια´ χορδὴν προσέθηκε: Sud. T 620). See Hordern, 2002, 244 for further comment, and LeVen, 2011, 248 and n.16).

[5] Boethius, *De Institutione Musica,* 1.1 reproduces a supposed decree set-up by the Spartans against Timotheus, see **[Section 5.1.3]**. Boethius was an early sixth century CE writer "of great historical significance as the point of departure for medieval theorists" (West, 1992, 6).

The Spartan ephors were grossly offended by Timotheus' performance and called Timotheus before them, punishing him by cutting off the extra strings which he had added to his kithara.[6] But what was it about this kithara that made it so offensive? With the use of an adapted *strobilos* (a whammy bar-like device) Timotheus could have played six different *harmoniai* (Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, 'Loose' Lydian, and Mixolydian) on a single kithara, with twelve strings tuned to c d^b d e^b e f g a^b a b^b b c'. Thus, some of the ways Timotheus' kithara might have been seen as worse than his predecessors' was that: it could play in more *harmoniai*; that in doing so he bent a note *down* rather than *up*, and; this caused the Dorian to be bent into the Mixolydian, two *harmoniai* which were characterised in very different manners.[7]

Timotheus, himself clearly incensed by his punishment, then responded to such treatment with a fiery defence of his new Muse at the end of his *Persae*:

ἀλλ᾽ ὦ χρυσεοκίθαριν ἀέ-

ξων μοῦσαν νεοτευχῆ,

ἐμοῖς ἔλθ᾽ ἐπίκουρος ὕμ-

205 νοις, ἰήιε Παιάν·

[6] For a direct comparison between the Ephors' punishment of Terpander and the Ephors' punishment of Timotheus (both for adding extra strings to their kitharas) see Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 17, where Terpander's kithara was nailed to a wall, and the extra strings were cut from Timotheus' (compare Puas. 3.12.10, where it is said that Timotheus' kithara was hung-up in the Spartan Skias as punishment for adding four strings more than the conventional seven). Artemon of Cassandrea (*FHG* 4.342 = Ath. 14.636e) is the only source which says that Timoetheus performed on a *magadis*, rather than a kithara; an interesting detail, since Alcman also seems to have used (or at least referred to) a *magadis* (PMG 101 μάγαδιν δ᾽ ἀποθέσθαι). There has been some 2400 years of confusion over the meaning of the term *magadis* (for an overview, see West, 1992, 72-73), but in Artemon's case (as in Anacreon PMG 374) it is probably used to mean a many-stringed instrument. Artemon is also the earliest direct reference to this form of punishment (the cutting of strings) being inflicted on Timotheus, but his date is not very clear. As West, 1992, 226 n.22 notes, "Diog. Laert. 8.46 gives a vague dating, 'not far removed in time' from the philosopher Pythagoras", so it is possible that Artemon may have been a near contemporary with Timotheus. At any rate, he seems to have been interested in the innovation of many-stringed and multi-scale instruments more generally: Ath. *Deip.* 14.637c-f records Artemon's discussion of Pythagoras of Zakynthos' 'tripod', an instrument with three different kitharas tuned to the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian, all attached to one sound box, giving it the appearance of the Delphic tripod, hence its name (West, 1992, 226 n.22).

[7] For the basis of reconstructing a twelve-sting kithara in this manner, see Lynch, 2018, 316, fig. 13. However, while Lynch argues that there is archaeological and iconographical evidence for the use of a *strobilos* device, I argue that this is not the case (Lloyd, 2020b), though I have no objections to a Timothean kithara being built in this fashion in theory.

ὁ γάρ μ᾽ εὐγενέτας μακραί-

ων Σπάρτας μέγας ἁγεμὼν

βρύων ἄνθεσιν ἥβας

δονεῖ λαὸς ἐπιφλέγων

210 ἐλᾶι τ᾽ αἴθοπι μώμωι,

ὅτι παλαιοτέραν νέοις

ὕμνοις μοῦσαν ἀτιμῶ·

ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὔτε νέον τιν᾽ οὔ-

τε γεραὸν οὔτ᾽ ἰσήβαν

215 εἴργω τῶνδ᾽ ἑκὰς ὕμνων·

τοὺς δὲ μουσοπαλαιολύ-

μας, τούτους δ᾽ ἀπερύκω,

λωβητῆρας ἀοιδᾶν,

κηρύκων λιγυμακροφώ-

220 νων τείνοντας ἰυγάς.

You who foster the new-fashioned muse of the golden cithara, come, healer Paean, as helper to my songs; for Sparta's great leader, well-born, long-lived, the populace riotous with the flowers of youth, buffets me, blazing hostility, and hounds me with fiery censure on the grounds that I dishonour the older muse with my new songs; but I keep neither young man nor old man nor my peer at a distance from these songs of mine: it is the corrupters of the old muse that I fend off, debauchers of songs, uttering the loud shrieks of shrill far-calling criers.

Timotheus, *Persae* (PMG 791), 202-220.

For Wilamowitz, who first edited the text to Timotheus' *Persae* in 1903, the associations between the myth of Timotheus and the text of Timotheus were more complex.[8] The web of later testimonies all played off one another, and, as Wilamowitz rightly pointed out, the above passage does not prove the authenticity of later testimonies.[9] While Timotheus' *Persae* seems to confirm Spartan maltreatment of Timotheus, this in itself cannot confirm that this maltreatment also included the cutting of strings from Timotheus' kithara.[10] Indeed, we should be wary of assuming that the Spartans had always disapproved of Timotheus (why else would he have been performing in Sparta?) or that all Spartans disapproved of his new style. It is the 'well-born, long-lasting, great leader of Sparta' (εὐγενέτας μακραίων Σπάρτας μέγας ἁγεμὼν) who Timotheus casts as his main antagonist.[11] The role played by the 'people' and the 'flowers

[8] von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 1903, 68 ff. Hordern, 2002, 7 suggests that "this tradition [Timotheus' punishment at Sparta] may have been developed to explain his statements about the Spartans at the end of *Persae*, and have no historical basis." Hordern here refers to Lefkowitz, 1981, *passim* for the practise of biographical invention based on poetic content. Since the discovery (in an anonymous private collection) and publication of Saphho's *Brothers Song* (Obbink, 2014, *passim*), there has been a renewed interest in poetic personae and the authenticity of poetic (auto)biography (e.g. Lardinois, 2016, 187, who argues that Sappho's 'brothers' "were probably fictional characters"). Nevertheless, the *Brothers Song* seems to show, at least in this case, that later biographic details concerning Sappho were based on details in her own poetry. This debate is particularly pertinent to Alcman's supposed Lydian origins. In all cases, however, there is the danger for circularity of argument. A story worth mentioning here though, in relation to the tradition of Timotheus' punishment, is that of Inigo Jones, who was supposedly the first person to bring a theorbo into England, in 1605. On arriving at Dover, he was stopped by customs, who thought the strangely shaped instrument was "… br. frō Pop. cuntris to destr. ye K & He & it sent up to Cn. Tabl'" (Maldon, Essex. Plume's Library, pocket book no. 25, f.92v), that is '… brought from Popish countries to destroy the King…". On this account and the theorbo more generally: Spencer, 1976, *passim*.

[9] von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 1903, 68 ff..

[10] But see n.6 on Artemon of Cassandrea for what seems to be a near contemporary account of the punishment.

[11] It is unclear if this is a reference to a particular Spartan king, and it is never specified in surviving testimonial evidence. However, the most prominent king during the *floruit* of Timotheus was likely Agesialos II (r. c.398-360 BCE). This is by no means certain at all, but an important anecdote which has not often been brought to play in this debate is Plutarch, *Agesilaos*, 14: "…And it was most pleasing to the Greeks who dwelt in Asia to see the Persian viceroys and generals, who had long been insufferably cruel, and had revelled in wealth and luxury, now fearful and obsequious before a man who went about in a paltry cloak, and at one brief and laconic speech from him conforming themselves to his ways and changing their dress and mien, insomuch that many were moved to cite the words of Timotheus:— 'Ares is Lord; of gold Greece hath no fear.' [PMG 790.] (trans. Loeb)." Campbell suggests that it is the Greeks in Asia Minor who do the quoting, but could it be the Persian viceroys? – indeed, Campbell, suggests that this passage was actually from Timotheus' *Persae* (the exhortation of Themistocles) – if so, it could that the Persians' snidely backhand Agesialaus with such a quote, especially since he could well have been the "Σπάρτας μέγας ἁγεμὼν" referred to by Timotheus.

of youth' (either the Spartiate body as a whole or their more aristocratic elements) is unclear, but it seems that Timotheus suggests that they were also involved in his censure.[12]

As important as the discovery of Timotheus' *Persae* was in providing an account of Spartan censuring of New Music from the mouth of the one being censured, it threw up more questions than it did answers with regards to Timotheus' Spartan venture.

Thus, as likely as the narrative which opened this introduction might seem, ostensibly supported by the ancient testimonies and Timotheus' own account, it is a work of fiction, but a fiction which highlights the importance of Sparta as a centre of musical competition and conservatism, in turn underling the important role that music was seen to play in Spartan society.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

As was seen above, many of the sources referenced in relation to Spartan music date from later periods, are written by non-Spartans, and many of the details provided by one account are in conflict with the details of another. For example, the only source concerning Timotheus' performance which might reasonably be Spartan (the decree quoted by Boethius, an early sixth century CE writer), has long been accepted as a Roman archaising invention.[13] The 'Spartan mirage' deeply permeates our image of Spartan music.[14]

Despite these problems, our image of Spartan music is changing, and advances in the study of ancient music,[15] in parallel with an ever-expanding pool of Spartan archaeological evidence,

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[12] Cf. Hordern, 2012, 235 for commentary.

[13] Boethius, *Inst. Mus.*, 1.1. For an early edition, criticism, and commentary on the decree, see Cleaver, 1777, *passim*. Müller, 1830, 336-339 (p.339 n.u) followed Villebrun, 1789-1791 (Athen. VIII), 352, and Heinrich, 1801, 175, in questioning the authenticity of the decree. The text has most recently been edited in Palumbo Stracca, 1999, *passim*, who suggested Nicomachus of Gerasa as the author of the text. The decree is explored in more detail (particularly considering Prauscello, 2009, 168-194, who suggests it is a Spartan fake) in **[Section 5.1.3].**

[14] *S&L*^{2}, 133: "One of the most alluring and enduring aspects of the Spartan 'mirage' has been the idea of an austere, barrack-like Sparta, hostile to the higher arts. The 'mirage' as a whole of course was (and is) a myth, in part a groundless fabrication, partly a half-conscious distortion of the realities." The concept of 'le mirage spartiate' was developed by Ollier, 1933-1943, *passim*. Other key works include: Tigerstedt, 1965-1978, *passim*; Rawson, 1969, *passim*; Powell & Hodkinson, 2002, *passim*; Hodkinson (ed.), 2009, *passim*; and Hodkinson & Morris (eds.), 2012, *passim*.

[15] In the introduction to his 1992 *Ancient Greek Music* Martin West could write that "…the subject [of ancient Greek music] is practically ignored by nearly all who study that culture or teach about it. Sometimes its very existence seems to be barely acknowledged." (West, 1992, 1). Since then, not only has MOISA (The International

mean that we are in a much better place to assess this tangled web of sources than we were twenty, ten, even five years ago.[16] In this regard, it also notable that Spartan music has been well served by a trio of important papyrological finds made over the last two centuries.

First, there was the discovery in 1855 at Saqqara of a papyrus fragment which contained Alcman's *'First' Partheneion* (PMG 1), published in 1863.[17] Then, as we have seen, there was the discovery of Timotheus' *Persae* in 1902 (published in 1903),[18] and ninety years later there was Simonides' *Plataea Elegy*, published in 1992.[19] These three papyrus finds, perhaps more so than others, have resulted in important developments in the study of Greek lyric more broadly, and have offered vastly deeper and more direct insights into the contributions these three poets made to Spartan and Hellenic society than would otherwise have been possible.[20]

It is important to note then that the first major (modern) work to explore Spartan music in detail, Karl Otfried Müller's *Die Dorier* was published in 1824 (and quickly translated into English in 1830 as *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*). This was 31 years before the discovery of Alcman's first *Partheneion*, and around twenty years before the archaeologist Ludwig Ross began excavations at the Menelaion in the 1830s, and around sixty years before Tsountas'

Society for the Study of Greek and Roman Music and its Cultural Heritage) been founded, but in 2013, the first issue of the journal *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* was published, and since 2015 with two issues a year. The increased academic interest in ancient Greek and Roman music is equally matched by the public's interest. Dr. Armand D'Angour's YouTube video *Rediscovering Ancient Greek Music* (2017), recorded at the 10th MOISA meeting, has been viewed over 370,000 times, https://youtu.be/4hOK7bU0S1Y (accessed 13.24, 10.1.19). For an overview of the history of earlier work on ancient Greek music, see Psaroudakēs, 2003, 198, Table 2, and 199, Table 3.

[16] Take, for example: the Spartan cemeteries (with initial results in Tsouli, 2016, *passim*, also Christesen, 2018); the continuing work of the Amykles Research Project (for brief excavation reports see: http://www.amyklaion.gr/?page_id=172 accessed 13:48, 10.1.19); the publication of the Bronze Age material from the Menelaion (Catling et al., 2009, *passim*); and the excavations at Sparta in the late 80s and 90s, particularly at the Roman theatre [**see Section 5**], as well as the Laconia Survey Project between 1983 and 1989 (Cavanagh, 2002, *passim*) and the Laconia Rural Sites Project (Cavanagh et al., 2005, *passim*). Important here too is the reassessment of earlier archaeology, which forms a key part of this thesis: see Luongo, 2011, 2014, 2015, 2017a, and 2017b, and Lloyd, forthcoming a, and b.

[17] P. Louvre, E 3320. Egger, 1863, 159-175.

[18] Wilamowitz, 1903, *passim*.

[19] Parsons, 1992, 4-50 and West, 1992b, 118-122. Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* will be looked at in more detail in **[Section 3]**.

[20] Less publicly received fragments, often quite poorly preserved, but still very important, are explored in more detail in **[Section 3]**. The bibliography on Alcman PMG 1 is truly monumental.

publication of excavations at Amyklai.[21] Not only that, but Müller's work predated several key early studies of ancient Greek music.[22]

As such, early archaeological discoveries had little, if any, impact on contemporary debates and arguments surrounding Spartan music. The lure of the story of Timotheus was not only too strong, but too well known (the Timotheus Decree had, after all, received a critical edition by William Cleaver as early as 1777).

If early accounts of Spartan music were often little more than regurgitations of Plutarch, Athenaeus, and the ps.Plutarchian *De Musica*, this approach was, by and large, still the main mode of representing Spartan music into the early 20th century, but to which could be added a stock overview of Alcman and Tyrtaeus, based on new discoveries. Thankfully, the state of play has changed for the better, but a number of problems still persist.

Despite the wider increase in available source material, there are serious gaps in our knowledge of Spartan society more generally, over which there is still much debate. Anton Powell in his introduction to the new Wiley-Blackwell *Companion to Sparta* writes that: "Current scholarship on Sparta has, for example, reached no consensus as to the time, or even the century, when Sparta's famous 'austere' constitution came into being, and whether it did so gradually over a long period or – largely – through a revolutionary 'Big Bang'."[23]

Early studies built-up ideas of Spartan music that were based, primarily, on non-Spartan or non-contemporary sources, as well as the evidence of Alcman and Tyrtaeus, which painted Archaic Sparta as a welcoming and thriving place for musical development. The impact of the British School at Athens' excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (between 1906-1910, published in 1929), was to seemingly confirm this idea, that the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries was a period where wider social changes, primarily the creation of the Spartan messes, effected the way that the Spartans engaged with music, leading to the cultural values that led to the punishment of Timotheus.[24]

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[21] For example, Ross, 1854, 217-220 and Tsountas, 1892. Although the origins of the Sparta Museum date to 1834 and the collections of Ross, the current museum has its origins in 1872, with Dressel & Milchhoefer, 1878 the first catalogue. See *SMC*, iii-iv for an overview of the development of the Sparta Museum.

[22] E.g. Drieberg, 1835. Gevaert, 1875-1881. Westphal, 1883. Rossbach and Westphal, 1885-1889. Reinach, 1893.

[23] Powell, 2018, xvii.

[24] Notable here is Chrimes, 1949, 308-310 who, instead of arguing for a purely socio-political reason for the supposed decline in musical activities in Sparta (that is, that the Spartan messes no longer allowed for music of a kind that had been earlier welcomed in Sparta), argues for an economic influence. The musicians of Classical Greece shunned Sparta because they would not be paid with money, Sparta having no currency. As notable as this

In 1980 Hooker could write that "after Alcman no poets of any note practised their art at Sparta; and so it seems that the Spartan schools of elegiac and lyric verse, brilliant as they were, dried out within less than a century."[25] For Fitzhardinge, also writing in 1980, concerning Sparta's poets (an account that focused almost solely on Tyrtaeus and Alcman): "The old songs and rituals were still carefully preserved and performed, and Sparta could still be called, in an epigram celebrating Lysander's victory over Athens at Aegospotamae in 405, the 'land of lovely choirs' as well as the 'citadel of Greece'".[26] There is no place in Fitzhardinge's account for the hymns sung to Lysander on Samos, those which praised him as a god. While 'old songs and rituals' were still performed in Sparta at the end of the 5th century, Fitzhardinge gives no impression that new songs and rituals were being performed as well, a view shared by Hooker: the analysis of Spartan music had become as homeostatic as the interpretation it was presenting.

Further examples of this line of thought are critiqued in more detail at [**Section 3.1]** and in **[Section 4.2.4]**. It will suffice to note here, that despite the wealth of new sources, these accounts are not substantively different from the image of Spartan music presented by Müller in 1824, who explained the Archaic productivity of Spartan music (in comparison to its relative obscurity in the Classical period), as follows: "[Sparta's] object was, that every novelty should be first acknowledged to be an improvement, before it passed into common use, and formed a part of the national education. Hence it unavoidably followed, that the music publicly practised in Sparta proceeded by rapid and single advances to a state of perfection; which opinion is

interpretation is in deviating from the norm, it draws on yet another aspect of the mirage (Sparta's ban of money), and, as LeVen has importantly shown, the concept of gift-giving (*xenia*) as an acceptable and expected form of reimbursement for international poet-musicians continued well into the 5th and 4th centuries (LeVen, 2014, 124-144, on Philoxenus in particular). Chrimes' comments on Spartan poetry and music are now quite dated, and ignore key sources: "From this instance [the supposition that Dionysodotus was a fifth century poet] it is clear that the writing of poetry was not despised at Sparta or regarded with disapproval, but a people naturally so serious and so severely practical could not be expected to keep alive any enthusiasm for poetry and the arts after the foreign exponents of them had ceased to visit them. Though the exploits of Sparta in the Messenian wars were commemorated for posterity, those of Thermopylae and Plataea went unsung. No action on the part of the state needs to be postulated to explain this decline." (Chrimes, 1949, 309-310). No mention is made of Simonides, see **[Section 3]**.

[25] Hooker, 1980, 80. Though as Hodkinson, 2009, xiii notes, this book, along with a few others in the 80s, "were all works written by distinguished academics who, having made their reputations on other topics, briefly turned their attention to Sparta before rapidly moving on to pastures new." Hooker's observation is one which, to paraphrase Hodkinson, falls back on a typical 'theme-park' image of Spartan music (Hodkinson, 2009, xiii-xiv.) Hodkinson, 2009, xi-xix is necessary reading for understanding the historiography of modern histories of Sparta.

[26] Fitzhardinge, 1980, 135.

perfectly consistent with the account given by an ancient author of the different regulations respecting the exercise of this art [cf. ps.Plut, *De Mus*., 9]."[27]

Indeed, similar, but more nuanced views are still held by leading voices in the field. For example, Claude Calame has recently written that: "Seen from Athens of the end of the fifth century, Spartan culture of the age of heroes thus appears as a 'song culture' par excellence: and in fact the same is apparently true for historical Sparta right down to the brink of the classical period."[28] While Calame later admits that important aspects of Sparta's "political culture of musical and ritual performance" likely survived into the Classical period, it is important that his analysis goes no further than Alcman, especially since, as I argue in **[Section 3]**, Simonides played a central role in contributing to Sparta's song culture during this period.[29]

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[27] Müller, 1930, 332-333.

[28] Calame, 2018, 179.

[29] Calame, 2018, 197. The extent to which the view that 'after Alcman' Spartan poetic culture was replaced with a military culture is held as the consensus can be seen (not without complication), in the following 1993 poem by Rosanna Warren:

> Alcman
> *for John Hollander*
>
> They danced to your numbering, to your thumb-
> plucked lyre, and shook out long
> curls for you, their music master:
> around your syllables Hagesichora
> 5 and Astymeloisa, loveliest, pressed their lips,
> and you noted twilight eyelids, sidelong
> glances of the love later called "limb-
> loosening" in the dictionaries: all yours,
> moved to your measure, in a daze
> 10 of buds and petals, stars and feathers,
> yours, in Sparta, in the old days
> before troops and helots and chariots
> protected us from what we might have become.

Though as Cartledge (*S&L²*, 133) points out "It is true that Alkman (c.600) was possibly the last representative of a native tradition of poetic creativity, but it was not perhaps a very deep-rooted tradition in any case; and Sparta continued to be visited by poets at least to the end of the fifth century, for example by Stesichoros, Simonides, Eupolis and Kratinos." On Stesichorus and a potential third Spartan *katastasis* of music **[Section 4]**. West, 1969, 142-149 for a fragment of what he interpreted as Stesichorus, but which is now generally thought to be Ibycus **[Section 3].** Also, Bowra, 1934, *passim* for a reading of Stesichorus in Sparta, and Kivilo, 2010, 69 n.27. On

Nevertheless, there are several scholars who have begun to challenge this traditional view by beginning to ask questions about Spartan music which have normally not been asked, engaging with the often very bitty evidence for Spartan music in the early to mid-fifth century, or providing clear overviews of the existing evidence: the most important contribution here is that of Cecilia Nobili.[30] However, as I argue, many of these studies interpret ambiguous sources with too much certainty, or, instead of reading the poetic sources they critique as offering a different picture to the 'tradition' of Spartan music, read them as supporting that 'tradition'.[31] By Sparta's 'musical tradition', I mean here the image of Spartan music which seems to have developed from a mix of certain historical events, musico-philosophical examples, and, ultimately, legend. This is the cherry-picked image of Spartan music we see in the works of Plutarch, particularly his *Lycurgus*, where Spartan music was a military aid, fiercely (even aggressively) conservative and protectionist, distanced from the world of Dionysos, and where 'good' music was a tool against *stasis* and 'bad' music a threat to the morals of the state.[32] It is also the image of Spartan music encapsulated in the story of Timotheus. Such a concept, that of the 'Spartan mirage', is hardly new to Spartan studies, but it is one which has been much neglected in studies of Spartan music.

Not only has the Spartan mirage often been overlooked in studies of Spartan music, but so too has Spartan material culture and archaeology. For example, despite first being published in 1929, the fragments of ancient pipes excavated from Orthia's sanctuary (called the Sparta auloi) have received remarkably little attention, especially considering that they are currently the

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Simonides and Sparta, see **[Section 3].** Eupolis wrote a comedy called *Helots* (frs.147-155, and Σ *Knights*, 1225), possibly also a *Laconians* (fr.191 =Erotianus μ 4: Storey, 2011 doubts this attribution though, suggesting it might be a confusion for Platon's or Nicochares' plays of the same name, or indeed the *Helots*). Cratinus even more doubtfully wrote a *Men of Laconia* (fr.102), his *Nemsis* (fr.114-127) was about the birth of Helen, see also fr.338 (= Σ Aristophanes Knights 1287), "And he sings songs of Polymnestus [associated with Sparta's second *katastasis* of music], and is learning music" and *Cheirons* (fr. 263 K-A), the earliest reference to the Spartan phrase 'after the Lesbian singer'. I do not know of any evidence for either Eupolis or Cratinus *visiting* Sparta, however.

[30] See **[Section 3]**. Nobili, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2016 (Nobili's work questions the types of lyric genres performed in Sparta, threnody elegy, epinician, and iambus in particular, as well as female performance and Simonides and Bacchylides); Fearn, 2007, 226-234 on Bacchylides 20 and fr.20a; 2013, 235-240 on Simonides PMG 531; Stewart, 2018, on Ion of Chios. Prauscello, 2009, *passim* (on the Timotheus decree and the *paidikoi agōnes* dedications). Berlinzani, 2007 (on Timotheus); 2013 (for an overview of music in Classical Sparta). Massaro, 2018, *passim* (a catalogue of sources on Spartan *mousikoi agōnes* with Greek text, commentary and Italian translation). Perrot, 2018, *passim* (on the soundscape of Orthia's cult and music) came to print too late to be included in this study.

[31] **[Section 3]**

[32] **[Section 5]**

earliest known examples of Hellenic auloi and had received no modern organological analysis.[33] The Sparta auloi are the most direct evidence for Spartan music and, while quite fragmentary, new measurements support a mode of performance typical of other Greek *poleis* in the period.[34] In contrast to the relative paucity of research on the Sparta auloi, Alexandra Villing's exhaustive study of the bronze and terracotta bells from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos is a welcome addition.[35] We should also note the few cymbals found at Laconian sanctuaries,[36] as well as what are likely lyre or kithara plectra from the sanctuary of Orthia.[37] A Beth-Hathor sistrum from Sparta has gone completely uncommented on.[38]

Thankfully, other areas of Spartan material culture have received more attention than the musical instrument finds. There is a large range of multimedia sources. The iconography of Laconian black-figure (BF) pottery has been explored by a number of scholars in relation to its depiction of musicians, but previous studies often overlook difficulties inherent in the media, or overlook key details about ancient Hellenic music, neither have they assessed such iconography in its entirety.[39] Additionally, while lead votives, masks, and even the much later *paidikoi agōnes* inscriptions (stone stelai in honour of victors in a series of boys' compeitions, with an iron sickle attached to them as a their prize) have been examined to varying degrees, previous interpretations have often viewed them separately from other material.[40] In this regard, research at a variety of museums and archives has proven invaluable for this current project. There are also several other varieties of media which have received little attention in relation to what they can tell us about Spartan music. These range from inscriptions and stelai dating from the Archaic to the Roman periods, to Archaic bronze statuettes, burials, and later Roman statues

[33] West, 1992, 97 dates them to 650-600 BCE. Hagel, 2010, 396 "The single pipes and numerous pipe fragments [included here the Sparta auloi] can contribute little to the present question [of aulos scales], other than alerting us to the substantial variety of instruments produced."

[34] I examine the Sparta auloi in detail in **[Section 2]**, see also **[Appendix C]**.

[35] Villing, 2002, *passim*.

[36] See Luraghi, 2008, 123-124.

[37] Dawkins, 1929, 239, pl.CLXVII.

[38] Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, ÄM 9710 (undated). See Roeder, 1956, 464. **[Section 5]**.

[39] Key here are Pipili and Förtsch, and more recently Smith and Jiang, see **[Section 4]** for references**.** Stibbe, 1972 and 2004 represent the known corpus of Laconian BF pottery, but there are some latter additions, see also **[Section 4]**. Towards the end of the writing of my thesis, I came across Madrid, MAN, 1999/99/45, formerly in the collection of Várez Fisa and acquired by MAN in 1994. As far as I can tell the vase is currently unpublished (it is, at any rate, not in Stibbe's catalogues). The museum assigned the vase to the Hunt Painter (c. 550-530 BCE). A table of Stibbe's dating of the main five Laconian BF vase painters is provided in [**Appendix D]**.

[40] On the lead votives and masks see **[Section 4.4.3]** on the *paidikoi agonēs* dedications **[Section 5.2.1].**

and mosaics, as well as other ‘miscellaneous’ objects. A detailed list of the Laconian pottery depicting musicians is included in **[Appendix F: Index of Vases]**.

In this way, Powell’s recent observation is something of a rallying call for this thesis: “[the] archaeology of the future will much enrich, and no doubt alter the course of, Spartan studies... The dark places of modern archaeology should be seen not as embarrassments to be avoided, but as sites unusually rich in potential for fresh scholarship.”[41]

Given the importance of the archaeological record in modern studies of ancient Greek and Roman music more generally, it is surprising that the material record has not been much utilised in studies of Spartan music.[42] Material approaches to ancient Greek music range from the organological studies of (most notably) Stelios Psaroudakēs and Stefan Hagel, to the iconographical studies of Sheramy Bundrick’s *Music and Images in Classical Athens* and others, and the new (music-)archaeology of Angela Bellia.[43] Indeed, this is a flourishing area of research, and formed the theme for the 11th MOISA (the international society of the study of Greek and Roman music and its cultural heritage) annual meeting, held at the University of Reading in the summer of 2018.[44]

The central argument of my thesis, then, is that Spartan music was more diverse than generally assumed. This argument is composed of the following specific claims. Firstly, that the supposed drop-off in musical activities in Sparta during the fifth century (often connected to the rise of

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[41] Powell, 2018, xviii continues: “The study of Sparta through particular non-Spartan authors, and through archaeology, involves the combining of scholarly methods which – as expert studies multiply – otherwise tend to develop in increasing isolation from each other. By insisting on the need to bridge our various specialisms, Spartan studies are well placed to make themselves a model for the study of the Ancient World.” Writing in 2012, Langridge-Noti could remark that (752): “There is a tradition in Laconia of keeping archaeological and nonarchaeological work separate… One issue that emerges … is the need to integrate archaeological, historical, and literary evidence for Sparta and Laconia more holistically and actively.” This is not to say that such material does not have its own problems. I engage in detail with the issues presented by reading Laconian BF pottery in relation to Spartan customs in **[Section 4].**

[42] Barker, 2002, 13-29, is a welcome exception, which looks at the Orthia aulos fragments and lead votives, and to which I respond in **[Section 2].** Music is more generally covered in Smith’s work on Laconian BF *komoi* **[Section 4].**

[43] E.g. Psaroudakēs, 2008, *passim* and Hagel, 2012, *passim*. Bundrick, 2005, *passim* and (e.g.), Ulieriu-Rostás, 2013, *passim*. Bellia, 2014, *passim*. Also, Bellia and Bundrick, 2018, *passim*.

[44] The conference also coincided with the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology’s temporary exhibition ‘Music and Material’, which explored similar themes. For an overview of music archaeology and ancient Greek and Roman music, as well as a report on the conference, see Lloyd, 2020a. For an overview of the Oxford Graduate Workshop on Ancient Greek and Roman Music, also organised in the summer of 2018, see Kavlan, Lloyd, and Morgan, 2019.

Spartan austerity) is too simplistic an interpretation of the evidence (stemming as it does from interpretations of material evidence based on methodologically dated analyses, and a lack of interest in fragmentary lyric). Secondly, music in Sparta was performed by a diverse range of performers, but also in a wide range of genres, with songs written by a number of composers who complimented and played off earlier works. Thirdly, as Sparta's internal and external political position changed, so did its music: any claims to 'conservatism' need to be seen in light of a Roman musical culture which at once accepted new forms of performance while also seeking to renew what it perceived as 'Lyrcurgan' traditions. In this way, I move away from the 'typical-atypical' dichotomy which is often explored in Spartan studies (though that plays its part), and seek to show that much of what we are told about the musical conservatism of Sparta, while not completely false (the self-testimony of Timotheus about his rejection at Sparta is certainly compelling evidence) was greatly exaggerated by later sources, forming part of the wider historiographical phenomenon known as the 'Spartan mirage.' This is achieved by four somewhat independent but methodologically linked studies, in addition to the current section: 'The Need For Spartan Music Archaeology' (Section One); 'The Sparta Auloi' (Section Two); 'Simonides and Sparta' (Section Three); 'Dances and Dinners' (Section Four); 'Deconstructing Spartan Music' (Section Five).

The wider significance of this thesis is that it ultimately shows how ancient and modern mirages have skewed our interpretation of a vital element of Spartan society, music. What other aspects of Spartan culture and Greek music will need to be revised when examined through multimedia methodologies? Such questions tie into wider research undertaken during my PhD, which forms part of a large-scale re-writing of our understanding of Spartan archaeology through materials analysis of museum objects, and archival study of the unpublished British School at Athens' excavation notebooks. In sum, this thesis will be of direct interest to those working in the fields of Spartan studies; ancient music; social and material histories; and Classical art and archaeology.

To return to Timotheus, the extent to which the Spartans themselves encouraged the 'tradition' of musical conservatism can be seen clearly. When Pausanias visited Sparta, he was shown what was claimed to be the kithara of Timotheus suspended in the Skias: there must have been a certain self-awareness that this image of Sparta sold well.[45]

As I have outlined, the aspects of music with which I am interested are its use and effects in Spartan society. But what do we mean by music, and how can we study it in an age before

[45] Pausanias, 3.12.10.

recordings, and where no notation survives?[46] These two questions will be addressed in the following two sub-sections.

1.3 INBETWEEN MUSIC AND *MOUSIKĒ*: WHAT DO WE MEAN BY ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC?

Ancient Greek music is difficult to define. It might be defined by its instruments of choice, the aulos, the lyre, and the kithara.[47] It might also be defined by its different categories and genres of songs and solos.[48] But what I mean by music in this thesis benefits from a broad definition.

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[46] At least in relation to Sparta. There are 64 surviving fragments of ancient Greek musical notation. Most of these (61) are published in *DAGM*. The other fragments include: Louvre Pap. E 10534, a 2nd century CE fragment of Carcinus the Younger (4th century BCE), published by Bélis, 2004; P.Oxy. 4710, a small fragment (Ptolemaic), published by Yuan, 2005; and *P.Vat.Gr.* 7 a slightly larger Ptolemaic fragment, published by Martinelli and Pintaudi, 2009. See Pöhlmann, 2018, 329 for an overview of these newer pieces. *DAGM* 17 (*P. Berol.* 6870), written with four other musical pieces on the back of a military document dated to 156 CE, preserves four lines of a Classical or Hellenistic lyric dialogue between Tecmessa and a female chorus, who are discussing the suicide of Ajax. In *DAGM* it is interpreted as an unknown tragic fragment, but Bélis, 1998, following Del Grande, 1946, 89 ff., interprets it as from Timotheus' dithyramb *Ajax*. Pöhlmann and West reject the attribution to Timotheus because the word pitch accents tend to go against the melody, which is meant to mean that the fragment is strophic (assuming the melody was written for the *strophe*, the *antistrophe*'s word pitch accents would not match the rise and fall of the melody), and Timotheus famously composed astrophic music. Pöhlmann, 2018, 329-331 provides a good overview of this development, seen also in Euripides (*DAGM* 3). There are three caveats here: the first is that we assume that later astrophic pieces which do tend to follow word pitch accent preserve a style of music similar to that in Timotheus' astrophic songs, and that Timotheus' *Ajax*, about which we know very little, was actually astrophic. Both of these suppositions seem likely, the latter more so. The third caveat is that these documents preserve (at least a rough) transcription of the original music, rather than a later revision, and as likely as that is, it is difficult to confirm. See *DAGM* 6 for the plentiful, but incredibly fragmentary, remains of what might have been a kitharodic song-book.

[47] Take Aristoxenus' five types of auloi (Ath. *Deip.* 634e-f), which, in total, had a range over three octaves (*El. Harm.* 20.32.-4, see Barker, 1989, 73-74, n.19), but which seem to have little obvious relation to the different types of surviving auloi.

[48] Ancient Greek poetry is better thought of as ancient song. For Rotstein, 2012, *passim*, the categorization of lyric genres into 'hard' and 'soft' reveals the importance of the *mousikoi agōnes* in formulating the rules that resulted in 'hard' genres (such as epic/ rhapsody). However, such distinctions are somewhat artificial: kitharody (solo singing to a self-accompanying kithara) is self-defined enough, but the competitive performance of different *nomoi* meant that the genre would have had a very different flavour depending on what *nomos* was performed, or indeed, in what style. Genres are important, and were acknowledged and influential in ancient Greek thought, but they suggest a unified form only to a certain point.

Indeed, how we define and categorise any society's musicking is actually quite important, leading as it can to different theoretical interpretations.[49] It is important then that the ancient Greeks had no word with a direct correlation to our music, though it was certainly similar. The word is *mousikē*. Broadly conceived, *mousikē* could relate to any art over which the Muses held influence, though the word was most used to describe types of performance which we would be happy to call 'music' or as having some musical component. It is in this sense that the word was used to categorise the broad field of musical competitions (*mousikoi agōnes*) popular throughout Greece. If the existence of local, regional, and pan-Hellenic musical competitions was not enough to show the perceived importance of music in Greek society, that the Greeks had a panoply of goddesses who governed *mousikē*, in addition to Apollo, who famously played the lyre and kithara, says something on a theological level about its importance. Indeed, it was not just Apollo or the Muses who were associated with music; most divinities were to lesser or greater degrees. Take the Laconian statue of Eilytheia, the goddess of childbirth, flanked by two *daimones*. The one on her right plays the aulos. **[Fig. 1.1]**

It is then no surprise that music was a key aspect of ancient Greek ritual, nor indeed that it formed a key part of more convivial meetings and civic participation. Most Greek citizens seem to have had some formal or informal training in singing (especially as part of a chorus) or in instrumental music, and professional musicians could attract fame, fortune, and the favour of powerful men. Music permeated all aspects of ancient Greek life, and it is perhaps because of this permeation that the boundaries of what we might call 'music' are of interest.

As we find with Budelmann and Power's recent study, the boundaries between singing and speaking are blurred in ancient Greek elegy,[50] the term they use for this fluidity, and which I draw on, is 'inbetweeness'.[51] Yet despite this fluidity of performance, ancient definitions of music might be more solidly defined than we would now be willing to accept. In addition to Aristoxenus' division of continuous and intervallic vocal production, take the ancient definition

[49] The gerund, 'musicking' (from the verb, 'to music'), was developed by Christopher Small, and highlights that we are interested not with "musical works" but "the relationships that are established between the participants by the performance" (Small, 1999, 9), see Small, 1998, *passim*. For Small, the modern view of music as a thing, rather than an action, can be traced back to the Aristotelean differentiation between *praxis* and *poiesis*. Small, 1999, 11 (cf. Arist. *EN* 1140a2; *Pol.* 1254a5).

[50] Despite the Aristoxenian division of vocal production between continuous (speaking) and intervallic (singing). Though note Arist. Quint., *De Mus*. 5.25-6.7 who looks at an 'inbetween' form of vocal production. See Barker, 1989, 132 ff.

[51] Budelmann & Power, 2013, *passim*. Also, in tragedy see [Aristot.] *Prob*. 19.6. for the term – *parakatalogē*, similar to modern 'recitative'.

of *melos* 'song', with its three constituent components, melody, rhythm, and words; how many of these components could we minimise, reduce, or remove from a performance before we would no longer call it a 'song', no longer call it 'music'?[52]

Such a question is difficult to answer but raises important questions as to what is or is not covered by this thesis.[53] Take the Spartan ritual of beating bronze *lebetes* during the ritual mourning necessitated by the death of a king.[54] This creation of a ritual sound not only acted as a rite of purification,[55] but it also marked the power of the event, separating it from normal lived experience. But would we call the beating of bronze bowls music?[56] It is not completely lacking a musical character, in that it would have created a percussive, resonant, sound, even if, as far as we can tell, the resonance of the *lebetes* was secondary to them being used as vessels, and not specifically as musical instruments.

Yet if an object is designed specifically for the purpose of creating sound, does that make that sound more musical than the *lebetes*? We cannot always be certain. Take the large quantity of bronze (and terracotta) bells from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta, designed specifically to produce a particular sound.[57] Here we are at a disadvantage in that there is no account of how these bells were used within Sparta, so we have to interpret their inherent musicality on a basis of comparisons.[58] Similar problems are present with cymbals too. While in modern Western musical traditions bells and cymbals might be seen as auxiliary to other,

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[52] For Aristoxenus' division, see n.50. On this definition of *melos*, Barker, 1989, 126 n.1 (Arist. Quint. *De Mus.* 28.8-10). Compare also Artemon of Cassandrea's division of three kinds of *skolia*: those where everyone sings together, those where everyone sings (but in turn, one after the other), and those where only the experts sing (*FHG* 4.342).

[53] Psaroudakēs, 2003, 194 "This [what is music?] is one of the most difficult questions to answer, because it involves the definition of music, and an internationally agreed upon definition of music does not exist. What constitutes music can vary dramatically from one culture to another."

[54] Hdt. 6.58.

[55] Referring to a fragment of Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F 110 *b* = Σ Theocritus 2.36), which gathers together examples on the apotropaic nature of the sound of bronze. Villing, 2002, 293.

[56] For example, it is never claimed that the beating of the 'gong' (*chalkeion*), perhaps a *lebes* (or *lebetes*), at Dodona was 'musical'. Villing, 2002, 293 n.284. However, for the use of metal bowls in a musical ensemble, see the 4th century CE 'Mosaic of the Musicians' from Mariamin, Syria, (Kiilerich, 2010, *passim*, with bibliography), and the musical discs of Glaucus and Hippasus mentioned at Σ Plato, *Phaedo*, 108d4 (Barker, 2007, 84).

[57] Villing, 2002, *passim*.

[58] So Villing, 2002, 294: "In order to determine the possible function of bells in ancient Sparta, a balanced picture can only be achieved when we take into account not only what we know of the dedicants', the deity's, and the sanctuary's position in Spartan (religious) life, but also what we have learnt about the occurrence of bells elsewhere in the ancient world."

more melodic instruments, in ancient Greece, and particularly in Sparta, it seems that such instruments played a vital role in the production of certain kinds of musicking (within carefully delineated contexts), but it is unlikely they were ever used to create a melody.[59] This is not a thesis on Spartan sounds or the Spartan soundscape, but that does not mean that I am uninterested in the kinds of music at the periphery of ancient and modern definitions of the word, such as those described above. [60]

1.4 METHODOLOGY

Having broadly defined the kind of musics that this thesis engages with, how can that music be studied? Music archaeology or 'archaeomusicology', is an approach which recognises the difficulties in accessing and assessing 'past music behaviours and sound' by focusing on a variety of different sources.[61] In 2009, Both divided the sources used in music archaeology into four main categories: written sources on music, sound artefacts, music depictions, and living music traditions, and the connected (sub)disciplines of these four categories **[Table 1.1]**.[62] A similar division had been made by Psaroudakēs in 2003, but there the evidence was divided into three groups: texts, iconography, and prototypes **[Table 1.2]**.[63] A variation of this holistic, multimedia approach has been successfully utilised for many years in the study of ancient music and theatre, for example, in the work of Oliver Taplin, Eric Csapo, Peter Wilson, and Angela Bellia.[64]

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[59] The total number of bells dedicated at the temple of Athena Chalkioikos is quite extraordinary, Villing, 2002, *passim* records 34 bronze bells and 102 terracotta bells (roughly dated to the 6th and 5th centuries). Hatzivassilou, 2001, *passim*, has explored how the funerary iconography of Attic black-figure phormiskoi invokes the ritual role of smaller, un-decorated phormiskoi, which would have been used as rattles. On the funerary iconography of Attic black-figure phormiskoi, often depicting dirges or laments, see Shaprio, 1991, 636-637. On the dedication of a cymbal and a *krotalon* (clapper) to Asclepius, see Perrot, 2016, 218-219. Percussion instruments more generally (including hand drums, *tympana*) along with the aulos, were often associated with Bacchic rituals and the Great Mother.

[60] Notable here is the work of Ephraim David on the role of silence (1999) and laughter (1989) in Spartan culture. See Perrot, 2018 on the soundscape of the Spartan marshlands. The sound of birds provided a key framework (or cross-domain mapping) for Alcman to categorise and compare the voices of singers, see **[Appendix A].** For the concept of the soundscape, see Schafer, 1993.

[61] Both, 2009, *passim*. On the varying terminology of music archaeology, see van Keer, 2010, 227.

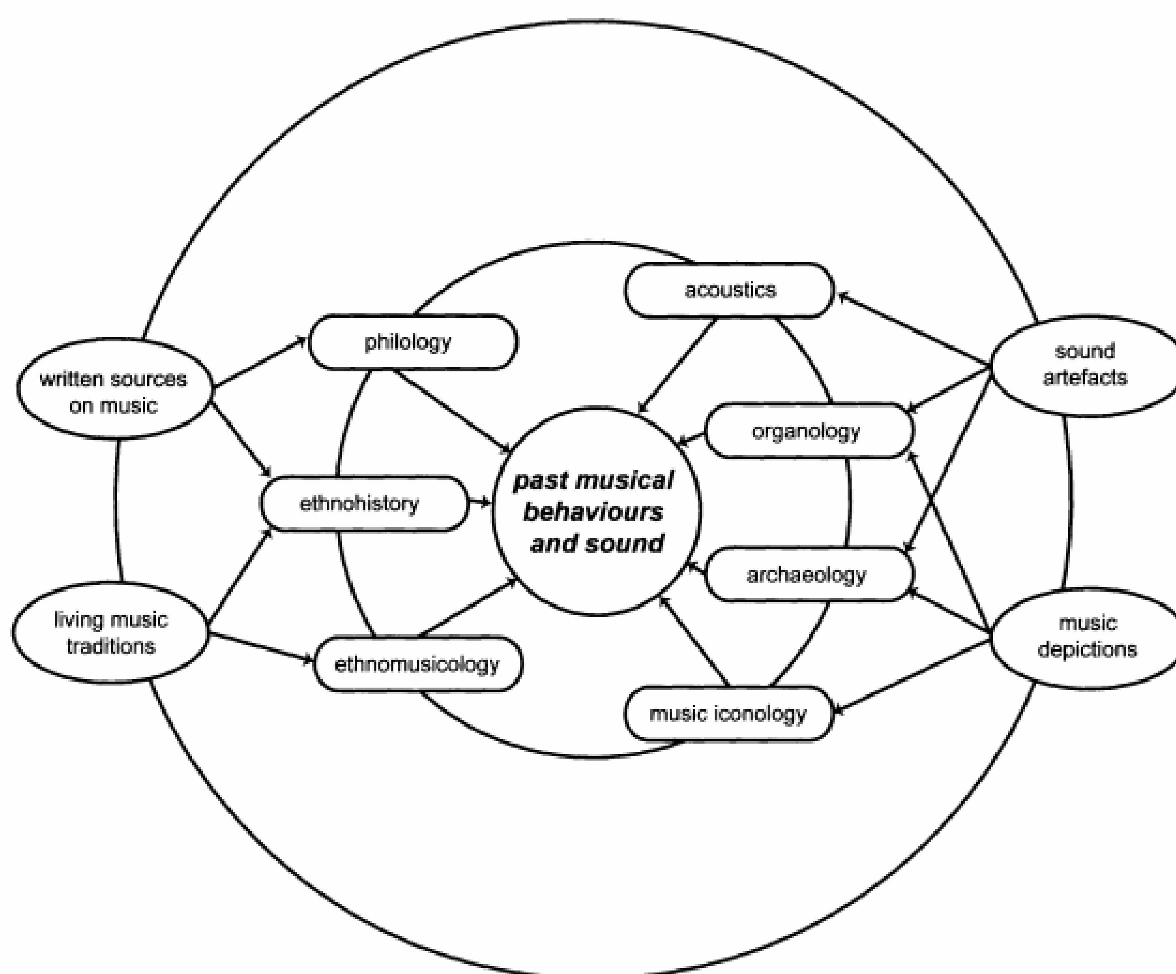
[62] Both, 2009, 4, fig.1.

[63] Psaroudakēs, 2003, 190, Table 1.

[64] E.g. Taplin, 1993, *passim*, and 2014, *passim*; Wilson, 2003, *passim*, Kowalzig & Wilson, 2013, *passim*; Csapo, 2010, *passim*; Bellia, 2012 and 2014.

Psaroudakēs' study in particular was an exploration of the dialogue between music archaeology and ethnomusicology (the anthropology, ethnography, or sociology of music), and (despite not showing in his table of evidence) he notes the importance of ethnomusicological examples, ultimately arguing for the "positive influence of ethnomusicology… to the study of ancient music."[65] Even so, the actual application of ethnomusicological principles in studies of ancient Greek music is not always critically employed.[66] As Hagel rightly points out, even though the ancient Greeks viewed the development of their music along the lines of a progression from 'primitive' to 'high complexity', "the discourse about ancient music has often been overshadowed by an evolutionary model that would be unacceptable in ethnomusicology."[67]

Table. 1.1 'General model for music archaeological research', from Both, 2009, 4, fig.1.



[65] Psaroudakēs, 2003, 195.

[66] A particularly intriguing study is Favara, 2015 [1923], which compares traditional Sicilian folk rhythms with those of the *embaterion* and Tyrtaeus.

[67] Hagel, 2010, xvi. "Only from one passage, seemingly from Aristoxenus' pen [ps.-Plut., Mus. 1138b], does the principle transpire which underlies serious ethnomusicological research nowadays: that according to well applied

Table. 1.2 'The kinds of evidence for the study of ancient Hellenic music', after Psaroudakēs, 2003, 190, Table 1.

Texts	**Iconography**	**Prototypes**
Theoretical treaties on music. References to music in various texts. Music scores: Papyri: Papyrology: Philology. Manuscripts: Palaeography. Inscriptions: Epigraphy.	Depictions of music scenes: Paintings. Engravings (stone, bone, clay, wood metal): Archaeology. Reliefs. Full sculptures.	Real instruments: Archaeology.

Where does the influence of primitivism sit in relation to a study of Spartan music? The consensus view of Spartan music, as explored above, is one which might be called a reverse primitivism, where after a period of Archaic boom, Sparta fell into a period of Classical primitiveness, rejecting new forms and developments; this is in many ways a devolutionary model.[68] Yet at the same time, both ps.Plutarch and Müller presented the development of Spartan music as one of 'rapid and single advances to a state of perfection', an evolutionary model. As this thesis shows, by applying a methodology adapted from the field of music archaeology, these models of Spartan music can no longer be accepted.

While studies of ancient Greek music have been slow to assimilate modern musicological theory, the discipline has remained quite up to date with developments in archaeological theory, as highlighted by van Keer. Focusing specifically on its application to ancient Greek music, van Keer argues that the "[a]rchaeology of music starts with musical finds and aims at reconstructing past musical cultures. Its supreme ambition… lies in producing material reconstructions of musical instruments and reproducing the actual sounds of the music of the past."[69]

information-theoretical standards, all musical cultures should be considered as, more or less, on an equal footing, even if complexity is achieved within different aspects."

[68] Though the word 'primitive' is never, as far as I am aware, applyied to 'austere Sparta', the analogies between 'primitive' and 'austere' are apparent.

[69] Van Keer, 2009, 230.

It is true that surviving instruments are indeed important, and form some of the most direct evidence for ancient music, but van Keer presents a somewhat restricted interpretation of music archaeology (particularly in comparison to Both's general model) which assumes a need for instruments to have survived well enough to be accurately reconstructed. Importantly though, Van Keer also notes the development of a "a 'new' archaeology of 'contexts' as opposed to 'objects' of music in classical Greece" referring to the work of Bellia.[70] For Van Keer "the approach from archaeology helps to advance this research [of ancient Greek music] on the empirical as well as on the epistemological level."[71] These strands, empirical and epistemological, while at first abstract, have a huge impact on our understanding of ancient music. For example, until now, there had been no focused study of what kinds of Spartan material evidence related to music, nor how much of it survived. With regards to the epistemology of Spartan music, the empirical data in turn helps us to question long-held views regarding Spartan music, allowing us to better critique how we know what we think we do: an epistemological questioning of evidence was key to the development of the concept of the 'Spartan Mirage', as mentioned, but is also key to our understanding of why musicians were depicted on Laconian pottery, lead votives, and bronzes, and what we might reasonably be able to infer about Spartan attitudes to music from such objects.

In this regard it is important that, on its own, an archaeology of contexts is not always enough to clearly disambiguate archaeological and iconographical evidence that might relate to ancient music. This is highlighted by recent academic debates concerning the *strobilos* (a musical pitch-bending device attributed to Phrynis), where issues of archaeological context have been misleading.[72] In Sparta, there is the additional problem that many objects have no secure or reliable archaeological context.[73]

Thus, the way I look at Spartan music, and what I look at, moves away from the anthropological approach developed by Claude Calame. While anthropological theories play their part in this thesis (ideas of object biography are used to explore the Sparta auloi fragments), I view such an approach as one of many which needs to be synthesised in order to provide a more thorough understanding of the multifaceted nature of Spartan music, and the multimedia nature of the surviving evidence regarding Spartan music. Indeed, because of the unique nature of Spartan

[70] Van Keer, 2009, 230 n.41 referencing Bellia, 2005, *passim*.

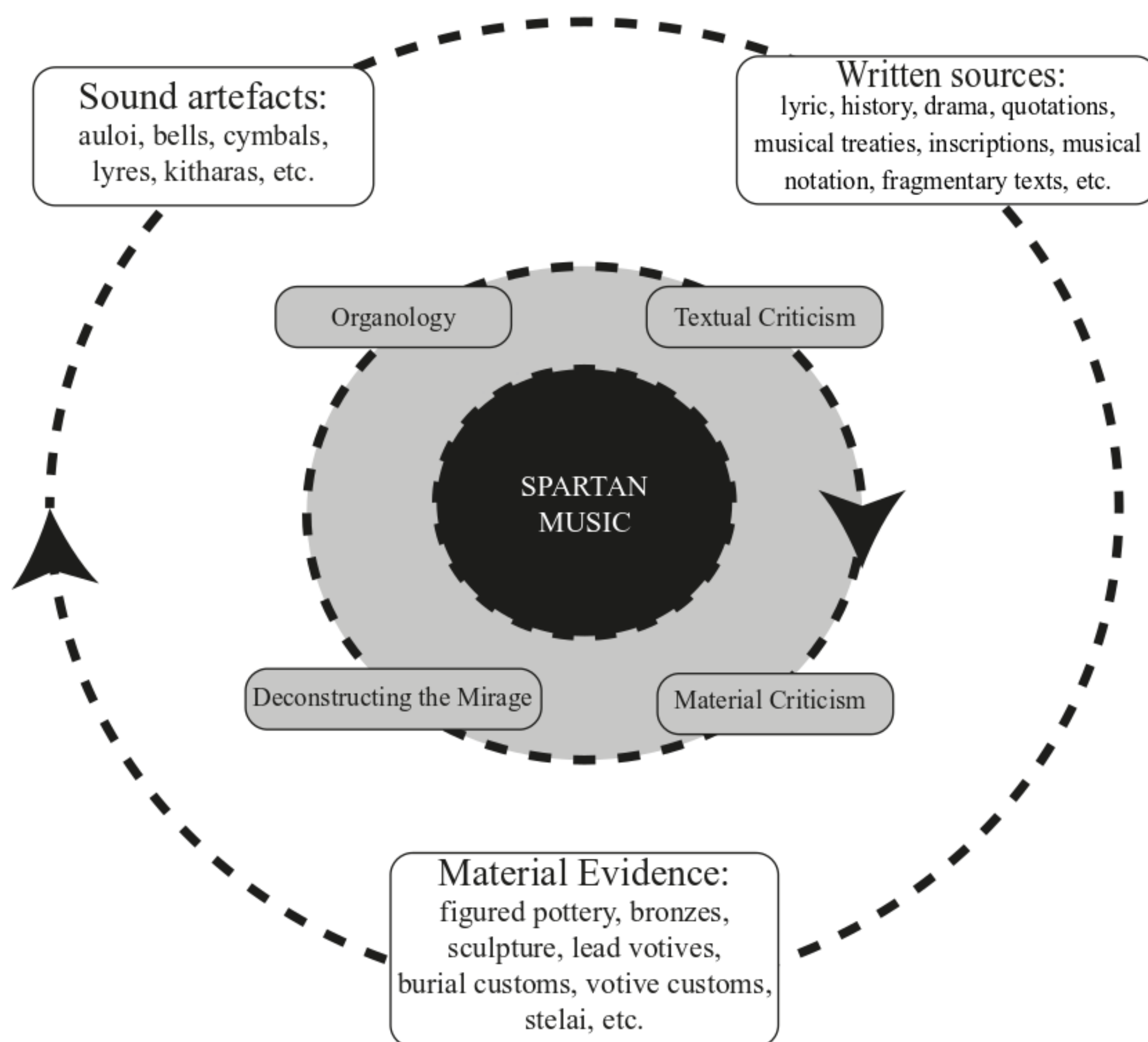
[71] Van Keer, 2009, 231.

[72] Lloyd, 2020b.

[73] Lloyd, forthcoming a.

society, a more pertinent exploration is that of the Spartan mirage. This has led to my adapted music archaeology model. **[Table 1.3]**

Table 1.3 Adapted music archaeology methodology.



Before continuing, it is important to highlight some of the problems with which the sources present us, which will underline why a music archaeology methodology will be beneficial.

Take Polycrates BNJ 588, arguably one of the most detailed accounts of Spartan musical performance, which describes the performances that took part during the celebrations of the Hyakinthia.[74] The consensus concerning this passage is that it was likely written by an otherwise unknown Hellenistic Polykrates.[75] When exactly this Polykrates lived and if he was

[74] Explored in more detail in **[Section 4]** and **[Appendix B]**.

[75] Nobili, 2014, 136. Cf. n.27, "Polykrates was probably a Spartan and therefore a trustworthy eyewitness of cults, rites and festivals," and that "due to the conservatism of Spartan religious traditions, his description of the festival, probably referred to his epoch, can be taken into consideration in order to understand its features in archaic and

a Spartan are aspects of his identity which have been surmised.[76] The interpretation of Polykrates as a Hellenistic author, possibly even a Laconian, is ultimately informed by Jacoby's treatment of the passage.[77] However, earlier scholarship (discounted by Jacoby) argued that the passage should be assigned to the relatively well known late 5th early 4th century Polykrates of Athens (BNJ 597). Yet the arguments for assigning BNJ 588 to an otherwise unknown Hellenistic Polykrates are not overly compelling, and the arguments for assigning the passage to the 4th century Polykrates are not without their defects too.[78]

This uncertainty is no small problem because, in a similar way that the end of the sixth century is often seen as a period of social change, so too is the period of Agis IV (r. c.244-241) and Cleomenes III (r. c.235-222), the two kings most clearly linked to 'reinstituting' Lycurgan laws in Sparta, laws whose observance had been in decline since the fourth century.[79] The reforms of Agis and Cleomenes should not then be seen as the point after which Spartan society changed

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classical times." Pettersson, 1992, 10 writes that "Polykrates' testimonium is … not later than the first century BC. According to Jacoby he could have been a local historian of Lakonian origin … It is thus possible that Polykrates was an eye-witness to the cult"; Richer, 2004, 80 writes "Polycrates, a Laconian author who predated the first century BC …"; Moreno Conde, 2008, 15 n.22 takes a similar approach, "Auteur des Λακωνικά. Didymos d'Alexandrie, auteur du Ier siècle avant J.-C. qui cite à son tour Polycrate, actif à la même époque. Selon Jacoby, FGrHist 588 F, Polycrate aurait pu être un historien local d'origine laconienne."; Hooker, 1980, 61 refers to Polykrates but doesn't mention the date or context but notes that "nevertheless the narrative quoted from Polykrates helps considerably towards an elucidation of the rite."; Chrimes, 1949, 270, n.3 referred to "the Spartan Polykrates"; Flower, 2009, 220, n. 61 (referring to 208) writes that "Athenaeus cites Didymus for a description of the [Hyakinthia] festival that is taken from a certain Polykrates (probably 3rd or 2nd century BC)."; Calame, 2001, 174 dates Polycrates' 'Laconica' to the second century B.C.; Ducat, 2006, 262 refers to Polykrates as a Hellenistic writer.; Pomeroy, 2002, 152 says that "Polycrates was probably Hellenistic, since he predated Didymus (fl. Ca. 40 B.C.E.)."; van Wees, 2018a, 224, 234 n.129 writes that "Polykrates' account is of Hellenistic date, but the kannathra evidently already featured c.400 BC, and the chariots need not be later additions."; Bayliss, 2016a, *BNJ* Polykrates (588) is more cautious: "…If the Polykrates here is not to be identified as the Athenian sophist, then there is little if anything that that we can say about him. Jacoby identified him as a Lakonian, but even that is speculative, based presumably on the fact that many (but by no means all) of the authors known to have written works called *Lakedaimonia Politeia* or *Lakonika* were Spartan… While we know when Polykrates the Athenian sophist was writing, determining when this Polykrates was writing is very difficult." See [**Appendix B]** for a more detailed examination of the fragment.

[76] The full text is provided in **[Appendix B]** and is further discussed in **[Section 4]**.

[77] Jacoby's comments on the passage in his discussion of the fourth century BCE Polykrates the Athenian (*FGrH* 597) that "Selbstverständlich haben die viel späteren Lakonika eines P. (no. 588), der vermutlich gebürtiger Lakone war, mit solcher schrift nichts zu schaffen."

[78] These are explored in more detail in **[Appendix B]**.

[79] Van Wees, 2018b, 252, n.83. See above, and **[Section 4 and 5].**

(which is in itself true), but as a symptom that Sparta had already changed, and needed changing back (so the kings would have argued).[80] Thus, to what extent did the musical performances at the Hyakinthia described by Polykrates in BNJ 588 represent traditional stages in Spartan education, a lapse in those traditions, or, indeed, a recreation of those traditions? If we cannot reliably date Polykrates, then there is no obvious solution.

There are countless other problems with the surviving literary sources which are relevant to the topic of this thesis too. Sosibius, a Hellenistic writer whose date is not completely certain, presents similar problems as BNJ 588, but at least we are certain he was a Spartan. Three Spartan poets are now no more than names (Dionysodotus, Spendon, Gitiadas), so too Nymphaeus of Cydonia, and there is a lack of any reliable information concerning the poetry of key figures in Sparta's cultural history (Terpander, Cinaethon, and Chilon), as well as a general lack of first-hand Spartan literary sources.[81] We could also mention the fragmentary nature of Archaic lyric, and the extent to which Attic comedy and tragedy have been used in modern scholarship to inform accounts of Sparta chorality, despite being not entirely reliable sources, all this without even mentioning competing musicological and philosophical theories, which have certainly skewed our view of Spartan music, as well as the ever-present filter of the 'Spartan mirage' (see **[Section 5]**). If the benefits of a music archaeological approach are not self-apparent, then the messy nature of our literary sources is an advertisement for taking other types of source into account too.

Again, this is not to say that the material evidence used in this thesis is not without its own problems. In fact, I hope that this thesis (and work undertaken during its completion) goes someway to highlight a number of problems with our current interpretation of key elements of Spartan archaeology and music archaeology, from the interpretation of Laconian BF iconography and music iconography more generally,[82] to the unreliable methodologies used by the excavators of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia **[both Section 4]**, and new ways of assessing old information, in particular, the surviving aulos fragments from Sparta, which are the focus of the next section of this thesis.[83]

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[80] The traditional *agōgē* "had apparently lapsed at some point after the late 270s" (*HRS*^{2}, 38).

[81] See Polykrates, *BNJ* 588 for Dionysodotos; Plut., *Lycurg.* 26 for Spendon; Pausanias, 3.17.12 for Gitiadas; and Aelian, *NH*, 12.50 for Nymphaeus of Cydonia.

[82] See Lloyd, forthcoming a and Lloyd, 2020b.

[83] See Lloyd, forthcoming a on the inaccuracies of Wace's recording of the Spartan lead votives in *AO*, and Lloyd, 2020b, on music iconography.

SECTION TWO: THE SPARTA AULOI - THE ORGANOLOGY OF THE INSTRUMENT AND ITS ROLE IN SPARTAN SOCIETY

2.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter examines the auloi from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta (the Sparta auloi), placing them within the wider history of the development the instrument. Firstly, it should be stated that this study does not try to reconstruct the scales of the Sparta auloi – they are too fragmentary. What can be studied is the manufacture of the pipes, how the various fragments compare to other auloi, and what this might say about Archaic Spartan music and early auloi more generally. New measurements are provided for the fragments that I have been able to study, and research in the British School at Athens archives provides possible information about the location of the auloi within the Orthia sanctuary.

The Sparta auloi fragments belong to at least two different pairs of pipes, likely with five to six holes, very similar to other 'early type' auloi. Since the Sparta auloi are the closest material link we have to a Spartan musician, this chapter explores how object biography and Kuijpers' recent categorisation of specialised craftsmanship can be useful methodologies for the study of ancient Greek auloi more generally. Before concluding, I then explore the role of the aulos and aulos-players in Sparta more generally, highlighting the heterogenous nature of the evidence, before focusing on the aetiology of the implementation of aulos-players in the Spartan military. The nature of the Sparta auloi, as well as their dedication and inscription, point to the relatively prestigious place that the aulos and aulos-players could have in Spartan society, itself seen by the aetiologies which place key figures in Spartan mythology at the centre of the institution of aulos-players in the army.

The Sparta auloi were partially published in 1907/08 and 1919/20, with a more extensive report in the 1929 Artemis Orthia publication.[84] Since then the Sparta auloi have not received further detailed study. This is quite surprising. The auloi come from a relatively secure archaeological context, and by all accounts are considered the earliest surviving examples of Hellenic auloi.[85]

[84] Dawkins, 1907/1908, 25. Hondius & Woodward, 1919/1920-1920/1921, 103-104 (no.25 & 26). *AO*, 236 ff.

[85] E.g. Chidiroglou, 2017, 202 "2nde moitié de VIIe av. J-C."; Olsen, 1966-67, 5 "supposed to belong to the seventh century"; Psaroudakēs, 2002, 337, "The earliest *auloi* finds are those of Sparta, late 7th century B.C." Bellia, 2015a, 53 "the auloi found in the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (dated to the end of the seventh century BCE)"; *AGM*, "c.650-600 BC". Chronologically the nearest examples are the Ephesus and Perachora auloi, which Psaroudakēs dates to 600-550 BCE.

Not only that, but Sparta was an important focal point in the Archaic and Classical circuits of *mousikoi agōnes*, an important node in a large network of travelling musicians. Moreover, aulos-players seem to have held a particularly noted role within Spartan society, particularly the military, one which was, according to Herodotus, hereditary.[86]

As such, the current state of scholarship on the Sparta auloi can be summarised quite briefly. After their initial publication, the first time the Sparta auloi were referred to (at least from an organological point of view) seems to be by Wegner in 1956,[87] who argued that the Sparta auloi had five holes (compared to Dawkins' possible reconstruction, which only allowed for four). Then the auloi were mentioned in 1966 by Becker, and Bélis in 1988.[88] In 1994, Psaroudakēs discussed the fragments, producing measurements based on the data published by Dawkins.[89] Most recently two fragments of the Sparta auloi have been included in the *Musiques!* exhibition and related catalogue.[90] The most organological of these studies is Psaroudakēs' (in that he critiques the measurements of the pipes in some detail, with an aim to a better understanding the musical capabilities of the instrument). There are several other passing references to the Sparta auloi, but they tend to add nothing new to the debate. More generally, there is a lack of clarity as regards the Sparta auloi fragments. For example, that the pipes are not all of the same diameter is generally not well noted. Also, even though they have been regarded as similar to other 'early type' auloi, particularly the Ephesus aulos, the Sparta auloi fragments have never been arranged in a completely satisfactory manner, and debates as to the Sparta auloi's place in the development of the Hellenic aulos have tended to see them as primitive or simple instruments, suited to the performance of unrefined music, or not even included them.[91] Such views are at odds with the instruments' similarity to other 'early type' auloi.

While scholarship on the Sparta auloi has developed little over the last ninety years,[92] there has been much further work on the role of the aulos and aulos-players in Sparta more generally. Notable here are West's comments on the possible representation of monaulos players in the

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[86] Hdt., 6.60.

[87] Wegener, 1956, 866 ff. ("Griechenland" in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 5), referenced by Olsen, 1966-67, 5.

[88] Becker, 1966, 39**.** Bélis, 1988b, 238-239.

[89] Psaroudakēs, 1994, Vol. I, 310-312 & Vol. II, fig. 126.

[90] Chidiroglou, 2017, 202 (no.134).

[91] Cf. Förtsch, 2001, 69 ff. and 152 ff., and Barker, 2002, 25-27. Surprisingly, it seems that the Sparta auloi were not mentioned at all by Schlesinger, 1939, nor in Calame, 1977. The Sparta auloi also receive little attention in Hagel, 2010 due to their fragmentary nature (Hagel, 2010, 396 n.70).

[92] With Psaroudakēs, 1994, 310-312 a notable and welcome exception.

Spartan lead votives, and Barker's work on the representation of the aulos in Sparta, which expands upon West's suggestions by developing the hypothesis that the 6th century was a period of experimental instrument-making in Sparta, as evidenced (primarily) by the lead votives.[93] However, as I argue, Barker's hypothesis is flawed in that it tries to place the material evidence within a pre-existing historiographical narrative, one informed by the absence of the aulos in Homer and the late origins of the Pythian aulos contests, while neglecting key material evidence (Laconian BF pottery), and by relying on Dawkins' incorrect reconstruction of the Sparta auloi, which diminishes their musical potential.

Following Barker's argument, it would be easy to place the Sparta auloi within the narrative of later ancient writers who speak of Sparta as preserving strict, conservative musical regulations, and as a society not overly interested in music.[94] We should avoid such conclusions. Firstly, the Sparta auloi are likely not quite as early as is generally supposed by scholars of Greek music, and secondly, as an examination of their manufacture will show, while simple, they are not any simpler than other 'early type' auloi. Here a case can be made for the Sparta auloi being better made than many other 'early type' auloi too. It can also be firmly stated that the fragments are likely from at least two different pairs of auloi, and that these auloi in fact follow the basic structure of 'early type' auloi, a style which has been found in use in the wider Peloponnese, Northern Greece, and also at Greek colonies in Italy, over a period of some two-hundred and fifty years.

Not all new information is positive. It seems that some of the fragments have been lost, or succumbed to deterioration since 1929, but it is not clear when or where. Only six out of an original thirteen fragments are in the Athens National Archaeological Museum, and none in the Sparta Museum.

Of all the instruments found throughout Laconia, as the earliest of their type, the Sparta auloi are the most important from the perspectives of music-history and organological studies. In

[93] West, *AGM*, 92 n.58. Barker, 2002, 13-29 (25-27 for the auloi).

[94] Cf. Barker, 2002, 25-26: "I loro strumenti, con tutta probabilità, non erano più sofisticaI i delle loro esibizioni. Saranno sicuramente stati in grado di suonare semplici e probabilmente rumorosi accompagnamenti per danze di acrobatici ballerini, ma non avranno oltrepassato certo questo livello. I resti di *auloi* trovati nel santuario di Orthia sono perfettamente coerenti con questa interpretazione … Inoltre, sebbene i fori per le dita siano intagliati con una certa precisione, non mostrano alcuna delle forme e degli intagli utilizzati nei secoli successivi per ottenere ben precise sfumature d'intonazione. Sono strumenti perfettamente utilizzabili, ma non possiedono nessuna delle rifiniture tecniche necessarie per eseguire una musica elaborate …") Such a statement is not, as I argue below, supported by an analysis of the only surviving archaic Spartan *auloi*. Note also the comments (limited to Plutarch), which have Spartan kings belittling the worth of aulos-players, see [**Section 5.1.2**].

order to fully explore what the Sparta auloi can tell us about Spartan music, this chapter is divided into three sub-sections. Sub-sections **[2.2 – 2.6]** will present a detailed analysis of the context, date, and organology of the Sparta auloi. I argue that the auloi are slightly later than traditionally understood, dating roughly to the *floruit* of Alcman (c. late 7th century), and within a decade of the first aulos competitions at Delphi. Additionally, measurements confirm that at least two different pairs of auloi were dedicated. Based on an analysis of all surviving fragments, it becomes clearer that the Sparta auloi likely had five or six holes, and thus are very similar to a number of other 'early type' auloi, and should not be treated as different in design to other Archaic or Classical examples.[95]

Sub-section **[2.7]** will present a relational object biography of the Sparta auloi.[96] This methodology is well explored from anthropological and archaeological perspectives, but has not been utilised much by musicologists (or archaeomusicologists). Object biography, as defined by Joy, is ultimately an "approach [which] provides a method to reveal relationships between people and objects."[97] Traditional methods of object biography focus around the life of an object, here "the best possible outcome when constructing a biography for a prehistoric artefact is that there is evidence for production and good contextual evidence for death."[98] Both the birth, life, and death of the Sparta auloi will be examined as best as possible, but the focus of this biography is a reconstruction of the social relations of the auloi. As Joy advocates, the 'object life biography' should be modified, since there are other methods which can reveal aspects of an object's biography, namely, in addition to examining an object's use-wear and archaeological context, their *chaîne opératoire* (the processes and phases of their production).[99] Here I have chosen to use Kuijpers' recent revised categorisation of specialised workmanship to supplement the biography, since it allows us to better understand the qualitative differences

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[95] Dunbabin, 1962, 448 seems to have come to a similar conclusion, but this is often overlooked: "The Perachora fragments are all from pipes of one simple and well-defined type (see diagram, fig. 29), the earliest examples of which appear to be those from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, of the latter half of the seventh century."

[96] See: Kopytoff, 1986; Gosden and Marshall, 1999; the concept of a 'relational' object biography is explored by Joy, 2009. A similar concept, while not obviously linked to the archaeological theory of object biography, has been applied to modern and traditional musical instruments (see, Bates, 2012, 363-395), but not ancient Greek and Roman instruments.

[97] Joy, 2009, 540. Gosden and Marshall, 1999, 169.

[98] Joy, 2009, 543: (544) "… thinking instead in terms of a relational biography [instead of a life-death biography] has the advantage of allowing us to pick up on the biography of an object at specific points and in particular contexts where the archaeological evidence will allow us to and not feel that the biography is lacking because we are unable to construct a neat linear story for it."

[99] Joy, 2009, 544-5.

between the Sparta auloi and other similar auloi.[100] My approach in this section takes as its focus the auloi themselves, rather than relying on literary evidence to inform our approach. As Van Keer writes, within the field of music archaeology (or as she puts it, the archaeology of music) "Our knowledge of 'ancient Greek music' depends on the sources and the evidence as much as on the concepts and the framework we use. Archaeology as anthropology of music is an approach with many and multiple prospects on various levels in the study of ancient Greece."[101] In this regard, Joy's modified 'relational' object biography, supplemented by Kuijpers' categorisation of specialised workmanship, have a lot to offer in terms of deepening our understanding of the social complexities and influences of ancient Greek auloi, as well as enabling more nuanced comparisons between different instruments beyond the purely organological.[102]

Finally. sub-section **[2.8]** focuses on some key literary and epigraphic sources. The aim of this section is to further examine the social standing of the aulos and aulos-players in Spartan society. Much of the evidence is, as we would expect, contradictory. In the case of the differing aetiologies attributed to the Laconians' use of aulos-players in their armies (an aspect of the tradition which has, as far as I am aware, been overlooked), we see a continually adapting representation of the instrument's role in Spartan society.

2.2 CONTEXT

In 1929, Dawkins published thirteen aulos fragments which had been excavated from the Orthia sanctuary.[103] The fragments were found "all with Laconian I or Laconian II pottery".[104] It is unclear whether this should be taken to mean that the fragments came from different contexts (i.e. some fragments were found with Laconian I pottery, others with Laconian II), or that the date of the pottery with which the fragments were found was uncertain or mixed (i.e. the pottery found with the thirteen aulos fragments was stylistically either Laconian I or II, or a mix of the two). Sadly, earlier publications do not make it clear whether or not the Sparta auloi came from a single context. The contexts of other auloi suggest that numerous sets of pipes could be

[100] Kuijpers, 2017, *passim*.

[101] van Keer, 2010, 231.

[102] This is not to diminish the importance of organological studies, which are a vital form of analysis for the study of ancient music, but by only studying ancient instruments' organology we might limit what we can learn about ancient musicking from such instruments.

[103] Dawkins, *AO*, 236 ff.

[104] Dawkins, *AO*, 236. (see **[Appendix D]**).

dedicated at the same time, though this does not seem to be the norm. For example, the Selinous Temple D aulos fragment seems to have been a single pair of pipes, so too the Brauron and Poseidonia auloi (the latter from a funeral context). It is unclear the extent to which the Perachora auloi might have been a single dedication, since the stratigraphy was greatly disturbed.

Note of the Sparta auloi was first made in 1908, the year they were discovered: “some ivory flutes with dedicatory inscriptions are interesting”.[105] The inscriptions on the auloi were dealt with more thoroughly in 1919/1920 by Hondius and Woodward, who provided rough illustrations **[Fig. 2.1]**.[106] These early notes are important since Hondius and Woodward’s drawings differ slightly to those in the 1929 publication, showing a closed omicron in *Ϝορθά*. Dawkins’ 1929 drawing gives an open omicron **[Fig. 2.2]**, which can also be clearly seen in modern photographs. Other important observations include that “Ϝορθά is not found elsewhere among our dedications” and that the second fragment “seems by its smaller diameter to be from a different flute from no.26”, a comment which has been neglected by modern scholars,

[105] Dawkins, 1907/1908, 25.

[106] The exact transcription of these inscriptions is unclear, see: Hondius & Woodward, 1919/1920-1920/1921, 103-104 (no.25 & 26); Woodward, *AO*, 370 (no.169, 26 & 27); *SEG* ii. P.14, 82-83. For Woodward, *AO*, no.169, 27 it is possible that Ϝορθά should be in the dative ‘Ϝορθᾷ’ and as such the inscription as we have it is complete (see Hondius and Woodward no.3, 4(?), 18(?), and 25 for omission of the final dative iota), alternatively, as is supposed for Woodward, 1929, 367 (no.169.1) it could have read ‘Ϝορθα̣[ίαι]’, with the rest of the inscription continuing past the finger hole (see also Woodward, *AO*, no.169.25, 28, 28 (bis) for other possible dative endings). Hondius and Woodward, 1919/1920-1920/1921, 104, suggest that if the inscription as we have it is complete and correct it “would afford some confirmation of Pausanias … that the title Ὀρθία = ὀρθή.” For Woodward, *AO*, no.169.26, it is unclear whether the crossbar on the seventh letter is a mistake (Ἀχραδαῖος) or a badly written tau (Ἀχράδατος); (see Hondius and Woodward no.25 for the same mistake, as well as a phi used instead of a theta). See Bechtel no.4 for a possible derivation of the name from Ἀχραδαίδας to Ἀχράδας and Hondius and Woodward no.26 for the suggested derivation from ἀχράς (pear-tree), who include examples of Laconian names derived from trees, although they are sparse. I was not able to see the inscribed fragments in Athens, since they were on display in the Louvre-Lens exhibition *Musiques!* However, the *Musiques!* exhibition catalogue includes good images of the fragments (Chidiroglou, 2017, 202, no.134 – see also no.133 for a cymbal from the sanctuary of Apollo Hypertelateas at Phoiniki in Laconia), and I have since seen them on display at the Athens National Archaeological Museum. Given that there is a tau clearly with a crossbar in A 15343 on the ‘tai’, I think it likely that on A 15342 the seventh letter is also a tau. I also wonder whether the beginnings of an iota is visible just after the thumbhole on A 15343, and would propose, tentatively, ΤΑΙ ϜΟΡΘΑ̣Ι.

probably because the 1929 publication did not give diameter measurements,[107] but only the lengths of the fragments (and then not all of them).[108]

I had hoped to have found reference to the context of the auloi if not in earlier publications, then in the unpublished Orthia notebooks in the British School at Athens archive. I found two notes which might refer to the auloi, due to the similarity of the inscriptions which they transcribed. I include both of them here for comparison. In George's lead votive notebook, under §77 (i.e. section/ context 77), there is the note "+ Pipe inscr[cribed] FOPΘ" **[Fig. 2.3]**.[109] I had at first thought that this might have been an initial transcription of what could be seen on the (uncleaned) pipe. This might also explain why Hondius and Woodward read the omicron as closed. If so, why this find was recorded in one of the notebooks recording the lead votives is less clear (rather than in the daybook, or notebook of inscriptions or small finds). The second note which might refer to the auloi is in Dawkins' 1908 notebook, written on Saturday 4.IV.08 for the context §70 195.03-.21. Dawkins' handwriting is not very clear, but he seems to write "beneath" and "inscribed" and "TAIFOPΘA" **[Fig. 2.4]**.[110]

The problem is not just that these two notes record the inscription differently, but that they record the find in different contexts (sections 70 and 77 are not adjacent) **[Fig. 2.5]**.[111] Nonetheless, that Section 77 is recorded by George as a 'Lead 2' context, which would match the association with Laconian II mentioned by Dawkins in 1929, and that George clearly records "pipe inscr[ibed]", suggests that this might be the context from which the pipe (or pipes?) came from. It seems we cannot certainly deduce the exact context of the Sparta auloi. Yet it is possible to provide a more accurate analysis of the dating of the auloi.

2.3 DATE

The Sparta auloi are conventionally dated to c.650-600 BCE. However, in 1963 Boardman suggested a revised chronology for the earlier phases of the Orthia sanctuary, suggesting that

[107] For the inscription, Hondius and Woodard, 1919/1920 - 1920/1921, 104 (cf.103-104). However, we could point to Orthia inscription 169.1 (p.367), but there *ortha* is preceded by *anetheke*.

[108] Dawkins, 1929, 236-237.

[109] BSA Archive: SPARTA 19, Notebook 19, George, W. S., Catalogue of lead figurines, I.

[110] BSA Archive: SPARTA 7, Notebook 7, Dawkins, R. M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, March to April, 1908.

[111] Cf. Luongo, 2014, Table 1 & 2. Also, Lloyd, forthcoming b.

Laconian II pottery "as a style" ranged from 620-580 BCE.[112] In 1984 Cavanagh and Laxton, based on their excavations at the Menelaion, placed the transition between Laconian II and III around 600-590 "a slight brake on Boardman's attempt to lower the chronology".[113] Therefore, c.600-590 / 580 should be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for the Sparta auloi,[114] since they were found in a context where there was no Laconian III pottery, and c.620 should be taken as a *terminus post quem*, since this is when Boardman dates the transition between Laconian I and II pottery.[115]

Both Boardman and Cavanagh and Laxton's amendments have gone unnoticed by those studying the Sparta auloi, and mean that the Sparta auloi need not be much earlier than other early auloi, in particular those from Perachora and Ephesus.[116]

However, it should be mentioned that an ongoing study of the unpublished Orthia notebooks points to some problems with the methodology for the establishment of the Wace's original lead typologies (and hence dating), which were set parallel to the chronology of the Laconian pottery.[117]

This re-dating, while only shifting the auloi some thirty to twenty years later (from c.650-600 to 620-580), is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Sparta auloi have been viewed most recently by Barker as part of a wider primitive and experimental phase in the development of the Hellenic aulos, specifically of the seventh century, specifically in Sparta. His argument takes as its starting point the notable absence of the aulos (or at least that it was vastly overshadowed by the kithara and lyre) in the visual and literary media of the seventh century (particularly in Homer and Hesiod), suggesting that in the eighth and seventh centuries the aulos was seen as a foreign, and unrefined or informal instrument:

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[112] Boardman, 1963, 4 (n.13). Boardman's revised dates "depend on the accepted dating of Corinthian pottery. For this I follow Payne, although it seems likely that a slight down-dating of Transitional and Early Corinthian may prove justified."

[113] Cavanagh & Laxton, 1984, 34-35.

[114] Since the deposition of material across different sanctuaries need not fall under the same patterns. Cf. Cavanagh, forthcoming.

[115] Boardman, 1963, 4.

[116] To these we could add those from Lindos, Giglio, and the Athenian Acropolis, all dated to the sixth century (Psaroudakēs, 2002, 337). To this list we should add the Selinous Temple R aulos which dates to c.570 BCE (Bellia, 2015a, 52, images 7-8) and the Toscana-Sea fragments, since the ship wreck in which they were found was made with a method "probably very soon after 600 BC," (Rasmussen, 1986, 114, cf. Psaroudakēs, 1994, 314, no.38.).

[117] Lloyd, forthcoming a.

> "In questo periodo, quindi, l'aulos era conosciuto solo come strumento straniero e, fino al momento in cui non entrò completamente in territorio greco, fu in apparenza suonato solo in contesti di informle e bassa convivialitá."[118]

Then, from a study of the representation of the aulos in the lead votives, and an an analysis of the Orthia auloi, Barker argues that the early aulos appears less refined than contemporary stringed-instruments (and hence capable of less artful music), noting how such an opinion seems to correlate to the representation of the aulos in Homer:

> "sono strumenti perfettamente utilizzabili, ma non possiedono nessuna delle rifiniture tecniche necessarie per eseguire una musica elaborata … Sembrerebbe che I fiati fossero in ritardo rispetto agli strumenti a corda per quanto riguarda lo sviluppo tecnico e il livello artistico della musica prodotta. Questa ez esattamente la situazione che ci saremmo aspettati sulla base dello sbilanciato rapporto esistente tra strumenti a fiato e a corda in Omero, e alcune informazioni cronologiche fornite in modo esplicito dalle fonti sembrano puntare nella stessa direzione."[119]

Barker then continues, pointing out that while the kithara received competitions at the Pythian games in the seventh century, that it was not until the second decade of the sixth century that competitions for the aulos were established at the Pythia.[120] For me, this point is potentially more revealing than the aulos' relative absence in early epic poetry, since that genre was the domain of the kitharode and lyrist.[121] However, the revised dating of Boardman, and Cavanagh and Laxton, actually means the Sparta auloi may well be nearer in time to the inaugural auletic and aulodic competitions at the Pythia, than the time when the *Iliad* and the *Shield of Herakles* were composed.

Van Keer raises an important point when discussing the implications of music archaeology, in that the methodology supports "(a) 'reconstructing' the musical instruments and the actual sounds of ancient Greek music and of (b) 'deconstructing' the modern ethnocentric assumptions shaping the historical concept of music we use and thus the knowledge about 'ancient Greek

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[118] Barker, 2002, 16.

[119] Barker, 2002, 26.

[120] Barker, 2002, 26-27.

[121] West, *AGM*, 82 "It is remarkable that Homer says nothing of *auloi* in a whole series of contexts in which they were regularly used later: paeans, dirges, sacrifices, marching to battle, rowing, feasting, dancing. It has been argued that this must be due to deliberate exclusion of an instrument regarded as lacking in dignity. It may be so, but the suspicion must remain that the pipes were only introduced (or reintroduced) to Greece at a comparatively late date, perhaps from Asia Minor or Syria."

music' we produce."[122] For van Keer it is important that music archaeology is both empirical and epistemologically aware. I agree with van Keer here (in that music archaeology helps us to move our understanding of ancient Greek music beyond the historiography and philosophy of the texts which discuss it) and I suggest that in relation to Barker's interpretation of the Sparta auloi (based primarily on textual narratives) when we turn to material evidence, not only do our answers about the nature of the Sparta auloi change, but so do the questions that we ask about them.[123]

To conclude this section on the dating of the Sparta auloi it should be noted that, as far as I am aware, all auloi are dated by their find context, which necessarily post-dates their manufacture, this might only be by a few years, but perhaps more usually a few decades, and in cases of important instruments, perhaps even generations too, though it is unlikely this was ever a common practise. Thus, the Sparta auloi, and other auloi, act as evidence for the musical culture of the period to which their burial allows us to date them, but also for the musical culture of a (sadly unspecified) period before their burial.[124]

2.4 LOCATION, GROUPING AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

Having highlighted the issues of context and dating surrounding the Sparta auloi, I will now highlight some problems regarding the fragments themselves, but first, I will provide an overview of the general construction of an aulos (suggested explanatory figures are noted throughout).

In theory, the construction of an aulos is to some extent quite homogenic. There was the reed (*kalamos / glossa*), which was inserted into the *hypholmion* (a 'cup' for the reed), itself inserted into the *holmos* (the 'bulb'). There was, however, much variation in this element of the aulos (which is roughly equivalent to the mouthpiece and barrel section on a clarinet).[125] In 'early

[122] Van Keer, 2010, 225.

[123] Van Keer, 2010, 225, 231. See **[Section 1]**.

[124] In the case of auloi found in burials, the age of the deceased should act as a rough cap for the manufacturing of the aulos.

[125] Some auloi seem to have been made without a *holmos*, others with a series of *holmoi*. The *holmos* varies between a rather spherical shape, and a shape nearer an ellipse, additionally, a *syrinx* hole could be added to the *holmos*. There is also some variation with the shape of the *hypholmion.* I follow West, *AGM*, 85 on the categorisation of these terms, "Probably the *holmos* was the bulb and the *hypholmion* the open cup into which the reed was fitted … Hsch. '*hypholmion*: part of the aulos near the mouth, or the tongues' (or 'where the tongues are')."

type' auloi the system of *hypholmion* and *holmos* was not fully developed. In 'early type' auloi the reed was inserted into a 'cup' section which was then inserted into an 'extension' section with was cylindrical (unlike the typical *holmos*). As such, given the uncertainty over the terms *hypholmion* and *holmos*, as well as the slight differences between these parts of the aulos compared to those of 'early type' auloi, I favour using the terms 'cup' and 'extension' in relation to the Orthia auloi. These upper sections of the aulos are often treated separately from the main section of pipe (in the same way, for example, that a bassoon crook is, or, again, the barrel and mouthpiece of a clarinet).[126]

The main section of the aulos 'pipe' seems to have been referred to as the *bombyx*, what we might call more generally the 'resonator', which was pierced with a number of holes (*tremata* / *trypemata*). The pipe was normally made out of a series of sections joined by spigot and socket. Generally, the main section of the *bombyx* included holes I T II III, a total of four *tremata*. It should be noted that Pollux says that the earliest auloi only had four *trypemata* until a certain Diodorus of Thebes created a *polytretos* ('many-holed') aulos, however, the historicity of this claim is uncertain, especially given the evidence from the surviving 'early type' auloi.[127] After the main 'I T II III' section another was regularly added. This section often included a fifth and sixth hole. The sixth hole is often called the 'vent-hole', the function of which was, acoustically, quite complex and somewhat multi-functional.[128] Alternatively, this second section might have included a number of other finger-holes that could be sealed or opened up and played as needed. Finally, it should be noted that sometimes we find 'bell' sections for auloi, or other end-sections. The purpose of these would likely have been to alter the tone of the instrument.[129]

With the fragments of the Sparta auloi, we find sections that we would expect to find for an Archaic aulos, and others which are less easy to explain. These will now be categorised.

However, Barker, 1989, 10, fig.12, shows a labelled drawing of an aulos, but inverts the *holmos* and *hypholmion* so that the reed (*glossa* / *zeugos*) is inserted into the *holmos*. Thus Mathiesen, 1999, 184-186, fig.20.

[126] Mathiesen, 1999, 184 (n.58).

[127] Mathiesen, 1999, 183. Pollux, *Onom.*, 4.71.

[128] *AGM*, 86, n.27, "Baines, Bagpipes, 22, 'Vent holes are common in reed instruments… Their function is complex. Partly it is to equalize the tone of the lowest note with that of the others; partly it may be to permit a considerable extension of the tube-length to serve the purpose of an acoustic resonator; and partly it is to provide a means of tuning the lowest note by plugging or partially plugging a vent hole).'"

[129] What was known as the Phrygian aulos is particularly distinct since one pipe had a curved bell. In Etruria auloi are often depicted with flared bells.

As part of his thesis, Psaroudakēs divided the thirteen Sparta fragments into five groups, a slight emendation to Dawkins' original six. I have decided to group the fragments with the same letters of the alphabet as Psaroudakēs, but I have grouped them following Dawkins' original categorisations. Psaroudakēs argued that frag. M "is of similar structure to the other three [I, J, K]".[130] However, I think that frag. M can be identified as the fifth fragment from the left in Psaroudakēs' photograph, and it seems to be of the same diameter as fragments in Groups 2 and 3, even though it is organologically similar to those in Group 4 (since frags. I, J, K, and M are end pieces with one or two holes), hence my reason for using Dawkins' groups. Where possible I have also included the fragments' Athens NAM accession number, as well as if they were illustrated in Dawkins.[131] For measurements, see **[Appendix C]**.

Group 1 ('cups')[132]

A (15345) 4.2cm = *AO* pl.CLXI 1c

B 2.8cm

C 2.8cm

[130] Psaroudakēs, 1994, 311-12.

[131] Unfortunately, not all the fragments were illustrated in Dawkins, and when measurements were given, these were lengths, and sometimes lengths excluding spigots. Psaroudakēs, 1994, worked out his diameter and hole sizes from the to-scale drawings and photographs in *AO*, however, Dawkin's drawings were slightly off. Dawkins, *AO*, 236-237 also recorded "an immense number of … bone objects… each is made of a section of bone, carefully rounded form the outside. When complete the natural hollow of the bone was closed by a small round piece of bone." Dawkins admitted that "the object of these things is quite unknown" yet noted that "it has been suggested that they were the mouthpieces of these bone flutes [sic.], and that the taper end of the flute [sic.] was fixed into them by means of clay or wax." Even then, Dawkins highlights the problems with this suggestion; "the difficulty is that the stopping has such a permanent appearance that it is safer to regard it as an integral part of the object, and to suppose that these were something of the nature of pieces for a game like draughts." With regards to their actual purpose, this is still unclear to me, Dawkins' suggestion that they are game pieces seems plausible, but they are clearly not related to auloi. The interior of the caps is bored very crudely, with the cylinder of each doweling still visible, so that the interior is uneven, and unsuitable for placing over the top of a pipe.

[132] Psaroudakēs, 1994, 310-11, argues that "it is not possible for this type of section to have occupied the position of a bulb, as Dawkins suggests, for two reasons: (1) the presence of a socket at the other end points towards a reverse orientation of the section, with the socket facing upwards and (2) the mouth end of Fr.D, with which Dawkins joints it, is at the socket end of that Fragment, not the spigot end, as he proposes in Pl.161 Nos 1a-c. It is possible that the bevelled end received a small bell."

Group 2 (central sections, 'I T II III')

"as far as the evidence goes, the position of the holes is identical in all these pieces" Dawkins, AO, 236

D (15344a/ 15347?) = *AO* pl.CLXI 1b, CLXII 6

E

F

Group 3 ('extensions')[133]

G (15346), 58.5mm = *AO* pl.CLXII n.5 = pl.CLXI 1a

H 36mm total 28mm without projection (likely Psaroudakēs photograph, fourth from left) – suggestive of unequal length pipes

Group 4 (end pieces, holes)

I (15344b/ 15347?) = *AO* pl.CLXI 3a, b = pl.CLXII 4

J (15342) = *AO* pl.CLXI 4

K (not stated how many holes this had)

Group 5 (middle? section, two holes)

L (15343)

Group 6 (end section, one hole)

M = *AO* pl.CLXII 3

[133] Compare the Ephesus aulos, where there is no socket for the reed (Psaroudakēs, 1994, 287). Also, given the orientation of the spigots on all the other sections, if these were end pieces, we would expect a socket instead; the surviving Sparta auloi end-pieces have a socket at the top, not a spigot, as the 'extensions'.

It seems that some of the thirteen fragments have been lost since 1929, perhaps quite recently. Firstly, (as with all the material from the Orthia excavations) it was never clearly stated where the fragments were kept. I first looked for the auloi in the Sparta museum, but then found that they were in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. The paperwork I was provided with, however, only stated that there were six fragments (two were on display in the *Musiques!* exhibition at the Louvre-Lens). In total, I have only been able to study four fragments in person (fr. A, E, G, I), and they can be compared in **[Fig. 2.6].**[134]

However, a photograph provided to me by Stelios Psaroudakēs shows the Sparta auloi on display in an exhibition, but we have not been able to ascertain which exhibition. The photograph clearly shows seven fragments though. **[Fig 2.7]**. We can likely identify in Psaroudakēs' photograph, from left: 15346 (G); 15342 (J); (K)??? ; (H); (M)?; 15344b (I); 15344a (E), thus identifying a further four of the Sparta aulos fragments. However, this still means that seven of the thirteen fragments are currently unaccounted for, these are: B, C, D, F, K, H, M. Though H and M, and possibly K, can be identified in Psaroudakēs' photograph, their current location is unknown to me.

2.5 ANALYSIS OF THE FRAGMENTS

Importantly, it has been possible to say now with some certainly that the Sparta aulos fragments come from two different types of pipes. I have termed these 'Aulos SA1' and 'Aulos SA2', though it should be noted that it is possible that more than one Aulos SA1 or Aulos SA2 pipes were dedicated.[135] The main differences between these two auloi are their hole and bore diameters. Aulos SA1 (frags. D, E, F, G, H) has a 7.2 / 7.3 mm bore and 6.5 mm holes. Aulos SA2 (frags. A?, I, J, K, L) has a 8.6 mm bore and 7.2 mm holes.[136] It is difficult to say whether frags. B and C belong to Aulos SA1 or Aulos SA2, since while they are shorter than A, Dawkins gave no diameter nor any illustrations for them. It is also not impossible that A belonged to

[134] The accession numbers of the fragments on my study permit for the NAM, Athens, were 15342, 15343, 15344, 15345, 15346, 15347. It was noted that 15342 and 15343 were on loan. However, the accession numbers drawn on the four fragments that I saw did not match the accession numbers on the permit. Two fragments had the same number, 15344, written on them. For the sake of this study I have chosen to identify them as 15344a and 15344b, rather than suppose that one of them is in fact 15347, but that could be a possibility.

[135] Dawkins noted three identical middle sections (Group 2) which belong to Aulos SA1, and three similar end sections (Group 4) which belong to Aulos SA2. Or, perhaps, that each aulos had spare or alternative parts.

[136] The inscription is then written on sections from the same aulos.

Aulos SA1, since while the preserved end with the spigot has a diameter which matches that of Aulos SA2, it is possible that the broken end may have continued to taper from 7.8 mm to the 7.2 / 7.3 of Aulos SA1, however, given other auloi, it seems likely that the 7.8 mm would have matched the aulos into which it was inserted. It is possible that M belongs to Aulos SA1, judging from the photograph, but this is uncertain. All fragments are made from bone.

For a full list of measurements, see **[Appendix C]**. *For Dawkins,* AO*, pl.CLXI see* **[Fig. 2.8]** *for pl.CLXII see* **[Fig. 2.9]**. *For comparative examples, referred to throughout, see* **[Figs. 2.10-18]**. *For further photographs of the Sparta auloi fragments, see* **[Figs. 2.19-23]**

Aulos SA1

D = 15344a PL. CLXII 6

This fragment corresponds to Dawkins, *AO*, pl.CLXI 1b and preserves three finger holes and one thumb hole (the 1929 drawing has restored the breaks). There is a break through the thumb hole, which has been fixed. There are traces of joins at either end (socket at top/left, spigot at bottom/right). There is a double ring decoration above the first hole, and a single ring decoration below the third hole too. It is likely a left-handed pipe, due to the slight offset of the thumb-hole to the right. Theoretically, the pipe might only be missing one hole, or it might not be missing any, but it is likely missing two further holes. It is quite a small pipe, but is much closer in bore diameter to the Daphne, Louvre and Perachora F' fragments, and in hole diameter it is the same as Perachora Y', but closer to Perachora F', Daphne and Acropolis C than to the Ephesus aulos, which is still obviously much smaller.

G = 15346

This section would have been inserted as an 'extension' into the top of a middle 'I T II III' section. While the internal diameter of the bore, 7.3mm, is the same as 15344a it seems unlikely that this section of pipe formed a direct join with 15344a for two reasons: one, inconsistencies in patination (if it did connect directly to 15344a, it was not buried that way); two, the spigot of 15346 is 7.6mm long, the socket of 15344a is 8.8mm, if it were to connect to 15344a directly the join would be an imprecise fit. It is a shame that neither frags. E or F survive, since frag. A may have joined with one of those.

Like frag. D (and presumably E and F) this section also has incised decorative rings (in this case, three).

Lost fragments

- **H**: most likely belongs to Aulos SA1. Interestingly, if we understand frags. H and G as the two 'extensions' of Aulos SA1, then we might suppose that Aulos SA1 had a High and a Low pipe. The pipe with the 'extension' frag. G being 2.2cm longer than the pipe that used the 'extension' frag. H (assuming that all other components were the same length).[137] Alternatively, it is possible that frags. G and H could have been designed for the same pipe, enabling it to be played at a higher or lower pitch if needed by switching out one the 'extensions' with the other, rather than using a completely different pipe. However, this assumes that these fragments are the same diameter, and they might not.

- **M**: from Psaroudakēs' photograph, M appears to be of the same diameter of other Aulos SA1 fragments, but this is not certain. If this is true, then it is possible that one of the Aulos SA1 pipes might be reconstructed with a fifth hole, or a vent hole. However, this cannot be confirmed.

- **B & C**: Dawkins makes no comment on the diameter of these, but given that they are half the length of A, which belongs to Aulos SA2, it is possible that B & C might have been the 'cups' for the smaller Aulos SA1 this is, however, completely conjectural, and it is possible that Aulos SA2 had different sized 'cups'.

- **E & F**: Dawkins said that these fragmemts were 'identical' to D. Does this suggest two pairs of Aulos SA1, or that one of these fragments was a spare or replacement?

Aulos SA2

A = 15345[138]

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[137] This seems at least possible, given frags. B & C, and D–F.

[138] For similar 'cups', see the Akropolis aulos fr.D, and the Perachora, Poseidonia, Pydna, and Akanthos auloi **[Fig. 2.11-13, 17].** These are different to other aulos mouthpieces which flare out but maintain the same bore diameter, such as the Louvre, Berlin, and Reading auloi **[Fig. 2.18].**

Like frags. D and G, this fragment is decorated with incised rings (near the bottom/right). It has an internal diameter (near the top/left) which is the same as **15344b** and other Aulos SA2 fragments. Near the bottom/right the internal and external measurements taper down so that in places the walls of the pipe are only 1.2mm thick. This narrowing of the section (from 8.6mm internal bore to 7.8mm) would have allowed for it to be directly inserted into an 'extension' section. The socket for the reed is 11.1 mm.

I = 15344b

There are very slight traces of indentation near the broken hole. There is a natural groove running down the bone, resulting in a very thin wall on its reverse side (0.9 mm), compared to 3.6 and 3.7 at its thickest, and 1.7 mm on the other thinner side. Due to its thinness, a small chip has occurred. This is seen in other auloi and helps to confirm that the bone used is deer.[139] There are traces of a thicker incised ring on this fragment, near the top/ left, different in style to the thin and shallow incisions on frags. A, E, and G. This thicker and deeper incision on the outside of the pipe seems to match the traces of the socket on the inside.[140] [**Fig. 2.23]**

J = 15342[141]

L. 6.4cm

Diameter (external) 1.1-1.5cm

L = 15343

Length 8.1cm

Diameter (external) 1.2cm

Diameter of the holes 0.7-08.cm

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[139] This can be seen also on the Acropolis aulos fragments (Psaroudakēs, 1994, fig.84b – one end piece and two middle sections).

[140] Perhaps a metal band might have been added to the connection.

[141] See above for the inscription **[Section 2.2]**.

Psaroudakēs was uncertain as to the fragment's orientation, since Dawkins' comments that it has "joints at each end", but does not specify of what type.[142] From the above photograph it seems that a spigot is at the right/top, but it is less clear if there are traces of a socket at left/bottom.[143] Psaroudakēs suggests, given an analysis of the distance between holes on other surviving auloi, that this could represent holes IV-V.[144] If there is no socket at left/bottom, this would be quite normal, but if there is, this would then suggest another section would have been needed to complete the pipe, for which, currently, there is no surviving evidence. If possible, I would like to return to Athens and examine this fragment after its return from loan since, as Psaroudakēs says, it is "a little puzzling" (it is not entirely obvious how or where it would have fitted into the scheme of the pipe).[145]

2.6 SUMMARY

Though we have noted some slight differences, it is clear from this study that the Sparta auloi should be reconstructed along the same lines as other 'early type' auloi, the general design of which is most clearly seen with the Poseidonia aulos. **[Fig. 2.11]** What's more, given the number of ring incisions, it should be noted that the Sparta auloi are the most decorative of the surviving 'early type' auloi.

As Barker notes, the Sparta auloi seem to be quite small, but we are now in a better place to contextualise just how small **[Appendix C, Graph C.1 & C.2]**[146]. Whereas Barker, following Dawkins' reconstruction, suggested that the Sparta auloi need have no more than four holes, and need not have been any longer than twenty centimetres,[147] we can suppose with some

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[142] Psaroudakēs, 1994, 312.

[143] If, however, there is a socket at left/bottom, this would be an unusual design, especially since it would have co-existed with sections like frag. I which terminated with holes 4 and 5.

[144] Psaroudakēs, 1994, 312.

[145] Psaroudakēs, 1994, 312.

[146] These tables are adapted from Psaroudakēs, 2013, 115-6 (Plates V 7-8). The orange bars are my measurements, the green bars are Psaroudakēs.

[147] Barker, 2002, 25: "Tutti i frammenti ritrovati sembrano però appartenere a strumenti che, secondo parametri successivi, dovremmo giudicare molto piccoli; quello qui riprodotto non può essere stato più lungo di venti centimetri, inclusa l'imboccatura ad ancia chiaramente perduta. Nessuno sembra aver posseduto più di quattro fori: ciò probabilmente significa che erano in grado di suonare cinque note."

certainty that at least some of the Sparta auloi had five or six holes. Given that so many sections are missing it is difficult to gauge either Aulos SA1 or SA2's length. However, if Aulos SA1 had a 28mm 'cup', a 28/50.8mm 'extension', a 79.5mm 'centre', and (we have to guess) a similar length 'end' (say 80mm), then the lengths of Aulos SA1 might have been 21.5 or 23.8cm. Aulos SA2 would have been longer, with a 'cup' c.48.5mm, an 'extension' perhaps of a similar length (say 50mm), a 'centre' of similar length to the 'end', perhaps c.95mm and 95.2mm, this would give a length of Aulos SA2 at 28.8cm. Such lengths should only be taken as rough estimates, however.

While we cannot reconstruct the scales of the Sparta auloi, modern experimental archaeomusicological investigation by Barnaby Brown has revealed that the seemingly simple Poseidonia aulos (c.480 BCE) can be quite dynamic. Brown says that: "Despite lacking chromatic mechanisms, the Poseidonia-type aulos is compatible with the modulating style that became popular in the 5th century BCE, the so-called 'New Music' scorned by Plato and others … I demonstrate how it is possible to play any scale with accurate intonation. Although I would not exclude half-holing [a technique where you cover only half a hole with your finger, in order to play microtones or different pitches], I find it relatively clumsy. For precision and speed, I prefer to use tiny movements from the elbow in combination with micro-adjustments in lip compression."[148] Additionally, Brown has demonstrated how it is possible to modulate between the Dorian and Mixolydian *tonoi* on the Poseidonia aulos, and play a circle of seven fifths on it too.[149] Such praxis truly demonstrates the possibilities of Aristoxenus' observation that "there [is no attunement] in the finger-holes, unless someone brings it to them by manual adjustments."[150] However, just because such modulations can be achieved on such instruments,

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[148] Such practices are helping to clarify the diversity of even relatively simple looking instruments and are vitally important for providing us with information about these instruments beyond the theoretical. For videos demonstrating the technique, see: Brown, 2017, blog post: http://www.doublepipes.info/introducing-the-*auloi*-of-poseidonia/ (accessed 09.04.18, 13.49).

[149] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PtqUvZsW0XY (accessed 01.07.18, 18.32).

[150] Aristox. *El. Harm.* 2.43 (trans. Barker, *GMW 2*, 158). See also the passage before, which details the methods (some of which are employed by Barnaby Brown to produce modulations) of tuning or adjusting tuning, used by aulos-players (Aristox. *El. Harm.* 2.41-42, trans. Barker, *GMW 2*, 157-158): "It is not because the aulos has finger-holes, bores, and other such things, nor because it admits operations of the hands, and of other parts naturally adapted to raising and lowering its pitch, that the fourth, the fifth and the octave are concords, or that each of the other intervals has its own appropriate magnitude. For even though all these factors are present, auletes for the most part fail to attain the proper order of attunement, and for all these efforts produce the proper results only rarely, despite employing such techniques as separating and bringing together, increasing and decreasing tension with the breath, and all the other causal expedients."

does not mean that they were. The historiography of music places much weight on the origins of modulating auloi with Pronomus of Thebes' development of collar-mechanisms (enabling different scales to be played by covering and uncovered extra holes while playing). Even if Sacadas of Argos' much earlier *trimeles nomos* called for modulations, these need not have been achieved on one instrument. Ultimately, such experimental archaeology asks us to more vigorously question what we think we know about the development of ancient Greek music. With regards to the Sparta auloi we need not assume that Achradatos would have played them in the same way Barnaby can on the Poseidonia aulos. After all, Achradatos (who dedicated the Saprta auloi **[Fig. 2.1-2]**) had more than one aulos. There might have been many reasons for this, the second aulos, with a wider bore, might have played more loudly, it might also have been used to play in a different key.

The Sparta auloi represent the dedication of more than one set of auloi, at least two pairs. This perhaps suggests that they were dedicated at the end of Achradatos' career. What did these auloi mean to Achradatos? What did it mean for a Spartan to own an aulos, and what might the processes used to make these instruments tell us about the wider importance of the aulos in Spartan society?

2.7 OBJECT BIOGRAPHY

Every aulos, even if it was made to the same specifications as another, was unique. Each aulos would have its own voice, lent to it by its subtle construction, which could have been heavily overseen by the musician who had commissioned it.[151] The quality of the build of an instrument directly impacts on how well a musician can play it. Conversely, while the construction of an instrument might announce the wealth of its owner, it need not guarantee the quality of their playing.[152] As Bélis writes, "Même dans un lot de vestiges de provenance unique, même dans un ensemble sorti d'un même atelier, chaque aulos reste un objet unique, chaque instrument garde sa spécificité."[153] How then, were the Sparta auloi made?

A number of deer were running around, we might expect, in the fertile hills of Laconia. Someone then killed these deer. They then processed the tibia of these deer so that they could be fashioned into auloi. The person who made these bones into musical instruments may or may not have been the person who then played them, and may or may not have been the person

[151] Bélis, 1998a, 781-782.

[152] Bélis, 1998a, 781-782.

[153] Bélis, 1998a, 783.

who killed the deer.[154] Nonetheless, we should imagine a degree of communication between the manufacturer and musician (if they were different people).[155] Indeed, it is likely that there would have been some form of established *chaîne opératoire*. We cannot be precise about the stages of this process, but we should remember that these auloi were the result of killing an animal that was sacred to Artemis (cf. the myth of the Ceryneian Hind, also, deer were often used as an attribute of Artemis in Greek iconography), and which featured prominently within the cult of Orthia.[156] While deer are not often depicted in Laconian art outside Orthia's cult, there is one Laconian BF vase on which they are hunted,[157] and among the BA material from

[154] It is always possible that the bones which made these auloi were not sourced locally. For example, we know that it is likely that, among other sources, lead from Laurion was used by the Spartans in the sixth century (Gill & Vickers, 2001; Lloyd, forthcoming b); Laconian BF pottery was traded internationally, especially making its way to Samos (cf. Coudin, 2009a; Pipili, 2018), and ivory, for a short while at least, was imported to Sparta. In this context, Theophrastus, *On Plants* should be noted as detailing that within the context of aulos manufacture, the best reed cane used to make reeds was from Boeotia, specifically the marshy land around Lake Copais (cf. Bélis, 1998a, 778 n.4; Bélis and Péché, 1996, 10-29). It is possible that similar long distance, specialised trade was a key part of the manufacturing of auloi. However, for the localised, hereditary nature of the aulos profession in Sparta, see Herodotus 6.60. Further, given the importance of the auloi within the Spartan military it seems reasonable to agree with Bélis, 1998a, 779 that: "On présumera, sans risquer beaucoup de se tromper, que partout où il y avait des banquets, des fêtes et des concours musicaux, on trouvait des fabricants d'instruments de musique qui fournissaient la clientèle locale." In the case of Sparta, I hypothesise that in the Archaic period it seems most likely that the hereditary aulos-players were also the manufacturers (or in charge of the process) of auloi in Sparta, however, I am open to alternative possibilities.

[155] In the fourth century, Plato, *Rep.* 601d-e writes how aulos-players did not make their own instruments, but were in constant and careful discussion with an aulos-maker during the process of its manufacture. Also, Aristot. *Pol.* 1277 b 30 who frames the relationship between aulos-maker and aulos-player as one whereby the player controlled the process of manufacture (on these two passages, Bélis, 1998a, 781-782). The money involved in the production of auloi could be phenomenal, as was the case with Theodorus, the father of Isocrates, who employed a number of slaves as aulos-makers (Plut., *Vit. Dec.*, 4.836e), or in the case of Ismenias, who supposedly bought an aulos for seven talents (Lucian, *The Ignorant Book-Collector*, 5). As Bélis, 1998a, 779-781 notes, however, these are taken to be extreme examples, and not representative of averagely sized workshops or the averagely made aulos. Cf. Psaroudakēs, 1994, 315, that three holeless pipes from the Giglio wreck might be "regarded as… 'potential' areophones, pipes imported to Etruria in order to be bored in accordance, possibly, with local modal demands?" We should also note Euripides' use of the phrase 'Lydian lotos' to describe the aulos, which implicitly suggests an international trade. Cf. Barker, 2018, *passim*.

[156] On the varieties of deer dedicated as lead votives at Orthia's sanctuary, see Boss, 2000, 108-109. On their prominence in the final period of the lead votives, including their leaping style, Boss, 2000, 173-174. Waugh, 2009, 164.

[157] Richer, 2010, 23-24.

the Menelaion, Red Deer was "the chief hunted animal".[158] In this way, the Sparta auloi may have acted as reminders to the musician of the material origins of their music, and the reliance of musicians on the natural world to give voice to their songs and instruments, a theme which seems to have been well represented in the poetry of Alcman.[159] The groove that runs down the end of the tibia would have been very susceptible to chipping, as has happened with the Sparta auloi [**Fig. 2.23**]. This groove is a feature shared with other surviving auloi made of bone, and it would likely have added a uniqueness to the tone of any given instrument, or instead of an aural effect, a more symbolic element, or even both, certainly a sense of individuality.[160]

If we suppose that the tibiae used to make the Sparta auloi came from Laconia, either as a by-product of the hunt, the by-product of sacrifice, or perhaps even from deer grown for the purpose of making auloi, we should also ponder the extent to which natural materials may have been controlled by the state, since Herodotus relates that the hide of every sacrificial beast went to the kings in Sparta.[161] This would, presumably, have included any deer skins too. Of course, we are only in a position to speculate, but such speculation allows us to appreciate better the spectrum of interactions that might have led to the creation of these auloi. They were not the sole product of the musician (whether or not they crafted them) but likely the creation of a number of key and interested parties within Spartan society.

The tibia bones, having been acquired, would likely have been macerated to remove the flesh and then sorted through to find the bones which would produce the best pipes. It is also possible that further treatments might have occurred here too.[162] This would have been a lengthy process, but musicians were willing to wait for the right materials, as is shown from Theophrastus' later account of the maturing of aulos reeds.[163]

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[158] Catling, 1976-1977, 27. Sadly, while making note of the burned bones around the Orthia altar, the bones were not kept, so we cannot say which animals were sacrificed to Orthia.

[159] E.g. Alcman, PMG 39, 40. On swans in Alcman, see Lloyd, forthcoming c.

[160] E.g. the Akanthos aulos.

[161] Hdt. 6.56-57. On the problem of sacrificial deer, see Larson, 2017, *passim*.

[162] Brown and Stevens, 2016: http://www.doublepipes.info/scottish-deer-bones-episode-1/ and http://www.doublepipes.info/scottish-deer-bones-episode-2/ accessed 10.10.2018, 15.28.

[163] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant*., 4.2.5. Before Antigenidas, when aulos-players still played in an *aplastos* style, cane was left to mature for 'a great many years' before being used to make aulos reeds. After aulos-players developed the *plasis* style of playing, so Theophrastus continues, the cane was left for three years instead. On the terms *aplastos*, *plasis*, and *meta plasmatos*, see Barker, *GMW* 1, 187 n.5, who translates the terms as 'without elaboration' and 'with elaboration', which "presumably involve[ed] decorative 'turns' (*kampai*)." Since *plasis* literarily means a 'moulding' or 'conformation', I wonder whether the term, in relation to aulos-reeds, indicates a

From the Sparta auloi we can see subtle rings marked around the pipes for decoration, providing evidence that the bones would have been worked on a lathe **[FIG 2.20, .21, .23]**. Aeschylus seems to corroborate this practice:

> ὁ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν
> βόμβυκας ἔχων, τόρνου κάματον,
> δακτυλόθικτον πίμπλησι μέλος
>
> One man holds in his hands
> a pair of pipes, fashioned on the lathe,
> and plays out a fingered melody

Aeschylus, *Edonians*, fr.57, 2-4

This stage, of turning, piercing, and working the bone into a playable pipe, would have been a risky process, as Bélis writes: “Au cours des opérations à risque que sont le tournage, l'évidage et surtout la perce, il arrivait que ces matériaux fussent endommagés, voire irrémédiablement perdus: la « casse » fait partie des aléas du métier, ce qui accroît encore le prix de revient des instruments.”[164] Such processes would probably have been one of the many details elaborated upon in Aristoxenus’ *On the Boring of Auloi*.[165]

It seems that the rings on the Sparta auloi were purely decorative, an easy to add flourish (the aulos-maker would have been a sufficiently skilled lathe-worker), as seen on contemporary bone and ivory objects from Sparta.[166] The way the pipes are made with spigot and socket attests how finely the workmen could operate, working with millimetre precision on millimetres-thin bone. Such joints needed to have been secure enough to prevent the leakage of air, but also made with enough give to be pulled in or out so as to make subtle adjustments to pitch. The maker would also have had to consider what the tuning of the aulos should be, to what extent they would match or differ from pre-existing norms. If the maker knew the contexts for which the aulos would be used, this also might have informed the process. A more specialised aulos-maker would have been able to produce instruments of a higher value, and ones which would

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difference between the shape or hardness of the reed, its overall timbre or shape, rather than a style of reed or playing that was well adapted to playing *kampai*.

[164] Bélis, 1998a, 784.

[165] Ath. 634d-f.

[166] E.g. *AO*, pl.CXII-CXVI (bone plaques of various styles), pl.CXVII-CXX (bone figures of orthia), pl.CXXXV.2 (bone rings), pl.CLXIV-CLXIV (ornamented strips of bone).

have caught the eye of the public during performance, or at the least, caught the eye of other musicians as outstanding works of craft.

Here, Kuijpers has highlighted the distinction between 'specialist' and 'non-specialist' craftsmen, particularly in relation to Bronze Age (BA) metalworkers, as a restrictive dichotomy. [167] Kuijpers instead suggests a distinction should be made been amateurs, common craftspeople, master crafters, and virtuosos. Such terms, I suggest, enable us to better assess the overall quality of any aulos, shifting the focus from the potential dichotomy of 'early type' and 'sophisticated type' aulos, while allowing for better comparisons between similar types of auloi.[168]

Such categories are helpful but not perfect. For example, it would be wrong to call less-well-made auloi 'amateur', since the skills needed to make a working aulos are indicative of someone working at a level of specialisation implicitly above the amateur (the word is too loaded in modern English). Ultimately, what Kuijiper's study highlights is that there are problems with analysing relative and quantitative specialism when examining different materials and different techniques. This is a problem which current studies of *auloi* have not yet addressed.

Given the subtle decoration of the Sparta *auloi*, Achradatos (who dedicated them to Orthia) probably found them quite refined. Certainly, he found no need to alter further the pipes after he had bought them, unlike the player of the Akanthos aulos, we suppose, given the notches on its thumb holes.[169] Further, Achradatos acquired more than one set of pipes over their playing career. Whether or not these were bought at the same time, or even from the same maker, we cannot say for certain.[170] That the different Sparta auloi are of the same basic design shows that a certain regularity in the structure of bone auloi was in existence by the end of the seventh century. This similarity in itself is diagnostic of the interconnected nature of Hellenic music.

Then, presumably at the end of his career, Achradatos dedicated his auloi to Orthia. We know this not only through good fortune, but because he wanted someone to know that he had done

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[167] Kuijpers, 2017 focuses specifically on axes.

[168] Kuijpers, 2017, 13-14.

[169] Such later additions need not suggest that the maker of the aulos had produced a 'substandard' or otherwise imperfect aulos, but might reflect the personal preference of the player (see the notches on the Akanthos aulos' thumb holes). For example, many modern musicians replace the barrel or bell of their clarinet to produce a sound that suits their playing, likewise bassoonists with crooks. Such workings need not be symptomatic of more 'refined' auloi.

[170] But given the similarity of decorative incisions on Aulos SA1 and SA2, we might suppose a connection between their manufacture.

this; the hand is rough and ready, and written in the local Laconian script (it need not be by the same hand as those which made the auloi, nor indeed by Achradatos). But why Orthia? The goddess clearly received musical worship, but seems not to have been a divinity associated with the governance of music. Perhaps then, Achradatos had served as the aulos-player within the cult of Orthia, accompanying sacrifices and choral performances as needed. Given my revised dating of the Sparta auloi, it is certainly possible that such instruments might have been played by Achradatos during the *floruit* of Alcman, and given that they were dedicated to Orthia, it is possible that these instruments might even have accompanied one or more of Alcman's compositions. Would votaries who saw Achradatos' dedication know who he was? If so, might the sight of the auloi recall a particularly good or bad performance, or a particular song which he had accompanied? Further, would the auloi be regarded as particularly spectacular dedications, and how might they have compared to other dedicated instruments? Indeed, would votaries have even been able to see the auloi, or would they have been contained in a now perished box or aulos-case (*sybēnē*), along with a *phorbeia* (a leather-mouth strap worn to assist with the technique of circular-breathing)?

Having passed from Achradatos' ownership and into that of Orthia and those in charge of maintaining her sanctuary, the auloi took on a new meaning, at least for a short while until they were left buried, either as a deliberate act of refurbishment of the sanctuary, or as a result of a flood of the Eurotas which then prompted such refurbishment (see *AO* for discussion of the potential flooding of the sanctuary). While on display, perhaps among other votives in the temple,[171] the auloi would have been objects of reflection, both sacred and secular, rather than an active agent in the creation of ritual music. Here we should note the potential differences between auloi that were buried as funerary objects, or discarded as refuse, instruments which had no 're-birth' as votive offerings. The auloi then remained, for some two-thousand five-hundred years, buried in the ground, while the temple to Orthia went on being rebuilt and the sanctuary where Achradatos had once visited was further developed and expanded, along with Sparta's musical customs and norms (see **[Section 5]**).

To the British School at Athens archaeologists excavating the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, concerned as they were (like most early twentieth century archaeologists) with the discovery of new inscriptions, it was this feature which prompted them to note their discovery of the aulos fragments in the excavation day book. Here the auloi were a useful object in the understanding of the aetiology of Orthia's name, and the onomastics of Archaic Sparta. The objects' original purpose, the creation of music, was neglected.

[171] E.g., the Selinous Temple D aulos fragment.

While we don't know the exact date on which they were made, dedicated, or buried, it is possible that they were excavated on Saturday 4th March 1908. It was not until 1929, however, that the auloi were first published as musical instruments. After this, the biography of the auloi becomes clouded; when or how they arrived in Athens is unclear, and what happened to the missing fragments is currently unknown. Nonetheless, the two inscribed fragments, as part of the Louvre-Lens *Musiques!* travelling exhibition, have managed to break out of the store-room and into the limelight of an international travelling exhibition. In this way, the importance of the Sparta auloi is slowly being renewed.

One of Wilson's key points in his seminal study of the aulos in Athens was to emphasise that the instrument was "central to Athenian life [and] occupied an extremely ambivalent position within it, as did its practitioners."[172] Just as in Athens, while our sources do not present a unified interpretation of the aulos within Spartan society, they do highlight its cultural importance, and it is in this regard that an object biography helps to inform our study, by providing a glimpse of lost interactions and social values. In order to better inform my assessment of how the aulos and aulos-players were regarded in Spartan society more generally, however, we now need to turn to texts.

2.8 AULOI AND SPARTAN SOCIETY

There are very few texts that allow us to assess the social standing of aulos-players in Spartan society, and those which do suggest a certain heterogeneity.[173] For example, Alcman (PMG 109) referred to aulos-players with names suitable for Phrygian slaves (Σάμβας, Ἄδων, and Βάβυς). That musicians more generally could be slaves or freed slaves is shown by the biographies which suggest that Alcman himself was once a slave.[174] But the evidence is problematised when we note the stories concerning the musical exploitation of the Helots, who were banned from learning the songs of Tyrtaeus, Alcman, and Spendon, but were forced to sing debased songs instead.[175] At least in Sparta, it seems, the Helots were not allowed the

[172] Wilson, 1999, 58.

[173] See **[Section 5.1]** for the various claims that Spartan citizens did or did not play the aulos.

[174] For example, Heraclides Lembus (Excerptt. Polit. (p.16 Dilts) = Aristot. Frag. P.372 Rose)) where it is said that "ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμὰν οἰκέτης ἦν Ἀγησίδου, εὐφυὴς δὲ ὢν ἠλευθερώθη καὶ ποιητὴς ἀπέβη". On slave aulos-players, c.f. West, *AGM*, 331 n.11.

[175] Plut. *Lycurgus*, 28.4-5. "καὶ ᾠδὰς ἐκέλευον [the Spartans] ᾄδειν καὶ χορείας χορεύειν ἀγεννεῖς καὶ καταγελάστους, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων."

musical responsibilities that might have been given to slaves in other cities, or, indeed, of non-Helot slaves in Sparta.[176]

Four 1st century BCE inscriptions from Cape Tainaron, famous for its cult of Poseidon and as the mythical landing place of Arion,[177] record aulos-players among a number of subtly different religious retinues.[178] Their names are Καλλικράτης Νίκω̣ν̣ος (IG V,1 209, 14), Δαμοκρατίδας Δαμοκράτεος (IG V,1 210, 50-51 and again at IG V,1 212, 55-56), and Ἀριστόδαμος (IG V,1 211, 49). It is unclear whether we should take the name 'Damocratidas son of Damocrates' as evidence for the continuation of hereditary aulos-players in Sparta into the 1st century BCE, especially given that the two other names are less suggestive. Καλλικράτης Νίκω̣ν̣ος also served as the aulos-player for a festival or ritual commemorated by a stele now in the Sparta museum.[179] That the same musician played for different cults is suggestive of professional activity.

The matter is complicated by Aristotle, who mentions that there was once a Spartan *choregos* who accompanied his own chorus on the aulos – although Barker suggests that this was not regular practice.[180] While the majority of early musicians associated with Sparta were noted for their songs and lyre or kithara music, as well as their development of those instruments or

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[176] However, the musicians represented in Laconian BF *kōmos* scenes are interpreted by Smith, and, for the latter part of their production, by Förtsch, as representing helots, low-class performers, or slaves, see **[Section 4.2.4]**.

[177] Said to have been the pupil of Alcman (Suda A 3886).

[178] IG V,1 209: a long list, for a festival which seems to include *agōnes*, with members of the Gerousia and an Ephor listed among the organisers – *aulētas*, *kitharistas*, *didaskalos kata nomon*. Lower down, a *paianias*.

IG V,1 210: *mantis* (the seer Sixares Teisamenou), *grammateus* (the secretary Aristokles Philonikida), two *karukes* (the heralds Damokrates and Euameros), the *auletas* (aulos-player, Damokratidas Damokrateos), the two *painiai* (perhaps paean-singers, Aristolas and Eudamidas), a 'σὶν φέρων' (Agiteles), the 'κοακτὴρ' (Eunous), the epigrapher (Soinikos), the cook-butcher (μάγειρος Arion), and the cook (ὀψοποὶς Thursos).

IG V,1 211 two heralds (Arxitas Aristokleos and Kleonumos Kletoros), one seer (Aretippos Lusippou), the aulos-player (Aristodamos), the secretary (Klenikos), the 'σὶν φέρων' (Euameros), the 'κοιακτὴρ' (Eubios) and the μάγειρος (Ktesiphon).

IG V,1 212 (which has much crossover with 211 as to musicians and others) – *auletas* (Damokratidas Damokrateos).

[179] SM 203 = IGv 1, 209 = Massaro, *Ka.9*. Massaro suggests that the stele is related to the worship of the Dioskouroi and Helen. It also seems to record a 'Karneia-victor', whether or not that is a victor in the musical or running contest is unclear.

[180] Barker, *GMW* 1, 178 n.24 "… the point here is that he was a citizen, not a hired professional. As the form of words indicates, Aristotle is thinking of some one occasion, not a regular practise." Aristotle, *Politics*, 1341a, καὶ γὰρ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί τις χορηγὸς αὐτὸς ηὔλησε τῷ χορῷ. For the repsentation of Spartan citizen *auletes* in Attic literature, see **[Section 5.1]**.

metrical innovations, there seem to have been very few aulos-players associated with Sparta. A notable exception here is Sacadas of Argos, who was supposedly involved with the second *katastasis* of music in Sparta, which resulted in the instituition of the competitions at the Gymnopaidiai (ps.Plut., *De Musica*, 1134a-c), and was a talented composer and *aulete* said to have won three times in a row at the Pythian games (Paus.10.7.4-5) and to have invented the *trimeles nomos*. However, the historicity of this association is open to question.

The servile or foreign associations of aulos-players is clearly not implied, however, by Herodotus, who lists aulos-players as a hereditary class in Sparta, along with heralds and cooks,[181] where the focus is on their accompanying the military.[182] Whereas the heralds were said to descend from Talthybius (whom they worshipped as a hero),[183] and the cooks worshipped 'Mixer' and 'Kneader' as heroes,[184] whether or not the aulos-players had an aetiology or a founding hero as well has remained undiscussed, probably because Herodotus says nothing on the topic. Nevertheless, the way Herodotus groups these three classes suggests that the *auletes* might have had a founding hero too. In fact, it seems that there are two distinct aetiologies for the institution of *auletes* in the Spartan military, as well as a third one which is less clear.

The first is preserved by the Sicilian comedian Epicharmos of Kos (c. early 5th century) who relates that Athena accompanied the Dioskouroi with the *enhoplion* on the aulos, from which

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[181] Hdt. 6.60. That the practice of "αὐλητής τε αὐλητέω γίνεται" was "κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι" in the time of Herodotus need not guarantee that it was in the sixth century but seems to suggest that it might have.

[182] Thuc. 5.70 (on the Spartan advance to the aulos at the battle of Mantinea). Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 1.11, where he analyses Thuc. 5.70 and a number of other passages on music in war. That the Spartans advanced to the aulos, while others to the salpinx, see ps.Plut, *De Musica*, 1140c. In Sparta, at least in later times, and most likely from the Archaic period, military dances were popular (cf. Ath.630; Lucian, *On Dance*, 10; Plutarch, *Laconian Institutions*, 16.) Polybius, IV, 20 (for reference to the Spartan use of auloi in war, and similar practises in Crete and Arcadia). Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 629a-630e for a critique of Tyrtaeus' attitudes to war. Pausanias, 3.17.5, adds the that the Spartans also went to battle with the lyre and the kithara too, cf. Alcman fr.14; Xen. *Lac. Pol.*, 13.8 (cf. Plut. *Lycurg*. 22.2); Xen. *Hellenica*, 4,3,21 (cf. Plutarch, *Ages.*,19.2); Xen. *Hellenica*, 2.2.23 (cf. Plut. *Lys*, 15.4). Polyaenus, 1.10 provides an aetiology for the Spartan practice. On the use of music in battle more generally, and an overview of some of these sources: Vergara, 2016, 198-202. Moore, 2017 has argued convincingly that the practice of the Spartan's military advances to the aulos was so well known that Aristophanes parodies it. Cf. Gostoli, 1988, 231 for the aulos in Spartan battles. For Spartan military music in relation musical ethos theory, see **[Section 5.1.2]**.

[183] Hdt. 7.134.

[184] The heroes Μάττων ('Kneader') and Κεράων ('Mixer'), to whom some cooks erected altars in the *pheiditia* (Polemon, fr. 40 Preller, *apud* Athen. 39 E). As the auletes, the cooks accompanied the army to battle too (Hdt. 9.82).

act the Laconians then adopted the aulos into the military.[185] A similar account is given at Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 4.184f, who, referring more specifically to Epicharmos' *Muses*, notes that Athena accompanied the Dioskouroi (he makes no mention of the myth as an aetiology for the Laconian practise).[186]

For Guillén, it seems likely that Epicharmos' *Muses* was inspired by Doric epic traditions. Indeed, she notes that Cinaethon the Laconian was credited with a *Heraclea*, and that this might have been a source for the play. Even though the influence of Cinatheon is doubtful, it is certainly interesting given the specifically Laconian nature of the F75 Kaibel. Ultimately, Guillén suggests local folklore, or Stesichorus and Ibycus, are more likely influences on the *Muses*. Indeed, given Stesichorus' and Ibycus' knowledge of Spartan myths, it is possible such a detail may have made its way to Epicharmos through one of those authors.[187]

Such a myth is particularly interesting given that Athena is more generally associated with the creation and rejection of the aulos in versions of the Marsyas myth which have the satyr pick up the discarded pipes, and which were popular in mid to late fifth century Athens as social commentaries on 'New Music'.[188] That an alternative myth had presented Athena, ultimately, as an exemplum for Spartan military aulos-players is quite striking, and as far as I can tell, Epicharmos' *Muses* is virtually unnoticed by current scholarship in this regard. This also, indirectly, likely makes Epicharmos' *Muses* the earliest source for the use of the aulos by the Spartan military, likely predating Thucydides (5.70) by around fifty years.

The second aetiology is recorded by Polyaenus (*Strategmata* 1.10) where it is said that it was Prokles who introduced the practice of aulos-players accompanying the Spartan army during the war against the Eurystheidai, who were then in control of Sparta. Athena is still present in this version; the army sacrifices to her before Prokles orders the use of auloi, but she does not

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[185] Epicharmos of Kos F 75 Kaibel (= Schol. Pind. *P*.2.127): "τὸ Καστόρειον … [after other explanations and definitions] ὁ δὲ Ἐπίχαρμος τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φησι τοῖς Διοσκούροις τὸν ἐνόπλιον νόμον ἐπαυλῆσαι, ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς Λάκωνας μετ' αὐλοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις προσιέναι. τινὲς δὲ ῥυθμόν τινά φασι τὸ Καστόρειον, χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς Λάκωνας ἐν ταῖς πρὸς (10) τοὺς πολεμίους συμβολαῖς."

[186] Important here is that Alcman notes that Apollo learned to play both the aulos and string-instruments **[Appendix A]**, and on the whole there is no evidence to suggest that there was any Spartan animosity to the aulos, as there was among certain circles in Athens, as represented through the proliferation of the literary and visual popularity of the myth of Marsyas there (one prominent example is Myron's statue group on the Acropolis). In the Spartan aetiology, Athena does not reject the aulos (as in the Marsyas myth) but enables a staunchly Spartan tradition through her performance of the aulos. On Marsyas in Athens, see: Van Keer, 2004; Weis, 1979; Adams, 1988.

[187] Guillén, 2012, 80. On Ibycus and Sparta, see **[Section 3.5]**. On Stesichorus and Sparta see **[Section 1.2]** and **[Section 5.1.2]**.

[188] See Weis, 1979 and Van Keer, 2004.

appear as the original accompanist. Polyaenus further removes this aetiology from Epicharmos' version by introducing an oracle: [189]

> I know that the god once ordained victory to the Laconians if they went to war with aulos-players and did not [go to war] against those with aulos-players. The Battle of Leuctra proves the oracle. For the Laconians, who had not taken aulos-players to Leuctra, went up against the Thebans, who traditionally train with aulos-playing, so that it was clear the god had foretold that the Thebans would then defeat the Laconians, who were not commanding a single aulos.

Polyaenus, *Strategmata*, 1.10.12-19 (trans. Author)

As with Epicharmos' aetiology it is not overly clear when or where such a story might have originated. While the absence of aulos-players is not mentioned in Xenophon's account of Leuctra (though neither is their presence noted), Polyaenus' account fits well with the other superstitious actions and oracles which Xenophon describes as occurring before the battle.[190] While our analysis of this passage is limited by the fact that we cannot clearly assign the underlying detail to Polyaenus or an earlier source, it is notable that the use of aulos-players in the military is given such an extreme role here (ordained by Delphic Apollo, no less), one which guarantees success if employed, and guarantees failure if not.

The third, a less clear aetiology, is provided by Plutarch, who, while not explicit, seems to link the association of military aulos-players to Lycurgus. He writes that Lycurgus combined a 'love of music' with the Spartans' military training, and that it was on account of this that the king sacrificed to the Muses before battle (where the aulos-players would have played).[191]

While neither Epicharmos' or Polyaenus' aetiologies can be clearly traced back to a Spartan source, each attributes the origin of the Spartan military aulos-player to a different party, the

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[189] Interestingly, Polyaenus' account seems not to have been influenced by musical ethos, explaining the influence of the aulos-players as something divine, even when discussing the more historical Leuctra.

[190] Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.7: "Besides this, they were also somewhat encouraged by the oracle which was reported — that the Lacedaemonians were destined to be defeated at the spot where stood the monument of the virgins, who are said to have killed themselves because they had been violated by certain Lacedaemonians. The Thebans accordingly decorated this monument before the battle. Furthermore, reports were brought to them from the city that all the temples were opening of themselves, and that the priestesses said that the gods revealed victory. And the messengers reported that from the Heracleium the arms also had disappeared, indicating that Heracles had gone forth to the battle. Some, to be sure, say that all these things were but devices of the leaders."

[191] Plut. *Lac Inst.*, 16: ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος παρέζευξε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀσκήσει τὴν φιλομουσίαν, ὅπως τὸ ἄγαν πολεμικὸν τῷ ἐμμελεῖ κερασθὲν συμφωνίαν καὶ ἁρμονίαν ἔχῃ…

Dioskouroi or the Herakleidai (Prokles), both key parties in the foundation mythology of Sparta. The three different versions of the aetiology then suggest that the myth might have evolved as Sparta's political influences changed (clearly in Polyaenus, the defeat at Leuctra needed to be enveloped somehow into the mythology of the aulos). Following artistic parallels, it is possible that the Dioskouroi were replaced by the Herakleidai in this aetiology after the dyarchy was superseded (when a Ptolemaic-inspired focus on Herakles was popularised at Sparta),[192] while later narratives, such as Plutarch's, focused on reemphasising the laws of Lycurgus.[193] A tripartite development of this myth is perhaps too simplistic, based as it is on very minimal evidence. It is also possible that these different narratives co-existed or interdepended in some way that we are currently unable to reconstruct.

2.9 CONCLUSIONS

Whereas earlier scholarship has treated the Sparta auloi as somehow different to proceeding 'early type' auloi, suggesting that the design of the aulos was still in a relatively experimental phase during the second half of the seventh century BCE, my analysis suggests that the Sparta auloi were made to the same basic aulos design that we see throughout the Hellenic world for the next two centuries. When or where this design was developed or pioneered is difficult to say, and there are certainly some slight differences between the Sparta auloi and later examples, particularly in relation to the 'extensions', but perhaps also the holes 'IV V' section. Even so, the very nature of the Sparta auloi suggests that the standard design of the 'early type' aulos must have been developed somewhat before their manufacture (since both pipes conform to the same design), but here we again move into the realm of speculation.

Further, I have shown that in Sparta military aulos-players seem to have had their own heroes, certainly their own aetiologies, although the status of aulos-players was likely variable and subject to change over time and context (as Alcman PMG 109 suggests). Unlike the myth of Marsyas that was particularly popular in Athens (and which, through Ovid and others became something close to canon regarding the divine treatment of the aulos), the stories of divine military aulos-players were distinctly Spartan, and emphasise the godly and heroic support of the aulos and its performers, particularly in a military context. The existence of this aetiology in turn supports Herodotus' claim that aulos-players were part of a hereditary profession at

[192] Palagia, 2006, *passim*.

[193] Admittedly also a concern of earlier rulers, especially Agis and Cleomenes, so perhaps the Lycurgan attribution is more of a result of Plutarch's biographical focus on the lawgiver.

Sparta. Whether or not the hereditary role of aulos-players at Sparta was still in existence during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE is not entirely certain, but epigraphic evidence points to a continued role during religious festivals. If Polyaenus can be taken as a reliable source, his discussion of Leuctra would at least suggest that something had occurred to impede the use of aulos-players in the Spartan army by the first quarter of the fourth century.

Whereas Plato could draw on the myth of Marsyas as a precedent for his proposed aulos ban at *Laws* 399e, we cannot be certain how Spartan citizens, thinkers, and leaders, regarded the aulos.[194] But if Achradatos' dedication to Orthia is anything to go by, Spartan aulos-players would have taken pride in the role that they played within Spartan society, accompanying key moments of social *harmonia*, from the songs of its youths to the marches of its hoplites.

In the next section, the military context of Spartan music is further explored through the figure of Simonides. The Sparta aulos fragments allow us to explore the role of the instrument and the instrumentalist but, as suggested, while the sound of the aulos was known to all Spartiates, the experience of playing it might not have been. Simonides' lyrics provide us with a public representation of music and military, myth, and more, which allow us to see the ways that song was used to spread or challenge aspects of Spartan socio-politics to the citizenry at large.

[194] *GMW 1*, 134 n.32.

SECTION THREE: SIMONIDES AND SPARTA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Traditional interpretations have seen Simonides' Spartan connections as unimportant, and thus overlooked them.[195] I argue that, in the first few decades of the fifth century, Simonides actively engaged with aspects of Spartan politics and society through the medium of song.[196] In recognising this, previous interpretations of Spartan music which have seen the beginning of the fifth century as a period of decline in Sparta's engagement with *mousikē*, connecting this with the development of Spartan 'austerity', must also be reassessed.[197] While Simonides'

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[195] For example, Calame, 2018 overlooks Simonides in relation to Sparta. This is perhaps due to a slow assimilation of scholarship in different fields of study, the fragmentary nature of the evidence, and because Simonides borders the imagined line between Archaic and Classical Greece (and hence fits imperfectly into accounts which focus on one period or the other). The major exceptions here are the work of Nobili, and the numerous works on the Thermopylae lyric and *Plataea Elegy*.

[196] While Simonides composed in a number of monodic and choral genres, he also wrote some important elegies. The extent to which elegy can be seen as 'sung' is most recently explored by Budelmann and Power, 2013, *passim*. On the performative contexts of elegy, Bowie, 1986, *passim*.

[197] While Cook, 1962, 156-158, rejects the decline in Spartan poetry in the fifth century as 'very weak' evidence to support the idea "that the strict Lycurgan regimen was not introduced till the middle or even the end of the sixth century (when literature and art were dead or died)…", he nonetheless does not question this 'death', but rather rejects it as a factor of any importance, "the incidence of literary personages in Greek states was too rare to be significant statistically." Conversely, for Holladay, 1977, 117 (writing in response to Cook), the point is not that Sparta did not produce any native poets after the sixth century (a point which ignores the question of Spendon and Dionysodotos), but that 'after Stesichorus', they no longer invited poets to their city, a point which Holladay says 'requires explanation'. For Holladay the explanation was the development of Spartan austerity, for me, the explanation is that Sparta *did* continue to patronise poets. More recently, Van Wees, 2018b, 251 has advanced Holladay's line of argument: "Male and female lyre-players and pipers are mentioned by Alkman and shown in archaic vase painting in connection with drinking and dancing. Indeed, tradition had it that in the seventh century Spartans had accorded great honour to famous musicians and singers from abroad. Pipers and lyre-players of both sexes were accordingly also among the lead figurines, until around 500 BC, when they disappeared along with komasts. So far as we can tell, therefore, Spartan drinking culture followed normal Greek patterns until the very end of the archaic period." I critique this aspect of Van Wees' argument in more detail in [**Section 4.2.4**], of more importance here is Van Wees' observation that (252): "The earliest anecdotal expressions of Spartan contempt for musicians were also attributed to Kleomenes and his co-ruler Demaratos [Plut. *Mor.* 220a; *Mor.* 234a.; *Mor.* 223f–224a; *Mor.* 218c] … That lyre-players were singled out for contempt fits with Plutarch's characterization of Spartans as interested only in the martial music of pipes … We cannot rely on such late anecdotes to be accurately attributed, of course, but these particular *bons mots* match the material record so well that their attribution was probably not random…." However, as we shall see, it is to this very period that we see Simonides directly engaging

compositions may not have been melodically, rhythmically, or structurally innovative (like those of Terpander, Alcman, Polymnestus and others before him, or, indeed, those of Pindar and Phrynis and others after him) the content of the songs is strikingly original and socio-politically relevant.[198]

Simonides wrote in a wide variety of genres: *threnoi*; *enkomia*; *epinikia* (PMG 506-519); hymns (PMG 576, 589); epigrams;[199] tragedies;[200] dithyrambs;[201] elegies for the symposium (19-33 IEG, vol.2); *kateuchai* (PMG 537, 538);[202] a *propemptikon* (PMG 580); and miscellanies (PMG 540) or other smaller works, as well as *prosodia* and *partheneia*.[203] He shows himself to have

with the political *milieu* of Cleomenes and Demaratus, composing new songs that would very likely have been performed in the messes which van Wees claims were at this time turning against such practices, and, as seen in **[Section 5.1.2]**, Plutarch gives a very distorted image of Spartan music.

[198] It is difficult to see where Simonides' places his own music (aside from the invocation to the Muse in the *Plataea Elegy*). Of some relevance are PMG 577ab (on the sacred spring of the Muses at Delphi), and PMG 567 (on Orpheus). Of particular interest is PMG 587, where Herodian notes that Simonides used πῦρ (the only monosyllabic neuter word ending in '-υρ') as a disyllable. As West, 1980, 153-154 notes "We are acquainted with the doubling of vowels in certain texts accompanied by musical notation, to indicate the division of a long syllable between two notes. But that has purely melodic significance; from the metrical point of view these syllables remain single ones. It is most improbable that such a melodic spelling should have found its way into an ordinary book-text of a classical poet." Thus, we need not read such metrical features in Simonides as similar to the extended melisms of the kind made infamous by the New Musicians, where they served as a melodic and mimetic purpose rather than as solutions to metrical responsion. However, more recently, West seems to have entertained the idea, writing that (1998 [1994], 209) "Simonides spread the word for fire, *pyr*, over two or three musical notes, probably to imitate its flickering." However, Simonides was very much regarded as following the *kalos tropos* of music. It is said (ps.Plut., *De Mus.*,, 1137f) that Simonides' style of music (Pindar's too) was considered suitably 'traditional' to inform Pancrates' fourth century 'archaising' styles. This stylistic difference does not seem to have stopped Timotheus from alluding to aspects of Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* in his *Persae*, so Rutherford, 2007, 634-635, who observes that both Simonides (*Plataea Elegy* fr.11.21) and Timotheus (*Persae*, 203) use the epithet *epikouros* in poetic invocations. Rutherford admits a plurality of readings (635): "Timotheus might appeal to the Plataea-poem at this point in his poem because he wants to mark his poem in a tradition of other battle poems, and/or because he has just had his own battle with Sparta, and/or because this was the sort of traditional poem the Spartans preferred, and/or because the figure of Pausanias suggests both the arrogance and the hostility of the Spartans."

[199] Many of which, transmitted in the *Palatine Anthology*, are regarded as dubious.

[200] Sud. Σ 439.

[201] Simonides supposedly won 57 dithyrambic victories, yet none of these survive. (*AP* 6.213). See Gallavotti 710 =114 Gerber, p.165-71, for what they argue is a dedication for a Simonidean dithyrambic victory.

[202] Rutherford, (forthcoming); Pontani, 2012, 11-28.

[203] Ps.Plut., *De Mus*., 17; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 917-919.

been a varied and popular poet with a number of lesser and higher profile clients from a variety of *poleis*.[204]

I start by analysing Simonides' appeal to the *epikouros* Muse in the *Plataea Elegy* in relation to its militaristic characterisation and interplay with Tyrtaeus' and Alcman's views on the commemoration of the war-dead and the role of the Muses respectively **[Section 3.2]**. Of importance here is the interplay between material and immaterial means of memorial. Simonides' poetics of memorial are then further outlined in an analysis of PMG 531 (the Thermopylae lyric) **[Section 3.3]**. Here, in a song which was likely intended for a Spartan audience, there is a more nuanced pondering on the relative appropriateness of 'stones versus songs' than is found in the pan-Hellenic or Peloponnesian *Plataea Elegy*. Previous analyses of the Thermopylae lyric have tended to explore it from the perspective of Simonides' wider work (the Kleoboulos poem, PMG 581) or other passages on the memorialisation of the war-dead (Pericles' funeral oration); I place PMG 531 within the context of Spartan attitudes to burial and memorialisation.[205] Key here is Tyrtaeus, who, like Simonides, presents a complex interplay between material and immaterial memorials, but also archaeological evidence (the Sparta cemetery excavations), which show that the dialectic of PMG 531 engages with key aspects of Spartan views on memorialisation, particularly its heterogeneity and performative aspects.[206]

While the first half of this chapter explores how Simonides engaged with key aspects of Spartan society in his Persian Wars songs, in the second half I analyse several fragmentary songs, quotations, and synopses which highlight Simonides' engagement with: the succession of Spartan kings,[207] the genealogy of Lycurgus (which would make Simonides the earliest known author to refer to Lycurgus),[208] politicised local narrative myths (in placing Agamemnon's palace in Sparta and engaging with the battle of Thyrea),[209] and perhaps even Spartan education (through narrative myth and a possible discussion of the *agōgē*).[210]

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[204] Huxley, 1978, 231-247 provides an overview of Simonides' travels and works in Athens, Thessaly, and Sparta.

[205] On the Kleoboulos poem, see Fearn, 2013. On Pericles' funeral oration, see Steiner, 1999.

[206] On Herodotus and Spartan burial customs more generally, Christesen, forthcoming, *passim*.

[207] Fr. 34 (Poltera). Nobili, 2013b and 2012.

[208] Cf. Nafissi, 2018, 106 who highlights that "A case that may have fuelled, by way of contrast, the choice to portray Lykourgos as a regent is that of the victor of Plataia, Pausanias… This suggestion is made more plausible by the strong connections that the poet Simonides – who as we saw treated the topic of Lykourgos' regency – had with Sparta precisely in Pausanias' times."

[209] PMG 549 and *E.* LVX.

[210] PMG 563 and 616.

One of the most notable passages discussed (on account of its unique content) is Simonides fr.34 (Poltera) [**Section 3.4]**. The importance of this passage was first highlighted by Cecilia Nobili, who interpreted it is a Spartan epinician, tying its commission to a hypothetical Olympic victory of Zeuxidamus II (the son of the Eurypontid Leotychidas II, who, with the help of the Agiad Cleomenes I took the throne in 491 BCE, having usurped the then Eurypontid king Demaratus).[211] The extent to which we can securely identify this fragment as an epinician is assessed, raising questions about the current absence of any Spartan epinician. This absence is important, since it highlights one of the ways in which Spartan attitudes to music may be have been 'atypical'.[212] Another area where Spartan praise-poetry has been seen as 'atypical' is in Pausanias the Periegete's claim (3.8.2) that the Spartans never praised their royalty in poetry (with the exception, as Pausanias notes, of the epigrams to Cynisca at Olympia and Pausanias at Delphi). Simonides fr.34 (Poltera) and others show that in this regard, Sparta was nevertheless more typical than later sources might have known or admitted.[213]

The next song I look at is Simonides PMG 628, a genealogy of Lycurgus **[Section 3.5]**. It is important that in Simonides' account Lycurgus acts as regent for his nephew Charilaus. Given that Simonides was likely commissioned by regent Pausanias in the aftermath of the battle of Plataea, we might wonder how long his relationship with the Agiads had lasted, especially given that Pausanias' father, Cleombrotus, had acted as regent for his own nephew Pleistarchus.[214] Since Simonides' genealogy of Lycurgus is noted as somewhat unusual, the possibility should be entertained that he made a deliberate choice in making Lycurgus regent of his nephew Charilaus, perhaps in order to show support for contemporary political arrangements. We also

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[211] Nobili, 2013b and 2012.

[212] Hodkinson 1999, 170–173 and 2000, 317–319 (following Kurke, 1991, 258-259 who frames the rise of *epinicia* as "a kind of counter-revolution on the part of the aristocracy. Constrained by sumptuary legislation, the aristocracy uses epinicion as new outlet for prestige displays") suggests that *epinicia* were condoned by the Spartan state (2000, 319): "the suggestion that one Spartiate victor may have led the way in the rise of epinician [Ibycus fr.S.166] indicates the possibility that prestige displays of victory celebration may once have been commonplace in 'pre-revolution' Sparta. For classical Sparta such displays would have been dangerous affairs." Nobili, 2013, *passim* refutes the claims of Hodkinson, pointing to Ibycus S.166, Simonides fr.34 (Poltera), and a number of poetic dedications. The debate ultimately relates to the extent to which we should see a change in Spartan social practices from the sixth century into the fifth century, and how these changes might have affected Spartan musical customs.

[213] See, Hornblower 2004, 237–239. Compare the paeans sung by the Samians to Lysander, as well as the lost poems of Lysander's favoured poets (Plut. *Lysander* 18.4, the poets associated with Lysander are Choirilos, Antilochos, Antimachos of Kolophon, and Nikeratos of Herakleia. If the passage is to be believed, it tells us why Antimachos' poem for Lysander does not survive).

[214] That this fragment should be assigned to Simonides of Ceos, and not the later genealogist, see Nafissi, 2018, 93 ff., and 106, who focuses primarily on the influence of Pausanias, rather than Cleombrotus.

perhaps find evidence of Spartan influences when we learn that Simonides located Agamemnon's palace at Sparta (PMG 549 = Schol. Eur. *Or*. 46).[215] In light of Argive songs, and the possibly Simonidean epigram on Thyrea (*E*.LVX = *A.P.* 7.431), it is also possible to argue that Simonides' songs engaged with Spartan foreign affairs, as well as internal politics.[216]

Finally, two fragments (PMG 563 and PMG 616) highlight the possibility of Simonides' involvement with Spartan education **[Section 3.6]**.[217]

In 2001, Simon Hornblower claimed, in discussing the appearance the Dioskouroi in the *Plataea Elegy*, that "…I doubt if a poet like Simonides will have worried too much about, or expected his audience to notice, delicate points of Spartan *Staatsrecht* —always assuming that he knew about them, composing as he was at a date when our source for them, namely Herodotus' history, did not yet exist." [218] In this chapter I argue that we need to seriously reconsider the extent to which Simonides actively engaged not only with issues of Spartan *Staatsrecht*, but Spartan society more generally, and thus the claim that the beginning of the fifth century marks a period where Sparta became less engaged with the socio-politics of song.

3.2 HOW DID SIMONIDES INTERACT WITH AND CONTRIBUTE TO SPARTAN MUSIC?

In the same way that the Persian Wars brought Sparta to the fore of Hellenic politics, the Wars enabled Simonides to come to the fore of Hellenic song. [219] The Wars, through which Simonides lived and which lead to the death of at least one of his friends, provided him with numerous

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[215] See, Bill, 1930, *passim*.

[216] Telesilla was credited with inspiring Argive women through her songs to defend Argos against the invasion of Cleomenes and Demaratus (Plut. *Mul. Virt.* 4. 245c-f), see also Paus. 2. 20. 8–10. Maximus of Tyre 37.5 draws comparison between Telesilla and Tyrtaeus and Alcaeus.

[217] Jebb, 1898, 158, who highlights the differences between Simonides' (PMG 563) and Bacchylides' (20) version of the myth of Idas and Marpessa.

[218] Hornblower, 2001, 142. Conversely, Boedeker, 2001a, 121 (n.6 with bibliography), "it seems generally plausible… that the Plataea elegy, alluded to by a number of his contemporaries, was familiar to Herodotus as well."

[219] Fowler, 1998, *passim* has argued for the influence that Simonides' works had on later historians such as Ephorus, Diodorus, and Plutarch. See Podlecki, 1968, *passim* for how the year 480 provided Simonides with plenty of work. See Rawles, 2018, Appendix for an overview of Simonides' songs on Persian War battles, but which is primarily a response to Kowerski's (2005) argument that the *Plataea Elegy* and the *Salamis Elegy* are actually part of the same song.

opportunities to hone his craft, and it is in relation to Sparta's key role in the Persian Wars that some of Simonides' most famous poems survive.[220] It is within this context that later authors tell of a tie between regent Pausanias and Simonides. It is hard to say whether these accounts were born from historical actualities, or are later biographical embellishments.[221] Other dubious works of Simonides that relate to Sparta and the Persian Wars include an epigram to Leonidas and the '300' (E.VII= *AP* 7.301) and two other epigrams said to be for the '300' (E.VIII = *AP* 7.253 and E.IX = *AP* 7.251).[222]

One of the most important fragments on Sparta is *Plataea Elegy* fr.11 W^2 where, after the proem to Achilles, and a call to the Muse, the Plataea narrative proper starts with the Spartan army leaving home.[223] There is still no consensus on where or how the *Plataea Elegy* was performed, but it is generally agreed that it could not have been composed much after 479 BCE, and that it is likely that regent Pausanias commissioned it.[224] Nevertheless, opinions still vary on whether the *Plataea Elegy* should be interpreted as a pan-Hellenic song (in which case we might question the extent to which we should read it in relation to Spartan poetics), or a Spartan song,

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[220] On people known to Simonides and who died during the wars: *E.* VII = Hdt. 7.228.3-4: "That one [*E.* VII] is to the Lacedaemonians, this one to the [Acarnanian] seer: 'This is a monument to the renowned Megistias, / Slain by the Medes who crossed the Spercheius river. / The seer knew well his coming doom, / But endured not to abandon the leaders of Sparta.' [4] Except for the seer's inscription, the Amphictyons are the ones who honoured them by erecting inscriptions and pillars. That of the seer Megistias was inscribed by Simonides son of Leoprepes because of his tie of guest-friendship with the man." Also, Hdt. 5.102.3: "The Persians put to the sword many men of renown including Eualcides the general of the Eretrians who had won crowns as victor in the games and been greatly praised by Simonides of Ceos."

[221] For example, Pausanias' Black Sea bronze krater inscription (*E*.XXXIX = Athen.12.536ab) and his inscription on the Delphic tripod (*E*.XVIIa = Thuc.1.132.2) have been attributed to Simonides, yet neither of the sources actually name Simonides as their author.

[222] *Campbell Vol.3* records the epigrams according to the numeration of Page *FGE*, and notes that (p.369) E.VI and XXII are the most likely to be genuine while expressing a general scepticism regarding the others. Sider, 2006, 330 n.10 for the possibility that some poems transmitted as epigrams might be excerpts from elegies.

[223] The other fragment which might relate to Sparta is fr.14 (and which I do not examine here). West interpreted fr.14 as a direct speech of Tisamenos, the naturalized Spartan seer from Elis. Mikalson, 2003, 120. Aloni, 2001, 88 cautions on how West's interpretation of this fragment is reliant on Herodotus.

[224] Rawles, 2018, 85 suggests that "it [is] likely that the elegy was commissioned by Sparta or by a Spartan: quite possibly Pausanias himself." Boedeker, 2001, 154: "the Plataea elegy, with its unproblematic mention of Pausanias and relatively panhellenic spirit, can best be ascribed to the period after the battle in 479". Aloni, 2001, 103-104 suggests that the lack of surviving evidence concerning the performance or commission of the Plataea Elegy might have been an act of *damnatio memoriae* against Pausanias, which, while attractive, is not provable either way.

and arguments can sometimes become circular.[225] However, even if the *Plataea Elegy* was composed to be performed in front of a pan-Hellenic audience, that does not mean that such a song would not have been written with Sparta in mind too, as we see with the prominent position given to both regent Pausanias and the Spartans.[226] Thus, for example, Thiel and Stenlow have been able to highlight interestingly Spartan elements in the elegy.[227] An element of the elegy which has so far not been noted as particularly Spartan, I suggest, is in Simonides' invocation of the *epikouros* Muse.[228] Much has been said about the way that Simonides invokes the Muse as *epikouros*, and what this has to do with Simonides' construction of memory, especially in contrast to his perception of Achilles' *kleos*, which was reliant on the Muses' provision of truth to Homer.[229] I will now explore how such an epithet might contradict or appeal to Spartan musical customs on two levels: firstly, by engaging with the role of the Muse as a divine inspirer, and secondly, by appealing to the military capacity of music.

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[225] Rawles, 2018, 81, "There is no explicit internal evidence and probably no external evidence concerning the occasion of the poem's first performance." Arguments as to the context of the *Plataea Elegy* are based on a variety of different focuses and methodologies (religious, historical, and philological, for example), but the four peculiar factors pointed out by Schachter (1998) – who argues for a Peloponnesian performance, rather than a panhellenic one – tend to form the structural basis for any argument: the inclusion of Achilles in the proem; the elegy's Peloponnesian bias; the singling-out of Pausanias; and the extended prophecy. More generally, I am less concerned in this section with the geographical, or even the performative, context of Simonides' Spartan corpus, but rather with the 'thought-world' in which in operated (to borrow the term used by Fearn, 2013, 239, 249.) See: Boedeker, 2001, 121 and 127 on the circularity of using Herodotus' account of the Plataea to inform our readings of Simonides' Plataea; on the circularity of arguments for supporting supplements, cf. Parsons, 2001, 61. Rutherford, 2001, 42 n.44 observes the circularity of arguments that use similar phraseology between the Plataea and pseudo-Simonidean epigrams, because "the epigrams have been used in reconstructing and supplementing the elegy."

[226] Rawles, 2018, 85 underlines how "Pausanias appropriates panhellenism in the service of his own glory", arguing that (86) "given the combination of panhellenic rhetoric with emphasis on Sparta at a crucial turning point of the poem [the *Plataea Elegy*] (i.e. the turn from mythological paradigm to recent events which we find in fr.11), we should consider the likelihood that here, too, panhellenic rhetoric, as well as spreading glory around multiple cities, also serves in particular to glorify Sparta and/ or Pausanias as the leader(s) of all Hellas."

[227] Thiel, 2011 on the 'pro-Spartan' Achilles. Stelow, 2013, on the appropriately Spartan epithets.

[228] I treat the meaning of *epikouros* here as 'auxiliary', on the uses of the word see Stehle, 2001, 108-110.

[229] W^2 fr.11.15-18. Stehle, 2001, 107, "[Simonides] invokes Achilles rather than a divinity, and he asks the Muse to be 'auxiliary', *epikouros* (21), though a moment before he had asserted that Homer got the 'whole truth' from the Muses (17)." Aloni, 2001, 97, "The reason for the difference between these two positions is to be found in the subject matter of the poems. Homer could not have been a witness to the events at Troy and therefore relied entirely on the Muses for the truth of his account; Simonides, on the other hand, did witness the Greek war against the Persians and so needs the Muse's help only to guarantee the ability of his poetry to render the truth and thus confer lasting fame on those who took part in the events narrated." Also, Obbink, 2001, 71.

3.3 THE *PLATAEA ELEGY* AND THE *EPIKOUROS* MUSE

For Aloni, the *epikouros* Muse acts to legitimize Simonides' account of Plataea. The Muse is not present to directly inspire Simonides, as Simonides' himself describes Homer's Muse, but to preserve the memory of those who fought at Plataea. Conversely, Stehle argues that the Muse "is not the guarantor of truth that Aloni suggests... [rather] in requesting her [the Muse] to join him on this ground [as *epikouros*], the performer attributes to humans the primary struggle to produce song."[230] Thus for Stehle, there is something innovative about Simonides' relationship with the 'auxiliary' Muse.[231] However, these interpretations need not be mutually exclusive: the *epikouros* Muse simultaneously emphasizes the legitimacy of Simonides' account (the Muse provides support for it) while underlining the role of the combatants in the narrative (if the Muse is an 'auxiliary', those who fought at Plataea are the 'hoplites'). If so, this makes the *Plataea Elegy* one of the earliest songs to reflect on the comparative roles of divine and mortal poetic inspiration. However, against Stehle's suggestion that this is somewhat innovative is the observation that similar ruminations can also be read in Alcman PMG 30.

In this song, Alcman started by drawing inspiration from the Muses, before claiming that he drew his inspiration from the chorus.[232] The collocation and subsequent hierarchy of divine and mortal poetic inspiration is a topic which both Alcman and Simonides seemed to have grappled with, both giving attribution to the mortals present in their song. This similarity need not imply that there is a direct Spartan influence in Simonides' choice of the word *epikouros*, but serves to highlight that while Simonides' Muse might break with poetic norms (by hybridising the position of narrative inspiration), that this distinction need not have been too radical a sentiment for a Spartan audience, particularly given the prominence that Simonides then places on their own troops.

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[230] Sthele, 2001, 110.

[231] Stehle, 2001, 110: "In the 470s, the speaker's appeal to the Muse to be *epikouos* must have been arresting." Stehle, 2001, 109, notes that in Pindar, *O.*13.96-97 (dated 464 BCE), it is the speaker who acts as *epikouros* to the Muses and the victor.

[232] Ael. Aristid. *Or*. 28.51 (= PMG 30) reports that in a now lost song by Alcman, the poet opened with an invocation to the Muse to inspire him (αὐτῆς τῆς Μούσης δεηθεὶς κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ὁ ποιητής, ἵν᾽ ἐνεργὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς γένοιτο), but that he later changed his mind and the chorus – who was presumably performing the song and the object of Alcman's praise – instead became his source of inspiration (εἶτα ὥσπερ ἐξεστηκῶς φησιν ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο <ὁ> χορὸς αὐτὸς ἀντὶ τῆς Μούσης γεγένηται).

Another, and perhaps more direct, relation between Spartan and Simonidean representations of *mousikē* can be seen in a reading of the 'auxiliary' Muse that emphasises its martial qualities, qualities which played a key role in Spartan ritual and musical aetiologies **[Section 2.8]**. Take, for example, this famous passage:[233]

> …καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προεθύετο ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀναμιμνήσκων, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν κρίσεων, ἵνα ὦσι πρόχειροι παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἀξίας παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν μαχομένων.
>
> …For just before their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, reminding his warriors, as it would seem, of their training, and of the firm decisions they had made, in order that they might be prompt to face the dread issue, and might perform such martial deeds as would be worthy of some record.
>
> Plut., *Lycurg.* 21.4

Even if we cannot confirm how applicable Plutarch's comments are to the early fifth century, it is notable that Epicharmos of Kos, a rough contemporary of Simonides, relates that Athena accompanied the Dioskouroi with the *enhoplion* on the aulos, thus providing an early aetiology for the Spartan practice of going into war accompanied by the aulos (F 75 Kaibel = Schol. Pind. P.2.127).[234] Further, Thucydides refers to the Spartans' use of the aulos when advancing at the battle of Mantinea, 61 years after Plataea (5.70), and in the fourth century the Athenian Lycurgus recalls that the Spartans performed Tyrtaeus while on campaign (Lycurg. *In Leocr*. 107 = Tyrt. Fr.10). As such, it seems that from the late sixth/ early fifth century we have an unbroken tradition which highlighted the role of music in the Spartan military in addition to the early role of Tyrtaeus. Such views are still seen in the work of Polybius (4.20).[235]

Given the prominence of the Spartans during and after Simonides' invocation of the *epikouros* Muse, it is possible that such an epithet was chosen not only to emphasise the mortal aspect of

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[233] Pausanias, 3.17.5 refers to the literal collocation of the sanctuary of the Muses with that of the Athena Chalkioikos, and Aphrodite Areia (see Palagia, 1993, *passim* for an archaic armed Aphrodite from this area). When the sanctuary of the Muses was built, however, is unclear. It is not identifiable in the archaeology.

[234] Note the appearance of the Dioskouroi at *Plataea Elegy* fr.11.30-31. For a discussion of this aetiology, including related sources not mentioned here, see **[Section 2.8]**. I agree with Wallace 2015, 72 that Plutrach's account of the aulos in Spartan battles seems to have developed into an exemplum for musical ethos, and this is how it is depicted elsewhere. The musical ethos explanation for the Spartan military *auletes* is critiqued by Philodemus and Sextus Empiricus see **[Section 5.1.2]**.

[235] To return briefly to Van Wees, 2018b, 252, "that lyre-players were singled out for contempt [by Spartans] fits with Plutarch's characterization of Spartans as interested only in the martial music of pipes.", see *Lycurgus* 21.4 "Μουσικωτάτους γὰρ ἅμα καὶ πολεμικωτάτους ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς: 'ῥέπει γὰρ ἄντα τῶ σιδάρω τὸ καλῶς κιθαρίσδεν' [= Alcman PMG 41]", see also **[Section 4.4.2]**.

Simonides' poetic inspiration, but the militaristic characteristics of the Muses in Sparta (and, perhaps, whatever role music played during the battle of Plataea), and could well have been understood in such a way by any Spartans in the audience. In this way, such an epithet might have added to the 'stereophonic' hearings of the elegy, as LeVen writes: "some of the men hearing the performance would likely have fought in the battle, and if the occasion of its performance was a festival… the performance itself would have been echoed by the surrounding landscape of memory: city ruins, inscriptions, epitaphs, and monuments of the dead would have enabled the elegy to be received in stereo."[236] The idea of a stereophonic performance goes beyond its physical context, but also permeates into the different meanings of the elegy which performers and listeners would have perceived.

Another aspect, already mentioned, which might have added to this performative system of allusion and recognition are the Tyrtaean overtones which are present in the elegy. Previous works have tended to note the similarities between Simonides' and Tyrtaeus' poetics in the *Plataea Elegy*, but I also find a number of differences between their didactic expressions of *kleos*.[237]

Tyrtaeus' poetry is aimed towards the Spartan collective, expressed through the poetic 'us' and 'we'. Its audience is insular, and its topics concern the representation of the Spartan self.[238] This is not the case in the *Plataea Elegy* (c. 479 BCE). Those whom the Muse is invoked to help to remember the *kleos* of the Spartans (and possibly the Hellenes more generally) are 'τις'.[239] The future audience is not specified (even if it praises the Spartans), it is not even a non-descript 'stranger' as in the Thermopylae epigram set-up by the Amphictyony,[240] nor is it 'we' or 'you'

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[236] LeVen, 2014, 195. See also, Stehle, 2001, 111: the (original) audiences of Simonides' Plataea elegy (and to this we can add the original audiences of Tyrtaeus' Messenian war songs) had first-hand knowledge of the affairs which formed the subject of the song, if these poets were to claim that the Muse was the only source of information for such events (as one could quite rightly claim for the realm of Iliadic heroes), "making such a claim before audience members who were conscious of having their own first-hand knowledge would have aroused resentment."

[237] Especially Stehle, 2001, 117 "It is easy to think that Spartans would hear an echo of Tyrtaeus in the Plataea elegy."

[238] e.g. Tyrtaeus fr.2 l.10 πειθώμεθα, l.15 ἀφικόμεθα; fr.5 l.1 ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆϊ, l.6 πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες; fr.10 l.13 μαχώμεθα, l.14 θνήσκωμεν; fr.11 l.7 ἴστε, l.8 ἐδάητ, l.9 ἐγένεσθε, l.10 ἠλάσατε, l.35 ὑμεῖς δ᾽, ὦ γυμνῆτες, l. πτώσσοντες… βάλλετε; fr.19 l.11 πεισόμεθ᾽ ἡγεμ[ό, l.12 ἀλοιησέο[μεν; fr. 23 l. 11 ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἡμεῖς

[239] Perhaps "τις … [ἀνδρῶ]ν". For a similar sentiment, see Bacchylides, *Epinicion* 3.90-98 (cf. Rawles, 2018, 248-249).

[240] Simonides, *E.* XXII b.

or any other pronoun that might provide us with a clue as to who Simonides specifically intends. The following text and translation are taken from Rawles:

κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ̣ [20
κικλήισκω] σ' ἐπίκουρον ἐμοί, π̣[ολυώνυμ]ε Μοῦσα,
εἴ πέρ γ' ἀν]θρώπων̣ εὐχομένω[ν μέλεαι·
ἔντυνο]ν̣ καὶ τόνδ[ε μελ]ί̣φρονα κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς
ἡμετ]έ̣ρης, ἵνα τις̣ [μνή]σ̣ε̣τ̣α̣ι̣ υ̣[
ἀνδρῶ]ν, οἳ Σπάρτ[ηι δούλιον ἦμ]αρ 25
.....] ἀμ̣υν[]..[ ]ω̣[
οὐδ' ἀρε]τ̣ῆς ἐλάθ[οντο]ν οὐρανομ̣[ήκ]η̣ς,
καὶ κλέος ἀ]ν̣θρώ̣π̣ω̣ν̣ [ἔσσετ]α̣ι̣ ἀθάνατο<ν>.

> …Now I call upon you, Muse of many names, as my ally, if you do care for the prayers of men. Put in order this well- tempered ornament of my song, so that somebody will remember … of the men, who from Sparta … the day of slavery … nor did they forget their excellence … high as heaven … and the glory of these men will be undying.
>
> Simonides, *Plataea Elegy*, fr.11.20-28 (trans. Rawles)[241]

How then does this 'somebody' relate to the thing that they will remember, the 'undying glory of the men [who fought at Plataea]'? While the generalisation of *tis*, and for that matter, *anthrōpōn*, might be seen to appeal to the pan-Hellenic aspects of the *Plataea Elegy*, it also, I think, responds to a deeper musing on the nature of 'undying glory'. For Simonides, there would have been a question as to how best to express the *kleos* of those who fought at Plataea in a way which would emphasise its undying nature; as Simonides says elsewhere (PMG 594), "a glorious reputation / is the last thing to sink below the earth."[242] Could it be then that the inclusion of *tis*, by its very generalisation, acts to prolong the memory of the combatants? That is, given the nature of *athanatos kleos*, Simonides calls on the Muse not so that *somebody* will remember the Spartans, but so that *anybody*, even *everybody* (present and future) might recall their *kleos*.[243]

Let us contrast these passages with Tyrtaeus (c.650 BCE), who refers to the undying fame of those who die nobly in battle, composed roughly 180 years before the Battle of Plataea:

τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,

ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις,

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[241] Rawles, 2018, 78-80 (cf. n.6 for how his version of the text differs to West's).

[242] Trans. West, (1998) [1994].

[243] Cf. fr.14 l.6 for a reiteration of this 'memory', spoken by Tisamenos (according to West).

καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω·
οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος…

Never do his [the war-dead's] name and good fame perish,
But even though he is beneath the earth he is immortal,
Young and old alike mourn him,
All the city is distressed by the painful loss,
and his tomb and children are pointed out among the people,
and his children's children and his line after them.

Tyrtaeus, fr.12.27-32 (trans. Author)

For Tyrtaeus, a man who dies nobly in battle is remembered through his tomb. His offspring act as catalysts for his memorial. In this way, while the honorand has died, their 'name and good fortune' live on through their family and their descendants, preserved through an act of collective memory.[244] I wonder then whether the use of *tis* by Simonides might allude to a similar understanding of inherited memory.

Following on from this, it is important that Tyrtaeus does not actually define these un-destroyable (ἀπόλλυται) or undying (ἀθάνατος) memories as being perpetuated through songs (specifically). Further, he does not mention the Muse (not even as an aid, as Simonides does), in this process. It is the mortals who point out the tomb and the offspring of the gloriously deceased who ensure their immortality. It is in a seemingly non-performative medium that the deceased's *kleos* is passed onto their ancestors. For Tyrtaeus, material elements (the tomb) act as a focal point for such processes. Yet when we turn to look at such monuments, we need to question the extent to which they embodied specific details about the *kleos* of an individual.

The kind of remembrance which Simonides calls for in the *Plataea Elegy* is an undying memory like that in Tyrtaeus fr.12. However, it seems to be created not through a synthesis of monuments and oral tradition (as Tyrtaeus), but through the help of the Muse. In the *Plataea Elegy* it is through mortals' performance of song that *kleos* becomes immortal, and this is subtly different to

[244] Paradiso, 2009, *passim*, who explores the ways in which Herodotus might have made use of physical and oral recollections of the '300' to inform his account.

Tyrtaeus' understanding of the propagation of *kleos* as relying on the interdependence of material and immaterial factors.

Following this interpretation of Tyrtaeus fr.12, the absence of the material (whether graves or memorials or grave goods) in the *Plataea Elegy* needs to be addressed. Firstly, there is a difference of roughly a hundred years between Tyrtaeus and Simonides, and, as we shall see, it seems that Spartan burial practices changed over this period. Secondly, Tyrtaeus fr.12 describes the commemoration of the war-dead, whereas the *Plataea Elegy* seems to be less specific, honouring those who fought at the battle (inclusive of those who lived and those who died, it seems). Thirdly, the elegy is very fragmentary, and it is possible that it might have ended with references to material forms of commemoration, or a recapitulation or further examination of such points.[245] Indeed, we know that the Spartans erected a relatively complex funerary monument at Plataea, which, as Polly Low has shown, seems to have played an important diplomatic-imperialist role, along with other foreign-based Spartan war-graves, but did such a monument commemorate only the dead, or the living too?[246] Further, if Simonides did indeed write epigrams for the graves of the Spartans and the Athenians at Plataea, he would have been well aware of his patrons' concerns for material monuments. In fact, this awareness is clearly discernible in PMG 531, the Thermopylae lyric, to which I now turn.

3.4 SIMONIDES AND THERMOPYLAE

As Fearn acknowledges, the Thermopylae lyric is more multifaceted than might once have been assumed. The song needs to be analysed from a number of perspectives, or as he phrases it: "the issue of contextualisation… becomes one of thought-worlds."[247] What follows answers his call for a deeper contextualisation of the song by grounding the Thermopylae lyric within Spartan approaches to memorialising the dead, especially the ways that Spartans might commemorate their (war-)dead through performative and material acts of memorial. As Hodkinson points out, there are a number of differences between Spartan burial practices in the time of Tyrtaeus and

[245] As Bacchylides, *Epinicion* 3.90-98 does (cf. Rawles, 2018, 248-249).

[246] Low, 2006, 94-98: 94, on the Thyrean polyandrion (built near the border of Argos and Laconia), "in some ways, a glorified horos, marking and patrolling the extent of Spartan control."; 95-96, on Lysander's burial in Panopean territory and its later political repercussions; 97-98, on the political repercussions for the dead buried at Plataea, cf. Thuc. 3.58.4-5. See Low, 2011, 11-13 on the need to consider the role of other physical monuments to the Persian Wars, such as the Persian Stoa and the 'Leonidas' statue.

[247] Fearn, 2013, 239.

those in the later Archaic and Classical periods.[248] Despite the continued relevance of Tyrtaeus in Spartan society, such ritual differences mean that we should appraise Simonides' representation of Spartan memorial not merely in light of Tyrtaeus, but the archaeological evidence too.

In the Thermopylae lyric (described by Diodorus as an ἐγκώμιον) the role of the material in ensuring *kleos* is directly juxtaposed with the role of the performative:

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων

εὐκλεὴς μὲν ἁ τύχα, καλὸς δ᾽ ὁ πότμος,
βωμὸς δ᾽ ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ᾽ οἶκτος
ἔπαινος·
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον εὐρὼς
5 οὔθ᾽ ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
Ἑλλάδος εἵλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας,
Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπὼς
κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

Of Those who Died at Thermopylae

A famous act and a noble destiny.
An elevated tomb. For weeping,
Remembrance; for pity, praise.

This funeral-gift will not be
Diminished by mould or all-taming time,
For this precinct of good men has seized,
as its resident, the Honour of Hellas.

Leonidas too bears witness to this,
King of Sparta. He has left behind
A great ornament of valour

[248] Hodkinson, 2000, 251-252.

and never-ceasing glory.

Simonides, PMG 531 = Diodor. 11. 11. 6 (trans. Author)

The most striking feature of this piece is its paired nouns (‘εὐκλεὴς μὲν ἁ τύχα’ etc.). As Anne Carson observed, “the aligned words do not refute or replace one another, they interdepend”, and it is on the basis of such interdependence and ambiguity that I have translated the passage.[249] It is not just these ‘aligned words’, or rather, their vagueness and resulting ambiguity, that has led to a multiplicity of interpretations regarding the *Thermopylae Lyric*. There is no consensus on whether the first line is part of the poem,[250] where or how the song was performed, whether Leonidas or the 300 are the main honorands, or even if Diodorus quotes the whole of the song.[251] The area of disagreement that is most relevant to my argument about Simonides and Sparta, and on which I will focus here, is the extent to which the *Thermopylae Lyric* engages with performative and material elements of Spartan funerary and commemorative rituals. Such an analysis suggests that Simonides may well have been aware of Spartan customs in this area.

Let us start with the phrase ‘this funeral gift’.[252] It is often translated as ‘this shroud’, but the meaning need not be so specific, nor so literal. For Deborah Steiner, *entaphion toiouton* acts as a metaphor for “the praise generated by the death of the warrior, and the lines that the present-day singer performs.”[253] Yet Steiner’s reading of the Thermopylae lyric is influenced by “Encomiastic poets, and Pindar above all… [who] are masters at contrasting the ephemeral or bounded nature of man-made structures – statues, temples, and grave stones among them – with the superior durability and praise-diffusing qualities of their compositions.”[254] Following Fearn, Steiner’s interpretation of the *Thermopylae Lyric* as questioning the role of physical monuments with song might not be appropriate. This is because it is influenced by readings which favour the Kleoboulos poem as Simonides’ judgement that the immateriality of song was a more reliable granter of *kleos*

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[249] Carson, 1999, 53.

[250] N.b. the rather heated disagreement between Page and West on this matter (representative, Page, 1971, *passim*.)

[251] Bowra (1933) followed by Page (1971), and then Steiner (1999) suggest that the song was performed by a Spartan chorus at a Spartan shrine in honour of those who died, as part of a cult. Conversely Podlecki, 1968, 258-262 interprets the song as “not for official use at a hypothetical state festival, but for more private singing, possibly in the men's messes at Sparta.” See also, Kegel, 1962, 28-37, and Flower 1998, 369.

[252] The noun ἐντάφιον covers a variety of related meanings, from the general (‘funerary rites’) to the specific (‘shroud’, ‘funeral expenses’), with the adjective ἐντάφιος referring to anything of or used in burial.

[253] Steiner, 1999, 387, notes that what makes the *entaphion* immaterial is the phrase *oute… amaurosei* (since the verb can be applied to sound, meaning ‘to fade away’).

[254] Steiner, 1999, 388 (n.33 especially).

than physical monuments and the inscribed word.[255] The crux of the issue is this: to what extent were physical and performative acts of lament and celebration of the dead used in Sparta, and to what extent might Simonides have appealed to these customs? Here, a music archaeological will be useful.

When we look to Spartan burial customs, we are presented with several problems.[256] Firstly, Spartan soldiers who died in battle were buried abroad, be that on the battlefield or nearby. These burials seem to have been hierarchical, with polemarchs and others, such as priests or those who fought particularly well, being afforded greater care, attention, and ceremony.[257] These battle-field graves can be contrasted with the *en polemoi* stelai, rough blocks of stone with a simple three word commemoration, which have been found in Sparta and around Laconia, likely set up by the family of the war-dead as a memorial.[258] **[Fig. 3.1]**

In addition to the war-grave of the '300', it seems possible that a physical monument was set up in Sparta too, recording the deceased's names and patronymics.[259] If so, this communal memorial might have pre-dated the development of the tradition of the famous *en polemoi* stelai, which, though difficult to date, seem to have been in use from the fifth to fourth centuries and into the first.[260] This complicates Simonides' reference to ὅδε σηκὸς: is this the burial-place at

[255] Fearn, 2013, 235, where he reads Simonides' Kleoboulos poem not as a rejection of epigrams, but "what should be seen as a rather *ad hominem* piece of poetic one-upmanship against an earlier rival, especially when we recall the known fact that Simonides himself was a composer of literary epigrams."

[256] For example, the hero stelai. On Spartan burials more generally, see Nafissi, 1991, 277–341; Richer, 1994 51–96; and Hodkinson, 2000, 237-270. However, aspects of these accounts now need to be updated in light of the discovery of two Spartan cemeteries, one 'Classical' the other 'Roman', see Tsouli, 2016, *passim*, which is particularly important for the 'hero' stelai. See also Christesen, 2018, *passim*, which came to publication too late to be fully included in this study, and Christesen, forthcoming, on the burial of the dead at Plataea.

[257] For example, the heads of the three main bodies in the Kerameikos grave were given more space and their heads were rested on two blocks of stone rather than one. Regarding Themopylae, this involved Leonidas (as king) being given a lion as a funerary monument; his royal status also explains his subsequent exhumation and reburial in Sparta, the exact details of which are rather unclear. Paradiso, 2009**,** 524-526, provides a good overview of the problems in dating the return of Leonidas to Sparta. On the Kerameikos grave: Stroszeck, 2006, *passim*; also, Christesen, forthcoming, 'Section 2'.

[258] See Christesen, 2018, Appendix 8 for a discussion of the stelai, and Appendix 9 for a catalogue of all known steali, 28 in total.

[259] Paradiso, 2009, *passim* on the difficulties concerning the date of this.

[260] See Hodkinson, 2000, 250-251 with bibliography on the dating, it is possible that one of the stelai (IG V,1701) is early 5th century, but Low, 2006, 87: "vague dating (based primarily on letter-forms) shows that the texts start to appear in the mid-fifth century, and continue through to the first century BC [with subtle, but important, differences]. On the stelai more generally, see: Hodkinson, 2000, 249- 256; Low, 2011, 86-91; Tsouli, 2016,

Thermopylae, or a different sacred precinct, perhaps within Sparta, maybe it refers to the space the '300' now occupy in the minds and hearts of Hellas? It is difficult to be certain.[261]

Using the combined music archaeology methodology advocated in **[Section 1]**, if it is unclear to what Simonides specifically refers, can we say with any certainty if Simonides' reference to the *entaphion toiouton* and the *hode sēkos* allude to the ideas present in Tyrtaeus fr.12, or instead to contemporary and contextual issues of burial? I would be tempted to favour the latter rather than the former because an important point to make when reading Simonides PMG 531 is that Spartan burial practices seemed to have changed between the time of Tyrtaeus (very roughly, mid to late 7th c. BCE, so late Geometric and early Archaic) and the time of PMG 531 (c.480 BCE). These differences are worth elaborating upon.[262]

Hodkinson notes that Tyrtaeus fr.12 refers to the individual *tumbos* of the archetypal war-dead as present where the city can regard it, but all our evidence on the burial of the Spartan war-dead in Classical times points to communal burial where they died, and Tyrtaeus predates the custom of the *en polemo* stelai.[263] Could it be then that in fr.12 Tyrtaeus refers to a custom which was no longer practised in Classical times? This is difficult to answer, since there are few Spartan burials of any kind which are certainly contemporary with Tyrtaeus.[264] It seems possible that terracotta relief amphorae were used as grave makers in the 7h century, but only one of them has been found in a burial context, and its dating is relatively controversial.[265] **[Fig. 3.2]**

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[261] Low, 2016, 5.

[262] The most up to date analysis of Spartan burial customs is now Christesen, 2018, which came to print too late to be fully incorporated here.

[263] Hodkinson, 2000, 252. It possible that Tyrtaeus' use of the word *tumbos* might refer to a gravestone rather than a physical grave, along the lines of the later *en polemoi* stelai. Given the high regard for Tyrtaeus in Sparta, it is always possible that his description of the *tumbos* might have inspired later practice, either actively or passively.

[264] Predating Tyrtaeus are several cremations, one of which seems to be a 'warrior' burial, others include bronze grave-goods. Hodkinson, 2000, 238-239 (with bibliography), "As one approaches the period of Tyrtaios in the late seventh century, however, evidence for these prosperous burials dies away." Hodkinson, 2000, 239-240 critiques the (then known) possible contemporary graves, concluding that none of the evidence is secure enough to be certain (for more examples of earlier graves, see Tsouli, 2016, 360 n.33). While I generally agree with Hodkinson's interpretations, his rejection of the two-story structure south of the Acropolis (Zaimes plot, BB 117A, reported in Raftopoulou, 1998, 127, 134-5, figs.12.18-19.), since the structure itself contained no funerary remains, should be reassessed on the basis of new evidence. Ritually pierced pottery, similar to that found outside the two-story structure, has now been found outside graves in the classical cemetery (Tsouli, 2016, 373-374).

[265] See Christou, 1960 for a group of graves on the acropolis which he dated to the Archaic period, marked by a relief amphora. Christesen, 2018, Appendix 7 has raised concerns with the certainty of Christou's dating, but was published too late in the writing of this thesis to be fully incorporated. Hodkinson, 2000, 240-243. Large vessels might be used as grave markers in the Archaic period, as shown by a black-glazed hydria which was used for this

In this case, what Tyrtaeus' audience would have understood the *tumbos* in fr.12 to be is not easily identifiable in the archaeology, unless it was meant to refer to what appear as relatively unmarked and unremarkable graves of the types recorded by Christesen.[266] These graves bear little resemblance to the grander burial enclosures from the Olive Oil cemetery, discussed below in more detail, which seem to have had a long usage (built in the sixth century and continuing in use into the Classical period). Further, there are similarities between the burial enclosures at the Olive Oil cemetery, both in activity and architecture, and the 6th century two-story 'tomb' south of the Acropolis (Zaimes plot, BB 117A). Thus, it seems that changes to Spartan burial customs occurred after Tyrtaeus' lyrics were composed, with a shift towards the more monumental, whether this is seen in the *en polemo* stelai, or the creation and reuse of larger funerary complexes.

Those buried in the Spartan Classical cemetery presumably were not those who died in battle, but who were otherwise well enough regarded to be buried in the city. Despite this, the cemetery is useful for my reading of Simonides PMG 531 in three specific ways.[267] Firstly, five horses were found ritually slaughtered and then buried in the cemetery.[268] Two of the horses were associated with specific human graves, while one was placed in the centre of 'Burial Enclosure A', kept undisturbed while the surrounding human graves were reused, suggesting continuing commemorative observances.[269] **[Fig. 3.3]** Secondly, there seems to have been two areas of the cemetery given over to the cooking or consumption of funerary dedications.[270] Thirdly, there seems to have been a ritual involving the dedication of sympotic vessels which had been pierced before baking (so they could not be drunk from), perhaps used in relation to the previous ceremony. These vessels included a number of peculiar kantharoid-like cups (placed on top or in the grave) which were sealed shut with a toothed-lid and a metal 'stem' that ran through both.[271]

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purpose: see Tsouli, 2016, 355, n.8 (with bibliography). On the practice more generally, which was common throughout Greece, see Langdon, 2001, *passim*. Christesen, 2018, 324-325 suggests that instead of a grave marker, "it seems more likely that it was a vessel used for ritual purposes that was left on the grave", even so, praxis aside, for most of the year it would have served the same purpose as a grave marker. Also Cartledge, 1977, 25-27 (with bibliography) on Tyrtaeus, archaeology, and the development of hoplite warfare in Sparta.

[266] Christesen, 2018, 320.

[267] Classical in a broad sense, it seems have been in use between the sixth and third centuries.

[268] Tsouli, 2016, 369-371.s

[269] Tsouli, 2016, 370.

[270] Tsouli, 2016, 372-373, "In both cases the earth was black and greasy, containing charcoal, bird bones and bones of ovicaprids, as well as sherds with strong traces of burning… These finds are most probably to be associated with fires for consuming offerings during funerary or mortuary ceremonies, if they are not to be considered as vessels containing food offered to the dead."

[271] Tsouli, 2016, 373-374.

[Fig 3.4] What is particularly important here is that these kantharoid-like vessels were also found at the Laconian Kerameikos grave, thus suggesting that elements of burial ritual were shared between all Spartiates, irrespective of whether they died in battle or not.[272] **[Fig. 3.5]**

Any one of these actions, the sacrifice of horses, the burning of meat and offerings, and the dedication of ritual vessels, might have been an occasion where some sort of ritual lament or praise could have been uttered, either as a speech act, the kind of 'in-between' performance allowed by elegy, or a purely instrumental or lyric recitation.[273]

For Nobili, writing before the evidence form the Classical cemeteries was published, "threnodic elegies [in Sparta] may have been very popular because, as is often reported by the sources, the laments over the dead kings or soldiers were part of the musical usages of the city."[274] Indeed, as Nobili has shown, there were a number of musicians associated with Sparta who composed threnodic or aulodic elegies/ dirges, and Tyrtaeus fr.7 tells us that the helots "δεσπότᾶς οἰμώζοντες ὁμῶς". While it is tempting, as Nobili does, to place the *Plataea Elegy* within a threnodic tradition, and the archaeological evidence might allow for a similar reading, I am not sure that her interpretation is a satisfactory explanation of the literary evidence.[275]

Nobili suggests that there are two main examples for the use of threnody in Sparta. Firstly, during the exposure of babies, secondly, as part of the Gymnopaidiai. Nobili's suggestion that Clonas'

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[272] Tsouli, 2016, 374.

[273] Though note, Nafissi, 1991, 285-286 which emphasises the role of silence in Spartan burial ritual. Polykrates (BNJ 588 F1) relates that paeans were excluded from the first day (the day of mourning) of the Hyakinthia, but compare Tyrtaeus fr.7 "wailing for their masters, they and their wives alike, / whenever the baneful lot of death came upon any." From the 'Roman' (late Hellenistic to late Roman) cemetery to the north-west of the 'Classical' cemetery, it should be noted that a number of bronze bells were found, which the excavators regarded as "rattles or toys" (Themos et al., 2009, 265 (fig.27.13)). Sadly, the report does not say how many, where, or whether they came from earlier or later contexts, but given the use of the bronze *lebetes* in the lament of the kings (Hdt.6.58), we might wonder whether bells could have been used during the royal lament or purification ritual more generally, as Villing, 2002, 292-294 suggested. The fact that bronze bells have now been found in Spartan graves now raises the possibility that at some point bells might have been used during the burial of non-royal citizens, perhaps children (Villing, 2002, 247 n.31 notes a bell in a classical Messenian child's grave), as a form of extra protection or purification.

[274] Nobili, 2011, 42.

[275] Nobili, 2011, 48: "The performance of threnodic elegy to commemorate the fallen at Thyrea constitutes the best antecedent for the performance of Simonides' elegy for the fallen at Plataea. A solid tradition of threnodic elegy was rooted in Sparta since early times and Simonides certainly drew on it when he composed his elegy: the echo of Tyrtaeus' fr.9 is just one of the many possible connections with this rich (and mostly unknown) musical tradition." Where Nobili suggests that Simonides draws on Spartan musical traditions, he was influenced by material traditions too.

Apothetos nomos was a dirge performed during the exposure of Spartan babies is unsatisfactory.[276] Yet from this less than certain supposition, Nobili writes that "What seems certain is that Clonas operated in Sparta a short time after Terpander and performed aulody at Spartan festivals and rituals; we might even wonder whether he was involved in the first musical *katastasis*, which was inaugurated by Terpander and involved monodic songs."[277] We might wonder, but Clonas is never associated with Sparta, unless the name of the aulodic *nomos Apothetos* (ps.Plut. 4. 1132d) is taken to prove this.

In response to Nobili's claims that the Gymnopaidiai was an occasion for the performance of threnodic elegy, I think that the evidence is less clear-cut than Nobili suggests, at any rate, ps.Plutarch's account of the festival does not square very easily with Sosibius'.

While it is true that ps.Plutarch notes that Polymnestus and Sacadas were two of the musicians associated with the Gymnopaidiai, and that they famously composed elegies and aulodic *nomoi*, he also associates Thaletas, Xenodamus, and Xenocritus with the festival too, musicians whom ps.Plutarch associates with paeans.[278] Further, Polymnestus and Sacadas are not solely associated with elegy and aulody, and ps.Plutarch says nothing specific about the nature of the music that this group of musicians in turn contributed to the festival. [279] We are only specifically told what kind of music was performed at the Gymnopaidiai by Sosibius, who tells us that the songs (ᾄισματα) of Thaletas and Alcman, and the paeans of Dionysodotus were performed there.[280] These were sung by a chorus of boys and a chorus of men, and the general aspect of the festival is presented as a celebration of the victory of the battle of Thyrea. Sosibius makes no mention of elegy, nor, with the exception of Thaletas, to the performance of songs attributed to any of the musicians that ps.Plutarch associates with the organisation of the Gymnopaidiai. I suggest then, that the performance of paeans at the Gymnopaidiai, as related by Sosibius, should be associated with a more cheerful performance than Nobili would allow. This is further hinted at by

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[276] Nobili, 2011, 30 ff. Nobili's claim (after Lasserre, 1954, 23) that Clonas' Ἀπόθετος nomos 'must' be named after the Spartan Ἀπόθεται (and hence an aulos lament for the exposed babies) is more easily explained. The term is understood (especially since Clonas was never closely associated with Sparta) along the lines suggest by Barker, GMW I, 252: "one can imagine the term being taken from a poet's boast 'I shall reveal a new song, hidden until now', or the like". On Clonas' Apothetos and Schoinion *nomoi* see Ercoles, 2014, 177-183, who, *contra* Nobili, also agrees with Barker.

[277] Nobili, 2011, 32.

[278] Ps.Plut., *De Mus.*, 9-10.1134b-f. Though the author of the *De Musica* admits that there is a great deal of uncertainty as to what genres these poets composed in.

[279] Sacadas also composed *melē* (ps.Plut., *De Mus.*, 8.1134a). Ps.Plut., *De Mus.*, 3.1132c notes that Polymnestus used the same forms as Clonas (and Terpander), namely aulodic *nomoi*, processionals, elegiacs, and hexameters.

[280] Sosibius, BNJ 595 F5. Though I admit that Thaletas might stand-in here for the wider 'school of Thaletas'.

Polykrates' account of the Hyakinthia, where paeans were excluded from the first day of the festival, which was a period of ritual mourning for Hyakinthos.[281]

With regards to Simonides' depiction of Spartan burial rites, we find parallels to this idea. As Steiner suggested, a key aspect of the Thermopylae lyric is its move from lament to praise (ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος). Simonides' comment here seems rather anodyne, but it also seems particularly appropriate at Sparta, where, as others have pointed out, the time that any Spartan was allowed to lament for the dead was regulated by the state.[282] Though this need not be a specifically Spartan idea, as shown by the division of the Hyakinthia too, it was likely an idea with which the Spartans were familiar. Thus, I am less certain than Nobili as to what ps.Plutarch can tell us about the performance of threnodic elegy at Sparta, and what this in turn can tell us about Simonides PMG 531. Instead, it is the archaeological evidence that provides us with a location where similar forms of mourning might have been performed, namely as part of the wider rituals enacted during the burial and subsequent commemoration of the dead, it is here that the phrase "οἶκτος ἔπαινος" seems to best resonate, rather than at a festival such as the Gymnopaidiai.

The evidence of the Spartan cemetery and Spartan song at first presents a mixed picture as regards our reading of Simonides' *entaphion toiouto*. Spartan burials show a general lack of concern for the physical monument, but in notable cases the physical monument is of importance, particularly as a focal point for remembrance, especially in relation to the war-dead. Reading the *Thermopylae lyric* in consideration what we know of Spartan burial customs, it seems that not only could the *entaphion toiouto* have been understood by the Spartans as a reference to some sort of physical monument, but that Simonides seems to show an awareness of the wider complexities of Spartan funerary customs.

It is within this complicated and sometimes contradictory web, I think, that a reading of Simonides' *Thermopylae lyric* will most likely reflect the thought-world in which Simonides was operating. Further, when we contextualise Simonides within the thought-world of the Spartans, it becomes clear that his involvement with Spartan ritual was more than superficial. If Simonides can be read as showing a sensitivity to Spartan burial customs, then that raises questions about the continuing role of Tyrtaeus, who was, at least in this regard, no longer an author who

[281] Polycrates BNJ 588 F1. Further, as Richer, 1994, 77 has noted, Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 21 comments that the Spartans' songs "were for the most part praises of men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed and happy" (ἔπαινοι γάρ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονιζομένων). Such an account does not easily square with Nobili's suggestion that the choruses of the Gymnopaidiai were threnodic elegies.

[282] Steiner, 1999. Hodkinson, 2000, 246-247.

accurately reflected every contemporary custom, but a set of heroic ideals which the Spartans might emulate and praise.

Ultimately, the interplay between performative and material monuments in the *Thermopylae lyric* helps to remind us that, while music was a key aspect of Spartan society, it often acted in symbiosis with other elements. Music was an appropriate catalyst of *kleos*, but so were memorials and graves. Music was an appropriate form of worship, but so were votive dedications and sacrifices. In this way, so too were statues, like the 'Leonidas', and other dedications on the Sparta acropolis, such as those related to sporting victories, in particular the Damonon stele **[Fig. 3.6 & Fig. 3.7 & Fig. 3.8]**. For Low, "The juxtaposition of these commemorations of agonistic culture with the military monuments of the acropolis makes particularly good sense in a Spartan context, in a city where the connection between athletic prowess and military strength seems often to have been emphasised…".[283] However, while song and physical monuments were used in equal measure to commemorate Spartan military engagement, and physical dedications were appropriate markers of sporting victory, were songs also used by the Spartans to commemorate sporting victories? It is within this context that Nobili has interpreted Simonides fr.34 Poltera, to which we now turn.

3.5 SIMONIDES AND SPARTAN SPORT?

The question of whether or not Spartans celebrated their sporting victories by commissioning songs, given the poor preservation of our sources, is a thorny issue, just like the study of early epinician more generally.[284]

For Rawles, epinician likely arose from non-personalised victory songs, such as the 'τήνελλα καλλίνκε' (attributed to Archilochus), which associated the victor with Herakles and Iolaos.[285] How the formal genre of epinician then developed from these songs is unknown, but its beginnings seem present in the mid-6th century fragments of Ibycus, I think, the most substantial of these is Ibycus S.166:[286]

> They sang with the aulete . . . luxury indeed. . . desire as of love . . .

[283] Low, 2011, 15.

[284] Hodkinson 1999, 170–173 and 2000, 317–319 for comments that epinicians were 'banned' among Spartans.

[285] Rawles, 2012, 4-5. Agócs, 2012, 214.

[286] Cf. Wilkinson, 2013, 91ff. for a discussion on the possible authorship and genre of this fragment.

properly . . . secure (?) end. . . power; . . . great might . . . the gods give great wealth to those who they wish to have it, but to the others . . . according to the will of the Fates.

. . . to the Tyndarids . . . of the trumpet . . . to horse-taming Kastor and Polydeuces, good at boxing . . . godlike (heroes?) . . . accomplices; to them great (Athena) of the golden aegis . . .

. . . and that is not to be spoken. . . children . . . but on you the sun looks down from the sky as on the most beautiful of those on the earth, one like the gods in appearance . . . no other so. . . among Ionians or . . .

. . . those who dwell in Sparta, always famed for men, with. . . choruses and horses . . . deep Eurotas . . . around a wonderful sight . . . the shaggy groves of fir trees and the orchards

There in wrestling and in running . . . speed for the contest . . . of fathers . . . beautiful to watch. . . from the gods, and there is . . . Themis, wearing . . .
We begin

Ibycus S.166 (trans. Rawles)

This fragment has often been read as an epinician for a Spartan victor at games in Sicyon, but there is reason to doubt such an interpretation, since as the fragment survives there is no specific reference to the victor, the origin of the victor, or even the category of competition.[287] Additionally, given Rawles' suggestion that the Dioskouroi might have been appealed to in similar ways to Herakles and Iolaos in early victory-songs, and given our lack of knowledge of the development of such songs, we should be wary of assuming that the references to Sparta

[287] Nobili, 2013b, 66; Wilkinson 2013, 94–117; Rawles, 2012, 6-12; Barron, 1984, 13–24. While West, 1992b thought the fragment was of Stesichorus, the general consensus is that it is Ibycus.

and the Dioskouroi in Ibycus S.166 indicate that the victor was a Spartan, though the cluster of references does seem to suggest the song was a Spartan commission.[288]

Thus, the extent to which Ibycus S.166 was an 'Epinician-with-a-capital-E' (that is, belonging to a specifc contemporary genre known as epinician) is perhaps less interesting than the extent to which the fragment seems to point to a period in the development of praise poetry when 'epinician' and 'encomium' were still very much blended.[289] Moreover, without wishing to commit on an interpretation of Ibycus S.166, I think this seems to have been a period when Spartans began to engage with the idea of praise-poetry and the role of sporting success more generally.

Take, for example, the so-called 'Hymn to Athena' (*SEG* 11.625), a fragmentary inscription from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, and which invokes Pallas Athena.[290] **[Fig. 3.10]** The inscription, as far as we can tell, might have been dactylic, and was likely written by an otherwise unknown Laconian poet. Its identification as a sporting dedication relies on readings of restorations which, while possible, are still ambiguous as indicators of content (e.g. [νικά]σαντα, ἀνέ[θεκε and Μένον[ ).[291] That other sporting dedications were made at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos is neither here nor there as an argument in favour of reading the 'Hymn to Athena' as commemorating a sporting victory: many other dedications were made there too.[292] However, the question of what this inscription commemorated is less important perhaps than the likely mention of a chorus, or a dance (χο | ρο [ ), which might link this seemingly personal dedication to a celebration in the wider community.[293] In this context, what

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[288] As Rawles, 2012, 9 highlights. To this we could add that such heroes were indeed appealed to in such a manner even in the time of Simonides, cf. 509 PMG (Rawles, 2012, 18). That fragmentary references to Sparta need not equate to a fragmentary poem *about* Sparta can be surmised from the fact that, despite never having written an epinician for a Spartan (at least that survives), Pindar mentions Sparta (always positively) in no fewer than twelve of his 43 epinicians (*O.* 6; *I.* 1, 7 & fr.6a.i; *P.* 1, 4, 5, 10 & 11; *N.* 8, 10 and 11). This can be explained, at least in part, by Sparta's pan-Hellenic fame and success in the first half of the fifth century, especially her role at Plataea.

[289] Rawles, 2012, 9-10.

[290] Kousoulini, 2015, *passim*. Nobili, 2013b, 84-87. First published by Woodward, Robert, and Woodward, 1927/1928, 45-48 (inscription no. 69, 2888). Also, Boring, 1979, 42.

[291] Nobili, 2013b, 85-86 on the likelihood of these restorations.

[292] Nobili, 2013b, 84, notes that Akmatidas' dedication of a *halter* at Olympia (*CEG* 372) is roughly the same date as the 'Hymn to Athena'. On sporting dedications in and by Spartans, see also Hodkinson, 2000, 303-333, and Christesen, 2012, *passim*.

[293] It is possible that χο | ρο [might have meant 'place'. Interestingly, Agócs, 2012, 195 observes that "Neither Pindar nor Bacchylides ever refers directly to the performers of epinician as a χορός." Both Budelmann 2012, and Agócs, 2012, have shown a strong connection between epinician and *kōmos*.

personal victory would have been cause for a choral performance if not some deed which brought *kleos* to the community at large, would a sporting victory have done this?

Thus, Nobili is right to read Simonides fr.34 (Poltera) within the context of Ibycus S.166 and the so-called ‘Hymn to Athena’, which provide possible evidence for earlier engagement with sporting victory and its associated performative celebration in Sparta, or as Rawles calls it, the ‘prehistory’ of the epinician.[294] Further, given that we know Simonides wrote epinician, are we perhaps on firmer ground to identify Simonides fr.34 Poltera, as Nobili does, as a Spartan epinician?

That fr.34 (Poltera) is assigned to Simonides rests on a cross-over between P.Oxy. 2430 fr.132 **[Fig. 3.11]** & P.Oxy. 2623 fr.1 **[Fig. 3.12]** (maked with ‘⌊’ below).[295] The papyrological basis for then categorising fr.34 (Poltera) as an epinician rests on the observation that P.Oxy. 2623, frs.21-22 seem to be epinicians,[296] and that P.Oxy. 2430 contained Simonidean paeans and epinician.[297] For Nobili, this should suggest that fr.34 (Poltera) is an epinician. However, Lobel observed that the fragments of P.Oxy 2623 were collected at “different times and in different parts of the site",[298] thus the claim that the P.Oxy 2623 fragments are from one single roll, or even one genre, or for that matter even one author, are not completely certain, since the fragments might well not have come from the same roll (though they do at least seem to be by the same hand).

When we approach fr.34 (Poltera) open to the possibility that its papyrological context need not imply it was an epinician (as Nobili suggests it does), other readings of the text present themselves:

]̣.. [
] σ̣ε̣π̣[
. οισ̣ α̣ α̣[
f ——

[294] Rawles, 2012, 9.

[295] Ucciardello, 2007, 12 seems less certain on the cross-over between the two papyri, it is “too scanty and is probably a fortuitous coincidence.”

[296] Nobili, 2012, 156.

[297] Cf. Rutherford, 1990, 170, who identifies sixteen possible paeans by Simonides in P.Oxy. 2430.

[298] Lobel, 1967, 66, the fragments were obtained at “different times and in different parts of the site". Cf. Ucciardello 2007, 14.

Φοίβῳι[299] γὰρ π[ειθόμενοι [300]

μάρ[ν]αντο· ṭ [

Ζευ[ξ]ίδαμος· εκ[

κατόπισθε κλό[νọι δεṿ[

θ'ρόνος ἀμφọ[τέρων κ[[301]

μιδαν θ' ὑπεδẹ[

10 ḳον θẹμίστωṿ [

——

.τοὶ δ' Ἱπποκ'ρατίδ[α- σκᾶ-

πτρόν τ' ἐδέξ[ατ(ο)

στέφανος [

.:]ωνẹ .ιοṿ[

15 ṿ[ ] [ ] [ ] [

Obeying Phoibos...

they fought...

Zeuxidamos...

behind... turmoil

the throne of both...

welcomed –midas

of the oracles...

These... Hippokratidas

received the sceptre...

the crown...

Simonides fr.34 (Poltera) (trans. Nobili, with adaptions)

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[299] Campbell in the Loeb prints φοιταῖ ('he goes') but given the likely reference to oracles (*themiston*), I find Φοίβῳι the more likely reading here. A similar restoration is made for the 1st century CE, IG V,1 363.

[300] Nobili, 2013b, n.28, this supplement was suggested to Nobili by D'Alessio, based on parallels with Tyrtaeus and Simonides.

[301] Ucciardello, 2007, 12 cautiously calls these two possible overlaps between 2623 and 2430 "too scanty and… probably a fortuitous coincidence". Nobili, 2013b, n.27 does not quote the more cautious first half this this judgement.

The fragment mentions Apollo in the dative (Φοίβῳι), perhaps in reference to an oracle (π[ειθόμενοι ?),[302] since something is later referred to as 'of/from the oracles' (θ̣ε̣μίστων).[303] Conflict is also mentioned (μάρ[ν]α̣ντο), but we do not know if it is literal or metaphorical, or indeed internal or external. A Spartan royal, perhaps the Eurypontid Zeuxidamos II, is then mentioned (Ζευ[ξ]ίδαμος). Next, turmoil is mentioned (κλό[νο̣ι), but we cannot contextualize it. Next, we can restore with some certainty 'the throne of both' (θ'ρόνος ἀμφο̣[τέρων), yet we do not know if this is meant to refer to two specific Spartan kings of the same line, or more generally the Agiads and the Eurypontids.[304] Then we are told that Hippokratidas received the sceptre (at least, the text allows for such a reading), and finally there is a reference to a *stephanos*.

For Nobili, the poem centres itself on the figure of Zeuxidamos II. The reference to Apollo, an oracle, and battle, point to the battle of Sepeia, which was launched by Cleomenes after conferring with the Oracle (Hdt. 6.76), and at which Nobili conjectures Zeuxidamos would have fought.[305] The first reference to Apollo, then, is read separately from the later reference to an oracle (*themiston*), which Nobili suggests is mentioned in a section which contrasts the successes of Leotychidas in securing and legitimising his right to the throne (who, though, unnamed, is alluded to by *themiston*, *thronos*, and *skaptron*?), with the sporting successes of his son Zeuxidamos (*stephanos*).[306] Here, Nobili draws comparisons to later epinician, as well as the Damonon stele and Cynisca's Olympic dedication.[307] Thus, Nobili reads this song as an epinician commissioned by Leotychidas from Simonides, somewhere between the period 494-488 BCE, to celebrate his son Zeuxidamos' sporting prowess.[308]

[302] While the restoration of π[ειθόμενοι is attractive, it is possible that the dative could be used in another way.

[303] Cf. Nobili, 2013b, 71. The reference to an oracle, and obeying Apollo (the restoration seems likely), might refer to the oracle used to remove Damaratos, which resulted in Leotychidas taking the throne, and given the Spartans' propensity to refer to oracles, the references to war and Zeuxidamos, Nobili's suggestion that it might refer to the battle of Sepeia is intriguing, if not provable. I agree with Nobili here so far as the reference to Zeuxidamos is likely to Zeuxidamos II, who was a contemporary of Simonides, but I differ in my interpretation of the conflict referred to in the fragment, in relation to the oracles, and think that it might refer to the false oracle used by Cleomenes I and Leotychidas to depose of Demaratus.

[304] See Nobili, 2012, 158 and 160 for the relevant genealogies.

[305] Nobili, 2013b, 73-74.

[306] Nobili, 2013b, 73.

[307] Nobili, 2013b, 74.

[308] By reading the poem as an epinician, Nobili's interpretation does little to explain the reference to Hippokratidas. This Hippokratidas was likely the grandfather of Ariston and Damaratos, whose father Agesikles was likely the eldest son of Hippokratidas. Hippokratidas was also the great grandfather of Leotychidas II, who descended from

Certainly, our interpretation of this song is not aided by the different accounts of Herodotus and Pausanias regarding the lineage of the Spartan kings.[309] Nevertheless, the focus of the poem seems to be on issues of kingly succession and legitimacy, rather than sporting victory. Admittedly, such a topic could have been contained within an epinician, but on what other grounds does Nobili interpret this fragment as an epinician?

My general criticism of Nobili's work is that it makes ambitious extrapolations from often ambiguous data. For example, Nobili reads the first reference to Apollo as alluding to the battle of Sepeia (and hence part of Zeuxidamos' role-call), but it need not be, both references might refer to the oracle received by Leotychidas, with the references to battle and turmoil relating to the Eurypontid feud, or, indeed, to something completely different.[310]

More specifically related to issues of sporting victory is Nobili's claim that the *stephanos* clearly evokes the crown of victory, as is common in the epinicians of Pindar and Bacchylides.[311] However, is that how the word was used by Simonides, and how were *stephanoi* used in Sparta? These are perhaps more contextually relevant questions.

As Nobili admits, the poem is clearly involved with kingly subjects.[312] Therefore, an alternative interpretation of στέφανος is possible along these lines: when taken with 'θρόνος ἀμφọ[τέρων' and 'σκᾶ|π̣τρόν' is not 'στέφανος' just another emblem of kingly authority? The most relevant Simonidean use of the word *stephanos* appears not in an epinician, but in the paean *For the Andrians for Pytho* (P.Oxy 2430 fr.77), and a σκᾶπ̣τρόν is also mentioned in a different fragment of the same papyrus (fr.60).[313] Sadly the paean is too fragmentary to say precisely how these terms are used, but we can say with some certainty they were not mentioned in a sporting context. Additionally, at P.Oxy. 2430 fr.18 Simonides mentions a *stephanos* as an

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him through Agesilaos and Menares. Agesilaos and Menares never took the throne due to it succeeding to the other side of the family of Agesikles instead of Agesilaos. Thus, if the poem referred to Hippokratidas receiving the sceptre, this might have been mentioned to highlight Leotychidas' legitimate rule. If Nobili is correct in restoring '…midan' as a reference to another Eurypontid (2013b, 72), that would not be out of place either.

[309] For an overview of the problems, see Nobili, 2012, 156-161.

[310] Nobili, 2013b, 71.

[311] Nobili, 2012, 158: "στέφανος, invece, al v. 13, evoca chiaramente la corona della vittoria, come è comune negli epinici di Pindaro e Bacchilide".

[312] Nobili, 2012, 158, "Il contesto non è chiaro: si parla di una battaglia e un'allusione alla regalità o all'investitura regale è implicita ai vv. 8 e 11-13".

[313] I do not include E. XLIII = A.P. 13. 19, since it is likely not genuinely Simonidean.

aspect of prayer, and P.Oxy. 2430 fr.80 mentions a *stephanos* in relation to becoming a man.[314] It is only in P.Oxy. 2623 fr.21 and 22 that a *stephanos* is mentioned by Simonides in a sporting context. In the first instance in relation to Eritimus and the *stadion*, and in the second with regards to victory and Corinth.[315]

It seems safe to say then that the word s*tephanos* as used by Simonides was not cognate with 'victory-wreath', but it could take that meaning. *Stephanoi* were religiously significant outside sporting *agōnes*, and I think it more likely, given the fragment's reference to kings and Apollo, and other regalia, that the *stephanos* likewise symbolizes a religious or kingly event, however, the total permeation and heterogeneity of wreaths throughout all aspects of Spartan ritual hardly clarifies the matter, but at the least shows that to a Spartan a *stephanos* was much more than just a victory crown.[316]

Where or how the song was performed, and under what circumstances, we cannot say for certain. Further it should be noted that both mine and Nobili's interpretation of the song rest on reading the poem in reference to Leotychidas, who is not actually mentioned in the surviving fragment.

In light of the above evidence, Nobili suggests that "we cannot exclude that banquets represented a favourite setting for the performance of epinician odes composed for Spartan athletes like fr.34 Poltera".[317] I would add a caveat in that I favour a more cautious interpretation than Nobili. Ibycus S.166, the 'Hymn to Athena' and Simonides fr.34 (Poltera), all appear to be 'praise-poems' of some kind, but, after careful analysis, I do not think that we can securely identify them as 'proto-epinician' or 'epinician'. Additionally, we cannot say with much certainty where they would have been performed. The very public display on the acropolis of the 'Hymn to Athena' suggests something more than a personal encomium made among one's

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[314] We also find in the New Simonides 22 W² restores "I'll weave a fresh charming [wreath] for [my] hair... and [I will sing] a lovely clear [song], plying an eloquent tongue ...".

[315] Cf. Pindar *O.*13.

[316] On the religious role of *stephanoi*, see Blech, 2011. E.g. Sosibius (f.5): Θυρεατικοί / ψιλίνους were worn only by the chorus-leaders (τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν) at the Gymnopaidiai (or perhaps the Parparonia); the general dedicatory use of wreaths is attested by the different styles of lead wreaths and their copious quantity and domination of the lead assemblage (cf. Boss, 2000); see also BM 1843,0531.14 where two women and a smaller figure (a daughter, a slave or helot?) approach an altar with a wreath held high in their right hands; wreaths were also worn by diners, but also 'komasts' (see no.17 **[Section 4]**, where only the aulete wears a wreath); the wreath might have also acted as a symbol of unity (Pipili, 1987, 30) see *SMC* 447 (a stele dedicated to the Dioskouroi) and 1 ('Helen' and 'Menelaus'), on both of these the two figures hold or hand over a wreath.

[317] Nobili, 2013, 89-90.

peers, and the political nature of Simonides fr.34 suggests that it might have been intended for a larger audience than might have been afforded by a banquet. Nevertheless, I am not completely against the idea that lyric songs could have been performed in a sympotic context, since, as I explore in **[Section 4]** this is represented as a popular performance context in Laconian BF pottery. It is unclear from such iconography what genre of song is performed, however.

Irrespective of genre and performance context, Simonides does seem to have referred to issues of Spartan royal intrigue in fr.34 Poltera, and this is clearly of some significance. Simonides has here once again involved himself at the centre of Spartan politics and religious events, given the mention of oracles, conflict, and the Eurypontids. Oracles were an important form of political legitimisation in Sparta, so for Simonides to be recalling one, or perhaps two, suggests that his relationship with politically important figures in Sparta was more than cursory.[318] That we find Simonides engaging not only with oracles, but with the genealogy of Lycurgus too, to which I now turn, shows clearly that Simonides was much more than a 'war poet' to the Spartan or Spartans who commissioned him. He was, in effect, engaging with the key apparatuses of Spartan *politeia*, which was ultimately, as Daniel Tober has argued, Spartan history.[319]

3.6 SIMONIDES AND SPARTAN LEGEND

According to Plutarch, Simonides provided a genealogy of Lycurgus, making Simonides the earliest surviving poet (and author more generally) to refer to Lycurgus, a figure who is strikingly absent from the surviving works of Tyrtaeus: [320]

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[318] On 'divination as a royal defence against political attacks', see Powell, 2009, *passim*. The other side of this coin is that political leaders were open to attack in song. See the Timocreon songs against Themistocles, PMG 727-730.

[319] Tober, 2010, *passim* (which does not discuss Simonides). As an example of the importance of oracles and Lycurgus, take the *logos* of King Pausanias (*FGrHist* 582), written in exile, where he wrote against (*kata*) the laws of Lycurgus, quoting oracles as evidence. On the sources for this work, Tober, 2010, 416-417. As Tober notes (n.25) King Pausanias' genealogy of Lycurgus seems to have matched that of Simonides. Additionally, see the justification given by Asclepius in the Isyluus Paean for assisting the Spartans (*IG* 4.1.128 ll.69-71): "I need to ward off this dangerous threat away from the Lakedaimonians, / since they justly save the oracles of Apollo, / Which Lycurgus having been in consultation with the oracle, put down in the city."

[320] We do not know what kind of song this was, elegiac or lyric, or even if Lycurgus was its main subject, or if he only briefly appeared in a song on some other topic. On the passage, see Piccirilli, 1978 and Paradiso, 1999, also Tober, 2010 and Kõiv, 2005.

> Simonides the poet says that Lycurgus was not the son of Eunomus, but that both Lycurgus and Eunomus were sons of Prytanis; whereas most writers give a different genealogy (οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι σχεδὸν οὐχ οὕτω γενεαλογοῦσιν).[321]
>
> Simonides, PMG 628 (= Plut. *Lycurg*. 1.4).

Even though Plutarch elsewhere mentions that some of the Spartans' songs survived into his day, the authority of his claim about Simonides' Lycurgan genealogy is strengthened by the scholion to Plato, *Res.*, 599d, which outlines the 'family-tree' in more detail:

> κατὰ Σιμωνίδην Πρυτάνιδος μὲν υἱός, Εὐνόμου δὲ ἀδελφός, καὶ θεῖος τοῦ Εὐνόμου υἱοῦ, Χαριλάου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Σπάρτης, ἧς ἦρξεν καὶ Λυκοῦργος αὐτὸς ἔτη ιη΄, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔγραψεν, ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν.
>
> According to Simonides, [Lycurgus was] the son of Prytanis and the brother of Eunomus, and the son whose father was Eunomus, Charilaus, became king of Sparta. Lycurgus ruled on Charilaus' behalf until he was 18 years old, it was during that time that Lycurgus wrote his laws, acting as regent for his nephew.
>
> Σ to Plato Res. 599d (trans. Author)

The key phrase here is ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν. Surely it is not coincidental that Simonides (who in his *Plataea Elegy* called Pausanias "the best son of Cleombrotus") makes Lycurgus regent for his nephew Charilaus (and Lycurgus' laws are made when regent) considering that Cleombrotus served as regent to his nephew Pleistarchus, after Pleistarchus' father and Cleombrotus' brother king Leonidas died at Thermopylae? If it is not a coincidence, this might then explain why by Plutarch's time Simonides' genealogy of Lycurgus was seen as anomalous. If Simonides' poem had been politically tied to legitimizing in some way regent Cleombrotus' or Pausanias' role, it would likely have been re-conceptualized after Pausanias' fall from grace (indeed, Cleombrotus himself was only regent for a year, from 480-479 BCE). Such a suggestion is mere speculation, but one that perhaps makes sense of the little evidence we have and does not seem too unreasonable given the hints of Simonides' engagement with Spartan royalty in fr.34 Poltera.

[321] We would except Tyrtaeus to have referred to Lycurgus, but none of the surviving fragments mention him by name, which is odd. Again, we might expect Alcman to have mentioned Lycurgus, but none of his surviving fragments do. Both authors, however, like Simonides, do make references to the Spartan kingship.

However, elsewhere we see that Simonides likely favoured, or adapted his writing to, Spartan sentiments too. PMG 549 (= Schol. Eur., *Or.*, 46) notes that, while Euripides' play is clearly set in Argos, and Homer placed Agamemnon's palace at Mycenae, "Στησίχορος δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν Λακεδαίμονι". It is possible that this 'replacement' of Agamemnon by Stesichorus and Simonides was at the behest of Spartan propaganda against Argos, with whom they were at war.[322] It is an attractive idea, and there is further reason to agree with it, if E.LXV (= *A.P.* 7. 431, Plan = 'Sim.' V, Gow-Page H.E.) is a genuine Simonidean elegy for the Spartans, praising their victory at Thyrea.[323] If not, an anti-Argive stance would be easily understandable in the context of Argive-Spartan tensions concerning Thyrea during this period, especially given that, at least in the legends, the Argive Telesilla gave as good as she got when it came to rousing songs against the Spartans.[324]

Given that the Spartans went so far as to retrieve the bones of Orestes from Tegea in order to support their claims to the mythic past, it seems quite likely that they also used song as a medium to make similar claims. It is possible that we see this in Simonides PMG 549, and maybe in the Thyrea epigram, if it is genuine.

3.7 SIMONIDES AND SPARTAN EDUCATION

Simonides more securely composed songs about other Spartan myths, notably Marpessa and Idas (PMG 563 = Schol. BT Hom. Il. 9. 557s.). This survives only as a synopsis (οὕτως δὴ Σιμωνίδης τὴν ἱστορίαν περιείργασται), but provides some interesting details, especially in relation to Bacchylides' version of the myth as preserved in *Dithyramb* 20 and fr.20A, both for the Spartans.[325] In Simonides' version of the myth, the confrontation between Idas and Apollo

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[322] See Bowra, 1934, 117.

[323] Regarding the epigram on Thyrea, it is recorded in the *Palatine Anthology* (7.431) as "ἄδηλον, οἱ δὲ Σιμωνίδου·". We are not told which authorities thought it was by Simonides. Secondly, while the poem ends with a seemingly Simonidean call to 'undying memory', it is phrased in a way that we do not see in Plataea and Thermopylae, "Σπάρτᾳ δ' οὐ τὸ θανεῖν ἀλλὰ φυγεῖν θάνατος". That being said, we find a parallel at Simonides PMG 524 (Stob. Ecl. 4. 51. 7): ὁ δ' αὖ θάνατος κίχε καὶ τὸν φυγόμαχον. "Once more Death catches the battle-deserter." Parallels could also be drawn with Tyrtaeus fr.11 l. 9, fr.12 35-7, and fr.23a l.20-22 which refer to Argives. However, the line 'Σπάρτᾳ δ' οὐ τὸ θανεῖν ἀλλὰ φυγεῖν θάνατος' might rest more easily with the fact that at Thyrea the Spartans claimed victory because even though only one of them survived, he stayed on the battlefield, while the two Argive 'victors', left prematurely.

[324] See n.217.

[325] Most recently on Bacchylides and Sparta: Nobili, 2013a, *passim*; Fearn, 2007,

occurs 'near Arene', whereas in Bacchylides, the implication is that Idas returns with Marpessa to Sparta. For Jebb, this suggests that in Simonides, while Idas is a Laconian, he lives in Messenia, whereas it is Bacchylides who makes Idas a native of Sparta; while such an inference need not apply, it serves to further highlight the ways in which mythological landscapes could be re-sculpted.[326]

How then might Simonides have used this myth? I suggest that it might have been as part of a *partheneion*; compare Bacchylides 20 (which was treated as a *dithyramb* by the Alexandrians),[327] which opens by grounding itself in a past (mythological) performance of Spartan *korai*,[328] and Bacchylides fr.20A where the myth is framed as an example of incorrect marriage procedure. In this way, the myth (as we see it used in Bacchylides fr.20A) would have acted as a reminder to Spartan *parthenai* (and their families) of their expected future role as wives (and in-laws), while the conflict between Idas and Evenus (as well as Apollo) might have formed a section which focused on agonistic imagery as in Alcman PMG 1.

That Simonides' songs might have engaged with aspects of Spartan education is more concretely, if fleetingly, suggested by PMG 616, a one-word quotation from Plutarch, *Agesilaos*, 1.1-2. The word is δᾰμᾰσίμβροτος "man-subduing"/ "taming-mortals", but perhaps less grandly, "killing mortals".[329] Plutarch tells us that it was on account of Sparta's *agōgē* that Simonides used the word δᾰμᾰσίμβροτος – the *agōgē* 'tamed' Sparta's men (σκληρὰν μὲν οὖσαν τῇ διαίτῃ καί πολύπονον, παιδεύουσαν δὲ τοὺς νέους ἄρχεσθαι), like ἵππους εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δαμαζομένους. This poetic turn of phrase is often not included as part of the attribution to Simonides, but it is tempting to see Plutarch's use of the simile as influenced by the passage where Simonides used the word. If we can trust Plutarch (or rather, Plutarch's source: "διὸ καί φασιν"), we have another account which implies that Simonides' songs related to aspects of

[326] Jebb, 1905, 239-240. Jebb, 1898, 158: "Simonides, if the schol. on *Il*. 9. 559 can be trusted, had made Idas a Lacedaemonian, but mentioned Arene in Messenia as the place to which Idas brought Marpessa. This fragment of Bacchylides has thus the mythological interest of affording the earliest testimony which we possess to the Spartan usurpation of the Messenian legend."

[327] Fearn, 2007, 226-234, rightly, highlights that it is unlikely that the song was a dithyramb in the 5th century Athenian sense, which we know Simonides did very successfully compose for. However, in arguing that it might have been performed by a chorus of boys for Apollo, Fearn's interpretation too readily accepts Sparta as a frightfully conservative culture.

[328] It is possible that Bacchylides 20 opened with an appeal to a past performance before then addressing the song's present mode of performance, in a similar manner to Pindar *O*.9.

[329] For other uses of the term: Simonides PMG 616, Pindar *O*.9.79 (αἰχμή mentioned by the scholiast (*O*.9, 119) and Eustathius, *Prooemium commentarii in Pind*. 16.9), and Bacchylides 12.15 (χαλκός).

Spartan *paideia* (though, it should be warranted, this might have been only superficially, or not even in a poem to be performed at Sparta).

For the sake of completeness, it is also worth mentioning here Simonides fr. 76 Poltera (PMG 519A fr.45), where we catch traces of references to Tyndareus, Heracles, and Hyllus, the son of Herakles and the eponym of one of the Dorian tribes.[330] It is possible that such a song might have been composed for the Spartans, but we can say nothing more about it if it was.

3.8 CONCLUSIONS

With the *Plataea Elegy* and the *Thermopylae Lyric*, we can tie Simonides' compositions to 480/479 BCE due to the need for contemporary commemoration. Dating fr.34 (Poltera) is difficult, but the passage which has survived grounds itself a little earlier, based on the names it mentions, perhaps in the early 490s.[331] More generally, it is difficult to place Simonides' Persian War songs: do they reflect wider sentiments, or are they part of "the personal and excessive, indeed hubristic, self-promotion of… Regent Pausanias"?[332] Nonetheless, in fr.34 (Poltera) the focus seems to lie with the Eurypontids, not the Agiads (the royal family to which regent Pausanias belonged); and in his Lycurgan genealogy, it is possible to see a reference to the position of Cleombrotus (rather than Pausanias). Further, in PMG 563 and 616 we see traces of songs which might have appealed to the *damos* at large, more specifically, those undergoing the *agōgē* or a less rigid form of *paideia*. Thus, we need not suppose that Simonides' ties to Sparta were so irrevocably linked to regent Pausanias that after he had been killed Simonides would have been without employment at Sparta. Indeed, if there were any hard feelings, they could not have run so long or so deeply as to affect Simonides' nephew Bacchylides, who found the Spartans willing to accept his services. Cartledge is right to call Simonides "the leading poet-propagandist" of the Persian Wars, but he was much more than that too. [333]

To return to Hornblower's observation which I quoted at the start of this chapter, while Simonides might not have known about the intricacies of Spartan *Staatsrecht* in the strictest sense, but based on Simonides' discussion of kings, oracles, and Lycurgus, he nevertheless

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[330] For comparison, Tyrtaeus fr.19.

[331] While we know that Simonides' career lasted until the early/mid 460s, there is no evidence that he continued to compose for the Spartans until then.

[332] Cartledge, 2013, 137.

[333] Cartledge, 2013, 139.

certainly contributed not a little to the history of the Spartan *politeia*, as Chilon himself might have done, and Tyrtaeus before him.[334] Simonides must have composed these songs in a variety of genres, and unlike some of the previous poets who composed for Sparta, who either composed just for the Spartans (Tyrtaeus and Alcman), or were focused primarily in the Peloponnese (the band of the second *katastasis*), Simonides was a truly pan-Hellenic poet, who having served in Sparta went on to new markets, though whether or not, like Arion returning to Polycrates, he ever returned to Sparta, we cannot say.

To conclude, we have seen that at a time when Sparta was becoming supposedly more culturally conservative, there was an influx of new songs provided by Simonides for the Spartans, which, to greater and lesser degrees, engaged and reinterpreted Sparta's mythological and historical past. This complicates the image of the development of Spartan culture forwarded by those who argue for the wholesale increase of cultural conservatism in early fifth century Sparta. When viewed this way, that the music of Simonides' repertoire more generally was seen as rather non-innovative is irrelevant to the point that the Spartans were using newly composed music, written by a non-Spartan, to culturally influence political or social concerns: this should be taken to strongly support the argument that Sparta of the early fifth century was by no means completely culturally 'austere'.

Nevertheless, such claims are not entirely clear-cut. The issue of Simonides and Spartan sport raised important questions about the kinds of song which were or were not acceptable modes of performance in Sparta. The question of whether the Spartans engaged in victory odes is difficult to answer, but an important question was raised, to which we now return. In Pindar, the performance of epinician is undoubtedly connected with the world of the *kōmos*,[335] which, like epinician, has never stood easily in the cultural history of Sparta. As such, it is to the music of the *kōmos*, and the associated role of sympotic music within Spartan dining-culture, that I now turn.

[334] On Chilon, see **[Appendix A]**.

[335] Budelmann, 2012, and Agócs, 2012 have shown a strong connection between epinician and *kōmos*. See n.293.

SECTION FOUR: DANCES AND DINNERS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last two sections I have challenged the extent to which ideas of Spartan musical traditionalism can be supported when a music archaeological approach is applied, as outlined in **[Section 1]**. Section Four continues this reinterpretation by looking at the evidence for music during Spartan dances and dinners as represented in Laconian BF pottery (where the dances are usual referred to as *kōmoi*). In addition to this neat corpus of material, a broad range of Spartan media, from lead votives and terracotta masks, to bronzes, fragments of lyric, and more, are also explored.[336]

As expressed at the end of **[Section 3]**, however, the role – and even the existence – of *kōmoi* in ancient Sparta (like epinician and threnody, and to a lesser extent, dithyramb) is a particularly fraught question. This is not helped by the lack of any clear definition (ancient or modern) of the word *kōmos*, especially given that in different fields of study the term tends to bear subtly different interpretations: it was, and is, a very fluid concept. Thus, the connection which is often made between the *kōmos* and the symposium and Dionysos presents further issues in a Spartan context, given the general tendency to downplay the role of Dionysos in Archaic and Classical Sparta.

Further is the issue of gender, one which has received attention in Spartan performative studies, but perhaps not enough. While the lyrics of Alcman's *partheneiai*, Fearn's interpretations of Bacchylides' 'dithyrambs', and the role of female Bacchic performance in Sparta (Leukippides; Dionysiades; Dymainai; Caryatides) emphasise the importance of female choruses, such performances are very poorly represented in the material record.[337] Conversely, while very few texts can be interpreted in relation to male komastic performance at Sparta, the material evidence provides an abundance of suggestive evidence for Spartan lively male choruses associated with wine. It is important here, however, to note the limitations of our sources.

As highlighted throughout this thesis, one of the major problems with any work on Sparta is understanding what happened to Spartan artistic production around 500 BCE. Traditionally, it

[336] For Laconian material culture more generally, and the lead votives: Fragkopoulou, forthcoming, Chapter 3.

[337] There are only two vases which show women playing instruments (both at dinners) (**9, 29**), one where they join (without instruments) a mixed-gender procession (**26**), and one (now lost) where they seem to be performing a chorus (Stibbe, 1972, no.26, pl.13.5). Calame, 2001, 149-156, (Caryatides and Dymainai) and 185-91 (Leukippides and Dionysiades).

has been thought that artistic production in Sparta stopped at the turn of the Classical period, based on the evidence from Orthia, but this view has been subject to important revision, most notably by Hodkinson.[338] Further, while Laconian figural pottery may have ceased to be produced c.520 BCE, it seems that there was an unbroken period of non-figural Laconian pottery production from the Archaic into the Classical period,[339] with a Laconian red-figure pottery starting c.430 BCE, and lasting, as far as we can tell, for around a generation.[340] Despite the fact that Laconian RF was known of since the beginning of the 20th century, it has only relatively recently received detailed study, yet on the whole we know very little about it.[341] Notable Laconian RF finds include what might be a Karneia dancer from the Spartan Tomb in Athens (403 BCE) **[Fig. 4.1]**. Other RF vases, importantly, depict Dionysian scenes and a Papasilenos **[Figs. 4.2]**.[342] It is also possible that a fragment recorded by Ian McPhee depicts a (Karneia?) dancer.[343]

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[338] An important caveat here is the continued creation and use of bronze dedications. Notable here are the bronze and terracotta bells from Athena Chalkioikos which: "provide an indication that certain Spartiate women in the fifth century were expending not insignificant sums on specially commissioned votive offerings at the central shrine of the polis…" (Hodkinson, 2000, 293). Hodkinson, 2000, 287, Table 10 is particularly useful in highlighting a potential shift from 'raw' bronze dedications to 'converted' dedications in fifth century Sparta. If so, then we might want to consider the extent to which the general lack of Laconian BF dedications in Sparta might relate to this paradigm change.

[339] *S&L*^{2}, 134 "The Lakonian painted pottery continued to c.520, its demise, like that of the Corinthian fabric, being due to Athenian competition rather than Spartan 'austerity'; and black-painted Lakonian ware of high quality continued to be produced into the fifth century and found its way as far afield as Olympia."

[340] Stroszeck, 2014, 148: "Painted, locally produced pottery came into use again during the Peloponnesian War and shortly after… The overall duration of this production was about 30-40 years, about one generation."

[341] There are around 81 vases/ fragments of Laconian RF. The majority of Laconian RF pottery was discovered by Rhomaios at a Laconian settlement at Analipsis hill near Vourvoura during surface survey in 1899-1900, and then in excavations in the early 1950s (cf. Rhomaios, 1950, 1954, 1955). The rest of the known Laconian RF examples are from Sparta (McPhee, 1986) and the Tomb of the Laconians in the Athenian Kerameikos (Stroszeck, 2006 and 2014). The most exhaustive and up to date study is Stroszeck, 2014, with bibliography. The sophistication of Laconian RF suggests that the artists had a prior knowledge of RF techniques. Important also is McPhee, 1986, *passim*, since it includes a full catalogue of Laconian RF from Sparta not repeated in Stroszeck, 2014.

[342] Stroszeck, 2014, 146: "The importance of the cult of Dionysos at Sparta is mirrored by the ivy twines on many of the Laconian red-figure vases, as well as by fragments with Dionysiac scenes such as Dionysos among maenads (cat. no. 5 [= Athens NM 19443]) and Papposilenos in a cart [Mcphee, 1986, no.37]." We might also include McPhee, 1986, no.38 & 39, as well as no.A3, an Attic fragment from Sparta.

[343] McPhee, 1986, cat. no. 59, pl.7. McPhee describes the male figure as walking, but compare the pose to that of a Karneia dancer on a South Italian vase illustrated at Stroszeck, 2014, 153, fig.14.

That none of the surviving examples of Laconian RF depict musicians is perhaps more of a comment on how little survives, rather than a reflection of Spartan sensitivities at the end of the fifth century. These small finds are important. While they cannot be taken to show a continuous interest at Sparta in Dionysian activities, they show that by the end of the fifth century such activities were of interest to the artists and buyers of Laconian RF, just as much as the scenes of other local mythology and ritual were, such as the birth of Helen,[344] Herakles,[345] Athena,[346] Thetis with the arms of Achilles,[347] youthful athletics,[348] battle,[349] and as mentioned above, the Karneia dancer fragment (another fragment of the same vessel depicts a hoplite), which was found in the main chamber of the Tomb of the Spartans, where six Spartiates were buried, in the Athenian Kerameikos,.[350]

Thus, while there is a large pool of Archaic material evidence for Spartan musicking during dances and dinners, during the Classical period the pool begins to run dry, especially in relation to pottery decorated with figural scenes. However, what pottery there is suggests engagement with Dionysian practices and Apolline performance as part of a wider artistic repertoire, and that these vessels could be: fitting grave goods for the Spartan war-dead monumentally honoured at the Kerameikos; in the case of the material from Sparta, votive offerings for Athena Chalkioikos, Artemis Orthia, and local heroes;[351] in the case of the material from the fortified Laconian settlement at Analipsis hill, offerings associated with domestic cult, and in the case of the fragment showing Dionysos and two maenads, as an offering found near the altar of a Classical building interpreted as a local sanctuary.[352]

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[344] Monumental kothon. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 19447. From the Laconian settlement at Analipsis hill (near Vourvoura). Stroszeck, 2014, cat. no.1: as Helen emerges from an egg Leda looks on in shock while the Dioskouroi flank the scene.

[345] McPhee, 1986, cat. no. 16, pl.4.

[346] McPhee, 1986, cat. no. 10, pl.4. Also, Stoszeck, 2014, cat. no. 16.

[347] Pelike. Athens, National Museum 19446. Thetis holds the shield of Achilles while riding a hippocamp. Stroszeck, 2014, cat. no.12.

[348] Lekanis lid. Athens, National Museum 19474. From Analipsis. Stroszeck, 2014, cat. no. 17.

[349] Krater fragment. Athens, Kerameikos 9998 a-d. Stroszeck, 2014, cat. no. 10.

[350] Stroszeck, 2014, cat. no. 7. Stroszeck, 2006 is the most extensive analysis of the Tomb of the Laconians in the Kerameikos.

[351] McPhee, 1986, 153-154.

[352] Stroszeck, 2014, 140, and cat. no. 5. For the domestic cults, a number of houses were found with pedestals in niches to serve a household cult. It was in this part of the houses that Rhomaios found the Laconian RF. These were houses of no insignificant importance, to judge by their colonnaded entrances. There is still debate as to the identity of this settlement.

As the study of Laconian RF is beginning to show then, early ideas about Spartan austerity are in need of revision. The same 'austere turn' which was used (not without complication) to explain the disappearance or reduction of Laconian art c.500 BCE was also used to explain the supposed decline of poetic output in Sparta c.500 BCE, but as explored in **[Section 3]**, this view can no longer be fully supported either, given the vital role Simonides must have played in early Classical Sparta, as well as the continued role of Bacchylides and others, least of all Lysander, who, as political performer extraordinaire commissioned a host of self-laudatory songs in connection with the equally modest rebranding of the Samian festival of Hera as the Lysandreia.[353]

Due to the nature of the available evidence, then, the majority of this section focuses on the Archaic period, but instead of ignoring the limited Classical evidence, the fragmentary lines of poets and other material often difficult to contextualise, I try to sift through them, following the methodology outlined in **[Section 1],** revealing a certain amount of similarity between Archaic and Classical customs.

I will now more clearly outline the content of this section.

Because the term *kōmos* is important, and somewhat ill-defined by modern scholarship, I start by providing an overview of my understanding of the term and how it relates to Sparta, as well as the term *synaikla*, arguing that the terms 'dances' and 'dinners' are actually more useful, since they do not presuppose a contextual interpretation of the scenes in question beyond the first stage of Panofsky's three strata (primary or natural subject matter).[354] The word *kōmos* is often associated with heavy drinking, but, as Parker has highlighted, this does not mean that there were no orgiastic, 'earthy', or otherwise exuberant rituals in Sparta, but that, unlike in Athens, such performances need not have been predicated with excessive drinking.[355] For the purpose of clarity, when I do use the word *kōmos* and related terms, that is so as to avoid confusion as to how scenes of Laconian BF have been analysed by other scholars, and in discussing scholarship on the *kōmos*.

[353] We rely on Plutarch here, who seems to have been informed by reading Duris of Samos. The poets associated with Lysander are Choirilos (who was kept on retainer), Antilochos, Antimachos of Kolophon, and Nikeratos of Herakleia (Plut. *Lysander*, 18.4).

[354] See Lloyd, 2020b.

[355] Parker, 1989, 150-154. To Parker's account of Dionysos in Sparta can now be added the important evidence of Laconian RF.

Having laid out my reasoning for using the terms 'dances' and 'dinners', I will then provide an overview of the iconography, before moving onto an analysis of previous scholarship, particularly that of Förtsch and van Wees, before providing an in-depth response to Maria Pipili's claims that "We may now be fairly certain that Laconian potters and painters had knowledge of the destination of their vases and of the wishes of their clients. Some of the vases might even have been special commissions made on the spot".[356]

Next, I provide a descriptive analysis of scenes of musicians represented in Laconian BF. I have numbered them, and refer to them by their number throughout, with details provided in **[Appendix F: Index of Vases].** For Stibbe's dating of Laconian BF painters, used throughout, see **[Table D.1]**.

After presenting the pottery, I explore the possible contexts of the dances and dinners seen in Laconian BF, focusing on Apollo, Orthia, and then Dionysos, as well as further exploring the potential roles of music during dining. Here, I bring in other important material evidence, ranging from the lead votives (mentioned briefly at **[Section 2.1 & 2.3]**), the terracotta masks, bronzes, stelai, and material in other media, highlighting once more the benefits of the multimedia approach outline in **[Section 1],** in order to provide a more holistic analysis of Spartan musicking.

When all these sources are taken together, it becomes apparent that instead of the evidence showing a relatively homogenous field of performance, key differences were being expressed by the artists who produced iconography for their Spartan clients which in turn reflected the variety and diversity of Spartan musicking. If we cannot securely identify the meaning encoded in these iconographical differences (and often we cannot), that is more of a reflection of how far removed we are from the Spartan *kosmos* than it is a reflection of the subtlety of Laconian artists (though that certainly plays its part). What then, were these artists depicting?

4.2 DEFINTIONS AND THEORIES

4.2.1 Overview

[356] Pipili, 2018, 146.

In total, there are around twenty Laconian BF vases that depict dances with instrumental musicians (some of these attributions are less certain than others), representing over half of all the surviving scenes of musicians in Laconian BF.[357] Given the role of choral performance in Archaic Greece more generally, this association should come as no surprise, but I am interested in understanding what kind of music the vase painters associated with these dances, both in terms of the instruments used, as well as the musicians themselves. Therefore I focus on those vases where musicians are included among dances or diners. The ratio of Laconian BF dance scenes is 1:2 musicians to no-musicians.[358] A number of dance scenes are included in vases that also depict dinners; these will be discussed here too.[359]

While Smith observes that "the archaeological evidence… does not suggest that any one painter pioneered the iconography of the Laconian komos, or that any individual painter or group dominated the tradition,"[360] when it comes to the inclusion of musicians, some general comments can be made. The Naukratis,[361] Arkesilas,[362] Rider,[363] and Allard Pierson[364] painters were the only ones to depict scenes of dinners and dances with musicians, whereas the Hunt[365] painter tended to depict musicians only in scenes of dances.[366] The Chimera painter is the only

[357] See **[Appendix F].** This count only includes the dances not obviously taking place at a dinner: **1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 28, 30, 34**. If we include the fragments **19, 22, 23, 24, 25**, the total is then twenty.

[358] Scenes of dining or dances where musicians are not included, or fragmentary sherds where they might have been included in the complete scene, but for which we cannot be certain that they did, include: Stibbe, 1972, pl.6.1 (13), pl.7.1 (14), pl.7.3 (15), pl.12.4 (25a), pl. 13.1 (25b), pl.13.5 (26), pl.19.1 (37), pl.26.7 (64), pl.40.1 (120), pl. 45.1 (141), pl.62.3 (195), pl.65.1 (197), pl.66.5 (204), pl.68.4 (206a), pl.71.3 (215), pl.80.3 (228), pl.92.3 (278), pl.101.4 (295), pl.120.1 (337); Stibbe, 2004, pl.38.1 [134], pl.45.7 [157], p.46.1 [161] (which is similar to some of the Attic musical judging scenes), pl.52.1 [184], 59.5 [205], 61.1 [208], 66.5 [275] (a wedding procession?), pl.67.2 [294], pl. 82.1 [331], pl/83.1 [334], pl.85.1 [336]?, pl.89.1 [340], pl.90.1 [341], pl.95.3 [395]?; Pipili, 2001, no.33 (fig.43, 44), no.34 (fig.45, 46a-d), no.36 (fig.50a-d), no.37 (fig.52c-d), no.40 (fig.58a-c).

[359] **6, 9, 15, 27, 29.**

[360] Smith, 2010, 121.

[361] **27. 28**, in the style of the Naukratis Painter. No other vases by the Naukratis Painter or in their style include musicians.

[362] **9.** No other vases by the Arkesilas Painter include musicians.

[363] **15, 29** (dinners). **1, 4, 5, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23** (dances).

[364] **6** (dinner – formerly attributed by Stibbe to the Rider Painter). **3, 20, 21, 24, 25** (dances).

[365] **2, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18.** And **33, 14** (style of the Hunt Painter).

[366] See Smith, 2010, 140-1 for an overview of these types of compositions, but note that at Smith, 2010, Table 1B (dress and attributes of Laconian komast dancers) only the Naukratis and Rider/ Allard Pierson are listed as using aulos or lyre.

one to depict Apollo kitharoidos facing Artemis.[367] The painter of Samos 3960 is the only Laconian BF painter to have depicted musicians in a *pompē* of some kind,[368] with, perhaps, the exception of the painter of an unattributed Laconian VI fragment from a Spartan *herōon*.[369] While these differences might be taken as evidence for changing social trends associated with the representation or performance of music, the overall set of attributed vases is too small to indicate that with any certainty. The small sample size might also account for the surprising absence of certain types of images of musicking (namely, military and female musical performances) the importance of which were explored in **[Sections 2.8 & 3.7]**, for example.

Generally, the musicians who accompany dances in Laconian BF can be divided into two categories, those who join in with the dance, and those who are represented as different to the dancers in some way (e.g. the musician is clothed but the dancers naked; the musician stands still while the others dance).[370] The instrumental accompaniment of choice seems to be the aulos,[371] but only just, the lyre is very popular too.[372] One scene includes both instruments.[373] It is possible that in one vase percussion instruments are intended to be depicted (instruments often associated with orgiastic or Bacchic performances).[374] In one vase, a syrinx is shown.[375] None of the dances in Laconian BF are directly associated with images of Dionysos, though a terracotta *perirrhanterion* shows a reclining Dionysos regaled by a dancing satyr and an aulete, and as we have seen, Dionysos and Papposilenos are represented, about 100 years later, in Laconian RF.[376] In Laconian BF, it is Apollo, if any god, who appears most connected to Spartan dances, though Orthia should be noted in this context too, given the presence of

[367] **8**, the only vase by Chimera Painter to depict a musician. (cf. the Classical (?) stele of Apollo and Artemis, Sparta Museum, 468)

[368] **26**. Attributed by Stibbe, 2004, [373] to the 'Miniature Painter and his circle', though he had previously suggested to Pipili in 2001, 'manner of the Hunt Painter'. The Miniature Painter's and their circles' work is, as suggested by Stibbe, 2004, only found from the Samian Artemision.

[369] **7**.

[370] E.g. compare, **3** and **21**, both attributed to the Allard Pierson painter.

[371] Fifteen dance/ dinner scenes with aulos: **1, 3, 4, 7** (not komos), **9, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26** (procession), **27, 29, 30, 33**.

[372] No more than ten dance/ dinner scenes with lyre/ kithara: **2, 5, 6** (kithara), **8** (kithara, not a dance), **13** (?), **14, 15, 16** (?), **18, 20, 24, 25** (dance ?), **28**. Geometric fragments include **31**, **32** (dances ?). Pipili, 1987, 51 "of the eight lyre-players who appear on Spartan vases…" can be updated.

[373] **18**.

[374] **10**.

[375] **11.**

[376] **30**, cf. Sparta Museum, 6248 for the *perirrhanterion*.

dedications with associated iconography at her sanctuary, predominantly in the form of lead votives and terracotta masks.[377]

4.2.2 Dinners

As outlined above, I steer away from using ancient terminology to categorise these scenes of dances and dinner, but why? I could use the word *synaiklon*, or perhaps *kopis* or *syssitia*, for a variety of reasons. *(Syn)aiklon* is a term used by Alcman (PMG 95a) and is a type of meal which Alcman himself once prepared (ἁρμόξα: PMG 95b). Given the date of this term (late 6th century), it seems a more appropriate word to describe the dinners depicted on Laconian BF than *kopis* or *syssitia*, and it refers to a specially Spartan dinner or banquet (in Alcman PMG 98, the words θοίνα and θίασος are used instead, a point to which I return), free from the connotations of its Attic equivalent, and that I generally refer to Spartan dinners of the sixth century. But other terms were used for Spartan dinners too, for example, we are told about the *kopis*, a meal primarily associated with Spartan high days and holidays. For example, a city-wdie *kopis* was held during the Hyakinthia.[378] Athenaeus is our major source on the *kopis* and Spartan dinner more generally, using sources which seem to go back to the fifth century (e.g. Epicharmos fr.34, Cratinus fr.175, Eupolis fr.147), as well as Laconian sources, but of varying dates, such as Alcman (6th century, Ath. 4.140c) and Molpis (probably 2nd to 1st century BCE, e.g. Ath. 4.140b). In doing this, Athenaeus reveals various other terms which also seem to have been used originally with some precision (in relation to Spartan dinners) but over the exact meaning of which there is already some debate.[379]

In contrast to these ill-defined terms, the word *syssitia* refers specifically to the Spartan and Cretan citizen military messes. Van Wees has recently suggested that in Sparta the *syssitia* were organised around the end of the sixth century BCE (he suggests somewhere between 515-500 BCE, probably in association with the reign of Cleomenes I and Demaratus). But I am not sure we can be so specific about these dates, nor that the Laconian BF iconography relates to this specific form of dinner, since it likely predates its establishment (if we accept a more general late 6th to early 5th century organisation). In this regard, *ph(e)id(l)itia*, seems to be the later

[377] See **[Section 4.4.3]**.

[378] Parker, 1989, 146-147.

[379] The discussion comes as part of a larger discussion of local dining customs, with Ath. 5.15-21 focusing on the customs of the Lacedaimonians.

Classical term for *syssitia*.[380] According to Phylarchus, by the time of king Areus I (r. c.309-265 BCE) the custom of eating at *phiditia* was no longer regularly kept, and when it was practised, had become a more expensive and luxurious affair.[381]

It is because these various terms for Spartan dinners are loaded with contextual meaning (whether correctly or incorrectly) by the sources which act as our intermediaries, and because these dining customs changed over time, that I have decided to avoid using them to describe scenes of eating or feasting on Laconian BF, choosing to call these scenes dinners. By calling these scenes a *(syn)*aiklon, a *kopis*, or *syssitia* I would be implicitly suggesting something about their context which presupposes an understanding or interpretation not only of the iconography, but the terms themselves, and this would, I argue, limit our understanding of such scenes by providing a false sense of certainty regarding the thought-world in which they operated.

When I do use these terms, I do so in the most general sense, or to highlight their use in specific passages. Here I agree with Hodkinson's observation that "neither in the Homeric epics nor in historical times was there ever a single, archetypal mode of commensality, but rather a variety of practices operating in different contexts."[382] When exploring the iconography of dancers and dinners, we should expect to find the same. To take a small example, Alcman PMG 19 mentions dining with couches, whereas at Athenaeus IV. 138f-139a, it is stated that at the religious dinners called *kopis*, meals were held outside on the ground.

4.2.3 Dances

The word *kōmos* is in many ways an even more slippery term that *synaikla* since it is used by the ancients to refer to a 'revel', and that is how the word is often used in modern scholarship, but it is also used by modern scholars to define a group of artistic scenes with similar

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[380] Van Wees, 2018b, 252. Cf. Quattrocelli, 2002, *passim*, who also concludes that Alcman and Tyrtaeus predate the Sparta military messes that we know of in the Classical period. Rundin, 1996, 179-215. *Syssitia* was a term shared with other Hellenic military messes, for the Cretan messes in particular. *Pheiditia* seems to have been a later term, used only in relation to Spartan messes (first found in Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.4.28 and *Lac. Pol.* 3.5. cf. Aristot. *Pol.* 1271a, 1272a-b, 1272.). Xenophon also uses the term *syskenia*. An interesting early study of the Spartan messes is Bielschowsky, 1869. See Murray, 1991, 83-103 for a more recent discussion of these terms. As the issue relates to Laconian BF, see Smith, 2010, 133-134.

[381] *BNJ* 81 F44 (apud Ath. 5.20–1, 141F –142F). Phylarchus associates this cultural shift with Areus I (r. c.309-265 BCE) and Acrotatus II (r. 265 to 262 BCE), but notes that there were private citizens who made the excesses of those two kings appear as extreme frugality.

[382] Hodkinson, 1997, 90-1.

iconographic elements, mainly: lively dancing, music, nudity, and drinking.[383] That these iconographical *kōmoi* are what an ancient Greek would also have called a *kōmos*, at least in the case of Classical Athens, is suggested by a number of Attic vases that include named personifications of *Kōmos*.[384]

The similarity between literary and visual *kōmoi* has led to interpretations of the kinds of 'revels' depicted in Archaic Greek art which emphasise their homogeneity, and their focus on (excessive) drinking.[385] Thus, preconceptions of the *kōmos* as a distinctly Bacchic mode of performance (as seen in Classical Athens in particular, where it was associated with heavy drinking) have influenced modern interpretations of Laconian BF iconography (produced during a time when the actual *kōmos* need not have Dionysian associations). For example, Pipili argues that certain lyre-players should not be interpreted as Apollo among komasts, since *kōmoi* and auloi were associated with Dionysos, lyres with Apollo.[386] But Pipili's argument is complicated by texts such as the Homeric Hymn *to Hermes*, where Hermes gives Apollo his lyre so that he might lead the *kōmos*. Because there is a disjoint between what an ancient poet might call a *kōmos*, and what we as modern scholars visually and culturally identify as a *kōmos*, I have chosen to refer to these figures as dancers, and the scenes in which they appear as dances.[387]

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[383] For a parallel definition of the word, we can turn to Plutarch, *Table-Talk*, 8.6.5 (726 F), where Lamprias asserts that the Latin word *commissatum* comes from the Greek *kōmos*. A more thorough definition, is provided by Graf's *BNP* entry.

[384] See Smith, 2007, 153-171.

[385] Rusten, 2006, 41, "… the growing body of research on the archaic symposium tends to conclude that its prime evidence, the dancers of the komos vases, do not suggest a chorus or a dramatic narrative but a sort of symposium, the crater or drinking horn being even more central than the piper. Thus, komast vases may have affinities with comedy, but they always seem to belong to a different type of performance."

[386] Pipili, 1998, 92. Though, according to Tryphon in Book II of Terminology (fr. 109 Velsen, apud Ath. XIV. 618c), a word that was connected with the aulos (αὐλήσεων δ' εἰσὶν ὀνομασίαι) was κῶμος.

[387] E.g. H. Hom. *Hermes* 481 (see Graf, 2006). See Smith, 2010, 1-5 for an overview of the term *kōmos* and the study of what she terms 'komast dancers', dances which are denoted by the formalised poses of the dancers, often: bottom-slapping, squatting, jumping, kicking, raising hands, and drinking. The modern study of komastic iconography begins with Greifenhagen's 1929 monograph, with a discussion of terminology at 37-40. As Smith notes, the visual study of *kōmoi* (mortal and satyric) has often associated them with Dionysos and drama, but only one painter of black-figure pottery, the Attic Amasis painter, directly associates Dionysos with this scene-type, and only a few examples likely depict costumes or masks (Smith, forthcoming). More generally "the komos itself seems not to have been a formalized institution of any scale." (Smith, 2010, 2). See Smith, 2010, Table 2B for an overview of the poses and gestures of Laconian komast dancers.

The problem is compounded because we have no text which allows for any detailed analysis of the use of the word *kōmos* in a Laconian context. Euripides refers to Helen performing *kōmoi* on her return to Sparta, and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* ends with Spartan women dancing in worship of, among other gods, Dionysos. Opinions are split as to whether these references should reflect Athenian knowledge of contemporary Spartan customs, or are instead Athenian projections with little relation to Spartan reality.[388]

Further, while the term *kōmos* can refer to scenes of lively Greek dances, where drink, music, and nudity are often key components, the word is decidedly vague, abstracted as it is from any particular performative context. While a number of vases link *kōmos* dances with Dionysian themes (for example, satyrs, or Dionysos himself),[389] when such scenes lack Dionysian attributes, or other attributes that might link them to a specific context (such as the inclusion of auletrides in Attic *kōmoi*, to indicate a post-symposium *kōmos*),[390] it is difficult to say whether or not a vase painter intended to depict a specific scene, or a more general depiction of exuberant performance – not quite a capriccio, but an abstraction of something well suited to the drinking cups on which these scenes were drawn.[391]

Additionally, it seems that Corinthian, Attic, and even East Greek pottery, had an influence on the development of Laconian BF pottery, though Smith admits that "which of these production centres may have created or adapted the komast figure first remains uncertain."[392] Thus, when looking at Laconian BF scenes of dances, we should remind ourselves that, particularly in the early works, this was a period where such iconography was still in development, and making assumptions about the Bacchic character of scenes of dance and music where no Bacchic details are included (such as **20, 21**, and **11** for example), based on comparative evidence where similar

[388] e.g. Constantinidou, 1998; Calame, *Choruses*, 185 ff.; Nobili, 2014. Parker, 1989, 150-152.

[389] Cf. Isler-Kerényi, 2006; Carpenter, 1986. In Attic RF, cf. Bundrick, 2005, 106-116.

[390] In Attic RF, cf. London, BM, E 506, where one reveller has an *auletris* on his shoulder, a portable sound-system. Though more seriously, this also highlights the lack of agency such performers often experienced.

[391] Cf. Scott, 2010, *passim*.

[392] Corinth: Smith, 2010, 119-20. Smith, 2010, 148-9 "the iconography of the Laconian kōmos… may have been inspired from elsewhere (i.e. Corinth), yet was transformed or considered suitable for local needs." Attica: Pipili, 2018, 220-222: '5.6.1 Attic influence versus traditionalism'. Pipili, 2009, *passim* for the Laconian Droop cup's influence on Attic Droop cups. Smith, 2010, 119. East Greece: Smith, 2010, 119; Shefton, 1989, 41-72; Schaus, 1979, 102-106; Woodward, 1932, 25-41.

dances are performed in more obviously Bacchic contexts (such as **17** and **18**), might actually point our interpretation of these sources in the wrong direction.[393]

Having outlined some of the key interpretative problems, I will now provide an overview of the major interpretative theories in current discussions of music and Laconian BF, and what they might mean for a study of dance scenes, paying particular attention to those of the leading voice in the field, Maria Pipili.

4.2.4 Theories for social relevance

While the archaeological evidence for the production of BF pottery in Sparta and Laconia is slim, the vases themselves have benefitted from two major iconographical studies.[394] The first is Conrad Stibbe's two volume 1972-2004 *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr* which provides a catalogue and study of different painters, influenced by the methodology of Beazley.[395] The second is Maria Pipili's 1987 *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century* and subsequent work, which explores a wide variety of topics, shifting from reading Laconian BF iconography in relation to Spartan society towards understanding the

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[393] Nevertheless, it is apparent that Laconian BF pottery was an international production, with regards to its artistic influences and aspirations, but also with regards to its widespread distribution. Herodotus provides us with an example for the movement of Laconian exports outside strict market trading. In Hdt. I.69-70, we are told about the troubles the Spartans had in transporting a large Laconian bronze krater, a gift for Croesus of Lydia. The story also tells us how international trade could be negotiated through state delegates, when the Spartans went to ask Croesus for gold for a statue of Apollo they were building in Sparta. This kind of political reciprocal trading is not representative of what we might call 'typical' trade, whether that is market trade, acts of *xenia*, or movement of materials through religious dedications or acts of war.

[394] Pipili, 2018, 128 (with bibliography): "It is commonly thought that the making of vases, and of Laconian artefacts in general, was in the hand of the *perioikoi* … lack of systematic investigation of periokic settlements, however, does not allow us to locate the centre of this ceramic production. The most likely candidate is the lower valley of the Eurotas or the coast near its mouth, around the small town of Helos or at Gytheion where the existence of a good port would facilitate exports. It has also been proposed that the pottery was made mostly in the vicinity of Sparta, 'the main centre of population and consumption in the region', which has also provided some evidence for manufacturing activity with the discovery of a potter's kiln. That some Spartan citizens practised manual arts is not to be excluded. Finally, it has often been assumed that immigrant craftsmen were active in archaic Laconia, and a radical theory tentatively put forward attributes most of the Laconian black-figured production to foreigners who later left, causing the decline of this craft."

[395] Stibbe, 1972 and 2004. Stibbe's methodology was heavily influenced by the style of connoisseurship pioneered by Beazley's studies of Attic pottery (no artist's signatures survive in Laconian BF). Prior to Stibbe's 1972 catalogue, see: Shefton, 1954, *passim* and Lane, 1933-4, *passim*.

wider relevance its exportation.[396] In this respect, the most detailed analysis of the find contexts of Laconian pottery (figured and non-figured) is Fabien Coudin's 2009 *Les laconiens et la Méditerranée à l'époque archaïque*.[397] A number of other key studies have contributed to our understanding of Laconian pottery, especially within the last two decades, the most relevant of these being the work of Smith and Förtsch.[398] This has meant that a number of different theories regarding the interpretation of Laconian BF iconography have flourished, floundered, and fractured. The following provides an overview and critique of those theories which might influence our interpretation of Laconian dance scenes and scenes with musicians more generally. To divide the theories into two camps, there are those scholars who interpret Laconian BF iconography as reflecting the lived actualities of the sixth century Spartan, and those who, for differing reasons, do not.

The first group are primarily represented by Reinhard Förtsch and Hans van Wees. For Förtsch, the *kōmos* was a form of carnival that was originally performed by citizens. Attempts were made to reform the *kōmos* in light of Spartan austerity, but it was ultimately transposed onto the helots.[399] After the helots took on the role of komasts, this made komast dancers unsuitable decorations for the vases of Spartan citizens, thus explaining why the scene's popularity decreases towards the end of the sixth century, so Förtsch suggests.[400] Within this world of komastic subalternism Förtsch then argues that the aloof kitharode stands as a symbol of citizenly obedience and order, distanced from the komasts, just as the good Spartiate should: "In jedem Fall parodieren die Komasten die aristokratischen Ideale der Selbstbeherrschung, Eigenschaften, für die der unbewegte Kitharode nur eine weitere Verdeutlichung ist." [401]

Logically then, for Förtsch, the kitharode or lyre-player who partakes in komastic activity is a parody of the important kitharodic performances at Spartan festivals.[402] In many ways, van

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[396] Pipili, 1987, see bibliography for further work.

[397] Coudin, 2009a.

[398] For other relevant work by these three authors, see the bibliography, most importantly, Pipili's publication of Laconian pottery from Samos and on consumers of Laconian pottery. Also of importance: Delahaye, 2016, 59-84. Thomsen, 2011, 59-147. Smith, 2010, 119-149. Scott, 2010, 165-181. Förtsch, 2001, *passim*. Powell, 1989. Smith's and Förtsch's studies are particularly relevant here. Most recently, Skuse, 2018 makes an important contribution, arguing for the influence of Egyptian art.

[399] Förtsch, 2001, 154, 156.

[400] Förtcsh, 2001, 154. However, Förtsch does not note the presence of auloi and lyre/ kithara plectra from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Both auloi and kitharas were played at Spartan festivals.

[401] Förtsch, 2001, 153. "In any case, the komasts parody the aristocratic ideals of self-restraint, qualities for which the motionless kitharode is just another clarification."

[402] Förtsch, 2001, 153-154.

Wees indirectly develops Förtsch's argument, but focuses less on the social symbolism and potential antagonism between komasts and auletes and kitharodes.

Additionally, whereas Förtsch argued that Laconian BF *kōmos* scenes point to the development of a more ordered society (because the later *kōmos* scenes are less frenzied than earlier scenes), van Wees argued instead that a decrease (and cessation) in the production of scenes depicting komastic performance in Laconian BF (combined with that seen in the lead votives), should be taken to show that by the late sixth century ostentatious displays of wealth and luxury became less popular. Van Wees then suggests that this change should be linked with the formation of the *syssitia*, dated by him to around 515-510 BCE, and tied to Dorieus' attempts at colonization and the rule of Cleomenes I and Demaratus.[403]

For both Förtsch and van Wees then, the end of the sixth century was the beginning of Spartan 'austerity', when citizens were levelled off and made more similar through a number of state organised institutional changes.[404] For van Wees, the fact that the komast scenes ceased near the end of the sixth century shows that the citizens had rejected their earlier luxurious ways; now they had been organised into military messes. For Förtsch, on the other hand, his observed changes in komast scenes suggest that the ethos of such dances changed, becoming more 'austere' and then petering out as a mode of citizen performance which was then subjected onto the helots.

As attractive as these suggestions are, there are several problems with them. Förtsch's observations are perhaps somewhat artificial. This is because he treats the dating of Laconian BF pottery with too much certainty, relies on one or two vases to inform his interpretation, and often does not mention other relevant material evidence. For example, **4** typifies Förtsch's claim to the calming of the komastic iconography around 540-530.[405] In this vase the komasts are 'calm' because they no longer dance, they act like 'harmless' auletes and gift-boys. However, Stibbe dated **4** a little earlier, around 550-540 (Rider Painter Group D), which seems right, and it is important that Förtsch does not mention two vases which Stibbe attributed to the Rider

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[403] Van Wees, 2018, 252.

[404] Van Wees, 2018, 251: "So far we can tell… Spartan drinking culture followed normal Greek patterns until the very end of the archaic period."

[405] Förtsch, 2001, 149 "Sind dabei die Komasten noch mit stark angewinkelten Beinen und im Luftsprung zu sehen, so beruhigt sich im folgenden auch ihre Haltung, so dais sie um 540-30 jede Tanzbewegung ablegen und wie «harmlose« Flotenspieler und Schenkknaben wirken (Abb. 143). Wohl nicht zufallig wird genau in jenem Bild auch die Dimension des Kraters verkleinert." A similar opinion is expressed by Lane, 1933/34, 160, "only on the London kylix … [are the komasts] normal and sober; usually they are grotesquely fat and perform an undignified dance."

Painter Group E (dated 545-535). In **30** two men dance just as exuberantly as those seen in earlier examples, and with no sign of the increased attention to an idealised body form which Förtsch suggests developed at this time.[406] The other Rider Painter Group E example here, providing a closer parallel to **4**, is **1**, where two figures dance with legs kicked back, one playing the aulos. This is not a calm *kōmos*.

For me, and others, **4** should not be read as reflecting actual changes to Spartan komastic behaviour, but depicting a different moment in the *kōmos*, a lull in the dance, or perhaps a libation.[407] The Rider Painter has chosen to depict a different moment of the *kōmos* compared to **1** and **30,** this is what informs the stylisation of the upright figures. Let us also turn briefly to the terracotta *perirrhanterion* of Dionysos, which I will explore below in more detail.[408] The scene is composed of the god Dionysos reclining, kantharos in hand, while an ithyphallic satyr dances accompanied by a clothed upright aulete. Stibbe dated the *perirrhanterion* to c.575, Pipili to c.510.[409] Such an important, and clearly theological, depiction of dance and dining is is not mentioned in Förtsch's argument.[410] Thus Förtsch's theory of the 'helotisation' of komasts is open to further question if we accept the possibility that a small altar to Dionysos, near the most sacred sanctuary in Sparta, the Amyklaion, depicted him enjoying a symposium and a *kōmos* c.510. It is hard to believe that this was anything other than a citizen dedication.

With regards to Förtsch's analysis of the musicians, I find that he abstracts the instrumentalists, with the aulos-player representative of the *damos*' interests, the kithara those of the aristocrats. Here Förtsch must explain why Alcman PMG 51 associates Apollo with the aulos, a fragment which on face value undermines his interpretation of the aulos: "The combination of kitharodic and aulodic elements [in Alcman] was the result of a dialectical process and is not indicative of

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406 **30** is a thoroughly bizarre vase in many ways. It is possible that it shows or amalgamates two myths. It has been suggested that the three figures (on horse, with vessel, and behind the building) are Troilus, Cressida, and Achilles. The relation to the centaurs is difficult, especially since one of them actually seems to engage with Troilus, and should perhaps be treated separately from the rest of the scene. It is likely then that the other centaurs depict an aspect of the myth of Polus and Chiron (the two centaurs with human fronts), where the other centaurs have been driven mad by the smell of wine (they are all hairy, even their human torsos, one stoops to the ground, like a hound on a scent) run to the scene of the komos (Pipili sees this as an injured centaur), while Herakles (with the club) has wounded Chiron of Pholus (the human like centaur who topples) and engages with the other. See Pipili, 1987, 7-10, 27-30.

407 See **[Section 4.4.1]**.

408 Sparta Museum, 6248.

409 On the date, see **[Section 4.4.4]**.

410 It is, however, mentioned briefly in a section on terracotta relief-ware. Förtsch, 2001, 220.

an affinity between the two in any respect."[411] Förtsch's theoretical interpretation then leaves him with the problem of the 'aristocratic' kithara, symbolic of restraint, appearing in scenes of kōmoi.[412] For him the explanation is that the kitharists here parody the base forms of the *kōmos*, but such an interpretation of the social affinities of the aulos and the kithara is surely too reductive. It is reductive not only in that he treats the aulos and kithara as symbolic of different ways of living, but that Förtsch seems to compress the lyre into the kithara during this process.[413] Further, Förtsch does not dwell on the problem of aulos players which then stand still and aloof from the *kōmos* (**21** and **34**). Are we supposed to assume that these are parodies of the often ecstatic aulos?[414]

Here, I think Förtsch over-theorises perceived iconographical differences which can easily be explained by acknowledging that dances could be accompanied either by lyre or aulos music, as seen in **18** (c.565-550 BCE), where both instruments are played. Likewise, aulos music could be played at dinners, so too kithara music and lyre music. The problem with Förtsch's argument is that he sees the *kōmos* as a homogenous mode of performance, and that any variation from the 'norm' (aulos music and wild dancing) needs to be viewed as a deliberate comment from the artist (a comment on the social perception of such instruments), when really, the *kōmos*, and dance more generally, was a very heterogenous mode of performance.

Take **26** where the aulos players calmly accompany a procession, or scenes where women play auloi while reclining on *klinai* (**9, 29**) or where diners are regaled by calm attendant auletes (**27**, and **29** again). Further, by distancing Spartan citizens from wild dances and music, Förtsch overlooks the description of lively citizen chorus and dances.[415] By painting the aulos as a base instrument, he neglects passages such as those by Chamaeleon of Heraclea, who claimed that all Spartans learned to play the aulos, as well as the evidence for the revered aetiologies of Spartan military *auletes* as explored in **[Section 2.8]**.[416] This in turn underlines the importance

[411] Förtsch, 2001, 152. "Die Verbindung kitharodischer und aulodischer Elemente war das Ergebnis eines dialektischen Vorganges und ist kein Anzeichen für eine ohnehin gegebene Verbundenheit beider Richtungen."

[412] Naffisi, 1991, 214 presents the kitharodic performance in a similar ammner "…la funzione del poeta, a sua volta maestro di un ethos moderato" (trans. "... the function of the poet, in turn a master of an austere ethos").

[413] Förtsch, 2001, 149, n.1273. Förtsch's pl.132 (**5**), 133 (**15**), and 135 (**14**) to me depict lyre-players, the absence of the sound-box does not mean they cannot be identified as kitharodes, but somewhat confirms that they a lyre-players, since the large sound-box of the kithara is always seen, it can't be hidden behind the body like a lyre's sound-box.

[414] Förtsch, 2001, 153-154.

[415] Hdt. 6.60; Thuc. 5.70; Polycrates [*BNJ* 588 fr.1].

[416] fr. 5 Giordano (*apud* Athenaeus 184d, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Προτρεπτικῷ),"Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶ καὶ Θηβαίους πάντας αὐλεῖν μανθάνειν". See **[Section 2.8** and **5.1.1]**.

of the methodology outlined in **[Section 1]**. The aulos was not just an instrument of the *kōmos*, or an instrument inherently in opposition to Spartan social norms. As explored in **[Section 2.7]** the creation, use, and dedication of Achradatos' auloi at Orthia's sanctuary would have engaged various sectors of Spartan society. According to some sources, it was an instrument played by citizens, and by 490, perhaps earlier, the Spartan aulos had an aetiology which privileged its uses in war, played by Athena, one of the key deities of Sparta. Thus, iconographical variations in Laconian BF reflect not just the *kōmos*' heterogeneity, but the varied contexts and modes of performance any one instrument could be used to play or accompany, as can be seen in the three depictions mentioned above by the Rider Painter (**1, 4, 30**).

There are similar interpretative problems with van Wees' argument too. The lead votives were in vast decline by the Lead V and VI periods (van Wees followed Wace's dates of 500-425, and 425-c.250(?) respectively, but both of these have recently been revised, somewhat dramatically, to the early 5th century. See **[Appendix D2]** for a comparison of the dating of the lead votives. The absence of musical scenes in the final stages of these media need be nothing more than symptomatic of that decline, rather than representing a decline in the practice or the ideology behind the iconography. Van Wees does not address such issues, and as such, a casual reader of his chapter might think that it is *only* the images of musicians that cease to be produced in the final periods; however, so too do (according to Wace), certain representations of gods and goddess, so that in Lead VI, the spectrum of subjects represented is very limited, and somewhat changed, from the initial series of the lead figurines.

More pressingly, however, is that the above paragraph is based on the assumption that Wace's 1929 study of the lead votives is accurate in its analysis, but Wace's chronology of the lead votives, which van Wees uses, is inaccurate, and comparative evidence from the Menelaion suggests that musician votives could still have been produced into the Lead V-VI and Lead VI period (c.5th century), admittedly only in small numbers.[417] Archival research of the British School at Athens' Sparta excavation notebooks points to a similar conclusion for the votives from Orthia too.[418] Thus, not only is the relevance of the supposed cessation of imsges of

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[417] Cavanagh, forthcoming.

[418] See Lloyd, forthcoming b for an overview of Wace's study of the leads in *AO*, focusing on the Lead VI period, where important discrepancies between what was published, and what was recorded in the excavation notebooks, are discussed in detail, including the claim that no musicians were made in the Lead V-VI period. With regards to the dates of the Lead V-VI period, I conclude there that: "…it is difficult to say whether or not the lead votives continued to be produced into the Hellenistic period. It is undoubtable that they were found in contexts with Hellenistic pottery, but the notes don't allow us to reconstruct the stratigraphic relationship between such finds with much accuracy… what we can say more certainly, is that it seems that in some cases the lead votives would

musicians among the lead votives around c.500 questionable (given that many other types stopped in this period), but it is possible that musicians and komasts, admittedly in smaller numbers, might well have still been produced after c.500. Much of van Wees' argument also hinges on the claim that, in Plutarch, the first kings to disparage musicians are Demaratus and Cleomenes. As I argue in **[Section 5.1.2]**, the evidence provided by Plutarch on this topic is hardly compelling.

Förtsch and van Wees' interpretations are representative of a school of thought which sees Laconian BF pottery as representing lived actualities. The other school of thought holds that Laconian BF pottery need not, or more explicitly does not, depict the lived actualities of the Spartans. Scott has suggested, that "in Archaic Sparta consumption did not necessarily follow an 'ideology of consumption' advanced by political authorities", and that rather, a complex interaction of influencing forces was at play.[419] This is because, for Scott, "images of the symposium and *kōmos* need not refer to actual social occasions occurring in real time and space; they can evoke a symbolic world of aristocratic dining in a type of synecdoche. Buying a cup and using it here establish a connection to that world, whether or not symposia occur frequently or even at all."[420] Such a suggestion, while abstracting the iconography of Laconian BF, does not necessarily go against Förtsch and van Wees' interpretation of *kōmoi* scenes, since their arguments could still make sense if we interpreted the scenes as ideological ones, representative of Spartan thought, rather than Spartan actions (and in many ways, Förtsch does treat them this way). Yet, by reducing the iconography of dances and dinners on Laconian BF to a purely symbolic one, Scott does not give due weight to the evidence provided by Alcman, which suggests that these kinds of performances did happen at Sparta.

Secondly, in contrast to Förtsch and van Wees, who interpret the scenes sociologically, Smith's study is more iconographical. Smith is wary of forming any conclusions about Spartan society from Laconian BF, suggesting that the differences that appear on the scenes are either artistic experiment or influenced by other local productions (and hence implicitly, and explicitly, not connected with changes in Spartan performance culture).[421] For me, Smith's removal of scenes

likely have been visible to those visiting Orthia's sanctuary in the [early] Hellenistic period, even if they had not been made recently."

[419] Scott, 2010, 177.

[420] Scott, 2010, 177.

[421] Smith, 2010, 134: "The lack of consistency in Laconian komast scenes makes any wholesale iconographic interpretation difficult. As we have seen, the composition of many scenes, the dress of the revellers, and the style of their dancing, for the most part, may be attributed to experiment and personal preference on the part of the painter combined with imitation or outside influence. Although there is great stylistic variety in the kōmos, scenes

of Laconian BF *kōmoi* away from actual Spartan performance is important, highlighting as it does artistic considerations. However, as Pipili (who is generally very cautious in interpreting Laconian BF iconography in relation to Spartan customs) argues, Laconian BF scenes of dances likely can be interpreted as reflections of performative actualities because they appear in Laconian cult iconography more broadly, such as the lead votives.[422] Smith explains the heterogeneity of Laconian komast scenes as symptomatic of a painter's personal influence or experiment, and while this is an important factor, the argument I have made in response to Förtsch's interpretation is valid here too;[423] since modes of performance in Archaic Sparta were heterogeneous, why would we expect the art that depicted them to do so homogenously? By viewing the scenes of Laconian *kōmoi* as part of an artistic discourse, Smith does not consolidate her observations that certain elements of Laconian BF *kōmoi* scenes do indeed seem to show the influence of Spartan customs, such as, for example, the use of pomegranates, which I will explore in more detail below.[424]

4.2.5 Theories against social relevance.

More serious yet are the recent claims of Maria Pipili who has argued that the majority of Laconian BF vases might not be representative of Spartan mentality at all, but instead the mentalities of the peoples to whom they were exported:

> "We may now be fairly certain that Laconian potters and painters had knowledge of the destination of their vases and of the wishes of their clients. Some of the vases might even have been special commissions made on the spot… [an argument specific to Samos]. It is, therefore, more reasonable to view the everyday life or cult images on these vases through the eyes of those who bought and used them, and not take them altogether as evidence for 'the ideology of the Spartiates, their virtues and occupations' (Ridley 1974, 287) or for the existence or not of an austere society (Powell 1998), unless

which seem to imply sympotic contexts, on the basis of exact setting (i.e. the presence of furniture) or of drinking and musical attributes, clearly dominate the archaeological evidence."

[422] Pipili, 2018, 146.

[423] See Ulieriu-Rostás, 2013.

[424] Smith, 2010, 128: "in view of its local importance, the pomegranate may have made its way into the iconography of Laconian vase-painting, which itself has been widely accepted as derivative and imitative, and should not be explained solely in terms of cult dances."

> they come from Sparta itself, as for instance the sexual vase from the Orthia sanctuary...”.[425]

Such an interpretation of Laconian BF pottery needs to be unpacked, especially since only two of the Laconian BF vases that have been found which depict musicians (and which form a core element of the sources used in this chapter) were found in Sparta.[426] Pipili’s argument is based on a variety of factors, all loosely classifiable as observations as to the Laconian pottery found in Samos (compared to Sparta and other locations), as well as observations on the distribution of attributed Laconian BF pottery more generally **[Table 4.1]**.[427]

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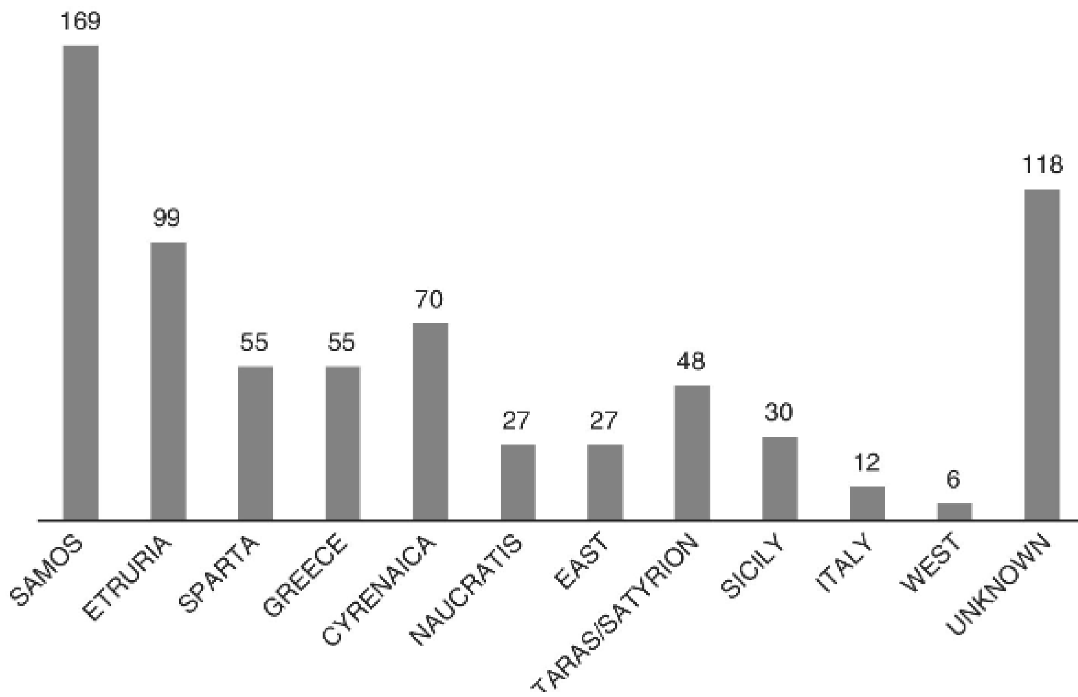
[425] Pipili, 2018, 146. Pipili has long suspected that the Laconian Vases on Samos show stylistic elements that suggest they were “originally intended for export to Samos.” (Pipili, 2001, 81). The first time Pipili published such an interpretation was in 1998. Based primarily upon iconography, Pipili argued that the scenes found in Samos made more sense read in relation to Samian cult activity than Spartan cult activity, however, in many examples, such views are perhaps overstated. For example, Pipili reads **5** in relation to Samian music competitions at the Heraion, writing, (Pipili, 1998, 92): “The huge figure of the musician, especially in the Rider Painter's works, and his similarity to the Naukratis goddess could lead to the assumption that we have a god here too. Stibbe saw Dionysos (Stibbe 1992), others Apollo (cf. the works cited by Pipili 1987: 51, nn. 505-6; Stibbe 1992: 141, n. 11). But there are difficulties with both interpretations: how easily can we accept a Dionysos with a lyre? or Apollo among komasts? I believe that this scene, like the symposia [**9**], should be associated with a real-life cult celebration. Since most such scenes come from Samos, this might be a musician playing at the Heraia.” This vase will be looked at in more detail below, but shows the potential problems inherent in conceptualising these scenes as *kōmoi*.

[426] **12** and **7**.

[427] Many thanks to Kathleen Lynch for discussing with me the unpublished Laconian BF pottery from Gordion, where one small sherd shows the Capture of Silenus, a scene that is included above a dance scene in vase **17**. The international nature of Laconian BF pottery is reflected not only in its distribution, but also in the history of its discovery and identification. First found at Cyrene, it was originally identified as ‘Cyreniac’ pottery before the British early-twentieth century excavations at Sparta, particularly Artemis Orthia, uncovered large quantities there: cf. *AO*, 52-54, with relevant bibliography. See Droop, 1910, *passim*.

Table 4.1 Distribution of attributed Laconian BF vases. From Pipili, 2018, 225 (fig. 5.6).



While originally interpreting Laconian BF in relation to Spartan customs, Pipili first began to develop the idea that Laconian BF pottery might have been decorated for export in 1998.[428] This was born from the observation that the majority of the five main Laconian painters' vases (Naukratis, Boreads, Arkesilas, Hunt, and Rider), when they had been found in a sanctuary, had mostly been found in Samos.[429] Pipili's 1998 study allowed her to conclude that "It would seem that archaic Sparta with its religious tendencies responded more than other centres to the special demand for particular scenes or shapes at particular sites during the sixth century. Special commissions for sanctuaries seem to have been a flourishing industry for Laconian vase-painters. And in this, the Naukratis Painter had certainly led the way." I reproduce the two key figures used in that article below [**Table 4.2**].[430]

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[428] That is, the vases were decorated in a way that showed an awareness of the tastes of the people where the vase was deposited, in this case, Samos. Relevant here is Gill, 1994, 99-107.

[429] Pipili, 1998, 84-87 esp. This analysis was based on the vases published in Stibbe 1972, which took into account the Laconian pottery from the Samian Necropolis (Boehlau, 1898), and his 1997 publication on the Laconian pottery from the Samian Heraion, as well as some initial comments by Pipili on the Laconian pottery from the 1979 excavation of the Samian Artemision, which she would later publish in full in 2001.

[430] It should be noted that these charts are now out of date, for more recent distribution charts, cf. Coudin, 2009, *passim*, and Pipili, 2018.

Table 4.2 Pipili, 1998, fig.8.3-4.

NAUKRATIS P.

Sparta (6)
Other (2)
Naukratis (2)
Cyrene (2)
Tocra (3)
Samos (25)

BOREADS P.

Naukratis (15)
Selinus (1)
Olympia (8)
Samos (37)

ARKESILAS P.

Olympia (1)
Samos (6)

HUNT P.

Sparta (7)
Other (2)
Naukratis (1)
Olympia (2)
Tocra (1)
Cyrene (2)
Kavala (5)
Samos (15)

RIDER P.

Tocra (4)
Selinus (1)
Catania (1)
Samos (6)

Fig.8.3 Pie charts showing sanctuaries where Laconian vases have been found

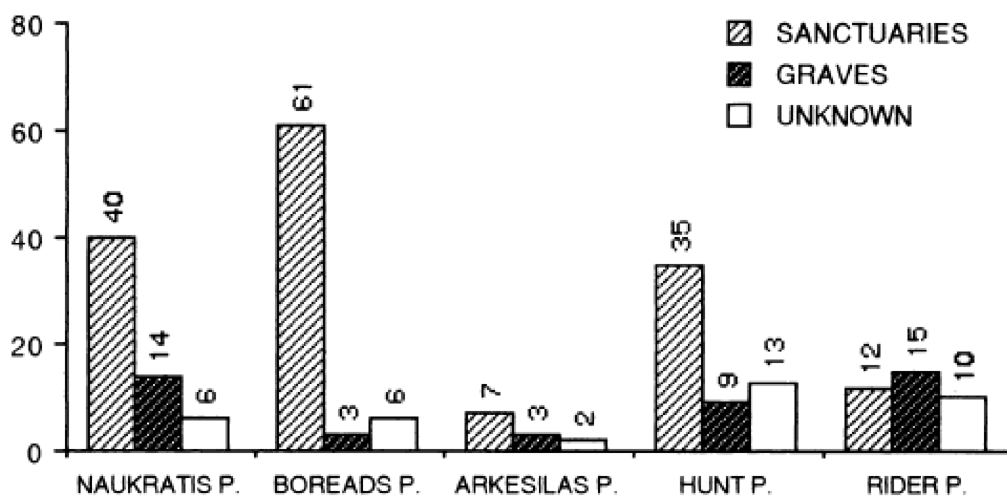

Fig.8.4 Bar chart of the five major Laconian vase-painters showing the numbers of their vases from sanctuaries (light shading) and cemeteries (dark shading)

Pipili's conclusion above was based not only on a distribution analysis of Laconian BF pottery (in particular the Naukratis Painter's pottery), but also, so Pipili argued, on iconographical elements in the painter's work and others that suggested the Laconian BF painters had responded to Samian preferences in iconography.[431] Many of the scenes that Pipili argues make sense when analysed in relation to their Samian find spot, however, make perfectly good sense in a Spartan context too.[432] In focusing on the Samian aspect, Pipili overlooks a number of important Spartan parallels.[433] I will now address the problems with Pipili's identification of two of these scene types ('symposia' and 'lyre-players') as 'Eastern' (as opposed to 'Spartan').

There are only two symposium scenes from Samos that Pipili discussed in 1998, one by the Arkesilas Painter which shows musicians, known as the Mitra Vase **(9)**,[434] and one by the Hunt Painter (which does not have musicians, and probably does not actually show a winged daemon either, as Pipili claims).[435] However, Pipili begins the section by looking at two vases by the

[431] Pipili, 1998, 84-5 points to six decorative elements that might have been influenced by East Greek or Ionian decorative practices, however, as Pipili notes, 85, "Here, as in many other cases, the current of influence seems to have flown the other way: the East Greek painter probably imitated the decoration of the Laconian cups. The Naukratis Painter was, therefore, well acquainted with East Greek and more particularly Samian vases, since clay analysis has now shown that the Ionian Little-Master cups must have been made on Samos (Shefton 1989: 44 with n. 4), and was, in turn, imitated by his Samian colleagues." Nonetheless, we should note that Sparta did hire at least one artist from Samos, Theodorus, who supposedly built the Skias (Paus. 3.12.10): cf. Cartledge and Jeffrey, 1982, 252; on the building itself, and its possible identification with 'the round building', see Greco & Voza, 2016, 343-350. See also, Catling, 2010, 41-45.

[432] They are: 'the nature goddess' (87-89), 'small winged daemons' (89), 'symposia' (89-90), 'the lyre-player' (90-92), 'the rider' (92-94), 'gods and worshippers' (94-95).

[433] Not only that, but there is a certain circularity to Pipili's argument; that is, Pipili infers that certain vases came from Samos or were copies of works that were intended for Samos, based on vases not known to have come from Samos (i.e. Vase A shows iconography that makes sense in a Samian context and is from Samos, therefore Vase B, which has similar iconography, but no provenance, is likely to have come from Samos too).

[434] **(9)** Samos K 1203, K 1541, K 2402 and Berlin 478X, 460X: Stibbe 1972: no. 191, pl. 58; Pipili 1987: 71 ff, no. 196, figs. 104-104a. Another was published by Pipili, 2001, cat. No. 40, 81-3.

[435] Hunt Painter (Samos K 2073: Stibbe 1972: no. 215, pl. 71, 3; Pipili 1987: 71 ff., no.197). The way the hand is positioned seems to me more like the bent left arm of the diner, rather than the arm of a winged daemon, who tend to fly down towards the diners. Cf. Pipili, 1987, 71 "the only indication of winged daemons is a small hand holding a wreath over a symposiast".

Naukratis painter not found in Samos,[436] arguing that because of their 'Eastern' iconography,[437] and because a vase by the Arkesilas Painter from Samos (**9**) "is so close to the Naukratis Painter that it certainly copies a work by him", it must have been the Naukratis Painter who first designed these 'Eastern' themed symposia for the Samian market.[438] Further, Pipili argues that since a vase by the Athenian KX Painter from the Samian Heraion shows mixed gender symposia too, this also suggests that the scene on **9** was designed for Samos.[439]

However, there are some problems with these interpretations. Firstly, as of 1998 only two Laconian vases (possibly only one) with this kind of 'Eastern' symposia had been found on Samos (the second a small fragment attributed to the Hunt Painter).[440] Secondly, why does Pipili define these symposia as 'Eastern'? The elements she categorises as 'Eastern' are the outdoor dining on the floor, mixed gender dining, winged daemons, and women wearing mitres, all of which are attested in Sparta.[441] As Baughan has recently written, in a work on 'Sculpted Symposiasts of Ionia', Pipili's interpretation of **9** (and other vases) "…need not be so restrictive, as outdoor cultic banqueting was, of course, not limited to Samos."[442] For my argument here, whether such a practice originated in the East or in Sparta is irrelevant to the fact that is was practiced in both places.

The second scene-type which Pipili argued was distinctly 'Eastern' in her 1998 article, was that with a lyre-player among komasts.[443] There are three examples from Samos, and Pipili suggests that **15** and **16** by the Rider Painter were based on a prototype by the Naukratis painter (assuming that **28**, in the style of the Naukratis painter, and similar to **15** and **16,** copies a lost

[436] Pipili, 1998, 89. One unprovenanced in the Louvre (Louvre E 667: Stibbe 1972 no,13, p.6.1. Pipil, 1987, 71 ff, no.194, fig. 103), the other found at Lavinium (Pratica di Mare E 1986. Stibbe 1972, no.19; Pipili 1987, 71ff., no.195).

[437] The diners in **9** recline on the floor and winged daemons present too, like in the examples by the Naukratis Painter, but the women wear 'mitres' too.

[438] Pipili, 1998, 90.

[439] Pipili, 1998, 90.

[440] More recently, Pipili notes a Laconian chalice with an 'Eastern' symposium, from the Artemision. The only 'Eastern' element are the diner's hats, and that a daemon flies below in a lower band; the diners recline on couches.

[441] As Pipili admits (1998, 90), she has "explained elsewhere these meals as cult-meals in honour of Artemis Orthia and the eastern elements in them as due to Alkman's presence in Sparta - Alkman, who had composed songs in honour of Orthia (Pipili 1987: 73-4). But no such vase has been found in Sparta…" (cf. Pipili, 1987, 71 ff.). cf. Alcman PMG 1, 67-8: "οὐδὲ μίτρα | Λυδία…", further, Alcman also refers (and puns on) the river Xanthus, in the East (100-1), where the choir of Spartan girls sing like the swan on the Xanthus. See Lloyd, forthcoming c.

[442] Baughan, 2011, 38.

[443] Pipili, 1998, 90-92.

work by the 'master').[444] Pipili further adduces a stylistic connection between the Naukratis and Rider Painters in **5**. [445] Pipili argues that the hypothetical Naukratis Painter prototype would have been designed for a Samian because most of the Naukratis Painter's work comes from Samos. Pipili goes on to suggest that these 'lyre-player' scenes, particularly those where the lyre-player is notably larger than the surrounding komasts, "like the symposia, should be associated with a real-life cult celebration [and not a mythological performance]. Since most of these scenes come from Samos, this might be a musician playing at the Heraion."[446] Of the seven vases of this type cited by Pipili in 1998, however, only three were securely from Samos,[447] two of which (**13** and **16)** were just shards.[448] The other four vases of this type she cites are unprovenanced.[449] Additionally, in her 1998 article she does not mention **6**, a vase from Taranto by the Rider Painter which is similar to **15** from Samos (also by the Rider Painter), showing that the scene circulated outside East Greece.[450]

Again, while no example of this Laconian BF scene has been found in Sparta, the lyre-player was a very popular motif in Spartan art and is found in bronzes and the lead figurines, where the lyre-players are dressed in a very similar fashion to those on the vases just mentioned.[451] Further, during the sixth century, Spartan music contests held much greater pan-Hellenic significance than those at the Samian Heraion. Pipili's 1998 article leaves me unconvinced that the Laconian scenes of symposia and lyre-players are scenes that were developed specifically for a Samian market. For Pipili, the direction of influence runs from Samos to Sparta, which in turn influenced production from Sparta to Samos. However, is it possible that the sequence of influence operated in the opposite direction, or indeed in tandem? In 2001, Osborne wrote of Attic and Etruscan pottery that "it is attractive to wonder whether the congruence of Greek and Etruscan taste was a product of Etruscan demand determining Athenian production rather than of Etruscans buying in to Athenian culture. Closer analysis suggests that the patterns of demand

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[444] Pipili, 1998, 90-91.

[445] Pipili, 1998, 91.

[446] Pipili, 1998, 92.

[447] Rider Painter: **15** (Samos K 2522: Stibbe 1972: no. 293, pl. 98; Pipili 1987: no. 2O5d) and **16** (Samos K 1960: Stibbe 1972: no. 315, pl. 112, 4; Pipili 1987: no. 2). Hunt Painter: **13** (Stibbe 1972: no. 247, pl. 86, 3; Pipili 1987: no.).

[448] It is possible that the robed figures might have played the aulos, or no instrument at all.

[449] Manner of the Naukratis Painter **28**; Hunt Painter **14;** Rider Painter (**5**) and the sherd, Pipili, 1998, fig.18.3 (Stibbe, 1972, no.15, pl.7.3). This last one I do not count, however, it is too fragmentary.

[450] **6** also includes an 'Eastern' daemon.

[451] In bronze, see Athens, NAM, X7547; X10671. On the figurines, see e.g., *AO*, pl. CLXXXIX, 10,11, and below.

were not so simple…”.[452] The same could be said here. Indeed, Laconian BF pottery, and more importantly, those who made it (about whom we can only speculate) operated in a complex network of artistic innovation, exchange, and influence. For example, expanding on the work of Percy Ure, Pipili has convincingly answered a longstanding question concerning the influences between Laconian and Attic Droop Cups. The shape was originally developed in Laconia (c.560), then inspiring the design of the Attic version. The Attic version then grew in popularity, in turn influencing the design of the ‘original’ Laconian Droop Cups (c.530).[453]

Many of the elements that Pipili identifies in the Laconian BF symposia scenes are as equally relevant in a Spartan context as they are a Samian context and given that the examples of the symposia Pipili uses, only three of which are securely from Samos, it seems more likely that these are not scenes designed for Samian customers, but ones that are suitable for both Laconian and Samian customers. For me, this might suggest Samians buying into Laconian culture, since Laconian BF pottery was clearly *en vogue* in Samos during the mid-sixth century.[454] However, such a case is more difficult to maintain in light of Pipili’s work on the Laconian pottery from the Samian Artemision.

The same year as Osborne’s study, Pipili published the Laconian pottery from the Samian Artemision, focusing on how two particular vase shapes (the chalice and two-handled mug) conclusively showed that Laconian vase-makers were knowingly adapting their works for the Samians, and specifically for use within Samian rituals. The first shape is the Laconian chalice, which, while particularly popular in Samos, nonetheless seems to have originated in Sparta (Pipili suggests that the Samians copied this shape from earlier Laconian black-glazed examples, and possibly from BF examples by the Naukratis Painter).[455] While on the one hand, this shows that the Samian market was interested in this kind of Laconian shape, since they were producing ‘copies’ of the Laconian originals, for me it suggests once again that the Samians were interested in buying into Laconian ideas of materiality, rather than directly

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[452] Osborne, 2001, 278.

[453] Pipili, 2009, *passim* with bibliography. See Ure, 1915, 120-14; 1927, 39; 1932, *passim*; and (posthumously) 1953, *passim*.

[454] Though I do not stress this point as far as Lane, 1933-4, 179: “The extraordinarily high proportion of Lakonian vases from Samos, far outnumbering the commoner and more easily obtainable Corinthian, points to a relationship between her and Sparta which cannot be explained on purely commercial grounds. The fashion for things Lakonian almost amounted to a cult. Racial affinities were out of the question; the true basis of the connection was probably to be found in the admiration which the Samian aristocracy felt for the Spartan πολιτεία.” cf. Jeffery and Cartledge, 1982, 253.

[455] Cf. Pipili, 2001, 55 n.84 and n.86. Also, Pilipi, 1998, 85 (f), for another example, where Samian potter-painters seem to have copied the Naukratis Painter.

commissioning unique vases from Laconian potters.[456] That is, the Samians might have bought Laconian vases that were most suitable for them from a pre-existing stock. This is in some ways supported by the fact that the iconography of the Laconian chalices from the Artemision, while suitably linked to cultic activity, as Pipili notes, shows no obvious direct correlation to what we know of (the Samian) Artemision cult, as far as we can tell.[457] While the Laconian chalices from the Artemision do have some quite unique iconography (processions of old men, and a musical procession, the only examples of their kind in Laconian BF), there are also more general scenes, such as processions of riders, and dinners.[458]

The Laconian chalice was not unique to Samos (it had its origins in Sparta), nor is it unique in Samos to the Artemision.[459] It is more difficult to say if the iconography of the Laconian chalices from Samos has been revised for its Samian customers, since even if it is somewhat unique it does not seem to be overly 'Eastern' (the one exception perhaps being the symposium scene, since it also includes a *daemon*).[460]

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[456] Pipili, 2001, 55 n.87.

[457] Pipili, 2001, 100-101: "The iconography of many of our chalices (and of some cups too) is related to cult – we have processions, musicians, komasts, a symposion -, but from the existing evidence we cannot tell whether these are generic cult scenes or aspects of cult ritual at this particular sanctuary."

[458] The dining scene shows what in 1998 Pipili might have classified as a non-'Eastern' symposium, since the participants recline on *klinai*, rather than on the floor (though at least some of the diners wear Eastern pointed mitres, and an 'Eastern' *daimones* flies below). Pipili, 2001, 81. Even if the daemon, which Pipili focuses on as a specifically 'Eastern' element, was influenced by Fikellura cups, this does not mean that the cup was decorated by a native Laconian artist working at Samos, where they would have been influenced to such 'ionicising' influences (Pipili, 2001, 99): "We should not suppose that local artists or immigrants are involved here, since the Laconian vases from the deposit are inseparable in both style and clay from the main body of Laconian pottery (apart perhaps from no. 40, which could well be a work of an Ionian imitator of Laconian)." As Skuse has recently shown (2018), the Arkesilas Painter might have been influenced by Egyptian funerary murals. The exposure to these scenes, so Skuse suggests, came through the transport of Egyptian drawings and paintings to Greece. A similar method is understandable in the context of Fikellura cups.

[459] Pipili, 2001, 55, n.85.

[460] Pipili, 2001, 81. Pipili, 1998 originally argued that these were influenced by East Greek prototypes, but in Pipili, 2006, 77 admits that "… there are few east Greek vases decorated with such daemons, and most of them are later than the Naukratis Painters' work, but we should not doubt that the motif, which is unknown to Attic or Corinthian pottery of the time, is an oriental one. We must suppose that there were other prototypes apart from vases, like wall-paintings, wooden panels, or cloths, lost to us today, which inspired the Laconian artists. There should be no doubt that the Laconian vase-painters used eastern decorative elements in their work in order to conform to the tastes of their Samian clients." However, again, we could point to a number of winged figures in Sparta more generally, from representations of the Potnia Theron at Artemis Orthia (e.g. on fibulae/ ivory plaques *AO*, pl.XCI, 1,2; pl.XCII 2; pl.XCIII 1,2; pl.XCVIII 3; (male?) pl.XCIV 1, 2; pl.CVII 1) to Hermes (?), and a large number of

In addition to the previously known, but rare, Laconian chalice, the Artemision revealed a shape (a two-handled mug) which, according to Pipili, "was not known until now in Laconian."[461] While this statement is true, it perhaps places a false emphasis on the uniqueness of the shape, which is not too different from a number of mugs found in Sparta and Laconia.[462] Further, while Pipili counts twelve of this type of mug from the Artemision, that is a maximum possible count; there is actually only one example which definitely had two-handles (the other eleven are a number of handle fragments and other smaller fragments, still classed by Pipili as 'two-handed cylindrical mugs'.[463] We should be mindful of the possibility that some of these handles also come from one-handed vessels, but here we cannot be certain. All the mugs date to the very end of the third quarter of the sixth century (c.530-520), compared to the long run that chalices received.[464]

Following Pipili's argument that Laconian painters were adapting their iconography for the Samian market, the two-handled cylindrical mug, which is, admittedly, found nowhere else (and hence, surely the most 'targeted' of exports, commissioned for a specific Samian ritual at the Artemision, as Pipili suggests), should have the most specific iconography of all. If so, why then do the Samian mugs show only the most general of scenes (mainly animals), rather than

winged-goddesses in the lead votives (we might even mention 'winged' Dionysos at Sparta), as well as the Sirens in Alcman and Spartan foundation myths, which appear on a number of vases from Sparta (e.g. *AO,* pl.VII (wings), pl.IX (winged feet)). As such, the case for identifying the element as one which shows Laconian painters were adapting their designs for the Samians is not very strong, since the element was common to both societies. Further, as Pipili admits, the surviving evidence points to the Naukratis Painter as the first to include daimones at dinners. On the Laconian winged daemons more specifically, see Thomsen, 2011, 59-147.

[461] Pipili, 2001, 84. It should be added that a number of two-handed, one-handed, and even cylindrical mugs (although with rims, and handles near the top, unlike the examples from Samos) have come from Spartan sanctuaries, also mugs with handles in shape and position like the ones from Samos. For images of Laconian mugs, with the examples from Sparta, see Stibbe, 1994, figs. 53-148, n.b. 'F2' fig.79, which Pipili notes as particularly similar to the Artemision examples, with the ring handle half way down the side, but does not mention that it is from Amyclae, and also quite cylindrical, if not exactly like the Artemision examples, and dated by Stibbe to 600-580 BCE, well before the Samian examples, the majority of which are attributed in the style of the Allard Pierson painter, and dated to 530-520 BCE. The shape is reminiscent of the karchesion, but the Laconian shape has much smaller and more circular handles than the large d-shape handles that run from rim to base on karchesia. See Smith, 2010, 36 n.14 on the karchesion. Though it should be noted that the Attic KX Painter is only the painter of the Komast Group who depicts karchesia in their scenes (Smith, 2010, 47-48), given the appearance of the KX Painter's work at the Samian Heraion (see above).

[462] The difference with the Spartan examples is that they are not cylindrical, see note above for examples from Stibbe, 1994.

[463] Pipili, 2001, 84-90 (nos. 42-53).

[464] Pipili, 2001, 84-90.

the types of scenes that Pipili elsewhere argues were designed for Samian customers? I would argue that the two-handed cylindrical mugs from the Artemision are examples of Samians buying into Laconian materiality. It seems that the makers of the Laconian mugs might have adapted their shape for the Samians, but not their iconography. The differences between how the mugs relate to their Samian context, compared to the chalices, is not easy to explain, it might be due to the personal choice of the painter/ potter, since the two-handed cylindrical mugs seem mainly to have been produced by those under the Allard Pierson painter's influence,[465] while the Laconian chalices from Samos by the Hunt Painter, or those working under their influence (with two possible exceptions that Pipili attributed to the Naukratis painter, and who had produced the shape in Sparta).[466] While Pipili says of the mugs that the "… large number suggests a particular demand presumably for ritual use as in the case of the chalices", the mugs are hardly found in *large* numbers, are devoid of any iconography related to ritual, and, unlike the Laconian chalices, which were found in Samos over a period of perhaps thirty to fifty years, and thus a period over which their use could have become 'ritual', the mugs were only in use in Samos over a period of barely a decade.

Pipili sees the difference between the Heraion and Artemision material as one of ritual. The Laconian pottery at the Heraion was mainly luxury 'dinner sets', no longer used after Polykrates' overthrow of the Samian aristocracy around 540 BCE.[467] Contrastingly, the Laconian pottery from the Artemision, which continued in some form until around the 520s (flourishing, in the case of the Laconian chalices, in the decade of 540-30, and in the case of

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[465] Stibbe, 2004, categorises these under a new group, the Miniature Painter.

[466] Stibbe, 2004, categorises these under a new group, the Miniature Painter.

[467] However, Alexis, *Annals of Samos*, III (BNJ 539 F2, apud Ath.12.540d-f) credits Polycrates, before he became tyrant, with the production of expensive cups and couches for use during weddings or large parties. Instead of seeing Polycrates as a possible actor in decreasing Laconian imports to Samos, we should also consider that he might have had the opposite effect too. In fact, the Alexis fragment, which as far as I am aware is not referred to by Pipili, could actually have been used to support her argument that Laconian craftsmen were pulled to Samos for commissioned work: "Polycrates made Samos a more attractive place by importing Molossian and Spartan dogs, goats from Scyros and Naxos, and sheep from Miletus and Attica. He also sent for craftsmen, he says, and offered them extremely high wages. Before Polycrates became tyrant, he had expensive couches and cups made…". Nonetheless, we cannot securely link Polycrates with the production of the chalices and the two-handed mugs, even if it is tempting to connect the two. Also, we know very little about the authority with which Alexis could make this statement. Note, however, that dogs are included in a number of Laconian BF hunting scenes, e.g. Stibbe, 2004, pl.79 [328], pl80.2 [329], 1972, pl.40.3 (121). They even appear at the feet of diners, as items of prestige, e.g. **27**. On the date of Alexis of Samos, D'Hautcourt, *BNJ* 539, biographical essay, "As Jacoby noted, it is impossible to date Alexis… A dating in the third or second century BC seems reasonable, but that is a mere guess."

the mugs, in the decade 530-20), was used during ritual practice. Because the Laconian pottery from the Artemision is not inherently aristocratic, its production was not affected by the start of Polyraktes' tyranny, but by the death of Polykrates and the subsequent Samian turmoil, notably the killing of the male population by the Persians in 517 BCE, so Nobili suggests.

Given the current evidence, we cannot rule out the possibility, at least in the case of the Laconian chalices and two-handed cylindrical mugs, that Laconian potters created vessels shaped, perhaps even decorated, specifically for the Samians.[468] Even so, I understand the presence of Laconian pottery at Samos more as individual Samians buying into something Spartan. I would not go so far to say that by buying Laconian pottery the Samians were wearing their political support for Sparta on their sleeves, but that Laconian pottery captured something of the Spartan *kosmos*.[469] Given the prominence of Sparta during the sixth century, not only as a military power, but as something of a cultural and religious centre too, owning an object that symbolised a connection to this *kosmos* would have been attractive in its own right. Further, as we have seen, much of the iconography on the Laconian pottery from Samos that Pipili interpreted in her 1998 article as specifically 'Samian' or 'Eastern' can easily be found or understood within a Spartan context, and that is how Pipili herself originally interpreted many of these scenes.[470] We also know than Spartans themselves could have made religious dedications on Samos, as we read on a bronze lion found at the Samian Heraion, "Eumnastos the Spartitae, to Hera", so it is possible that some of the finds from Samos might be explained in this way too.[471]

To reiterate, whereas Pipili argues that "We may now be fairly certain that Laconian potters and painters had knowledge of the destination of their vases and of the wishes of their clients" I would say that there is limited, but important, evidence that painters of Laconian BF pottery (most notably with regards to the Miniature Painter and their circle) might well have created special commissions for the Samians to use at the Artemision, in the form of the Laconian chalices and two-handed cylindrical mugs. This does not mean that we need assume that every other Laconian vase found outside Sparta was a custom commission or designed with a revised

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[468] Cf. Alexis of Samos *BNJ* F.2, and that Stibbe, 2004, attributes the Laconian chalices to a new set of painters, the Miniature Painter, and their circle.

[469] See n.468 and n.454.

[470] E.g. Pipili, 1987, 60-1, 73. Of note, for Ionian symposia, and the significance of corpulence as an element of Ionian, especially Samian, symposia, an element absent from the so-called 'Eastern' Lakonian vases cf. Baughan, 2011, 19-53.

[471] Vathy Museum B3, c.550 BCE. For a discussion of the Eumnastos lion in relation to trade through *xeniai*, see Hodkinson, 2000, 341-343 (fig.21). Also, Cartledge, 2001, 179-180.

iconography for a non-Laconian market, nor should we think that the more typical Laconian vases from Samos were special commissions.[472] Indeed, Spartan engagement on Samos, perhaps through *xeniai*, might account for some of the finds.

Finally, the supposed uniqueness of the Samian deposits could plausibly be explained by the fact that Sparta and the surrounding perioikic towns have been only minimally excavated, and that when they have, the sites have often been greatly disturbed.[473] While the fact that only two of the thirty-one Laconian BF vases that depict musicians (of a total of c.1000 attributed Laconian BF vases) were found in Sparta might initially raise concerns as to what a study of their iconography might reveal about Spartan musical customs, as I have suggested, and will explore in more detail below, there are many reasons to read these scenes in relation to Spartan customs. This is especially the case with Laconian BF dance scenes, since most scholars, including Pipili, agree that scenes of dances on Laconian BF pottery represent Laconian customs,[474] and it is these scenes, along with scenes of dining, that form the main contexts for

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[472] Pipili, 2018, 146. The problem is, we are dealing with very small numbers overall, whereby, for example +/- 5 vases would seemingly make a large difference to our interpretation of the evidence, but which is likely not statistically significant number. To take a case study, in the unpublished Laconian BF pottery from Gordion, there is a small fragment of the capture of Silenus, increasing the known representations of this scene in BF from four to five (cf. Delahaye, 2016, 64 who gives three, and **17**). However, we should not interpret this as Spartan traders or artists targeting the specific local myths of the Gordion (those of Midas and Silenus), but pre-existing scene-types circulating to where they held a specific resonance – the capture of Silenus was a popular scene, even found in Sparta, and Silenus was specifically associated with Malea (Pindar fr.156 S-M).

[473] Only Artemis Orthia, the Menelaion, Amyklai, and Athena Chalkiokos from central Sparta have been well excavated (the Eurotas Heroon to some extent too), however, Artemis Orthia had a millstream running through it, and had partially collapsed into the Eurotas river, was affected by severe flooding and extensive Roman building, and key areas to the East of the sanctuary were not fully explored. The Menelaion was disturbed by early excavations and ploughing, Amyklai was greatly disturbed by the building of a church on top of it, and Athena Chalkiokos was affected by the building of the theatre retaining walls, later looting, and the acropolis more generally by the construction of a Byzantine basilica. Of the at least fifty perioikic towns the only one to undergo anything close to extensive survey and excavation is Geraki (ancient Geronthrai), by the Netherlands Institute at Athens. The sanctuary of Zeus Messapus just outside Sparta provides a further case-study in the destructive effects of ploughing (as well as highlighting the dangers of flash flooding and forest fires). The Spartan agora remains somewhere underneath the modern town of Sparta. We should also take into account to the work of Fourmont in the 18th century, who paid for the destruction of significant archaeological and epigraphic remains at Sparta.

[474] Their main reason for thinking so, is that, in addition to Laconian BF with scenes of *komoi* being found in Sparta (cf. esp. **12**), komasts appear in other Spartan media, even if the idea of exuberant dance, music, and drinking seems out of place with ‘traditional’ views of Sparta; only in Lakonia has an image of a komast been dedicated as votive offering. These offerings take the form of lead votive figurines depicted in a komastic style, both aulos-players, dancers, and perhaps even lyre-players. While Pipili, 2018, 146 supports this view, they are

musicking in Laconian BF pottery. The Spartan lead votives and other material evidence will be looked at in more detail below too, since, as Smith notes, “the emergence of the revellers in arts other than painted pottery places Laconia in a special position”.[475] For now though, the focus remains on *kōmoi* in Laconian BF pottery, and what this can tell us about Spartan musicking.

4.3 DANCES AND DINNERS IN LACONIAN BF

4.3.1 ‘Group of Three’ dances

Rider Painter: 1

Allard Pierson Painter: 3; 20; 21

Hunt Painter: 11; 14

The first group of dance scenes are those that can be categorised as ‘groups of three’, as I term them, since it is the most popular way to depict music in relation to a dance, with eight surviving scenes.[476] In these the central scene of a tondo is occupied by three dancing figures. Such a division is at first arbitrary, until one realises the popularity of such scenes in Laconian BF more generally, where three figures (or objects) occupy the main focus of decoration. In our case, this scene type can be understood not just by the painter being confronted with a lack of space to create more elaborate scenes, but that the artists did so because they thought that they could effectively convey the essence, or the meaning of, a dance, with only three figural elements. That they are able to do this is dependent on a number of key semiotic artefacts that inform the viewer as to what and or who the three figures do or are. It is notable then, that music was a key element of the artists’ syntax.

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incorrect to say that only one type of komast was made in the lead (a number of the figurines could be called komasts based on their visual similarity to the komasts depicted in Laconian BF pottery, as Smith, 2010, 144 fig.3 observes), though she is correct to point out that in addition to the material evidence (including dedications of pottery with kōmoi), later sources show that at least in Roman times orgiastic dances were performed at Orthia’s sanctuary. However, she does not comment on the fact that the later Roman evidence does not relate to the Archaic material evidence, in that the Roman resources refer to female rites, whereas the komasts in Archaic Lakonian art are exclusively male. On the komastic lead figurines **[Section 4.4.3]**.

[475] Smith, 2010, 121.

[476] 1; 3; 11; 14; 20; 21 (4 and 28 are also ‘group of three’ scenes, but are mentioned in detail in the sections on religious scenes).

1 The only 'group of three' scene with a musician drawn by the Rider painter is an example of his late work, placed by Stibbe in Group E, and dating to 545-535 BCE.[477] The scene is a version of the 'group of three' composition, whereby the central figure has been replaced with a large *krater lakonikos* with an oenochoe resting on top of it, likely placed on top a strainer. This is a particularly Laconian custom.[478] Below the ground-line traces of a fish can be seen. Drink is of central importance, but so too dance and aulos-music. The musician dances along with the figure at left and he wears his hair in a similar manner (beardless and shoulder-length, wrapped in a hair-band),[479] and the musician's short tunic, though a different colour, is of the same design as the other figure's.[480] The aulos is quite simply rendered, a thin black line with an incision running down the middle to convey both pipes. The aulos-player does not wear a *phorbeia* (mouth-strap).

There are three cups by the Allard Pierson Painter in the 'group of three' style that include musicians (**3; 20; 21**). In **3**,[481] the left and the central figures turn in to face each other, dancing with bent knees and hands raised up, at right is the aulos-player, with a bird flying behind him. Below the ground-line are two geese or swans. The left and central dancers are both beardless, but their hair is slightly longer than the hair of the dancers in the Rider Painter's 'group of three' vase, and their hair bands wrap around their foreheads, rather than tying up the hair lower down, as in the Rider Painter's depiction. Further, they do not wear short tunics, but are completely naked. At right an aulos-player dances. It seems that the musician is also naked (the two concentric semi-circles on the bottom his neck might represent their collar bone – like the middle dancer – though it is also possible that these lines might have represented the neckline of a tunic).[482] The aulos-player is beardless too and wears his hair in an identical manner to the

[477] Stibbe, 1972, 173-4. Pl. 112,1.

[478] Gaunt, 2013b, 43.

[479] For the general style, see *AO* pl. clxvii 1. At least in later periods, good grooming was seen as a key element of being Spartan (Aristot. *Rhetoric*, 1.9.26). This seems to be confirmed for the Archaic period due to the number (c.27) of fine ivory and bone combs found at Orthia's sanctuary (see *AO*, pls. CXXXVI-CXXXI)

[480] Smith, 2010, 122 ff. refers to these shirts as chitons, but I find the more general term 'tunic' appropriate, since there is no guarantee that what these figures wore would have been called chitons. Smith speaks of these short tunics as inspired by their use in Corinthian and Attic pottery, noting that (123-4) "the numerous examples of this style of dress, more common than on the work of other Laconian artists, indicate a positive preference on the part of the Rider painter perhaps at the expense of innovation."

[481] Stibbe, 2004, 120 (no.[335]). Allard Pierson Painter, "Gruppe Ba: Schalen mit Komastenbildern. Formgruppe VII. Henkelpalmetten des Typus 1, 4, 6, p.115".

[482] Compare, for example, the concentric semi-circles on Stibbe, 2004, [334], pl.83,1, where the figure is clothed only to the waist.

other figures. He does not wear a *phorbeia*, and the aulos is rendered in a similar manner to the Rider Painter's technique.

In **20**,[483] three figures dance or walk to the left. The figure at left holds a lyre, the figure at right, a wreath, and the central figure holds nothing. Below the ground-line, two birds bend their heads towards a cone-like object. It has been suggested that this is meant to represent the Delphic omphalos. If that is the case, it is not the most faithful of renditions of the *omphalos*; the artist need not have seen the *omphalos* in order to know what it roughly looked like. Even so, this dance scene immediately seems more easily read as a form of worship, perhaps as a procession, since all three figures move in the same direction, unlike the other Allard Pierson Painter dance scenes, there is a choreographed nature to their unified movement.[484] That this might be a religious procession is also suggested by the fact that the figure at right holds a wreath in his hand.[485] If indeed the scene below the ground-line is meant to represent the Delphic omphalos, we might suppose that the Allard Pierson Painter intended to depict a performance in worship of Apollo. It should also be noted that the figure who holds the wreath is also bearded – perhaps a more senior member of the group.

Of further interest is the fact that the incisions on the figures' faces do not match with the application of black glaze and, given the bands that wrap round their hair, this gives the impression that they are wearing masks.[486] This is more likely due to the imprecise nature of the artist's work, rather than an intended effect. In general, the incisions on this cup are less precisely drawn than the previous cup (**3**), perhaps suggesting that this is an early work, the work of an apprentice, or a piece done in a hurry. For example, the incisions of the central figure's right hand continue into the left arm of the left figure, and the left figure has two fingers and one thumb. This lack of realism, or lack of precision, can also be seen in the rendering of the lyre-player's instrument. There is no attempt to render the tortoise-shell pattern of the lyre, even though this was successfully achieved by the artisans who made the lead votives, working at an earlier date and in a more miniature form and, while the arms and the yoke, as well as the

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[483] Stibbe, 2004, 120, 193 ff., pl.86. Group Ba.

[484] Stibbe, 2004, 120, 193 ff.,

[485] Such behaviour is clearly shown in a directly religious context on a Spartan marble stele in the British Museum, 1843.5-31.14 (Sculpture, 2180) not easily dated, where a group of women, some holding wreaths, process towards an altar. More generally, the use, importance, and diversity, of wreaths in Spartan religious worship is more widely documented.

Cf. Alcman PMG 91: χρύσιον ὅρμον ἔχων ῥαδινᾶν πετάλοισι καλχᾶν.

[486] Stibbe, 2004, 120, who notes the quality of the detail of this vase is still better than some of the Allard Pierson Painter's other work.

hand-strap of the instrument, are depicted quite accurately, the strings are not – three-broad strokes.[487] The performers wear slightly more decorative short tunics than we have seen so far, and while no genitals are shown, it seems from the incisions that they are naked below the waist.

21, the third 'group of three' vase by the Allard Pierson Painter is somewhat different to his others because the musician stands apart from the other figures.[488] At centre is an aulos-player, facing right, at left and at right dancers face inwards. Below the ground-line is a fish. In terms of quality of execution, this vase sits somewhere between **3** and **20**. The central aulos-player wears a short-sleeve ankle-length dress, and stands in an upright position, which immediately marks him apart from the other two figures, since, even though they wear their hair in a similar manner, and one of them is also beardless. They are dancing with bent knees, the figure at left quite dramatically, and they only wear short tunics, their lower-halves naked like the other partially-clothed dancers we have seen. The Allard Pierson Painter has also more dynamically depicted the aulos-players' instrument: both pipes are depicted with separate strokes, whereas before the pipes had been differentiated by an incision through a single stroke. Further, while the other musicians tilt their heads and the pipes down to play, this musician plays with what we might call better posture. It seems that what we might have here, is a professional musician, since, in addition to their posture, their dress is marked with detail, suggesting that they are wearing the traditional fine robes of a professional musician in relation to the more normal clothes of the other figures.[489]

There is only one relevant 'group of three' vase by the Hunt Painter, **11,** and one in the style of the Hunt Pinter, **14**, which is less skilfully executed.

11 is classified by Stibbe as belonging to Group D of the Hunt Painter, and dates to c.550-530.[490] Three figures, at left and at right, dance towards the right, and at centre, the figure holds a syrinx in their left hand and dances towards the left. Below the ground-line, two birds face inwards towards what might be a hanging bud, or less specifically a decorative element. The first thing to note about this vase is the detail with which the dancers' clothes have been depicted. All three figures wear thigh-length tunics, but the left figure's is particularly splendid,

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[487] As far as we know, there was no such instrument as the three-stringed lyre, in fact, Terpander was famously credited with increasing the number of strings from four to seven, and Alcman mentions the *magadis*, which seems to have been a *polychordia* instrument, perhaps a harp. Cf. Comotti, 1983, 57-71 (esp.64); Maas, 1992, 74-88.

[488] Stibbe, 2004, 121 [339], pl.88.

[489] The archetype for the well-dressed professional musician is Arion (Hdt. 1.23 ff.). The custom is also shown in other vase paintings, the most famous being the Pronomos vase, but also other Laconian vases too, discussed below. See Kemp, 1966, 221.

[490] Stibbe, 1972, 140.

decorated as it is with fine cross-hatching, and with detailed edges and belt. While the hatching of the other two dancers' tunics is restricted just to the arm and neck and have rather plain banded belts and skirts in comparison to the left figure, their tunics still show traces of**,** what must have once been**,** a rich purple. All three have slightly different hair-styles, the left figure has plaited hair falling over his shoulder and back, and is beardless, with a high head-band. The central figure has a cropped beard and has his hair over his back with a similar head-band. The right figure has no beard, and his hair is tied up in a band at the back, and a high head-band. While the left figure wears more ostentatious clothes, none of the figures seems an obvious 'leader', but the central figure, having as he does a syrinx and a beard, whereas the other figures hold nothing (it is possible the right figure might have once held something), appears the most prominent.

The context of this dance is more difficult to interpret. The syrinx likely serves a semiotic purpose, but what? The syrinx is normally associated with an idealised form of bucolic idyll and the god Pan (hence the English panpipes). This element of the syrinx can be seen in an Archaic or early Classical bronze statuette in the Sparta Museum **[Fig. 4.3 a-b]**, where a syrinx is played by a satyr or Pan, as well as by some of the Roman Imperial sculpture from Sparta (such as fountain features, and statues of Dionysos, Pan, and satyrs) **[Fig. 4.4]**.[491] It is within this context that Smith interprets this vase.[492]

In Archaic art, however, the syrinx was also associated with the Muses and the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.[493] Is the inclusion of a syrinx a mistake, or might it suggest that the syrinx was used in Laconia to accompany *kōmos*-style performances? One interpretation is that the

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[491] For the bronze statuette, Sparta Museum, 5358. For Roman depictions of syrinxes in Sparta: see SM 416 (Dionysos, Pan, and Satyr), and 22 and 727 (both satyr fountain figures).

[492] Smith, 2010, 123: "The syrinx in the scene, on the other hand, lends a simplistic, rustic, feel to the dance·, rather than elevating the scene, it in fact suggests a somewhat 'lowly status' for these performers." However, if we interpret the syrinx in this way, how do we interpret the very non-rustic clothes that the performers wear? On the syrinx as a simple to make instrument: Bion, f.5, Stob. 3.29.53. On the bucolic associations of the syrinx, e.g. *PA*, XVI.231: "α. Τίπτε κατ᾽ οἰόβατον, Πὰν ἀγρότα, δάσκιον ὕλαν ἥμενος, ἁδυβόᾳ τῷδε κρέκεις δόνακι; β. Ὄφρα μοι ἑρσήεντα κατ᾽ οὔρεα ταῦτα νέμοιντο πόρτιες ἠϋκόμων δρεπτόμεναι σταχύων."

[493] Cf. n.485. The syrinx is the term given to the Hellenic panpipes, however, it is also the technical term for the small vent hole near the top of an aulos pipe, and because of this a part of the *Pythikos nomos*. The Archaic and Classical syrinx, as seen here, had pipes all of equal length but which were filled (or stopped) to different heights internally. Hellenistic and Roman syrinxes instead had pipes of different lengths (see Theocritus' pattern-puzzle poem *Syrinx*). Panpipes are ubiquitous in nearly every culture, but the number of technical studies on ancient Hellenic and Roman syrinxes is remarkably limited, especially in comparison with those which have been made on auloi. On the sound of the syrinx more generally: Fletcher, 2005, 370-374.

syrinx is not meant to be played in this context (unlike the other scenes we have observed, the instrument is clearly not being played) but is intended to be an object of dedication; later evidence, particularly epigraphic, shows, however, that the syrinx was used in professional contexts, so even though the syrinx is not being played, I think that we should assume that the Rider Painter has not made a mistake here (after all, look how splendidly executed the rest of the scene is).[494] However, within the wider context of Archaic Attic iconography, the syrinx makes two notable appearances and in both cases, it is played by a Muse during the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis.[495] The possibility, then, that the syrinx was included here to signify a performance within the context of a wedding should not be completely ruled out. At any rate, as argued in **[Section 3.7]**, the myth of Idas and Marpessa, as popularised by Simonides and Bacchylides, might have been performed as a way to express societal expectations concerning (in)correct marriage procedures, and Alcman PMG 4 engages with rituals associated with marriage, though it is uncertain if it relates to a real or mythological narrative.

14 is identified by Stibbe as belonging to Group G of the Hunt Painter (either his workshop or followers).[496] Despite the late date, however, Stibbe observes that the eyes in this vase mimic the eyes of earlier works by the Hunt Painter, particularly those belonging to Group B and C.[497] Based on this, it is not clear to me whether Stibbe thought that this vase was painted by a student after the Hunt Painter's final series (Group E, c.550-530),[498] or if it was the work of a student

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494 BM, 1884,0801.1. A marble stele, dedicated to a professional syrinx-player: See also, PMG 936, I.G. iv2 130.

495 In interpreting this scene, the most relevant comparison would be the Francois vase (both in terms of date, and shape, since the volute krater was pioneered in Laconia, cf. Gaunt, 2013a, 67-81), where Kal(l)iope is clearly seen playing a nine-piped syrinx during the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis, she stands facing the viewer, behind Zeus and Hera's chariot, and is the only one of the nine named Muses on the vase to play an instrument, as far as the Muses are preserved. See also the Sophilos Dinos (BM, 1971,1101.1), where one of the unnamed 'MOSAI' turns to face the viewer, playing the syrinx too, among a group of five Muses beside Ares and Aphrodite's chariot at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. A slightly later example of a Muse playing (or in this case, holding, a syrinx) is Boston, MFA, 98.887, a white-ground pyxis by the Hesiod Painter, dated c.475-425. However, despite the importance of wedding songs to the output of Alcman, as far as I am aware, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is almost absent from Spartan iconography (cf. Pipili, 1987, 26). The wedding of Harmonia was depicted by Bathycles on the Amyclaean throne though (Paus. 3.18.12).

496 Stibbe, 1972, 148. Stiibe does not provide any dates for these later products "Die späten Gefäße aus dem Kreis des Jagd-Malers lassen sich kaum nach Werkstatt und Nachfolge unterscheiden." Stibbe, 1972, 148.

497 Stibbe, 1972, 149: "…wie auf späten Produkten die Verschiedenheit der Augenzeichnung, die für die Frühzeit des Jadg-Malers (Grouppen B und C) bezeichnened ist, nachgeahmt wird."

498 Stibbe's Hunt Painter Group F is for fragments too small to further classify: Stibbe, 1972, 146: "Gefäße, von denen zu wenig erhalten ist, um eine einwandfreie Einteilung zu ermöglichen."

or similar operating somewhere between c.560-545 (the range Stibbe gives for the Hunt Painter's Groups B-C). Since **14**, while different in style, is quite similar in concept to **21** by the Allard Pierson Painter, I perhaps favour the later date.

At the centre of **14** stands a musician, here a lyre-player facing right, while at left and right two figures dance, facing to the left. Below the ground-line is a decorative element. Unlike the previous 'group of three' scenes, where all the figures are of the same, or very similar scale, the central musician is notably taller. This is likely due to poor planning of the scene on the artist's behalf, rather than an intentional decision. The decoration takes up nearly half of the tondo, leaving less space for the figures at left and right, in some way forcing them to be smaller than the central figure. Like the aulos-player in **21** the lyre-player wears a short-sleeve ankle-length dress. He also wears a sash around his right arm, which might wrap around his back and attach to the lyre, from which three strands fall. The left hand of the lyre-player merges with the lyre's four strings, and in his right hand he holds a plectrum, and strums across the strings. Like **21**, the other dancers wear hip-length tunics, and nothing else but a hair-band. All three figures are beardless. It seems then, that this scene represents a professional lyre-player accompanying a dance (or chorus).

I make a small note of **33** here, since it came to my attention late in the editing of this text. Its closet parallels are with **1** and **21**. A clear description is provided by the MAN, Madrid online catalogue (1999/99/45). Notable is that the aulos-player seems to stand on a column, but this is likely an elaborate form of decoration.

4.3.2 Other dance scenes

Hunt Painter: 10; 12; 17; 18

Rider Painter: 30, 15

Dances were also depicted in less systematic ways on Laconian BF, but the Hunt Painter is the only artist to do this and not include the dance within some other context, such as the symposium, or with a divinity, or in the case of the Rider Painter (**30)**, included here, a broader mythological scene. The Hunt Painter is also the only Laconian BF painter to decorate larger vessels with scenes of dancers and musicians; for example, **18** is a particularly fine volute krater and **10** is an equally fine hydria, fragment **12** also likely comes from a larger vessel too.

10 is attributed by Stibbe to the Hunt Painter Group C (c.555-545), and likely belongs to the start of the group.[499] At first glance the dance on **10** does not seem to include musicians, but there are a variety of objects held in their hands, most obviously pomegranates.[500] Pipili regards the pomegranate as a symbol of fertility, and it appears in a number of dance scenes, though never quite as dynamically as in this vase, and she suggests that such dances were associated with Orthia (a point to which I will return).[501] Following on from Pipili, Smith observes that votive pomegranates were actually dedicated at Orthia's sanctuary, noting that, given its decorative and cultic contexts: "in view of its local importance, the pomegranate may have made its way into the iconography of Laconian vase-painting, which itself has been widely accepted as derivative and imitative, and should not be explained solely in terms of cult dances."[502] Thus, the pomegranate might have held a particular function in Spartan dances, both ritual and performative, given the percussive qualities of dried pomegranates.

For Barker, the "main role [of percussion] was as an accompaniment to dancing, and it attained a special prominence in the wilder and more ecstatic rituals of the mystery cults, especially the predominantly female cult of Cybele. There, and hardly less in the revels of Dionysos, it was essential as an ingredient as the aulos."[503] A parallel to using dried pomegranates as rattles is to be found in gourd-rattles, or phormiskoi. While Hatzivassiliou has suggested that the identification of Attic phormiskoi as rattles is weakened on account of their size and decoration, some phormiskoi were likely used this way, for example, one in the collection of the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology **[Fig. 4.5]**,[504] so that while Hatzivassilou is probably correct that larger, figural Attic phormiskoi were not used as rattles, it seems likely that they were "elaborately decorated clay imitations, serving as 'symbolic rattles' to keep away malignant spirits".[505] Nevertheless, Kefalidou has identified "sixteen examples [of phormiskoi] with a pellet inside which imitate gourd-rattles"[506] and finds that they are most readily connected with

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[499] Stibbe, 1972, 137-8.

[500] While Smith, 2010, 128 is more ambivalent towards Seeberg's suggestion that they hold poppies, rather than pomegranates, I am not convinced. See Seeburg, 1969, 7-11.

[501] Pipili, 1987, 60-1, 73.

[502] Smith, 2010, 128. For a ritual/ divine offering of a pomegranate in Laconian BF, see BM 1888,0601.524 (Stibbe, 1972, no.154).

[503] Barker, *GMW* 1, 17. For Roman statues of Cybele with *tympanon*, SM 302 and 349 (though on the latter the left hand, which would have held the instrument, has broken off).

[504] Ure Museum, 34.10.15.

[505] Hatzivassilou, 2001, 139.

[506] Kefalidou, 2004, 39. The example in the Ure Museum takes this count to seventeen.

funeral rites.[507] Could it be then, that in the dance shown on **10** that the pomegranates are intended to be seen in a similar manner to dried-gourd rattles or phormiskoi, as percussion instruments? I think it possible, since we know of bronze pomegranate rattles, a louder and sturdier version of its natural prototype **[Fig. 4.6]**. Taking into account the comparative evidence of gourd-rattles, phormiskoi, and bronze pomegranate rattles, I am inclined to read **10** as a scene of percussive dance, likely inspired by the types of performance that could have been danced at Orthia's sanctuary, but perhaps in other cults too, the most obvious being that of Dionysos and Persephone.[508] We should also keep in mind Alcman PMG 4a, which has pomegranates as dedications in relation to a marriage.

While Orthia's sanctuary seems to have been a key location for Spartan *kōmos*-like performance the only Laconian BF dance scene with a musician to be found in Sparta was found on the Acropolis (**12**). It was attributed to the Rider Painter Group F by Stibbe, too fragmentary to date more precisely than somewhere between 565-530.[509] The fragment shows us just a small section of what must have been a very vibrant scene. At left is an aulos-player, in the middle a dancer, with the foot of a dancer at right, and a skyphos placed on the floor.[510]

Along with Sparta Museum (SM) 839, **12** provides important evidence for the dedication of Laconian BF with *kōmos*-like scenes within Spartan sanctuaries.[511] **16** is a small fragment attributed by Stibbe to the Rider Painter Group E (545-535), and more specifically around 535.[512] Stibbe identifies the scene as "ein von Komasten umtanzer Kitharöde im Prunkgewand" and this is probably correct, given its similarity to other vases we have seen, but it is also possible that the musician could be an aulos-player.

17 is a fine example, once in the collection of von Bothmer, but now in the M. C. Carlos Museum at Emory University. Stibbe classes this krater as Hunt Painter Group A (c.565-550). It is notable that the aulos-player wears both a wreath and a *phorbeia*. Like **18** the figures dance in no discernible order, some dance facing a partner, others grind up behind each other. While the aulos-player is naked, and dances similarly to the others, the fact that they take a central

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[507] Kefalidou, 2004, 41-2. Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 76-7.

[508] E.g. Homeric Hymn, *Demeter*, 370-374.

[509] It is also unclear from what shape the fragment comes. Cf. Stibbe, 1972, 147, and Lane, 146.

[510] I have not been able to confirm the fragment's location (it was not in the Sparta Museum, or at any rate could not be found there).

[511] *SMC* 836, see Powell, 1998, 130-5; Waugh, 2009, 163-4; Pipili, 1987, 65; Lane, 1933/4, 137, 160 figs 39a-40. Stibbe, 1972, 221 attributes it to the workshop of Naukratis Painter, c.580-575 BCE.

[512] Stibbe, 1972, 174, noting a 'neglected style' as seen on the left foot of the musician, "Die verwahrloste Zeichnung (man beachte den linen Fuß des Musikanten!) beweist den Zerfall des Stiles."

position by the krater, and that the musician is the only figure who survives and wears a wreath, all suggest that the artist still wished to show the relative importance of the musician compared to the other dancers.

18 is another particularly fine example of dancing and musicking.[513] It is attributed by Stibbe to the Hunt Painter Group A (c.565-550). The dance is drawn around one side of the neck of the krater, allowing for a number of figures to be shown, on the other side there are animals. Sadly, the black glaze is now quite worn, but despite this, both a lyre, and an aulos player can clearly be identified. This vase is notable, as already mentioned, since it is the only vase to depict both an aulos and a lyre-player at the same performance.

These early works of the Hunt Painter can be compared with **30**, which Stibbe attributed to the Rider Painter Group E (c.545-535). This *dinos* is currently in the Louvre, and while the dance is not a 'group of three' scene, it is very similar to the scenes that the Rider Painter was drawing on cups during this period, for example, **1**. But it is possible that the figures on the left and right (the aulos-player) are satyrs. A similarity between the *perirrhanterion* **[Fig. 4.25]** and **30** is that the satyr figure does not have hairy skin, while Delahaye identified a division between Laconian BF satyrs always being hairy, and Laconian bronze satyrs having human bodies, he did not look at the *perirrhanterion*, which provides a stylistic bridge between the two, suggesting that the hairiness of satyrs was not so clearly defined by artistic media. [514] Other stylistic features which make these two figures unique among the other figures we have seen is that the aulos-player seems more portly than the other dancing figures that the Rider Painter depicted in **1**, and that the left figure is incredibly hirsute, with a beard much bushier than other Laconian dancers, who, by all accounts are normally beardless (as they are in the Rider Painter's cup, **1**; when they are depicted with a beard, it tends to be well-trimmed, e.g. **20; 10; 11; 17**). In fact, the beard of the left figure is of a scale that resembles those on Laconian bronzes and on the Orthia masks, which definitely do represent satyrs, as well as the beard of the ithyphallic satyr on the *perirrhanterion* to Dionysos. Despite these similarities, Delahaye has expressed his reservations about identifying these figures as satyrs, noting, for example, the ears of the figures

[513] I have only been able to look at this vase with less than ideal images. The best image I have found is Förtsch, 2001, pl.148, but this is quite grainy. Tracking down the current location of this vase has not been possible, since, as published by Stibbe, it came from an anonymous private collection.

[514] Delahaye, 2016, 69. "En ce qui concerne leur peau, ils sont tous, sur les six vases à figures noires, velus … Sur les statuettes de bronze, les satyres arborent une peau humaine et imberbe …". He is correct to observe that (69) "Les satyres laconiens n'ont pas de queue, au contraire de leurs homologues athéniens".

(which do not appear as pointed as they are in other Laconian depictions of satyrs).[515] Nonetheless, another reason for continuing to entertain the idea that the left figure is a satyr is the decoration of **30** as a whole. I find it highly unlikely that given the observed differences in this figure (and that they share at least *some* qualities with Laconian depictions of satyrs), and that the painter has drawn other mythological beings on the same vase (which are also notably peculiarly drawn), that the Rider Painter did not intend to depict something more than a strictly mortal performance. Ultimately though, one of the features that would have helped to identify these figures as satyrs is no longer preserved, the penis, so it is unlikely that this issue will be put to bed. [516] Nonetheless, the absence or near absence of musical satyrs in Laconian art is notable (their presence is very common in other black-figure productions). It is then interesting that the musician who accompanies the wild dance of the satyr on the Dionysian *perirrhanterion* is clearly depicted not as a satyr, like their fellow performer, but as a mortal, despite the clearly mythological setting – perhaps music was too human for the otherly satyrs.

If **30** is something of a unique survival, engaging as it does with some form of mythical narrative about which our interpretation of is uncertain, this should come as no surprise, given the Rider Painter's engagement with myths more easily recognised by modern audiences. A famous depiction of the blinding of Polyphemus (Paris, Cab. Med. 190), dated to c.565-560, is a good early example.[517] What is unique about **30** is the shape of the vessel (a dinos), and the inclusion of the satyr-like dancer and musician.

15 is a more typical type of scene of dance and music from the Rider Painter (Group C, c.560-550 BCE), in that it is drawn on the inside of a cup. It is perhaps compositionally related to the 'Group of Three' scene types, but less obviously than **1**, in that a central musician (facing right) is flanked by a total of at least five dancers, maybe six (facing left), so is more similar to **5** and **14**, for example. Notable is that in **15** the musician wears a short robe, with two red bands above the knees for decoration, whereas the dancers either wear short red vests, or, as is perhaps the case with the figure at far left, no clothes. Notable too is that the dancers are of varying size. While it is possible that the Rider Painter was trying to convey the dancers in a line or a circle

[515] Delahaye, 2018, private communication. Also, Smith, 2010, 125 who identifies the figure as "In Laconian vase-painting this is the only known example of a komast figure whom we cannot only safely describe as a padded dancer, but who also displays his stuffing outside his normal clothing." However, it seems that Smith had only seen the partially restored figure, see n.36 and n.37, which includes a generous reconstruction of the belly of the figure, as can be seen in Pipili, 1987, fig.106, compared to the photograph included here.

[516] Delahaye, 2016, 70, "Un autre trait caractéristique des satyres est leur ithyphallisme. On dénombre sept objets laconiens représentant des satyres de ce type…"

[517] Pipili, 1987, 33. Stibbe, 1972, 164-162, no.289, Rider Painter, Group A (c.570-560) BCE.

(the smaller figures attempting to show perspective), that the larger dancer at right has a beard, whereas the smaller figures do not, might instead suggest that the dancers are of different ages, if they are not merely the by-product of the artist trying to place as many figures on the vase as possible. A further interpretative difficulty is that it appears as if a cockerel (facing left) is perched on the yoke of the musician's lyre.

4.3.3 Fragments of dances

There are several fragments that are too damaged to allow for a proper analysis, but which most likely come from dance scenes. **19** preserves an aulos-player leaning back and playing to the right, beardless, and probably naked. **22** shows the head of a tunic-wearing, bearded aulos-player facing left. **23** preserves a similar figure, but while two pipes seem to clearly be in their mouth, their left arm is down. It would be unusual for an aulos-player to play one-handed. **24** shows a large running or squatting naked lyre-player, moving to the right, and **25** preserves the top right of a lyre, perhaps from a scene similar to **24**.

This then provides a general overview of the representation of musicians in scenes of dance in Laconian BF pottery, placing us in a better position to assess the heterogeneity of the music and the musicians who accompanied Spartan choruses. The first comment to make is that the musician can appear both as a social insider, but also as social outsider during performances, and that the kithara seems to be absent from these types of scenes. Is such diversity related to a diversity of performative contexts?

4.3.4 Dinners

Having explored the layout of Laconian BF dance scenes, I will now explore the representation of dinners and musicking music more generally, since it is possible that the dance scenes discussed above depict drinking that has taken place after, or in relation to, a dinner (ritual or otherwise). The reason for supposing this is that of the five surviving Laconian BF vases which depict musicians at a dinner, all of them somewhere include dancers, or figures that could be identified as dancers. These five scenes of dining and musicking represent between a third and a fourth of the known dining scenes in Laconian BF.[518] They depict dancers either surrounding

[518] Pipili, 1987, 71-72, lists five symposia with winged daemons, and thirteen others without, a total of eighteen, the five symposia scenes with musicians represent 27.7% of Laconian BF symposia scenes.

those on *klinai*, or they are in a separate frieze (such as **6; 9; 27; 29**).[519] There are, however, several other vases that depict dinners without musicians **[Fig. 4.32]**.[520]

The dinners depicted on Laconian BF are constructed in a number of ways. They are mainly drawn on the inside of cups and this limited space left the artist with a small selection of options for composing a scene. Some focus on one couch with two diners reclining on it, and attendants and associated items (normally with a ground line) surrounding them.[521] Others show a number of diners reclining in a circle around the centre of the tondo.[522] In one instance, a central musician faces a single diner.[523] Unlike the more typical dance scenes, the Laconian daimones are depicted attending a number of symposium scenes in BF, leading some to question whether these are mortal meals, meals for or of the dead, or in some cases, the meals of the gods.[524] There is one style of symposium, particularly important for us, that focuses on the musician. At centre a well-dressed musician (a lyre-player) stands, at right, one diner is shown reclining on a couch, listening, at an angle, and at left, attendants seem to dance**.**

The first type of scene, already referred to, is where a central kithara or lyre player faces a single reclining diner to the right, and at left are dancers (**6**). This is a unique compositional structure, as far as I can tell, with no true parallel in Laconian, or other Hellenic or related art. **6**, however, is divided into three bands, with the kitharode in the top band, cocks and lions and birds in the middle band, and dances around a krater in the lowest band.

The second type is where two diners recline on a *klinē*, with musicians or dancers around their feet (**27, 29**). Despite these two vases sharing the same core compositional structure, there are some key differences, with **27** depicting a much more elaborate scene, even including a lower band of dancers. This scene type is quite common, and a number of dinners are depicted in this fashion, however, these are the only two that include music.

The third type only includes **9,** where a number of female diners play music, while in a lower band are depicted a number of dancers. The diners are drawn in a circle around the centre of

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[519] See Smith, 2010, 55 ff. for a discussion of these types of compositions on Attic Siana cups, with pl.12B (Taranto, Museo Nazionale 110339) providing a close parallel to **27** and **29**. Also Smith, forthcoming, who compares the use of such friezes by Laconian and Boeotian painters.

[520] Cf. Förtsch, 2001, 139-145. Quattrocelli, 2008, *passim*.

[521] **29, 27.**

[522] **9.**

[523] **6.**

[524] **9, 27**. See Pipili, 1987, 71.

the cup, and in this way, while the content of the scene is unique, the composition of the scene is similar to a number of other Laconian dinners.[525]

The type and prominence of the symposium musicians then, is very varied, just like the musicians who accompany the dancers. They can be depicted almost as attendants, of smaller stature, playing to two larger diners who recline on a central couch. They could be diners themselves. They might play a lyre, or they might play an aulos. Firstly, this suggests that different genres of music might have been found between different meals. Further, it seems that none of the males represented on *klinai* play any instruments, only the females when they are on a couch. None of the attendant musicians seem to be female.

It should be noted that the description by Alcman PMG 98, which places the musician 'by the guests', is seen in **6,** where a kitharode plays beside a diner, and in **27** and **29**, where an aulos-player stands beside the reclining diners. In these cases, and even in the case of someone as prestigious as Alcman, the place of the musician was *by* (παρὰ) the guests, not with them.[526] The only examples where musicians sit among the diners in Laconian BF pottery are in **9** and **29**, but here these musicians are notable, in that they are the only obviously female musicians represented on Laconian BF pottery.[527]

4.4 DANCES AND DINNERS IN CONTEXT

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[525] Smith, 1998, 78 "Though dining spaces of the type found elsewhere in Greece are absent from the archaeological record at Sparta, Alcman (fr. 19) describes the standard seven couch arrangement as he must have known it from personal experience (Bergquist 1990). Spartan citizens may have frowned upon excessive drinking but banqueting in a communal setting was a well-known part of daily life. In other words, Laconian artists need not have copied entire scenes directly from Corinthian or Athenian models, and clearly, they did not. Everyday life provided all the inspiration necessary."

[526] While we do see citizen musicians performing on the couches with their fellow symposiats in Attic BF iconography (e.g.: BM, B679), there are also a number of scenes, especially where *auletrides* are shown around or next to the symposiasts, and not actually joining them on the couches (though they can be), where the musicians also position themselves by the symposiasts, and not with them, e.g.: Beazley no. 4837.

[527] The earliest representation of a female musician in Laconian art is **31**, a Laconian geometric sherd, which shows a woman and a man holding a lyre. A number of female musicians are represented in bronze and other media, most often with cymbals (cf. Bronzes: Athens, NAM, A15900; A15890; X7548; see also Sparta Museum (no number), bronze arm with castanet. Lead: *varia*). The evidence for mixed gender performances in Sparta will be looked at below, as will some specific examples from Samos, which require further discussion.

4.4.1 Introduction

At the beginning of this chapter, I highlighted the absence of the word *kōmos* in the works of Alcman and Tyrtaeus, while observing a few cases where it had been applied by non-Spartan authors to describe Spartan dances, ultimately arguing that the term was not useful, since it implicitly supposes something about the context of such performances.[528] Before exploring the possible contexts of Spartan dances, I want to briefly highlight Alcman PMG 98 since it reveals some interesting details relevant to the debate, and is worth quoting in full, since it is the earliest use of the word *thiasos*:

> …θοίναις δὲ καὶ ἐν θιάσοισιν
>
> ἀνδρείων παρὰ δαιτυμόνεσσι πρέπει παιᾶνα κατάρχην.
>
> In the dinners and the *thiasoi*
>
> of the men's rooms, by the guests, it is fitting to begin the paean.[529]

Alcman PMG 98

Influenced by Classical observations on the role of drinking at Spartan dinners, the word *thiasos* in this fragment is often read in its most general sense as 'a gathering'.[530] Yet when we look at Laconian BF iconography (material that is within a generation or two of Alcman), we see scenes that might suggest that Alcman's use of the word *thiasos* could have implied something akin to a *kōmos*, with lively dancing, music, and drink. As Minyard points out, Pindar's *kōmoi* were performed by citizens.[531]

Looking just at the vases that we have seen, a context which places the dances during, or after, or as somehow related to dining, seems likely. A religious context for Spartan dances seems likely too. Certain dancers wear wreaths (**17**), others hold pomegranates (**10**), **20** might even represent a religious procession, and one vase was found in a Spartan sanctuary (**12**). Further, the worlds of dinners, wine, and music, common to most of these scenes, are closely linked to

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528 van Wees, 2018, 251 notes "… Spartan drinking culture followed normal Greek patterns until the very end of the archaic period." Cf. Xen. *Lac. Pol*., 1.3: οἴνου γε μὴν ἢ πάμπαν ἀπεχομένας ἢ ὑδαρεῖ χρωμένας διάγουσιν.

529 'Andreia' could also be translated as 'mess-group'.

530 *Calame*, fr.129 and p.365 ff. cf. Critias (elegy fr. 8, *apud* Ath.10.432d-33b) seems to speak knowingly about contemporary Spartan drinking customs.

531 Minyard, 1976, 149.

the religious realm too.[532] Vase **4**, discussed above in relation to Förtsch's interpretation of Laconian BF *kōmoi*, visualises this link between komastic and religious iconography, and acts as an introduction to further analyses.

In many ways, the scene in **4** is similar to the 'group of three' compositions, with a compositional similarity to **1**. At left stands a naked male aulos-player, facing right towards a central krater of medium size which has been placed on a table, and on which has been placed a small oenochoe.[533] On the table are two birds, facing outwards, while an eagle flies down from the left. At right stands a naked man, also facing towards the central krater. He holds in his left hand a phiale or bowl, and in his right hand a drinking horn.[534] While the figures in **4** are naked, and associated with wine, they stand upright, and do not dance. This iconographical ambiguity is reflected in the varying interpretations of the scene. Some see it as a libation, a ritual or similar, others see it as a *kōmos*, and some link the two, reading the scene as a libation, sacrifice, or other moment of solemnity before or after a *kōmos* has taken place.[535]

In what context, or contexts then, should we view these Spartan dances? As suggested, there is a great amount of heterogeneity in the way dances are depicted in Laconian BF. Thinking about the location of these *kōmoi*, as well as who performed them and for whom they did so, will enable us to better clarify how these scenes of musicking would have been understood by a Spartan living in the sixth century. This will involve expanding the discussion from one that looks solely at Laconian BF iconography, to one which places Laconian BF pottery within a wider artistic, archaeological, and textual context.

I will explore how we might view these Spartan dances in relation to key divinities (Apollo, Orthia, and Dionysos), and how performances like those depicted on Laconian BF vases would have been appropriate forms of worship for those three divinities in Sparta. Having examined the religious context for these performances, I then examine their convivial context, co-locating Spartan dancing with Spartan dining.

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[532] Brulé and Vendries, 2001; Haldane, 1966, 98-107; (on wine in Homer) Papakonstantinou, 2009, 1-24.

[533] For this practice, see Gaunt, 2013b, 43-45. Kraters with oenochoes on them, as seen here, are often included in Laconian *kōmos* scenes (e.g. **1** and **17**).

[534] Smith, 2010, 128, n.56 notes that in other scenes the phiale is used as a drinking cup.

[535] Stibbe, 1974, no.308, pl.109.1. The British Museum online catalogue describes the scene as a sacrifice (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=399461&partId=1&searchText=rider+painter&page=1 accessed: 11.02.2019). Stibbe, 1972, no.306 categorises the figures as komasts. Lane, 1933-4, 160 counts the scene as a *kōmos*, but notes that the two figures are "normal and sober; usually they are grotesquely fat and perform an undignified dance." Smith, 2010, 142 observes that "the painter makes an association here between the dancers as entertainers and the dancers as drinkers if not providers of wine."

Before analysing these images, it is important first to remember that, while Laconian iconography might not appeal to the ideals of Greek art formulated by Winkelmann or Hamilton, the art produced in Laconia during the sixth century reveals itself to be at turns difficult to interpret and visually intuitive and innovative.[536] This is something which is difficult to understand in Stibbe's foundational study of Laconian BF, and in more recent studies of Laconian pottery which have tended to focus, as we have seen, on its context, and whether or not it was produced for an export market. Nevertheless, Boardman and Cook both offer balanced summaries of Laconian BF which help to elucidate its artistic qualities. For Boardman, "Laconian styles of figure drawing are not pretentious but some of the painters are skilful, and despite a rather wooden manner of drawing they display some originality in composition and narrative in the large cup tondos."[537] For Cook, Laconian BF "has a native character that is to be explained not by incompetence (though there is some of that) but by a restrained and independent judgement which does not strain its limited capacity and perception. From this come the honest, simple charm and liveliness of much Laconian vase-painting…".[538]

Here, a series of remarkably innovative Laconian porthole scenes remind us that these artists were happy to use the half-revealed image in a way that added to the viewing pleasure of its intended audience, or indeed the poignancy of the image they were creating.[539] Take, for example, a return from battle scene attributed by Stibbe to the Hunt Painter. Here two central figures carry a fallen comrade off the field of battle on their shoulders. At left and right, other warriors carrying the war-dead walk in and out of the scene respectively.[540] This framing at once comments on the shared experience of loss, but also focuses on the poignancy of the loss of the individual too. To me, at any rate, this compositional statement is just as effective as

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[536] Indeed, Laconian pottery was not known to Winkelmann and Hamilton.

[537] Boardman, 1998, 185.

[538] Cook, 1997, 92.

[539] See Hurwitt, 1977 for images. Webster, 1939, 105-106 is unjustly critical of these scenes: "The Laconian artists of the archaic period are more violent, and clap the frame over a frieze without consideration for what they put in or leave out."

[540] Stibbe, 1972, no.217. Webster, 1939, 106 says of this scene that "The painter has made no attempt to adapt his subject to the circle, but has put the circle on to the procession and painted what was included… The Laconian artist, as always, has less regard for formal beauty than the Athenian. No Athenian of the same quality would have been so ruthless in his application of the frame as the Laconian painter of warriors with their dead." But Webster is surely wrong, as Hurwitt, 1977, 6 ff. demonstrates in his analysis of this type of composition (what he calls Open Mode 1: The Obstructed Image) which is (7) "… adopted to seize the attention of the spectator's curious eye, to offer it some interpretative work… This open mode cannot be dismissed as the miscalculation or mindless eccentricity of a provincial artist from Sparta."

Euphronios' juxtaposition of the heroic death of Sarpedon on one side of the Sarpedon Krater with the arming of Athenian youths on the other.[541]

Another vase attributed by Stibbe to the Hunt Painter depicts a particularly monstrous vision of Cerberus.[542] The leash and chain around the monster's neck draw the viewer's eye to the club, hands and foot of Herakles, the hero who has tamed this beast, but who is barely shown. In front of Cerberus is the back of another figure, likely Herakles' companion Iolaos. This is more than a case of visual reduplication (using the club of Herakles to enforce our understanding of the central monster as Cerberus). The composition plays on the ideas of liminality and the crossing of thresholds associated with Herakles' journey into and return from the underworld with Cerberus, but also those aspects of the myth which go unseen. Compare several Laconian vases where a hunter attacks a boar which charges in from out of scene, capturing the disorientation, shock, speed, and surprise of the hunt.[543]

We also find the chronological collapsing of narratives. On a notable vase showing a scene popular throughout Archaic Greece, the blinding of Polyphemus, the monster at once holds the legs of his last snack, is offered a cup of wine to inebriate him, and is presented with a sharpened stake to his eye.[544]

Indeed, these examples show that in Laconia myths popular throughout Greece could be viewed in subtly different ways, and this seems to be the case with Laconian representations of musicians, which are at once familiar but difficult to understand. But because these images are difficult to understand, we should be wary of interpreting them as derivative or unskilled.

4.4.2 Apollo

2; 5; 8; 28

The first context that I will look at, because it has received the most criticism, but with very little justification, is that the Spartans might have performed *kōmoi* in honour of Apollo, and

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[541] Formerly NY Metropolitan Museum: 1972.11.10, and Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: L.2006.10, now in the Archaeological Museum of Cerveteri.

[542] Previously in the Erskine collection, current location unknown. See Beazley archive no. 800006.

[543] Stibbe, 1972, no.225 (fragmentary boar hunt), compare Stibbe, 1972, no.350 and no.262. In Stibbe, 1972, no.220) two warriors or hunters sneak up, undetected by two animals whose partially shown hind-quarters disappear off the right side of the scene.

[544] Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 190; Stibbe, 1972, no.289. This temporal condensing is not unusual in Archaic narrative art, especially the blinding of Polyphemus.

that these scenes visualise aspects of that worship. Apollo was indeed a central figure in Sparta, both as the source of Delphic oracles, whose prophesies heavily influenced Spartan political decisions, and as a god whose worship was central to Spartan religion and performance.[545] A key aspect of Apollo throughout the Hellenic world was that he was a musician. This aspect of Apollo can be seen in Sparta through the poetry of Alcman and the choral and kitharodic competitions performed at Spartan festivals in honour the god.[546] Despite this, there has been much disagreement over whether Laconian BF depictions of male-figures with lyres among 'komasts' should be interpreted as mortal musicians or the god of music, primarily because the dancers that surround them are often associated with Dionysos instead.

An Attic RF stamnos attributed to Polygnotos in the Houston Museum of Fine Arts (2003.713) shows that we do indeed find Greek divinities doing things that we might not expect them to do **[Fig. 4.7]**. Here Herakles plays the aulos while a satyr dances along – whether part of a now lost myth, or a deliberate subversion of the typical role of Herakles, we cannot say, but here we do not jump to identifying the figure with a lion-skin, bow, and club, as someone other than Herakles because of those very attributes. With Laconian representations of Apollo, we are in a more difficult position. Laconian BF painters tend to include very few attributes, and the lyre, often associated with Apollo, was also used by mortal musicians. This visual blurring of the divine and the mortal in relation to the performance of music is an important element in Laconian iconography.

There are four Laconian BF vases that have plausibly been identified as depicting Apollo. The first, **8**, is the only one which has been unanimously agreed as showing the god: Apollo kitharoidos facing Artemis or Leto. There is no element of a *kōmos* here, but the vase confirms that from the 6th century Laconian artists were using stock designs to show Apollo, operating in a larger field of artistic exchange and influence, even if this does not appear to be the most popular representation of the god.[547] This vase also confirms that Apollo was depicted in Laconian art as a god of music. I will explore Apollo's relation to music more specifically below, including other possible representations in Laconian BF, but for the time being, the focus remains on his relation to so-called *kōmoi*. Three vases are of interest here, though it should be

[545] Of particular importance for the oracular and political role of Apollo in Sparta is Simonides fr.34 (Poltera) [**Section 3.5**].

[546] Alcman PMG 46 and 51. Apollo was worshipped in Sparta during three major festivals, the Gymnopaidia, the Hykanithia, and the Karneia, see Pettersson, 1992, *passim*.

[547] Pipili, 1987, 52 suggests that it could be Apollo and Atremis or Leto, but "since the vase was dedicated in the Samian Heraion, is perhaps likely to be Hera than anyone else." Such an interpretation rests on the painter knowing that the vase was intended for a sanctuary of Hera, of which we cannot be certain.

noted that because the musicians hold lyres, and not kitharas, this should not be a reason for not interpreting the figures as Apollo kitharoidos.[548]

28 has been described by some as representing Apollo kitharoidos flanked by two dancers, yet Pipili seems to reject such an interpretation.[549] The reasons for identifying the musician as the god include his larger size and the volute decoration coming from his head. While Pipili notes that such decorations are used elsewhere in Laconian art for non-mortals,[550] she also argues that they can be used to decorate mortals,[551] but this interpretation surely negates the effect that the volute headdress has, as Jiang puts it, in "elevat[ing] this lyre player from the mortal realm"; the same applies to the komasts with volutes that Pipili drew on to argue that the volute-decorations were not necessarily used to indicate the divine.[552] Pipili further dismisses this vase (**28**), and others with lyre-players, as representing Apollo because "an Apollo among padded dancers and other komasts would be an unusual image".[553] Yet since lyre-players do indeed accompany komast-like dancers in Laconian art **(**in so far as they are as they are bottom-slapping revellers **14, 15, 18**) that Apollo, the god of the lyre, could also be associated with these dances should not be seen as such a strange proposal.[554]

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[548] Contra, Pipili, 1987, 51-52. For example, it is very clearly a lyre that Hermes presents to Apollo in the Homeric Hymn, *To Hermes*. There are two other Laconian BF vases that might depict Apollo in relation to a *kōmos*, but because they also relate to *synaiklia*, will be discussed below (**6, 15**).

[549] She is, however, in the minority here, as Pipili, 1987, 51. n.505 shows: "O. Puchstein, *AZ* 1881, 218 (Apollo?); G. Libertini, *BollArte* 1921-22 (I), 166-167 (Apollo Karneios); C. Dugas, RA 27 (1928-I) 52-53 (Apollo or Dionysos); E. Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama* (1943) 34-35 (Apollo and satyrs, as also on 205c)." More recently: Jiang, 2016, 34 n.52 "because of the sprouting volutes, the lyre-player… has generally been accepted as Apollo."

[550] Pipili, 1987, 52 n.508: Poseidon (135), a goddess (103), the 'Boread' (173), a wing daemon (215), sphinxes (Stibbe, 1972, no.7, pl.4.1 and no. 299, pl. 106.1), and a siren (Stibbe, 1972, no.235, pl.83.3).

[551] Pipili, 1987, 52 n.508: 195. "they are probably nothing more than a stylization of the wreaths worn by these figures" c. n.508 for further bibliography.

[552] Jiang, 2010, 34. The point surely being that these are *not* stylised wreaths, but something to indicate an element of the supernatural.

[553] Pipili, 1987, 52.

[554] Though the word *kōmos* was associated with the aulos too (Ath. 14.618c): "The following terms are connected with playing the aulos, according to Tryphon in Book II of *Terminology* (fr. 109 Velsen): *kōmos*…" But the playing of the aulos and the lyre together was also a popular form of entertainment too (Ath. 14.617f-618a): "As for the coordination of pipes with the lyre—for this combination of instruments frequently charmed us—Ephippus says in *Merchandise* (fr. 7): For music produced on the pipes and the lyre, my boy, is an integral part of the entertainment we provide. Since whenever someone carefully matches his behaviour to the people he's with, that's when we find the most pleasure."

2 shows a naked figure dancing or running to the right and holding a lyre. The vase was found in a grave in Syracuse along with a matching Laconian BF cup.[555] The matching vase seems to show Hermes (or perhaps Perseus, they wear winged boots), and it is mainly because these two vases seem to form a cohesive pair that the figure in **2** is reasonably understood as Apollo.[556] This was, at any rate, how Percy Ure (who first published the vase) interpreted the lyre-player, though, as Pipili notes, both Shefton and Stibbe called the figure a 'lyre-player', with no note of his potential divinity.[557] Whether or not we read the figure as Apollo kitharoidos or Apollo Hyakinthos,[558] this is still a unique representation in Laconian BF, in that Apollo is naked and with a lyre.[559] In depicting the god this way, the artist has chosen to align Apollo more with the citizen chorus-member, who often performed naked, than with the professional or ceremonial musician, famous for their elaborate robes.[560] Even if the artist did not intend for the lyre player to be understood as Apollo, the artist (or indeed the person who assembled the grave goods) associated on some level the musician on **2** with the openly heroic/divine figure on the partner vase.

5, commonly referred to as the Carlos Cup, depicts a large lyre-player surrounded by dancers. Stibbe suggested that the figure might be Dionysos, while Pipili at first thought Apollo, and then perhaps a mortal musician.[561] But if we follow Pipili's suggestion that the composition of this scene was inspired by the Naukratis Painter's depiction of the 'Nature Goddess' **[Fig. 4.8]**, where a large, divine, central figure, is flanked by winged beings, surely it makes more sense to read **5**, similar as it is, as also showing a divine protagonist too.[562] Further, not only are the

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[555] Ure, 1953, 47, as well as two other similar black-glazed cups, a "flat-bottomed orange-quartered aryballos… [and] a large lydion decorated with plain bands."

[556] This is how Pipili, 1987, 52 interprets the figure, and admittedly, he does not hold the caduceus. If we read the other figure as Perseus, alternative readings exist for the lyre-player, other than Apollo, for example, Theseus, who on the Francois vase plays the lyre.

[557] Ure, 1953, 49-50, pl. 13b. Shefton, 1954, 306, no.21. Stibbe, 1972, 145.

[558] Pipili, 1987, 52. Pipili also notes the possible connections between this vase and Tarantine coins.

[559] For naked divinities in Sparta, see the Dioskouroi (Sparta, 447) and Eilytheia (Sparta, 364), see also a naked Roman Apollo kitharoidos (Sparta, 103). Pipili, 1987, 52 n.512 *supra* n.507 notes, however, that there are some non-Spartan examples of a naked Apollo with lyre in Archaic art, on two bronze shield-bands. cf. Kunze, *AS*, nos. 15-16, IXd, pl.29; no.54, XXXVIc, pl.63.

[560] Pipili, 1987, 53 notes the "half-kneeling posture of the youth on the Tarentine coins", a closer parallel with this figure is **24.**

[561] Stibbe, 1992, *passim* for Dionysos. Pipili, 1987, 51-52, with bibliography, for perhaps Apollo. See Jiang, 2016, *passim* for Apollo. Pipili, 1998, 92 for a mortal.

[562] For the archetype, see London, British Museum 1886,0401.1063 (Stibbe, 1972, no.23) a large woman surrounded by smaller *daimones*. Cf. Thomsen, 2011, 117-121; Shefton, 1954, 299 ff.

arguments that Pipili made for reading the central musician as mortal largely unsupported,[563] but they have also been countered by An Jiang, who reads the figures surrounding Apollo as expressing key elements of the Karneia, rather than as depicted non-descript 'komasts'.[564] As such, while I do not agree with every aspect of Jiang's attribution, and I am very happy to see this vase as representing Apollo in relation to mortal worship, I would not go so far as to say we can safely say it depicts the Karneia, though, since key elements of the vase are missing. Here then, the painter has tried to convey a Spartan conceptualisation of the key elements of worship and central to such worship is the idea of music, as expressed by Apollo.

As we saw with **4,** Laconian BF, due to its iconographical discreteness, does not make identifying religious or mythological contexts easy, especially when the mythological figures share iconographic elements with non-mythological figures, as is the case with lyre-players and Apollo. Despite this, with careful analysis, we are better able to distinguish between divine and mortal lyre-players in Laconian BF. Further, the fact that, in appearance, Apollo seems so mortal should be taken as a sign of just how important mortal lyre-players and kitharodes were in Spartan society, be they citizen or travelling-professional, and some of these scenes provide evidence that *kōmos*-like scenes seem to have been associated with Apollo, or that Apollo could be seen as the leader of the *kōmos*. Additionally, while it has been suggested that in his role as Apollo kitharoidos, Apollo symbolises the harmony of the Spartan state, the way that not only Apollo, but also many of the mortal lyre-players stand separate or distanced from the dancers also suggests, as we see in Alcman PMG 98, a separation between citizen and non-citizen musician; perhaps this explains why Apollo kitharoidos was not a popular image among Spartan citizens, despite their wide devotion to the god and to music more generally, since the kithara was the instrument of the travelling-professional, the lyre that of the citizen,[565] as we see with

[563] Pipili, 1998, 92 "[in relation to previous interpretations of this figure as Dionysos or Apollo] …how easily can we accept a Dionysos with a lyre? or Apollo among komasts? I believe that this scene, like the symposia, should be associated with a real-life cult celebration. Since most such scenes come from Samos, this might be a musician playing at the Heraia."

[564] Jiang, 2016, 34; "… we can… read the scene on each side of the central figure as one main religious component of the Karneia: the *Staphylodromoi* on the left and the "Karneia dance" on the right. With a careful design, the Rider Painter bridged the mortal and divine by placing the "ἀγήτης" and the priest at the upper level and showing them performing rituals directly to Apollo who is majestically standing in the center of the picture. Apollo is shown as Apollo *kitharoidos* in this context of the Karneia as a way to incorporate yet another aspect of the festival, the musical contest."

[565] Jiang, 2016, 35, "Apollo *kitharoidos* with his symbolism of harmony further interweaves the different aspects of the Karneia into one picture of a festive celebration."

a small bronze statuette from Amyklai, in addition to vase **20**, which seems to confirm the practice of youths performing the lyre, at least within a ritual context **[Fig. 4.9 a-b]**.[566]

There is, however, clearer evidence for the Spartan Apollo kitharoidos in different media. There was the Laconian cult statue of Apollo with a lyre was that observed by Pausanias at the Perioikic town of Zarax,[567] and a fourth century BCE marble stele from Sparta, most likely of Athenian manufacture, depicts Apollo kitharoidos (with kithara) and Artemis making a libation at the omphalos **[Fig. 4.10]** (more clearly linking musical and political *harmonia* or, indeed, the more Tyrtaean concept of *eunomia*).

4.4.3 Orthia

Orthia is incredibly elusive in Laconian BF, and any scenes that might plausibly be identified with her seem to lack any musicians.[568] Nonetheless, the masks from Orthia's sanctuary are certainly suggestive of some kind of performance which, if not strictly a *kōmos*, involved characters connected to komastic themes (as shown by masks in the form of satyrs).[569] Additionally, as has been mentioned, a number of the lead votives found dedicated at Orthia's sanctuary depict dancers and musicians. As such, I will explore both the lead figurines and the masks, in order to see how they might suggest that *komos*-like performances, similar to the ones seen in Laconian BF, might have been performed in worship of Orthia.

The Orthia masks were never fully published. They were predominantly found in two contexts at the sanctuary, referred to by the excavators as the 'Mask Pits' which "occup[ied] a comparatively restricted area."[570] The vast majority of the masks were found in layers with Laconian III-IV pottery, and thus are roughly contemporaneous with the Laconian BF pottery explored in this section. This period also saw the highest number of lead votives being produced. More generally, the excavators suggested that dedications of the terracotta masks started at the end of the Geometric period, since the earliest examples were found in layers with

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[566] Plate 41a-b (Athens, NAM, X7547). Pipili, 1987, 78-79. I agree with Pipili that this is a representation of a Spartan youth, rather than Apollo. So too Polykrates [*BNJ* 588] F1.

[567] Pausanias, 3.24.1. Also 1.38.4 for the strange claim that the Athenian Zarax was a Lacedaemonian who learnt to play the lyre from Apollo, and then went to Athens, and that the town of Zarax in Laconia was named after him.

[568] Pipili, 1987, 41-44.

[569] Fig. 4.11 a-b, though it should be added that musical satyrs are rather few in Laconian iconography, there is possible one represented in Laconian BF pottery (**30**) and one on the *perirrhanterion* to Dionysos.

[570] *AO*, 163. See **[Fig. 4.11]** for examples.

late Geometric and Laconian I pottery, along with ivory couchant animals, but this is perhaps too early, and the masks' association with late Geometric and Laconian I pottery might be more easily explained as contamination.[571]

The masks continued in reduced form, like the lead votives, until the Laconian V and VI period (roughly: likely 5th, maybe 4th, and very tentatively early 3rd centuries). The excavators noted that "the masks of Laconian VI are all miniatures [see. Pl. XXXVIII 6-11] and have no special individuality of their own, since masks of this type can be paralleled from most ancient sites."[572] Of the seven types that the excavators identified the 'Portraits', 'Satyrs', and 'Gorgons', did not continue to be made into the Laconian V period **[Table 4.3]**.[573] The data in this table is difficult to use as an indicator of the total number of masks made, since more than one fragment could belong to a single mask. Dickins came to a minimum estimate based on a count of all noses: 603 noses, of which c.375 were 'human' (types A-D), and c.228 'grotesque' (types E-G).[574] **[Fig. 4.11]**

Table 4.3 Type and number of Orthia masks (after Dickins, *AO*, 176-177).

Type	*Description*	*No. of large pieces (with museum numbers)*	*No. of pieces large enough to be classified into sub-types*	*No. of smaller fragments able to be classed by type*	*Total*
A - Old Women	Clean-shaven, bald, wrinkled type, probably female	35	77	174	**286**
B - Youths	Normal unbearded male type	7	13	19	**39**
C - Warriors	Normal bearded male type	14	51	167	**232**
D - Portraits	Realistic type	5	5	-	**10**
E - Satyrs	Satyric type with pointed ears	6	8	61	**75**

[571] *AO*, 165. I agree with Rosenberg, 2015, 248 that "A very precise date may not be plausible, but c.615-575 for the earliest masks is reasonable."

[572] *AO*, 165.

[573] *AO*, 165. Rosenberg, 2015, 247-261 has suggested that the 'Caricatures' should be understood as 'comic' or 'satiric' figures. Dickins further divided these types into sub-divisions, see *AO*, 179 ff.

[574] Dickins, *AO*, 177.

F - Gorgons	Medusa type with protruding tongue and tusks	10	5	-	**15**
G - Caricatures	Fantastic exaggerations and grotesques	44	77	29	**150**

Even though it is now highly doubted that the masks were ever intended to be worn, it has often been supposed that these masks were votive traces of some form of proto-drama, representing models of masks that would have been made from wood or other organic materials (a parallel for such practice can be found in the terracotta bells from Athena Chalkioikos).[575] Nonetheless, while some of the earlier masks could plausibly have been worn, and traces of colour on them remind us of the potential vibrancy of Spartan art, this *poikilia* was likely both visual and aural, since, while the masks themselves do not directly reveal much about the performances at Orthia, we can nonetheless draw some observations from them. [576]

One of the main arguments that the masks were not worn is that performers would not have been able to see or sing while wearing them, since they were not always produced with holes.[577] However, we need not assume that the wearers of the 'original' masks, let alone the terracotta masks, were singers. Let us return to Polykrates, *BNJ* 588, F1, first mentioned in **[Section 1.4]**:

χοροί τε νεανίσκων παμπληθεῖς εἰσέρχονται, καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν, ὀρχησταί τε ἐν τούτοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τὴν κίνησιν ἀρχαικὴν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν καὶ τὴν ᾠιδὴν ποιοῦνται.

…choruses of young men in their whole multitude come in, and they sing some of the locally composed [songs], and dancers, mixing up in them, make archaic movements [accompanied] by the aulos and the song.

Polykrates BNJ 588 (trans. Bayliss)

The text is unambiguous. It seems then, that we have evidence possibly going back to the 4th century (if we accept, *contra* Jacoby, that the author of this fragment was Polykrates the Sophist

[575] See Villing, 2002. On masks: Averett, 2015 (at Cyprus) and Carter, 1987 (at Sparta), both of whom explore Phoenician/ Punic influences, the former more convincingly than the latter. More generally: Wiles, 2012.

[576] Compare, for example, the yellows, blacks, and reds in: BM, 1999,1101.33; 1999,1101.31; 1999,1101.100; and 1999,1101.41. See also the examples on display in the Sparta Museum.

[577] See Rosenberg, 2015, 251-2.

[Appendix B]) for the performance of local Spartan songs (καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄιδουσιν) which involved a mixed (ἀναμεμιγμένοι) chorus which was formed of separate dancers, singers, and an aulos-player. If so, this is quite different to the typical Greek chorus, where it was usual for the role of dancer and singer to be combined. That the masks from Orthia point to a similar 'mixed' chorus seems possible, especially given that Polykrates notes the ancient nature of the dances.[578]

What else could be said about the performance for which these masks are evidence? Some brief comments can be made. The performances likely involved stock characters, or at least stock themes. While the masks can be divided into broad categories, that does not mean that the stories they accompanied always involved the same specific characters – the masks could stand-in to represent a broad range of figures, especially if further detailed with costume, for example, and sub-divisions of type.

In this regard, the slaying of the Gorgon and the capture of Silenus appear in Laconian art, and it is possible that some of the proposed Orthia performances revolved around this or similar mythical acts. Yet, aside from the terracotta masks, there are no certain visual representations of masked performances in Sparta. However, we might note a lead votive (*AO*.pl.CLXXXIII) which shows a running Gorgon. It is notable for the oversized head of the figure, but this is typical of the iconography of the time **[Fig. 4.12]**.[579]

A further point of similarity between the representation of the dancers in Laconian BF and the Orthia masks is that they both depict young and adult men. For Dickins, the bearded men were 'warriors', but there is no reason to see all of them as such (though some do seem to have worn helmets). Instead, the bearded masks might simply represent the different ages of the characters or performers, a distinction observed in the depiction of dances in Laconian BF. As such, the masks, while at first suggestive of *kōmos*-like performances at Orthia, seem more obviously to point to something mimetic, performances which might have been more like burlesques.[580]

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[578] Sparta was home to several unique choral forms. E.g. Timaios (*BNJ* 566 F140), writing in the fourth or third century, mentions that the 'so-called' Lakonistai "sang in rectangular choruses" (ἐν τετραγώνοις χοροῖς ᾖιδον), however, the extent to-which Timaios means Spartan performers, or Athenian imitators is unclear. The Spartan *dikēlistai* are discussed below.

[579] Pipili, 1987, 14-18.

[580] Rosenberg, 2015, 259: "It is difficult to agree with Nielsen (2002, 88) that the origin of drama in Greece is to be located at the sanctuary of Orthia at Sparta, but the masks seem to stand at the beginning of the shift from a purely ritual drama to a drama in which a broad range of masks was marshalled."

It is at this point that Sosibius (a Hellenistic scholar from Sparta) should also be noted, since it is possible that these masks do not relate to choral performances, but that they relate in some way to the Spartan *dikēlistai*, a type of mask-wearing comedic mime mentioned by Sosibius (a form that might have involved music).[581] Rosenberg has recently dissociated the *dikēlistai* from the terracotta masks because, "quite simply, neither he [Sosibius] nor any of the other ancient authors whom previous scholars have cited – Hesychius, Plutarch, Pollux, even Xenophon – can possibly have seen the Orthia masks, for they were buried intentionally many centuries before any of them wrote."[582] First, such a comment is not completely true. Dickins noted that the miniature terracotta masks appeared towards the end of Laconian V pottery and continued into the Laconian VI period. Admittedly, the chronology of Laconian VI is very broad (the excavators suggested from 425 to possibly as late as 250 BCE).[583] It is then possible that both Xenophon and Sosibius might have seen traces of the later terracotta masks when they were produced in miniature form (roughly 7x5 cm), but that is beside the point. It is widely accepted that the masks are votive copies of perishable masks. The lack of votive terracotta masks need not mean that the performances to which they acted as votive copies stopped, but that the practice of their dedication did.[584] Secondly, Sosibius wrote, as far as we can tell, about antiquarian matters, and Athenaeus, who preserves Sosibius' reference to Spartan *dikēlistai*, refers to it as a "κωμικῆς παιδιᾶς … τις <u>τρόπος παλαιός</u>". We need not assume that Sosibius was describing a contemporary custom. However, the point should not be pushed, since we cannot be certain either way.

[581] *BNJ* 595, T1, F7: "Among the Lakedaimonians there was an ancient style (τρόπος παλαιός) of comic entertainment, so Sosibios says, not particularly serious, seeing that even in these matters Sparta pursued simplicity. For someone would imitate in unrefined language people stealing fruit or a foreign doctor talking… Those practicing this sort of entertainment among the Lakonians are called dikēlistai, as one might say, "wearers of masks" or "mimes"."

[582] Rosenberg, 2015, 253.

[583] A similar point could be made for Hesychios' account of *brudalixa*, that it might have been based on an earlier source, ultimately, but we don't know. However, the miniature masks from Orthia's sanctuary are so unlike their predecessors, both in scale (the Laconian VI masks are only about 7cm high and 5cm wide, whereas the earlier masks are roughly life-size, XLVIII is 24cm high and 18cm wide) and style, that I doubt whether they relate to earlier masks. Dickins, *AO*, 165, states that "about fifty fragments, 'Old Women,' 'Youths,' 'Warriors,' and 'Caricatures'" were found with Laconian V pottery, but gives no numbers for those found with Laconian VI, only referencing some images, and that they were (165) "all small miniatures… and have no special individuality of their own, since masks of this type can be paralleled from most ancient sites" (see *AO*, pl.XXXVIII, 6-11).

[584] Rosenberg, 2015, 257 suggests 'probably linen', 'possibly wood'.

In order to assess the connection between performance and Orthia in more detail we can turn to the lead votives.[585] The Spartan lead votives represent one of the largest Greek votive assemblages. Over 100,000 were excavated from Orthia's sanctuary, and around 8,000 from the Menelaion.[586] After examining in the British School at Athens' archives the two Artemis Orthia notebooks that recorded the excavation of the lead votives, I was able to come to a total of the musicians. The lead figurines from Orthia were published in 1929, with a selection of the lead votives from the Menelaion published in 1984. William Cavanagh is currently preparing their full publication.[587] It is likely that these small votives were made on demand, most likely by craftsmen either connected to, or in close proximity to, the sanctuaries, making use of lead sourced from local and non-local mines, as well as lead mixed from more than one source.[588]

While it has been known for a long time that a number of different types of musicians are represented in the lead votives from Orthia's sanctuary, the total number of these musicians remained unpublished. Before exploring these numbers, and how they change our interpretation of the representation of the musicians, it is worth presenting how Wace categorised them in *AO*. **[Table 4.4]**

Table 4.4 Wace's 1929 categorisation and counting of musician types and related lead votives.

Wace's Types and *AO* image ref.		**Lead 1**	**Lead 2**	**Lead 3-4**	**Lead 6**
ALLIED TYPES					
CLXXXIII, 23, 25, 26	men	3			
CLXXXIX, 12; CXCI, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28	men		7		
CXCVI, 23, 27				2	
SATYR?					
p.268-272, fig.125	*unstratified*				
NIKAI					
Fig.122, g, h (p.268, p.263, fig.122)			2		
CXCVI, 26				1	
SIRENS					
CLXXXIX, 19			1		
CXCVI, 25, fig.125 i				1	
MEN ON FOOT					

[585] Lloyd, forthcoming b, where I note that the assemblage should really be called the 'lead votives' not the 'lead figurines', since over half of all the leads were wreaths.

[586] See Lloyd, forthcoming b, for more detailed numbers.

[587] Many thanks to William Cavanagh for providing me with a draft of his publication of the Menelaion leads (Cavanagh, forthcoming). *AO*, Lead Figurines; Cavanagh and Laxton, 1984, 23-36. Boss, 2000, *passim* and Gill & Vickers, 2001, *passim*.

[588] Lloyd, forthcoming a.

CXCVII, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39				12	
MUSICIANS					
CLXXX, 19	lyre	1			
CLXXXIII, 18, 19, 20,	lyre-players	3			
CLXXXIII, 21, 22, 24,	flute-players, men	3			
CLXXXIII, 27, 28	flute-players, women	2			
CLXXXIX, 10,11	lyre-players, men		2		
CLXXXIX, 7	lyre-players, women		1		
CLXXXIX, 13, 14, 15	flute-players, men		3		
CLXXXIX, 6, 8, 9	flute-players, women		3		
CXCV, 42	lyre-player, women			1	
CXCVI, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24	flute-players, men			5	
CXCV, 43, 45	flute-players, women			2	
CXCV, 44	cymbal-players, women			1	
DISCS					
CC, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27					6

The first group of lead votives are those which are distinctly komastic, a term that was not used by the excavators. These types can be identified in Wace's 'allied', 'men on foot', and 'musicians'.[589] For example, CLXXXIII, 25 shows a figure in a squatting dance very similar to the types seen in Laconian BF **[Fig. 4.13]**. CLXXXIII, 22, 24 show male aulos-players in naked squatting poses very similar to those seen in vases **1**, **3**, **17**, **18**, and **30 [Fig. 4.14]**. Aulos-players like CXCV, 43, CXCV, 20, who stand upright and wear short chitons, are similar to the aulos-player in **27 [Fig. 4.15]**. CLXXXIX, 14, and CLXXXIII 21, in that they stand or walk upright, and are naked, resemble the aulos-player in **4 [Fig. 4.16]**. Aulos-players such as CLXXXIII, 28 and CLXXXIX 6, 8, 9 resemble the aulos-players in **21** and **26** in that they wear ankle-length robes **[Fig. 4.17]**.

However, none of the lead lyre-players resemble the types in Laconian BF (**24**, **20**, **18**), and there are no obvious kithara-players either. While there are a number of seemingly naked lyre-players (CLXXXIII, 18, 19, CLXXXIX, 10) they are without a direct parallel to those in Laconian BF in that they appear to walk, rather than dance or run, even if we might note some

[589] Smith, 1998, 79: "Wace clearly did not know what to call these grotesque dancers, who slap their bottoms. Often his 'running man', 'satyric type' or 'allied type' male must be a human reveller, comparable to the type depicted on black-figure vases. Wace was himself aware of the similarity between the lead figurines and the types on vases, but he clearly lacked the current terminology…"

similarities with **2 [Fig. 4.18]**. Here the closest parallel is with the bronze statuette of a wreathed youth holding a lyre or kithara (the instrument has not survived) mentioned above **[Fig. 4.9 a-b].** Additionally, CLXXX, 19 is of note in that it is a representation of a lyre **[Fig. 4.19]**.

The total number of lead votive musicians from Orthia's sanctuary is: 229 aulos-players and 48 lyre(-players). While the notebooks did record the types of musician more specifically, I am not convinced that this was noted regularly or accurately (for example, I could not reliably identify a note of cymbal-playing females). See **[Fig. 4.20]** for an example page of the notebook. The table below records the musicians as recorded in the notebooks, but I am not convinced that gender was noted regularly or accurately. Nevertheless, the large difference between aulos-players and lyre(-players) is quite noticeable. The popularity of the aulos here should encourage us to question the extent to which the lyre was seen as the instrument *par excellence* in Spartan festive settings, as is often assumed **[Table 4.5]**.

Table 4.5 Tally of musicians in Orthia lead notebooks.

Lyre	**Lyre tortoise(shell)**	**Lyre 'running man'**	**Lyre player female**
11	3	1	3
Lyre player male	**Lyre player**	**Flute**	**Flute pigtail**
1	29 or 30	17	14
Flute pigtails	**Flute player 'vax'(?)**	**Male flute player**	**Female flute player**
8	53	38	13
Flute player	**Nude men (flute player)**	**Flautists**	**female flautists**
76	1	8	1

Cavanagh's forthcoming study of the lead votives from the Menelaion reveals a number of differences which complement the findings from Orthia's sanctuary. For example, new moulds of celebrants, dancer and musicians were found in Lead IIIB-IV contexts,[590] and they still appear, but "are sparsely represented" in Lead V-VI and Lead VI contexts.[591]

In total Cavanagh identified: 13 different types of 'flautists' (55.01-.13), totalling 19 votives; 4 types of lyre-players (56.01-.04), totalling 5 votives; and 15 types of padded dancer, totalling 34 votives. No lead votive representing just a 'lyre' was found.[592] This ratio of (very roughly) 1:4 lyre- and aulos-players is similar to the ratio of musicians at Orthia's sanctuary. In terms of

[590] Cavanagh, forthcoming, 54.03, 54.04, 55.05, 56.02, 57.07, 57.10.

[591] Cavanagh, forthcoming, "[in Lead 6] Only two types cannot be attested earlier, quite probably no new moulds were being made of these varieties." The Lead 6 moulds are: 54.01*, 54.03*, 55.02*, 55.12*, 57.04*, 57.07*, 57.11*, 57.12, 57.14. (The starred numbers indicate moulds represented in previous phases).

[592] Cavanagh, forthcoming.

total numbers, the general category of 'celebrants' (which included 'komasts' and other non-musicians) seems to have made up never more than 10% of the total (non-wreath) assemblage at the Menelaion, comparable to the number of 'deity' votives there.[593]

In discussing the significance of the iconography of the 'celebrants', Cavanagh concludes that "As with the other votives, therefore, the 'celebrants' convey a rather generalised picture of festivity rather than cult-specific rites."[594] Here I disagree with Cavanagh. As I agrued for Laconian BF, there are demonstrable differences in the way that lead votive musicians are represented because of the heterogenous nature of Laconian performances. If we interpret the lead votive musicians as general representations of things that one might find in a festival, we start to rule out the possibility that the different types and styles of musicians had some distinguishable meaning for those who dedicated them, even if these meanings are, as it stands, beyond our complete comprehension. Indeed, we can identify in the lead votives types of musician not easily seen in Laconian BF. Take CLXXXIII, 27, which is, in principle, similar to aulos-players in Laconian BF who wear long robes and stand-upright, such as **21**. However, CLXXXIII, 27 has a very particular kind of costume, with a lozenge-like protrusion from their back **[Fig. 4.21]**. Their face is difficult to discern, but it also seems that they have particularly stylised hair too. Could this be an artist's attempt to render some specific costume or ritual outfit? I am unsure, but the Spartan who dedicated it probably knew.

One of the problems with identifying the meaning behind any given lead votive is that they are separated from a wider iconographical schema. The upright musicians in vases **5, 14, 21, 27, 28, 29** can only be identified as accompanying a dance because they are flanked by dancers; there is nothing inherent about their individual posture to associate them with such dances. With the lead votives we do not have this aid, even though it is possible that they may have once been glued, perhaps to wooden boxes, maybe even clothes, to create 'friezes'.[595]

Nevertheless, the lead votives, and the lead figurines more specifically, have been very finely crafted. Unlike Laconian BF, where lyres are often drawn in very general and inaccurate terms, the lyres of the figures are rendered with much closer detail to their organology. Attempts are made to articulate the carapace of the tortoise-shell sound box (unlike **20**), the strings are clearly defined, and even the metal *chordotonion* at the bottom of the lyre to which the strings were attached (a curiously specific organological detail, until we perhaps note that the metalworkers

[593] Cavanagh, forthcoming.

[594] Cavanagh, forthcoming.

[595] I am thankful to Dr. Chrysthani Gallou for the suggestion. See Lloyd, forthcoming b, with reference to a similar proposal from Ross.

involved in producing the lead votives were also likely involved in the production of other metal objects). A high level of detail is also preserved in the depiction of the aulos-players, where we see such details as the *phorbeia* have been carefully etched out.

In Boss' 2000 study he groups the musician votives together ('Theme 20') and subdivides them into motifs 20.1 ('musicians in long robes'),[596] 20.2 ('musicians in short robes or tops'),[597] and 20.3 ('naked musicians').[598] Curiously, Boss claims to have identified a votive depicting an aulete wearing a Corinthian helmet (nr.606) and an aulete wearing a Corinthian helmet and a breastplate (nr.610). Boss then ties these to three types of votives he groups as "Waffentänzer" (Motif 19.2, part of Theme 19, "Kulttänzer"). If Boss is correct, then this would be slight but compelling evidence for military dances in Sparta of the type attested in references to the pyrrhic dance or the *enhoplion*, or indeed, for the aulos accompanying the military. However, I express doubts over Boss' interpretation of these votives. Nr.606, does not survive intact, but is constructed from two fragments. Additionally, it is unclear if the item that Nr.610 holds is actually an aulos, since it does not seem to connect directly with the figure's mouth.

As an addendum to this analysis, a surprise last-minute communication with Liz Papageorgiou, who, unknown to me, had studied the lead votives on display and in storage at the Sparta Museum in 1976, revealed some further data. Papageorgiou had created a written catalogue of the votives (with photographs), but this was never published nor digitised, and her photographs much more clearly seem to show a type of votive depicting an aulos-player in a short chiton or a longer robe with an open-faced helmet which she calls 'soldier aulete'.[599] Papageorgiou also found a number of musician types that were never recorded or published by Wace in *AO*, further highlighting the extent to which the lead votive assemblage needs to be restudied – Papageorgiou's work will be invaluable for any such study. The extent to which Wace's published catalogue of the lead votives in *AO* represents only a small portion of the range and diversity of the musicians (to say nothing of the other types) is apparent in Papageorgiou's comment that "of the ninety-five types of musicians I found, he published thirty."[600]

Other types of lead votives traditionally identified as musicians are further open to interpretation: for example, those who seem to bring a short, flared pipe to their mouths with one hand while the other is free (CXCVI, 22) **[Fig. 4.22]**, or those who hold a long curved,

[596] Nr.592-604.

[597] Nr.605-610.

[598] Nr.611-636.

[599] Papageorgiou, private communication, 19.7.19. Papageorgiou, unpublished, catalogue no. M.52, 73-76.

[600] Papageorgiou, private communication, 20.6.19.

bow-like object in both hands, brought to the mouth (CLXXXIII, 23, CLXCVI, 23) **[Fig. 4.23]**. The later are particularly notable for the long braid of hair which runs down their back.[601] It is possible that this last type of musician is to be identified as those recorded in the Lead Notebooks as the 'Flute, pigtail(s)' category, but I cannot be certain. While there is very little evidence for instruments in Archaic Greece like those held by CLXXXIII, 23 and CLXCVI, 23, parallels can be made, not with reed instruments, but brass instruments. For example, the small one-handed conical object resembles a sort of simple brass instrument like the Myrina Salpinx.[602] The longer curved instrument recalls the Roman *cornu*.[603] As seen in [**Section 2]**, Barker has interpreted these lead votives as representing an early or experimental stage in the development of the aulos. From the basis of the Orthia aulos fragments, I argued that such a conclusion is difficult to make. Here, from the perspective of the lead votives, it is possible to see them as instruments, just not auloi. If so, it is worth noting the bronze statuette of a salpinx-player in the Sparta Museum **[Fig. 4.24].** He is naked and raises one arm. There is a hole in his hand which would have accommodated the now-lost salpinx which would have been placed to his mouth as if playing. Unlike the bronze salpinx-player, who stands upright, these two types of possible brass players dance. Further, we should mention **7** which might depict a salpinx-player within the context of some kind of procession.[604]

Therefore, when contextualising Laconian BF scenes of musical performance and dance, one option would be to place them within the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and hence, one would assume, worship of Orthia. However, such a seemingly logical conclusion is clouded when we note that the excavators found two fragments of a marble *perirrhanterion* in Orthia's sanctuary. Its editors supposed the text was in relation to a libation of wine for Apollo:

> [- - σπένδεν] οἴ̣νοι δὶς καὶ ̣τοι̣̃ ᾿Α[πέλλονι (?) - -]
>
> *IG*, Vi 362

That Apollo was worshipped within Orthia's sanctuary would not be too surprising; for example, Eilytheia seems to have received worship within the boundaries of Orthia's sanctuary,

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[601] Compare the shorter, but similar style, hair of aulos-playing musicians (CLXXXIII, 21, CLXXXIX, 12, CXCVI, 19, 21).

[602] See Descamps and Pariselle, *Musiques!* 370-373, fig.6. cat. no. 376.

[603] See Caussé and Piéchaud, *Musiques!* 374-379, fig.1.

[604] This vase has been included since it was categorised as 'Laconian VI', however, it seems to be an early type of red-figure style decoration, rather than black-figure. I was not able to locate the fragment.

or just outside them.[605] This should make us think a little harder about whether we should assume every votive found in the sanctuary was dedicated with only Orthia in mind. Many of the lead votives represent Poseidon, Hermes, Athena, Herakles too, and since a number of the figurines show upright male lyre-players, we should also consider the possibility that some of them were intended to represent Apollo. Nonetheless, the masks are associated with Orthia's temple specifically, and the lead votives with her altar (but throughout the sanctuary more generally), as well as Menelaus and Helen.[606]

I now turn to another *perirrhanterion*, whose base depicts Dionysos and was mentioned near the beginning of **[Section 4]**. This *perirrhanterion* was also for a god within close proximity to another's sanctuary and provides us with another possible recipient of the types of performance seen on Laconian BF and represented in the lead votives.

4.4.4 Dionysos

The terracotta *perirrhanterion* to Dionysos was found in a deposit in the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Alexandra (Kassandra), near to Apollo's precinct at Amyklai **[Fig. 4.25]**. On it an upright, clothed, aulos-player accompanies a naked dancing satyr, while Dionysos reclines, holding up a kantharos (the scene is then repeated).[607] It has been dated to c.575 and c.510 BCE by Stibbe and Pipili respectively.[608] The pose of the dancer is reminiscent of many of the dances

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[605] Pipili, 1987, 58-60.

[606] Lloyd, forthcoming b.

[607] Neither Pipili nor Stibbe make it clear, however, that the scene is repeated on either side of the perirrhanterion. Having examined the object, the scene seems to have been made via an impression, and the artist seems to have slightly misjudged how much space they had, since there is an overlap between the two impressions, so that on one side the aulos-player is superimposed on top of Dionysos. Pipili, 1987, 52-4 (148), 116 "small altar or perirrhanterion"; Stibbe, 1991, 33-34 (cf. n.109 for bibliography on the variety of uses for *perirrhanteria*). On the deposit, see Christou, 1956, 211-212; 1960, 228-231; 1961, 177-178, and Daux, 1961, 685, fig.5.

[608] On the date: Pipili, 1987, 53 "difficult to date accurately, but certainly belongs to the later archaic period, contemporary with the bulk of pottery from the site. The last decade of the sixth century is a possible date because the Dionysos is very similar to late Attic black-figure representations and clearly copies them." However, Stibbe, 1991, 34 "Es dürfte im frühen dritten Viertel des sechsten Jahrhunderts entstanden sein.", n.111, in response to Pipili's suggestion that it follows Attic black-figure examples "…weil sie glaubt die Szene würde attischen spät-schwarzfigurigen Beispielen nachfolgen." This is because Stibbe observes that the "Etagenperücke" of Dionysos seen in the perirrhanterion was no longer used in Laconian art after the middle of the sixth century. That the two leading experts of Laconian iconography came to such wide-ranging dates (575 and 510) is telling of the wider problems faced by students of Laconian iconography. Further, such dating only really takes into account the style of Dionysos, not the satyr of the musician. The closest parallel to the musician in Laconian art is the aulos-player

seen in Laconian BF, so it is also possible that the scenes allude to a festival in worship of Dionysos. But what kind of music might have accompanied such revels?

The closest we get to a Dionysian song in Spartan literature is Alcman PMG 56, addressed to a female. This has led some to assume that the 'you' is a female chorus member or a nymph (or similar) involved in the worship of Dionysos, but Orthia has also plausibly been linked to the fragment too.[609]

πολλάκι δ᾽ ἐν κορυφαῖς ὀρέων, ὅκα
σιοῖσι ϝάδῃ πολύφανος ἑορτά,
χρύσιον ἄγγος ἔχοισα, μέγαν σκύφον,
οἷά τε ποιμένες ἄνδρες ἔχοισιν,
5 χερσὶ λεόντεον ἐν γάλα θεῖσα
τυρὸν ἐτύρησας μέγαν ἄτρυφον Ἀργειφόντᾳ.[610]

Often on the tops of mountains, whenever
The festival of many torches gives pleasure to the gods,
Holding a golden pail, a great *skyphos*,
The sort that shepherds/herdsman have,
You placed in it the milk of a lioness with your hands,
You cheesed a *gros fromage dur* for the Argus-slayer.[611]

Alcman PMG 56 (trans. Author)

Generally speaking, the fragments of Alcman seem to present musical performances of a more ordered fashion than the komastic scenes represented in Laconian BF, but when they do present

on **27**, which is attributed to the Naukratis Painter, and dated to c.570-550 BCE. Not only is the pose of the aulos-player similar, but so too is the short chiton, unlike later depictions of aulos-players in Laconian BF. There are also certain similarities between the aulos-player here and the lead votive musicians. There is no direct parallel for the satyr on the *perirrhanterion* in Laconian art, but see Delahaye, 2006, fig.4-6. The closest example seems to be the bronze satyr illustrated in Stibbe, 2009, 145 fig. 15. 7 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. VI 2610, allegedly from Sparta, now lost).

[609] See *Calame*, for commentary. The passage is transmitted by Athenaeus, but linked to Dionysos via Ael. Aristid. *Or.* 41. 7: λεόντεον γάλα ἀμέλγειν ἀνέθηκέν τις αὐτῷ (sc. Διονύσῳ) Λακωνικὸς ποιητής.

[610] While both ἔχοισα and θεῖσα could be dual or singular, ἐτύρησας would imply that only one person is referred to.

[611] See *Calame*, for commentary on the style of cheese.

a more Dionysian performance, the chorus or the protagonist seem to be a woman, as in PMG 56 above and the surviving *partheneiai*, but also in PMG 63 (Schol. min. *Hom. Il.* 6. 21):[612]

> οἱ δὲ πολλὰ γένη νυμφῶν, ὥς φησιν Ἀλκμάν·
>
> Ναΐδες τε Λαμπάδες τε Θυιάδες τε,
>
> Θυιάδες μὲν αἱ συμβακχεύουσαι Διονύσῳ καὶ συνθυίουσαι, τουτέστι συνεξορμοῦσαι· Λαμπάδες δὲ αἱ σὺν Ἑκάτῃ δᾳδοφοροῦσαι καὶ συλλαμπαδεύουσαι.
>
> Some say there are many kinds of nymphs, such as Alcman:
>
> "Naiads and Lampads and Thyiads,"
>
> Thyiads are those who revel and go wild, go out of their minds with Dionysos, Lampads are those who carry torches and lights with Hecate.
>
> Alcman PMG 63

Important here are a number of Archaic Laconian bronzes which depict individual woman musicians.[613] The representation of female musicians in bronze appears to be of a different nature to that depicted in Laconian BF, where women play the aulos at dinners on **9** and **29**, and in a (now lost?) fragment which seems to have depicted a (clothed) female chorus **[Fig. 4.27]**. The female musicians depicted in bronze play the cymbals (also attested by the lead votives) **[Fig. 4.28, Fig. 4.29, Fig. 2.30]**; it is also possible one holds a bell **[Fig. 4.31]**.[614] They are, on the whole, depicted as naked female youths, unlike those on Laconian BF. One bronze statuette has been interpreted as a female aulos-player, but having examined it in person I am

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[612] With the exception of: Stibbe, 1972, pl.13.5 (26), p.73. Naukratis Painter, Group D, 565-560 BCE, from Samos. See Stibbe, 2009, 147 fig.15.10-13 (Sparta, 3305) for a possible bronze maenad, though I am not convinced.

[613] For a catalogue of Laconian bronzes, see Herfort-Köch, 1986.

[614] The bronzes can be divided into those which acted as mirror handles:

> Athens, NAM, X7548 = Herfort-Köch K 56 (p.97), c.550 BCE
>
> NY MET, 74.51.5680 = Herfort-Köch K 61 (p.99), c.540-530 BCE.

And those which acted as attachments to other objects:

> Athens, NAM, A15890
>
> Kalamata, Museum AE 918 = Herfort-Köch K 74 (p.103), an unpublished statuette in the Kalamata museum (cf. Luraghu, 2008, 135, n.125), dated c.550-530 BCE.

The bronze mirrors would have been particularly prestigious objects, compare a bronze mirror handle with an incised female figure, rather than a sculpted one (from Kalamata: Stibbe, 2006, 84, fig.10). It is possible that Sparta Museum 3302 = Herfort-Köch K 57 (p.97) does not hold an apple, as Herfort-Köch suggests, but a bell. For female dedications of cymbals, Luraghi, 2008, 135, n.125.

not sure of the identification **[Fig. 4.26]**.[615] Again, given the use of masks of male and female characters at Orthia, we should perhaps entertain the idea that not every female pronoun in Alcman need to have related to a female performer, but that they might refer to a male performing the role of a female, re-enacting some mythological narrative. This is not to remove the role of female performance at Sparta, which is abundantly clear in Alcman and Laconian BF and bronzes, but to complicate the narrative and mimetic constructs of Spartan song.

Perhaps the most important fragment in this context, and one which, as far as I can tell, has gone unmentioned, is Pindar fr.156 S-M (= Paus. 3.25.2):[616]

> τραφῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν Σιληνὸν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἐξ ᾄσματος Πινδάρου·
> ὁ ζαμενὴς δ᾽ ὁ χοροιτύπος,
> ὃν Μαλέας ὄρος ἔθρεψε, Ναΐδος ἀκοίτας
> Σιληνός
>
> These verses from Pindar's poem make clear that Silenus was raised in Malea:
> "the ecstatic dancer with beating feet,
> whom the mountain of Malea raised, the husband of a Naiad,
> Silenus"

Pindar fr.156 S-M

It is tempting to connect this local mythology (Malea is the south-eastern cape of Laconia) with the occurrence of the capture of Silenus in Laconian BF pottery, lending further support to the suggestion that such a story or a similar one might have been re-enacted by those wearing the Orthia masks.[617] The association with Silenus, dance, and Malea, especially given the material

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[615] Athens, NAM, A15900. The positioning of the hands does not seem to line up, one hand is turned up, suggesting that she perhaps held something else.

[616] It is not mentioned in: Stibbe, 1991; Constantinidou, 1998; Smith, 2010 and 1998. Delahaye, 2016, n.25 references the passage as mentioning Silenus, but does not note the Laconian connection. Cf. Pindar fr.157 (plausibly from the same piece?) which has Silenus talking to Olympus the musician. On Pindar fr.156 S-M, cf. Fantham, 1986, 45-57: "Paroxytone -τύπος forms are active, often substantival and denoting human agents: they seem to arise slightly later and are particularly common from the beginning of the fourth century…", n.5 "One of the earliest active formations seems to be χοροιτύπος "beating out the dance" Pindar fr. 156...".

[617] Delahaye, 2016, 64-64, lists three examples ("Villa Giulia 57231. Coupe trouvée à Bisenzio. Peintre de Typhon 22 (fig. 8). Berlin WS 4. Coupe trouvée à Samos. Peintre des Cavaliers. Vers 560 av. J.-C. 23 (fig. 9). Kavala. Fragment de coupe trouvé à Kavala. Vers 565-530 av. J.-C. 24 (fig. 10)."), I am thankful to Kathleen Lynch for making me aware of a fourth example, unpublished, from the excavations at Gordion.

evidence we have just seen, certainly hints at the performance of male ecstatic dances in archaic Sparta, and this line of thought is further advanced by a satyr on a vase from Orthia's sanctuary which Smith suggests "may well be a man dressed as a satyr".[618] The reference from Pindar suggests that an association between Silenus and Malea was still strong in the Classical period, and a continued Spartan interest in Silenus seems to be confirmed by the slight evidence of Laconian RF too **[Fig. 4.1]**.

However, in what context might these Alcmanic performances be called Dionysian, beyond the evidence presented by the *perirrhanterion* and the references to mystic rites, Silenus, and maenads? Wine seems to have played in interesting role in Spartan lyric. Alcman PMG 92a-d refers to (a) ἄπυρον ϝοῖνον (unfired wine), and (b-d) refer to different local varieties of Laconian wine. PMG 93 refers to the 'poikilion ix [perhaps a type of bird] … destroyer of vine-buds',[619] and PMG 114 might refer to wine too. If only fragmentary, it seems that the production of wine was a topic explored in some of the songs composed by Alcman.[620]

However, references to wine do not equal references to drinking, nor do they equate with 'komastic' drinking. As we have seen, wine was used in libations and in sensible drinking too.[621] Further, wine was a crucial aspect of dining throughout Hellas. As such, beyond the evidence provided by the *perirrhanterion* itself, there are limited and difficult sources that survive for musical performances in relation to Dionysian worship at Sparta in the Archaic period. However, this lack of evidence should not undermine the significance of the imagery of the *perirrhanterion*, which combines aulos, satyr, and drinking Dionysos, all in one (repeated) scene, imagery which while connected to the iconography of Laconian BF, deviates from it in important ways, as I highlighted.

4.4.5 Dinners: between dignitaries and death

The literary evidence for Spartan dining as explored in **[Section 4.2.1]** is not very clear, but we are told by later sources that they could be organised as part of festivals, most famously at the Hyakinthia see **[Appendix B]**. Ritual meals for the dead seem to have taken place too, as

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[618] Smith, forthcoming, 2. Body, Clothing, Costume. For the vase: Pipili 1987, no.179 and Stibbe 1972, no.64.

[619] Cf. *Calame* for commentary, perhaps from a song about 'Dionysos and the Pirates'.

[620] PMG 124 perhaps refers to Dionysos, is perhaps by Alcman, and perhaps was later (?) used as a proverb for those who did not drink wine. Cf. *Calame*.

[621] See Reusser, 2014, 413-424.

examined in **[Section 3.4]**.[622] It is only in Alcman PMG 98 that these meals are specifically gendered ‘of men’, yet in other (later) sources, it seems that ritual meals or similar events could be mixed-gender, and some of the dinners depicted in Laconian BF do indeed show both male and female diners.[623] In fact, one of the earliest fragments of Laconian pottery, Proto-Geometric, shows a male and a female holding a lyre, but the extent to which the image relates to later Archaic customs is unclear, if it relates to them at all (**31**).[624] However, standing in contrast to these co-gendered depictions, Spartan lyric is often represented in very gendered terms, as shown in the above subsection.

How then, should we interpret scenes of musicking in relation to scenes of dining? The first point to note is that the musician acts as a symbol of the diner’s wealth. Take **28**, plates of food adorn a table, alongside a kantharos and a small cup. Below the table sit two obedient Laconian hounds, symbolic of the riches of the hunt, keeping watch over the diners’ boots.[625] In fact, so important are the diners that they are attended by two small figures from whose heads floral volutes stem,[626] and no less than four winged daemons flock about them. Important in interpreting this scene are the snakes, lizards, and birds that further decorate and elevate the scene from the mortal to the immortal, or perhaps the heroized dead.[627] At left stands, possibly, a lyre-player, while at right, an aulos-player wearing a short mid-thigh chiton plays. [628] Unlike the first type of scene (**6**), where the musician takes a central position, here the musicians are cast to the side, and even in **6**, it should be noted that the winged figure attends the diner, and not the musician. Here the musicians take on a very different role to that seen in other Laconian BF scenes, where more often than not they partake in the performance as equals to the dancers,

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[622] See **[Section 3].** Tsouli, 2016, 353-383.

[623] Cf. Polykrates (BNJ 588), does not mention women specifically, but the Hyakinthian dinners seem to, by all means, be very inclusive: “ἅπασα δ᾽ ἐν κινήσει καὶ χαρᾶι τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν, ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῆ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους· οὐδεὶς δ᾽ ἀπολείπει τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ κενοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θοίνην.”

[624] *AO*, 63.

[625] Thomsen, 2011, 110 reads these as cosmological symbols.

[626] Also elevating the scene from the realm of the mortal, so Thomsen, 2011, 111.

[627] On the idea that these two figures are the Dioskouroi, which Thomsen rejects (Thomsen, 2011, 111-112). It should be noted that the Dioskouroi were well sung-of in Sparta, cf. PMG 1, and at least one dedication carried a simple verse inscription (Sparta Museum, 447), so the suggestion should not be ruled out completely.

[628] Thomsen, 2011, 109: “Gerahmt wird die Szene links und rechts von Musikanten, rechts einem bekleideten Flötenspieler, links wohl einem Lyraspieler, der vielleicht nackt ist.” I am less certain that the figure at left was a lyre-player, but am open to the possibility, given the symmetry of the scene.

and when they are distinguished from other figures, are less obviously removed visual foci, at least compared to **28**.

In the third scene type (**9**) it is notable that one *daimon* gestures towards the female aulos-player's mouth while another *daimon* flies with a wreath towards the second aulos-player. In the other *synaikla* scenes, it is always the diners who are attended upon by *daimones*, never the attendant musicians (see **6, 27**). If the presence of the women on the couches were not enough to suggest their social prestige, in comparison to the musicians who attend beside the diners, then the attention given to them by *daimones* does. In this case, I think we might likely say that this scene represents a festival *kopis*, or similar, where a collective social group has gathered in celebration, if so, then these female aulos-players could be interpreted as the wives of the other diners.[629]

But how else might these scenes of dining be interpreted? There are two possibilities which seem likely. The first is a return to the idea that the Laconian BF dinners represent *Totenmahl*, "[a] theory which has won little support."[630] The second, I suggest, is that these scenes are symbolic of the well-wishes given during libationary paeans which would have been, as Alcman PMG 98 shows, a key element of the Spartan dining ritual.

As outlined above, I agree with Powell that it is unlikely that **9**, the Mitra Vase, depicts a *Totenmahl*.[631] However, recent archaeological evidence, discussed in **[Section 3.4]** now shows that ritual consumption was a part of Spartan burial customs, and this goes some way to counter Lane's rejection of the *Totenmahl* interpretation on the basis that "the kylix is a vase used for convivial occasions and not for funerals."[632] Indeed, when thinking about the kylix as a cup for drinking wine, another interpretation presents itself.

At the beginning of this section, I explored the interpretation of Laconian BF iconography presented by Scott, that "images of the symposium and *kōmos* need not refer to actual social occasions occurring in real time and space; they can evoke a symbolic world of aristocratic

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[629] *Contra* Powell, 1998, 126, "Was the supernatural association [of the *daimones*] devalued, if it could be assigned to females in a sympotic setting, who were quite likely foreign and hired? Or, rather than degrading the supernatural aura, does the Mitra Vase perhaps fit with our evidence for the high importance of music in Spartan life?" The performance of men and women in Sparta is first represented in a geometric fragment, where both a male and female figure hold a lyre (**31**), and, if we can say that it relates to Spartan customs, rather than Samian, the chalice from the Samian Artemisium (**26**), possibly shows male and female figures processing together accompanied by auloi. On the performances of boys and girls at the Hyakinthia, see Polycrates BNJ 588.

[630] Powell, 1998, 124.

[631] Powell, 1998, 124.

[632] Lane, 1933-1934, 159. This line of argument was also held by Powell, 1998, 124.

dining in a type of synecdoche."[633] In many ways, this argument is attractive, since, as we have seen above, Laconian BF artists experimented with a certain conceptual complexity. Thus at least in the case of the second type of dinner described above, it is helpful to view these scenes as visualising a key element of the *deipna*, and our best guide to the thought-world of a Spartan dinner is, perhaps, Ion of Chios fr.27 West, c.450 BCE:

> χαιρέτω ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε·
>
> ἡμῖν δὲ κρητῆρ' οἰνοχόοι θέραπες
>
> κιρνάντων προχύταισιν ἐν ἀργυρέοις· †ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς
>
> οἶνον ἔχων χειρῶν νιζέτω εἰς ἔδαφος.†
>
> σπένδοντες δ' ἁγνῶς Ἡρακλεῖ τ' Ἀλκμήνῃ τε,
>
> Προκλεῖ Περσείδαις τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι
>
> πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν· ἴτω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοιδή,
>
> ὀρχείσθω τις· ἑκὼν δ' ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης.
>
> ὅντινα δ' εὐειδὴς μίμνει θήλεια πάρευνος,
>
> κεῖνος τῶν ἄλλων κυδρότερον πίεται.

> May our king rejoice, our saviour and father; let the attendant cup-bearers mix for us a crater from silver urns; †Let the golden one with wine in his hands wash to the base † Pouring libations piously to Heracles and Alcmene, Procles and the sons of Perseus and Zeus first of all, let us drink, let us play, let our song rise through the night. Dance someone, willingly begin the festivities. And anyone who has a fair girl waiting to share his bed will drink more like a man than all the others.
>
> Ion fr. 27 West (trans. Stewart, 2018)

It is perhaps not too surprising that many of these elements are seen in Laconian BF dining scenes. There are 'attendant cup-bearers'. There are kraters. There is musicking. There are women. There are dances. But most importantly, there are libations, in this case, "to Heracles and Alcmene, Procles and the sons of Perseus and Zeus." While libations might not be depicted in action on Laconian BF dining scenes, it is possible that the cups themselves embody them,

[633] Scott, 2010, 177. See **[Section 4.2.4]**.

and, as was suggested when looking at **4,** it is possible that that vase shows a libation. If, as Scott suggests, we should view Laconian BF more abstractly, it is interesting that we often find diners depicted in twos. **[Fig. 4.32]** Could it be that these types of scene do not represent *Totenmahl*, nor representations of mortal gatherings, but represent the idealised *deipna* of the heroes common to the libations and paeans of *synaikla*? After all, Laconian BF *kylikes* were cups for wine, and that wine was not just for dinking, but libations too.[634]

How readily can we accept Ion of Chios fr.27 West as a Spartan song? The problem is that our understanding of Spartan attitudes to music in the fifth century, as laid out in **[Section 1]**, have been heavily influenced by non-Spartan writers, and our own histories have been greatly influenced by the ensuing mirage.[635] As highlighted at the beginning of this section, we are also restricted insofar as the amount of fifth century Spartan archaeological material is limited too. At any rate, scholars such as Jacoby, Huxley, and West have all wrestled with understanding the context of this song, with the former two favouring a Spartan reading which associates 'our king' with Archadamus II.[636]

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

There are a number of methodological variables that make it difficult to form a firm conclusion about what scenes of Laconian BF of musicking at dances and dinners can tell us about sixth century Spartan attitudes to music. Many of the vases were found outside Sparta, and many of the vases show individual quirks, either in the way a musician is dressed, or in the overall composition of the scene where they play. Do these scenes then represent a lived actuality, or were they symbolic, representing a certain ideal, or perhaps a parody, or even something mythological? These quirks, on the one hand seen as the influence of particular artists, might also represent, so I argue, the heterogenous nature of *kōmos*-like performances in Archaic Sparta. On the whole, this study suggests that these scenes can indeed be used as evidence for sixth century Spartan musical customs and argues that they reveal certain types of performance that are otherwise un-noted by Tyrtaeus and Alcman, or often quickly rejected by modern

[634] The cup normally used for the libation itself, however, was the *phiale*.

[635] Stewart, 2018, *passim* provides a detailed discussion of the scholarship.

[636] Bartol, 2000 provides a good overview of the different arguments, ultimately suggesting that the song was composed for a diplomatic meeting between Spartans and Athenians, but that Ion of Chios "encourages the symposiasts to enjoy feasting and love, and not to glorify the Spartan ruler." (p.192).

scholars (as is the case with Apolline 'komasts').[637] Laconian BF pottery allows us to see the professional musician as part of a web of archaic Spartan consumption, depicted as separate from citizen performers, while also confirming that citizen youths could accompany their own performances. The difficulty with interpreting any given scene is that there were at least three religious contexts into which such performance might fit, worship of Orthia, Apollo, and Dionysos, and it is not always clear from the iconography as to which context is implied.

The role of women in Archaic Spartan music is also further complicated, and it is suggested that in addition to performing in choruses, women could also provide musical accompaniment at *kopis*-like dinners. Additionally, given the appearance of cymbals as attributes for aristocratic girls on prestigious bronze objects, that musicking was a key identifier of both male and female Spartiate identity is further confirmed.

Despite a recent turn in scholarship that has argued for the limited social relevance of Laconian BF iconography at Sparta, on account of it being created for export (primarily to Samos), this section has shown that the deeply local relevance of the representation of music and musicians in Laconian BF speaks loudly for these scenes being produced for a local market. The relevance of this iconography is demonstrated not only by its relation to other local media that were never intended for export, such as the lead votives and masks, but also by overlooked textual evidence concerning the role of music in Spartan dances and dinners.

Further, those who have accepted the social relevance of Laconian BF iconography at Sparta must now reassess the extent to which these images support traditional narratives and attributes concerning the changing nature and characterisation of Spartan music. Such accounts were, as I will argue in the next section, greatly influenced by musical ethos theory, and Roman discussions of Sparta's musical conservatism and traditionalism can be directly contrasted with the decidedly modern and non-traditional forms of musicking practised by a wide range of international musicians at Spartan festivals, modes of performance which sit uneasily beside the archaising appearance of the *paidikoi agōnes*.

[637] See Fearn, 2007 **[Section 3.7]**, who argues the Bacchylides *Idas* dithyramb might have been performed for Apollo.

SECTION FIVE: DECONSTRUCTING SPARTAN MUSIC

5.1 DECONSTRUCTING SPARTAN MUSIC PART ONE

This chapter shows how the image of Spartan music presented by Plutarch, the Plutarchian *De Musica*, Athenaeus and other sources – which present Sparta as especially musically draconian, conservative, and/or militaristic (and where these factors can be connected to the idea of musical ethos) – need to be better contextualised and balanced considering material evidence from Sparta which is witness to a diverse and ever-changing musical culture, particularly in the Roman Imperial period.[638]

In the first part of this chapter I will present the differing views of Spartan music in Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle to show that from a relatively early period there is no clear view of Spartan attitudes to the regulation of music. I will then highlight the ways in which Sparta's supposed heavy regulation of musicking was in fact no more extreme, nor extraordinary, than the laws and customs governing musicking in other Greek states.

Having demonstrated that Spartan music was never truly homeostatic, I will highlight how the image of Spartan music that developed during the 4th century was used by supporters of musical ethos theory. This in turn seems to have directly led not only to the rejection of earlier sources concerning Spartan music, but also to the creation of archaising fictions in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The evidence here is not always clear cut, and two important figures (Cinaethon and Chilon) receive further analysis in **[Appendix A]**.

In the second part I explore the musical traditions of Roman Sparta, focusing on those features which are either 'archaising' or 'normalising'. This includes the *paidikoi agōnes* inscriptions, but also surviving agonistic inscriptions which record the musicians and other performers victorious in Sparta. Of note here too are Roman statues and mosaics from Sparta, as well as the theatre. In sum, the musical culture of Roman Sparta seems much more 'normalised' than it appears 'archaising'.

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[638] *S&L²*, 66, "Finally, the Sparta which emerged into the light of history as the most powerful state in Greece possessed customs and institutions that seemed alien and antiquated to those interested in recording them. Revivalist movements in the third century and again during the early Roman Empire naturally served to reinforce this conservative image (Bourguet 1927, 21), and Sparta came to be regarded as archetypally 'Dorian'. This aspect of the 'Spartan mirage', as we shall see, is perhaps the hardest of all to penetrate with assurance. The most hopeful method of demolishing the more extravagant claims of 'tradition' is a sober statement of the archaeological record, fragmentary and one-sided though this undoubtedly is."

Some of the points I make in this chapter will at first seem obvious; of course the musical culture of Roman Sparta was different to that of Sparta in its Archaic, Classical, even Hellenistic past, but that is the argument which needs to be demonstrated, and so far hasn't, in order to better frame the testimony of the written record. While the Spartas of Plutarch and Athenaeus might have been imagined as musically conservative states where old traditions could still be seen, these traditions were often only superficially so, and took place at a time when Spartan agonistic performances, and attitudes to music more generally, privileged contemporary forms of performance that had been absent in Archaic and Classical Sparta.

The mirage of Spartan music was created from a variety of fronts, from fourth century BCE musicologists who needed examples of ethos theory, to the Spartans themselves, for whom such stories attracted interest and support in the city at a time when its wider political relevance was dwindling. By focusing on their supposed uniqueness, Roman Sparta's 'archaising' musical culture must have contributed towards rallying the city's wider cultural relevance (and intrigue). In turn, this helped Roman Sparta to become once again an important centre of musical competition, but of a kind very different to its Archaic and Classical past.

Before continuing however, it will be worthwhile providing a brief chronological overview of the periods discussed in this section, which will also help to explain why I focus on two separate periods, the 4th century BCE, and Roman Sparta, but less on Hellenistic Sparta.[639]

Already by the time of Xenophon, social change was the in air at Sparta. *Oliganthropia*, a lack of manpower and lack of male citizens, had been brought about by Sparta's particular citizenship laws and levies, so that the Spartan defeat against Thebes at the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BCE was less a turning point in Sparta's fortunes than it was a sign that they had already begun to shift.[640] Yet despite this change in fortunes (from a *polis* that had forced an oligarchy upon the bold democracy of Athens, to a city struggling to stay afloat in the rise of Macedonian and then Roman influence), Sparta remained, to use Cartledge's phrase, defiant, and this defiance was largely achieved though drastic domestic upheaval, which, as we shall see, often used musical reform as a go-to for effecting changes to social policy.[641]

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[639] Such an overview by its nature glosses over certain changes, which, while important, are less important for the narrative of this thesis, for example, the loss of the Messenian Helots, the wider eb and flow of Perioikic settlements, and the formation of the Koinon of Free Laconians.

[640] Xen., *Lac. Pol.*, 1.1. Aristotle, *Pol.*, 1270a34.

[641] *HRS*[2] viii, "In line with her age-old and deeply-entrenched particularism, and indeed by revivifying her esoteric traditions of political and socio-economic organization under the slogan of a return to the 'constitution of

However, Sparta's defiant streak ultimately highlights the weakness of an often-isolated *polis* set against the influence and military might of larger and richer kingdoms: from Agesilaus II, mercenary-in-chief and king-maker for the last native Egyptian pharaohs in 361/360 BCE, to Cleomenes III, who reformed the Spartan army, revived the *agōgē*, and caused much trouble during the Cleomenian Wars, before, once Ptolemaic support was withdrawn, spending his last days as a political prisoner in the court of Ptolemy III and then the less-favourable Ptolemy IV, his ill-fated escape from political imprisonment heroized and romanced by Dryden.[642]

In the two hundred years from Agesilaus II to Cleomenes III, much about Sparta had changed, and much about Sparta had been invented.[643] In this regard, we might wonder about the overall purpose of the works of writers such as Sosibius, who, while a Spartan, seems to have been engaged in the Alexandrian court, and is a key recorder of Spartan musical customs.[644] It was not long after the Battle of Sellasia in 222 BCE (Cleomenes III's ultimate defeat), that a truly Hellenistic-styled ruler came to power in Sparta, and so the supposed reforms of Agis IV and Cleomenes III must have been relatively short-lived as King Nabis came to rule Sparta with a mix of tyrannical authority and kingly ambition from 207-192 BCE. The period of Nabis' rule is richly visible in the archaeology of Sparta, both in its coinage, but also its roofing, its walls, and its drains, and most gruesomely, in the story of the Agepa of Nabis (a mechanical device with the appearance of his wife that he used to execute disobedient followers). It is here that the First and Second Macedonian Wars mark the beginnings of Roman interest (politically and militarily) in the city, with Nabis siding with Rome during the first war, and then Philip V in the second, before swapping sides to support Rome again.[645]

Lycurgus', Sparta resisted Roman incorporation right up to the last possible moment. And before Rome, Macedon and the Achaean League had been treated to a similarly defiant denial."

[642] Dryden, *Cleomenes* (1692). The play was banned for a short while for fear the story of the attempted Spartan revolt might encourage something similar from the supporters of the recently removed King James II. Gardiner, 1988, 87. In this regard, Cavafy's *In Sparta*, deserves mention too, for capturing the emotional helplessness of Cleomenes, and the famously bold spirit of his mother, Cratesicleia, whom Ptolemy III had demanded as security for his support of Sparta. Also, Cavafy's *Come, O King of the Lacedaimonians*.

[643] For Agesilaos, see Xen., *Ages.* and Cartledge, 1987. Shipley, 2009, provides a very good overview of early Hellenistic Sparta and the changes effected there, and pushes for seeing the period from Lecutra to Cleomenes III as one where the continuing (and in many ways increasing) military and political power of Sparta should be emphasised more than its losses (of land, helots, and *perioikoi*).

[644] *BNJ* 595 T4 links Sosibius to Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

[645] Though it is possible that Sparta's assistance to Tarentum in 303 BCE might have brought them into contact with Rome (*HRS*^{2} 27).

This gaming play of Nabis', as well as the influence that the anti-Spartan Achaean League held with Rome, ultimately resulted in Sparta's loss of the important port of Gytheion and the recently captured Argos, after the involvement of the brothers Titus and Lucius Quinctius Flamminius, who defeated Nabis in 195 BCE.[646] From this point on, Nabis' power and the independence of Sparta rapidly deteriorated. After a failed attempt to retake Gytheion that left his army once again behind the walls of Sparta, but this time harassed by Philopoemen, Nabis appealed to the Aetolian League for support, support which then arrived at Sparta and took the opportunity to assassinate him.[647] With Nabis gone, the city managed to defend itself against the Aetolian League, but when Philopoemen returned, the city was in no position but to cede itself into the Achaean League, maintaining its own laws only for a short a while, before Philopoemen returned to Sparta in 188 BCE to remove Nabis' walls, as well as the independence of its social and legal institutions.[648]

All this meant that, come 146 BCE and Rome's victory over Achaea, Sparta was well on its way to becoming something of a provincial town.[649] But this did not mean that Sparta was destined to be forgotten; far from it. Freed from the Achaean League, Sparta was able to restore something akin to its traditional *agōgē*.[650] Under the system of Roman *clientelia*, Gaius Julius Eurycles benefitted from the support (however slight) he provided to Octavian at Actium in 31

[646] For deliberation between Rome and the Greeks as to whether Nabis should be allowed to keep Argos, see Livy 34.22-24. See Livy 34.31-33 for the discussion between Nabis and Titus at Argos, after news of Gytheion's capture, resulting in Nabis agreeing to the return of Argos and the return of prisoners and deserters. The formal written peace treaty offered by the Romans to Nabis is recorded at 34.35 and offered much harsher terms, including the surrender of nearly all his ships and his capture Cretan cities, effectively crippling Nabis' naval abilities (and compounding the problems faced by Spartan traders too, we must assume, given the earlier surrender of the important port of Gytheum). Nabis, of course, refused such terms, and the Roman force laid siege to Sparta, with open skirmishes and battles leading to a full siege supported by 50,000 troops (34.38). As the Romans advanced into Sparta, Livy paints a scene of complete military ineffectualness, as the Roman testudo advances against tiles hurled from rooftops (34.39.5-6), in an account that seems to subvert a traditional Thermopylae narrative, noting the narrowness of the Spartan streets. The city was only just saved from capture when Pythagoras (Nabis' brother-in-law, an Argive) ordered that the buildings by the walls be set on fire; such a conflagration ensued that the Romans retreated (34.39.7-13). A few days later the terms of the treaty were accepted.

[647] Nabis recapturing Gytheion, and Philopoemen for retaliation (Livy 35.25); an initial and embarrassing naval defeat for Philopoemen (35.26); after various military toing and froing, Philopoemen had the Spartans trapped behind their walls, and laid-waste to Lacedaemon for a month, after which he returned, having crushed Nabis' power (35.30.11); on Nabis' assassination (35.35).

[648] *HRS*[2] 71-72.

[649] *HRS*[2] ix, "As we hope to show, some of the changes arising from Sparta's enforced transition from 'city-state to provincial town' were prefigured by the domestic reforms of Sparta's Hellenistic kings."

[650] *HRS*[2] 77.

BCE, leading the then Augustus to bestow on him the title 'Hegemon of the Lacedaimonians', as well as Roman citizenship and the island of Kythera.[651] If Eurycles let power go to his head, resulting in him loosing favour with Augustus, he regained favour with Tiberius, and the Euryclid family maintained a lasting influence in Roman Sparta, most notably perhaps in the Spartan Euryclea festival, founded by Eurycles Herculanus in 136/7 CE, some 160 years after his ancestor had fought at Actium.[652] But if Sparta still worshipped and praised its natives (the Leonidea was another popular festival during this period), then the city also engaged in the worship of emperors, with the Caesarea founded in 97/8 CE, and the Olympia Commodea founded, perhaps, in thanks for Marcus Aurelius' return of the *ager Dentheliatis* to Spartan control.[653] But smaller changes should be noted here as well, since they go to show that the influence of Rome had an impact on the quotidian too.[654] We should expect, and indeed find quite clear evidence, that Spartan musicking did not go unchanged either.

It is also important then that much of the written record concerning Spartan music was written during this very broad period of almost continual political and social upheaval, archaism and communal reminiscence, and aspirations of influence and importance. Equally important is that we are not always able to securely date our sources. A difference of 100 years or so might mean the difference of an author commenting on Sparta under the reforms of Cleomenes III, the rule of Nabis, or the influence of Eurycles, each period with its own social character, the first of hopefulness thwarted, the second of change and survival, the other of optimistic renewal. To say that these changes would not have influenced the music of Sparta, and the ways in which Spartan music, contemporary or otherwise, was written about, is to neglect the role of music as a mirror held-up to the *zeitgeist*. In this regard, it is worth noting again the particular problems surrounding the dating of Polykrates' description of the Hyakinthia that I discuss in **[Section 1.4 & Appendix B]**. As such, in this chapter I attempt to distinguish these periods and acknowledge that quite often we cannot succeed. This has led to this section being divided into two broadly grouped analyses, once which focuses on the evidence for Spartan music in the 4th century BCE (primarily), and the other focusing on music in what we would broadly term

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651 On Eurycles, *HRS*^{2} 89 ff.

652 See **[Section 5.2.2]**.

653 See **[Section 5.2.2]**. On likelihood of the return of the *ager Dentheliatis* to Sparta under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, see *HRS*^{2} 128.

654 E.g. Pickersgill, 2009, 295 notes that from the late and early 1st centuries BCE and CE, Laconian pottery drew inspiration from Italian imports, in contrast to Athens, Argos, and Corinth, and that this might point to wider concerns about relations with Rome.

Roman Sparta. Both sub-sections in turn reveal a willingness to reinvent and repurpose the role of Spartan music to suit the needs to the time.

5.1.1 Regulating music in Sparta and beyond in the fourth century BCE

One of the main elements of the mirage is Sparta's conservatism (in its so-called adherence to the laws of Lycurgus). The idea that Spartan music was conservative entered discussions of Spartan music from a relatively early period, and while not always connected to the laws of Lycurgus, is an aspect of a wider image that saw Spartan society as severe and austere. It is the premise of this sub-section, however, that, following the methodology laid out in **[Section 1]**, that an analysis of a wider range of sources challenges both the extent to which Sparta's musical customs were homeostatic and the exceptionalism of its regulation of music.

I start by comparing the way Spartan music is presented in three near contemporary authors (Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle), to show that they are in many ways in contradiction about the nature of Spartan attitudes to music, and when taken together, point to a more diverse and fluid state of affairs. Here, the influence of musical ethos theory is examined as a key catalyst for the popularization and exemplification of Sparta as a musically conservative state. If Spartan music was not wholly conservative in the fourth century, as I argue, then an analysis of a selection of the musical regulations of other *poleis* goes some way to show that Sparta's regulation of music was not entirely exceptional either. The influence of ethos theory and the mirage more generally then contributed to the invention of new traditions and stories used to cement the idea of Sparta as a place where the right kind of music was fanatically preserved, and the wrong kind of music fiercely fought off. I will now examine the first of these inter-linked topics, the representation of Spartan music in fourth century writers.

The first point which I want to highlight is the extent to which Sparta's regulation of music should be seen as something extraordinary, since while the Spartans were considered by some as the most musically conservative *polis*, they were by no means the only one. A key point here is that the image of Sparta's musical regulation and conservatism, as shown by Plato, while obviously influential, obscures several important aspects of Spartan musical traditions in the work his contemporary, Xenophon, and his successor, Aristotle. This is not to say that Sparta was *never* nor *partially* musically conservative, but that such characteristics are neither as unique nor indeed 'non-Hellenic' as Plato would have us believe, and that Xenophon's and Aristotle's depiction of Spartan musicking questions how readily we should agree with Plato's depiction.

A key aspect of Plato's comments on the Spartans is that their musical conservatism is fastened to their political stability, and that the Egyptians served as a shining example for this binary system. Plato was by no means the first to compare Egyptian and Dorian traditions, but he was the first to argue that Egypt's political stability was linked to its un-changing laws on music, and that, in this regard, Sparta and Crete were similar.[655] In the *Laws*, he has Clinias say:

> νῦν οὖν οὕτω δοκοῦσίν σοι, πρὸς Διός, ὦ ξένε, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καθ᾽ ὅσον αἰσθάνομαι, πλὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἢ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἃ σὺ νῦν λέγεις οὐκ οἶδα πραττόμενα, καινὰ δὲ ἄττα ἀεὶ γιγνόμενα περί τε τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην μουσικὴν σύμπασαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμων μεταβαλλόμενα ἀλλ᾽ ὑπό τινων ἀτάκτων ἡδονῶν, πολλοῦ δεουσῶν τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ κατὰ ταὐτά, ὡς σὺ κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἀφερμηνεύεις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδέποτε τῶν αὐτῶν.
>
> In Heaven's name, stranger, do you believe that that is the way poetry is composed nowadays in other states? So far as my own observation goes, I know of no practices such as you describe except in my own country [Crete] and in Lacedaemon; but I do know that novelties are always being introduced in dancing and all other forms of music, which changes due not to the laws, but to disorderly tastes and these are so far from being constantly uniform and stable—like the Egyptian ones you describe—that they are never for a moment uniform.
>
> Plato, *Laws*, 660b.

While Plato might point to Sparta as a state where music and polity are in harmony, the theory that draws a correlation between the two, known as 'musical ethos theory', or similar, originated in the work of the philosopher Damon of Oa, who is represented in the *Republic* as an expert to be consulted on the ethos of particular rhythms, and how they would influence the listener or performer.[656] Plato seems to have expanded on the work of Damon, exploring the ethos of different *harmoniai* too.[657]

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[655] Rutherford, 2013, 75 ff. Mention of social similarities between Egypt and Sparta include: Hdt. 2.80, 6.60; Arist. *Pol.* 7.10; Isocrates, *Busiris*, 17-20; Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 149 (*apud* Strabo 10.4.8). Plato's discussion of Egyptian-Spartan-Cretan musical traditionalism can be compared with Megillus' comments on the abstinence from excessive drinking in Sparta (636e-637b). The lack of heavy drinking need not imply a lack of music-making. At ps.Plut. *De Mus.*, 1146f-1147a (43) Aristoxenus is referenced as saying (to paraphrase) that while wine creates disorder, music creates order.

[656] Plato, *Rep.* 3.399e-400b. On Damon and musical ethos see Wallace, 2015, 23-49. Lynch, 2013, *passim* for the influence of Damon on Plato's musical ethos. On Plato's approach to music more generally, see, most recently, Lynch, 2017, *passim*. Plato's Nikias gives Damon high praise, "the most accomplished of men not only in music but in anything else you wish" (Plato, *Lch.* 180d). Damon also acted as Pericles' advisor, and was later ostracised.

[657] Baker, *GMW1*, 163-168 provides a good definition of Plato's *harmoniai*, and how they differ to the later systems of *harmoniai* and *tonoi*. Plato's *harmoniai* are a system of different interval-patterns, each with associated pitch-range (e.g. 'high or 'low'), used to create a 'scale' system. Aristides Quintilianus 18.5ff recorded Plato's *harmoniai* as:

The influence of Plato's belief in musical ethos theory is self-apparent at *Laws* 660b, and similar accounts linking music and political stability in Sparta are frequent.[658] But, as Rutherford points out, Plato's praise of Dorian music is somewhat tempered by his critique of its militaristic nature.[659] Nevertheless, the philosopher and musicologist Theodor Adorno has written that "Plato's ethical-musical program bears the character of an Attic purge in Spartan style."[660] But how accurate is such an interpretation? Perhaps not very. Despite the influence of Platonic thought on studies of Spartan music (ancient and modern), we are fortunate that the view of Spartan music laid out in the *Laws* (and *Republic*) can be judged against the writings of Plato's near contemporaries. The first of these I will examine is Xenophon.

Whereas Plato presents Sparta's polity and musicking as effectively unchanging, when Xenophon comments on Spartan music he seems to focus on its relation to (moral) education and the military, presenting no obvious judgement on its overall ethos, unlike Plato.[661] One of

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Lydian: quartertone, ditone, tone, quartertone, quaterdone, ditone, quartertone (complete octave)
Dorian: tone, quartertone, quartertone, ditone, tone, quartertone, quartertone, ditone (octave + tone)
Phrygian: tone, quartertone, quartertone, ditone, tone, quartertone, quartertone, tone (complete octave)
Iastian: quartertone, quartertone, ditone, 3/2 tone, tone (octave – tone)
Mixolydian: quartertone, quartertone, tone, tone, quartertone, quartertone, tritone (complete octave)
Synontonon Lydian: quartertone, quartertone, ditone, 3/2 tone (octave – two tones)

At *Rep.* 3.398e-399e the Mixolydian and the Syntonolydian are characterised as mournful and "useless even for women who are to be of good character, let alone men"; the 'slack' Iastian and the Lydian are soft and convivial; the Dorian imitates the brave man in war; the Phrygian initiates the free in peacetime. While Plato interpreted the Phrygian this way, the *harmonia* is otherwise characterised as ecstatic (Eurpides, *Bacchae*, 55-63, 120-34, 151-67), and Aristotle explicitly criticises Plato for his characterisation of the Phrygian (Aristot. *Pol.* 1342a32 ff.). On this, see Lynch, 2016.

[658] Rutherford, 2013, 76. Bourgault, 2012, 59-72: "In the *Laws* we are told that musical license is the chief reason for political license, and in the *Republic* Socrates insists that music education is the greatest bulwark of a *polis*." (referring to *Laws* 700d–701b, and *Republic* 424c–d).

[659] Plato, *Laws*, 666e. Rutherford, 2013, 76-77.

[660] Adorno, quoted at Bourgault, 2012, 65 (from Adorno, 2002, 290).

[661] For Strauss, 1939, 508-509: "We conclude then that the argument of the second chapter of the *Constitution of the Lacedemonians* is designed to let us glimpse the fact that in Sparta instruction in letters and music was replaced by instruction in stealing and by severe whipping." This view obscures the wider importance that music held in Sparta, and which Xenophon tells us about. While the Spartans might not have had a formal musical education (i.e., learning different *nomoi*, music theory, and to play different instruments), they must have been educated in the songs and dances of their various choral performances, which were a key mode of social display. See Xen. *Lac*. 9.5, where the Spartan coward is sent to the 'ignominious' part of the chorus – notably, they are not excluded

Xenophon's most interesting descriptions of Spartan interactions with music is his account of the death of the Spartan general Thibron and his associate, the laconophile and aulete Thersander.[662]

> As time went on, however, Struthas, who had observed that the raiding expeditions of Thibron were in every case carried out in a disorderly and disdainful fashion, sent horsemen to the plain and ordered them to rush upon the enemy and surround and carry off whatever they could. Now it chanced that Thibron, having finished breakfast, was engaged in throwing the discus with Thersander, the aulos-player. For Thersander was not only a good aulos-player, but he also laid claim to physical strength, inasmuch as he was an imitator of things Lacedaemonian. [19] Then Struthas, upon seeing that the enemy were making their raid in disorder, and that the foremost of them were few in number, appeared upon the scene with a large force of horsemen, drawn up in good order. And the first whom they killed were Thibron and Thersander; and when these men fell they put to flight the rest of the army also, and in the pursuit struck down a very great many. Some of Thibron's men, however, made their escape to the friendly cities and a larger number had been left in camp because they had learned of the expedition too late. For frequently, as in this case also, Thibron undertook his expeditions without even sending out orders. Thus ended these events.
>
> Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.18-19

Noreen Humble has argued that "Xenophon is aware of music in Spartan life generally… he just does not see it as an important element leading to their renown and power".[663] I disagree. Humble's observation not only contradicts the important role that Xenophon gives to choral performances in his philosophical dialogue *Hiero*, but also in his *Lac. Pol.*:[664]

> For he [Lycurgus] believed that if these [those in the prime of life] were of the right stamp they must exercise a powerful influence for good on the state. He saw that where the spirit of rivalry is strongest among the people, there the choruses are most worth hearing and the athletic contests afford the finest spectacle. He believed, therefore, that

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from the chorus entirely. Also, Xen. *Lac*. 4.2 (on Spartan education more generally), and 13.7-8 (on *auletes* in the King's retinue and their role in the army).

662 Diodorus Sicilus, 14.99.2-3 provides a much shorter and slightly different account.

663 Humble, 2018b, 569 n.24, referencing Humble, 2017a, 586-588.

664 In the *Hiero*, Xenophon's Simonides advises his Hieron that the organisation of choral competitions can be manipulated to the benefit of the tyrant throughout other aspects of life. The passage is worth quoting in full (9.2-5): "The duty of pronouncing censure, using coercion, inflicting pains and penalties on those who come short in any respect, is one that must of necessity give rise to a certain amount of unpopularity. Therefore my sentence is that a great ruler should [3] delegate to others the task of punishing those who require to be coerced, and should reserve to himself the privilege of awarding the prizes. The excellence of this arrangement is established by daily experience. Thus, when we want to have a choral [4] competition, the ruler offers prizes, but the task of assembling the choirs is delegated to choir-masters, and others have the task of training them and coercing those who come short in any respect. Obviously, then, in this case, the pleasant part falls to the ruler, the disagreeables fall to others. Why, [5] then, should not all other public affairs be managed on this principle?".

> if he could match the young men together in a strife of valour, they too would reach a high level of manly excellence.
>
> Xenophon, *Lac.Pol.*, 4.1-2

This idea of rivalry is key to the famous Spartan 'Triple Chorus', which is at least Hellenistic, since it is mentioned by Sosibius, though Plutarch quotes it more fully:[665]

> "They had three choirs at their festivals, corresponding to the three ages, and the choir of old men would sing first:
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> *We once did deeds of prowess and were strong young men.*
>
> Then the choir of young men would respond:
>
> *We are so now, and if you wish, behold and see.*
>
> And then the third choir, that of the boys, would sing:
>
> *We shall be sometime mightier men by far than both.*"
>
> Plutarch *Lycurgus*, 21

Yet despite the similarities between Xenophon's ideas about the use of choral competition and the actualities of choral competition at Sparta, it is not very clear what Xenophon's *Lac. Pol.* tells us about Spartan music and education.[666] At the very least, *Lac. Pol.* 4.1-2 suggests that Spartan citizens received a basic musical education in the songs and dances of the various choral performances they performed (a key form of social display),[667] but it also highlights the way in

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[665] The earliest reference to this chorus seems to be Sosibius 595 F8 (= Zenobius, *Proverbs* 1, 82): "this is Lakonian, Sosibios recalls in *On Customs*, and he says that the Lakedaimonian elders said this as they danced, "*we once were*"". Pollux 4.107 says that 'Triple Chorus' was instituted by Tyrtaeus but this seems too early. Sosibius 595 F5 has often been emended to refer to three, rather than two, choruses, and support the idea that the 'Triple Chorus' was part of the Gymnopaidiai, but this is uncertain, see Bayliss, 2016b, *BNJ* Sosibius 595 F5 for commentary.

[666] Strauss, 1939, 508-509: "We conclude then that the argument of the second chapter of the *Constitution of the Lacedemonians* is designed to let us glimpse the fact that in Sparta instruction in letters and music was replaced by instruction in stealing and by severe whipping." Tuplin, 1994, 156 takes (cautiously) the opposite view: "Nothing is said about literacy, music or wrestling; perhaps it is taken for granted that in there is no contrast between Sparta and the outside world." By his silence Xenophon is decidedly ambiguous as to whether or not the Spartans actually had a formal musical education (official learning of different nomoi, music theory, and to play different instruments).

[667] Xen., *Lac. Pol.*, 9.5, where the Spartan coward is sent to the 'ignominious' part of the chorus – notably, they are not excluded from the chorus entirely. Also, Xen. *Lac. Pol.*, 13.7-8 (on auletes in the King's retinue and their role in the army).

which Spartan excellence in choral performance was connected to Spartan excellence in manliness and valour. One of the most important points of the *Lac. Pol.*, however, comes much later when Xenophon writes:

> Should anyone ask me whether I think that the laws of Lycurgus still remain unchanged at this day, I certainly could not say that with any confidence whatever.
>
> Xen., *Lac. Pol.* 14.1

Xenophon then lists a number of specific changes. Choruses are not included. Does that qualify 14.1 as referring only to the changes that Xenophon lists? It is unclear. This is why Xenophon's account of Thibron is particularly useful, since it confirms that (in Xenophon's mind at any rate), unlike the 'Lycurgan' choruses which promoted ἀνδραγαθία, Thibron's association with a foreign professional musician acts as a sign of his distraction from good Spartan behaviour. Thibron's association with an aulete is just one of the many warning signs that this is a Spartan general of little renown or power, since his interests lie elsewhere. His impropriety is further highlighted by the fact that Thersander is a laconophile, an imitator of the Laconian way of life, not the genuine product. Neither is Thibron.

While Plato presents an unambiguous claim that Sparta's music was unchanged, Xenophon is more ambiguous. Both authors, however, reveal the importance of musicking in Spartan society as key to promoting the correct type of character. That both of these authors present such similar accounts of Spartan attitudes to musicking would normally allow us to accept such an image of Spartan music as being largely correct, and that might be the case, if it were not for Aristotle.

Unlike Plato's abstracted eutopia, and Xenophon's exploration of Lycurgan ideals, Aristotle presents a more concrete picture of Spartan musicking than either. For Barker, Aristotle's "pragmatism… leaves the reality of the music of his time much closer to the surface than does Plato's pursuit of a radically fresh start."[668] Bearing this in mind it is then interesting that Aristotle indirectly points to an aspect of change in Spartan approaches to musicking. Admittedly, it is one which suggests a tightening of citizen participation in instrumental musicking, but nonetheless suggests that Spartan attitudes to music were not completely static, as Plato would have us believe. As part of a wider discussion on music and education, Aristotle mentions that "in earlier times as well as after the Persian wars… [our forefathers] introduced aulos-playing as a subject of study" this is then qualified by an example of citizen *choregoi* playing the aulos in Athenian and Spartan choruses (so that the quoted statement seems to apply

[668] Barker, *GMW 1*, 171.

to both *poleis*).[669] Aristotle implicitly notes, if not changes to Spartan laws concerning musicking, that there was indeed some change to who played what and when, since he elsewhere comments that the Spartans did not learn music.[670] In earlier times some Spartan citizens were taught and played the aulos, but by Aristotle's day they no longer did so.[671] However, the picture is further complicated when we take note of one of Aristotle's followers, Chamaeleon of Heraclea, who observed that "they say that the Lakedaimonians and Thebans all learn to play the aulos" (fr.5 Giordano =Athen. 184d).[672]

This is not to suggest that Plato, *Laws*, 660b is necessarily *wrong* in its representation of Spartan music, but that it only presents one aspect of Spartan musical conservatism, a certain unwillingness to view more *avant garde* styles of music as socially acceptable. It would be a mistake to then infer from such an observation that *all* aspects of the Spartans' treatment of musicking had remained unchanged from the fabled time of Lycurgus, as Aristotle, *Politics*, 1339a-b and 1341a reveals. Further, it would be unreasonable to suppose that none of Sparta's citizens, especially those with enough authority, never deviated and indulged in types of music seen as 'un-Spartan', such as Thibron, or, indeed, Lysander.

Having made the case that, at least in the 4th century BCE, our sources give a less clear picture of Spartan musical conservatism, traditionalism, and regulation than has been normally accepted, I will now demonstrate the normality of musical regulations in Greece more

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[669] Aristot. *Pol.* 1341a (trans. Barker). Aristotle suggests that the practice was more common in Athens, where "probably the majority of free men engaged in it". Barker, *GMW* 1, 178 n.24 suggests that the Spartan *chorēgos* should probably be seen as the 'chorus-leader' (referring to Plato *Laws* 665a "the gods… have given us Apollo and the Muses as companions in the chorus and chorus-leaders [choregoi]…"), rather than the financier of the chorus (as in Athens). Barker does not mention Demetrius of Byzantium (FHG ii.624 = Ath. 14. 633b) who seems to confirm this view. In itself, this passage of Aristotle does not contradict Plato's claims that Spartan laws on music were unchanged, since the detail of *who* played the aulos for chorus might never have been part of any such laws, it does however show that Spartan attitudes to musicking were susceptible to change.

[670] Aristotle seems to be in agreement with Xenophon, *Lac. Pol.*, 2.1, in that the Spartans had no formal or theoretical musical education. Aristotle notes that while the Spartans' were skilled in judging good music, they did not actually learn it themselves: "if music has the power to improve character: why should they learn it themselves…?" (Pol. 1339a-b, trans. Barker GMW 1).

[671] We should likely not include the hereditary aulos-players of the kings' retinue among this statement, nor those who played during religious festivals or rituals (if they were separate). At any rate, by the 1st century BCE there is strong evidence to suggest that Spartan rituals were accompanied by a variety of local musicians who regularly performed that duty, see **[Section 2.8]**.

[672] Hagel and Lynch, 2015, 404: "Other cities embraced the aulós much less half-heartedly. So we are told that "everybody" learned to play it in Sparta—before Aristotle's time that is, if we keep in mind the aforementioned testimony (*Pol.* 1339b)."

generally, and the comparative un-exceptionality of the regulations attested at or attributed to Sparta. What follows is not intended as an exhaustive survey of such cases, but to demonstrate that the regulation of music was not a specifically Spartan practice, a conclusion which, if we prioritise Plato, *Laws*, 660b, would be difficult to justify, once again highlighting the benefits of the adapted music archaeology methodology outlined in **[Section 1]**.[673]

While Cleisthenes of Sicyon's expulsion of rhapsodes (on account of the Homeric epics praising Sicyon's rival, Argos) is perhaps the first account of musical regulation which might be treated as historical, one of the most clearly documented cases of musical regulation is the 4th century Athenian two drachma price-cap on female aulos-, harp-, and kithara-players.[674] Breaking this law, which was regulated by the *astynomoi*, could carry quite a sentence. Hyperides tells us that two metics who hired-out *auletrides* at a rate greater than the price-cap were subjected to an *eisangelia* prosecution.[675] More extreme than the Athenian price-cap is a 3rd-century BCE law from Dyme, in Achaia, which outright banned women from playing the aulos, among other sumptuary limitations.[676]

While the Athenian price-cap and the Dymians' banning of female-musicians sought to limit social excesses, Phylarchus points to a Colophonian law which he uses to support his argument concerning their *polis*' excessive indulgences (brought about by the corrupting influence of the Lydians):

> [the Colophonians] passed a law, which continued even to our time, that the *auletrides* and *psaltria*, and all such musicians and singers, should receive pay from daybreak to midday and until the lamps were lighted. But after that they set aside the rest of the night to get drunk in.
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> Phylarchus, *BNJ* 81 F 66 (= Ath. 12.31, 526A-C)

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[673] The extent to which the regulation of music and regulation of musicians worked towards the same or differing aims might be an avenue for further research, for the time-being however, I group them together, since their ultimate effect was the regulation of musical performance.

[674] On Cleisthenes' expulsion of the rhapsodes: Hdt. 5.67. For the Athenian price-cap: [Ath. Pol.] 50.2 and Goldman, 2015, 48.

[675] Hyperides, *In Defence of Euxenippus*, 4.3. See, Goldman, 2015, 49. Hyperides takes the view that their prosecution really has nothing to do with *eisangelia*, a procedure which, outside its use to hold to account public officials, "could be also be used against any citizen who attempted to overthrow the democracy." (Volonaki, 2018, 293).

[676] Goldman, 2015, 31, cf. Sokolowski, 1962, 33.

It seems odd that a law which restricted the working hours of musicians is used to demonstrate a society's moral excesses, but the point which Phylarchus tries to make seems to be something along the lines of: 'not even musicians had to work in the evenings, the licentiousness of it!'

The regulation of musicking did not just apply to non-citizen musicians. Polybius tells us that the Arcadians (the most musical of peoples): "are the only people among whom boys are by the laws trained from infancy to sing hymns and paeans, in which they celebrate in the traditional fashion the heroes and gods of their particular towns."[677] It is because the Arcadian boys are trained *by law* that is remarkable.[678] Equally notable, is the system of musical education practised by the Lacedaemonians of old (Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ παλαιὸν), the Mantineans, and the Pallenians, who "used to pick out just one *tropos*, or a very small number, which they believed to be suited to the proper formation of character [ethos], and practised that sort of music alone."[679] While ethos is still the influencing reason as to *why* an educational system would restrict the styles (*tropoi*) of taught music, no longer, as in Plato, are Sparta's musical traditions linked to Cretan and Egyptian practice, but with the seemingly unconnected Arcadian Mantinea and Achaean Pellene.[680] Further, ps.Plutarch seems to make the distinction that the Lacedaemonians no longer follow this practice, implicitly pointing to an abandonment of perceived earlier educational restrictions.[681]

If the Spartans were less unique in their regulation of musicking than has normally been held, the case could still be made that it was the Spartans who most extremely and publicly punished musicians who broke their musical customs or laws, yet even this might not be necessarily true. The author of the ps.Plutarchian *De Musica* would have us believe that in this regard the Argives were also notable: "[the Argives] are said to have once laid down a penalty for breaches in the rules of music, and to have imposed a fine on the first man who tried to use more than the seven strings normally current among them, and who attempted to modulate into Mixolydian."[682] Another example might be provided by a famous Paestan bell-krater by Asteas

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677 Polybius, 4.20.

678 Hagel and Lynch, 2015, 403 suggest that Plato, *Crito*, 50d-e might infer that in Athens "some kind of musical education was required by law though nothing else is known about such legislation."

679 Ps.Plutarch, *De Musica*, 1142e-f (32), trans. Barker, *GMW* 1.

680 It is possible that it is to these educational regulations in Mantinea that Polybius referred.

681 It is unclear what ps.Plutarch's source is here, but it might be Philodemus, or an even earlier source common to the two. If so, the implication that the Lacedaemonians no longer had such limitations might refer to, broadly, the period of the 4th-3rd centuries BCE, when we know that the traditional Spartan *agōgē* fell out of practice. In addition to (the likely 3rd century) Sosibius, several important musicologists date to this period too.

682 Ps.Plut., *De Musica*, 1144f (37). *GMW 1*, 245 n. 238 "comparable stories are often told elsewhere about the magistrates at Sparta", I don't think that Barker means to imply by this that we should treat this passage as spurious.

(c. 350 BCE), which shows the Athenian general Myronides dragging Phrynis and his kithara offstage **[Fig. 5.1]**.[683]

The regulation of musical practices and the punishment of musical rule-breakers was not unique to Sparta, even if it was particularly associated with Sparta. The regulation of musicking was just as much a part of Athenian culture, as it was the social programmes of *poleis* small and large throughout the Hellenic world.

5.1.2 Sparta and musical ethos theory

Musical regulation is only one element of the legend of Spartan music. As seen at ps.Plut. *De Musica*, 1142e-f (32), and going back to Plato and Damon, the idea that music had the ability to influence the character (*ēthos*) of those who listened to it, because particular rhythms, melodies, and modes embodied a particular ethos is a particularly prevalent ancient, and indeed modern, philosophical and musicological concept. Because music was thought to have this power, the correct regulation and teaching of music was presented as an important topic.[684] If citizens were taught the wrong kind of music, it would instil in them the wrong kind of ethos – this is the (unspoken) reason why the Lacedaemonians of old, the Mantineans and Pellenians, restricted the *tropoi* of music which were taught to their citizens, just as the citizens of Plato's Kallipolis are restricted to being taught the Dorian and Phrygian *harmoniai*.[685] The logical progression of this idea is that music of the right ethos could promote political stability, that is why Plato collocates the musical and political stability of Sparta, Crete, and Egypt.

In what follows I analyse Spartan music as presented in Philodemus' *De Musica*, in order to provide a counter to prevailing ancient discussions, before then demonstrating the extent to which musical ethos theory influenced, in particular, Plutarch's discussions not only of Spartan music, but also the Spartan state more generally. It is ultimately the influence of musical ethos theory, I suggest, which has contributed not a little to the mirage of Spartan music, and the extent to which ideas of musical ethos are linked to the Spartans' musical traditionalism and

[683] Nicknamed 'Pyronides' on the vase (cf. Csapo, 2004, 244-245). Also Lloyd, 2020b (in response to Lynch 2018).

[684] A similar theory appeared independently in China around the same time: Wang, 2004, *passim*. It seems likely that such theories were an explanation or rationalisation of observed emotional and physiological responses to music. A good overview of the concept is Anderson and Mathiesen, 2001. See also Anderson, 1966, *passim*.

[685] See *Rep.* 3.398e-399e; Aristot. *Pol.* 1342a32 ff; and Lynch, 2016.

militarism need to be viewed considering this.[686] It is difficult to gauge the extent to which the Spartans themselves did or did not pursue their musical customs based on such a theory, or because of more practical reasons, such as those expressed by Xenophon's Simonides.[687] As such, before exploring how musical ethos theory has coloured Plutarch's depiction of Spartan music, it is worth pointing out that, despite its widespread popularity among surviving texts, the theory was not universally accepted in the ancient world.

Philodemus' *De Musica* is a key, but very fragmentary text.[688] Its importance rests not just in its presentation of the Epicurean rejection of musical ethos, but in doing so, also preserving the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon's arguments *for* such a theory.[689] Philodemus engaged with a number of particularly important ideas: the extent to which musicians cured plagues or *stasis*; Terpander; Tyrtaeus; Thaletas; the musical education of the Mantineans, Lacedaemonians, and Pellanians; and the use of the aulos in battle by the Spartans.[690] From this it is clear that Diogenes looked at Spartan education and militarism from a musical ethos perspective.[691] Of particular interest is that Philodemus tells us that Diogenes was the only author to say that Terpander played in the Spartan *syssitia*.[692]

Indeed, the main examples which writers give of musical ethos theory in action are the three 'T's of Sparta: Terpander, Tyrtaeus, and Thaletas.[693] Stories of these musicians had penetrated

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[686] Take ps.Plut, *De Musica*, 1146b-c (42) : "We could find many pieces of evidence to show that the cities with the best laws and customs have been careful to cultivate music of the noble kind. One might cite Terpander, who resolved the civil war that broke out at one time in Sparta, and Thaletas the Cretan, of whom it is said that he went to Sparta as the result of a pronouncement by the Delphic oracle, and cured the people there by means of music, releasing Sparta, as Pratinas says, from the grip of plague." (trans. Barker).

[687] Xenophon, *Hiero*, 9.2-5. Philodemus, *De Musica*, Bk.4 Col.132 (Delattre) might suggest that there was a Lacedaemonian source on Thaletas.

[688] Delattre, 2007, *passim* is really the first satisfactory edition of the text, and there is still no English edition.

[689] Wilkinson, 1939, *passim* provides a good overview of Philodemus' views on musical ethos, but now superseded by Delattre, 2007.

[690] On Terpander, Thaletas, and *stasis* (including the interesting detail that Thaletas made a dedicatory inscription in relation to his role in Sparta): Bk. 4, Col.132-134 (Delattre). On music and war, and Tyrtaeus: Bk.4, Col. 72-73 (Delattre). On the comparative education of the Mantineans, Lacedaemonians, and Pellanians, suggesting either the influence of Phildoemus, or a shared source, for ps.Plut. *De Musica De Musica,* 1142e-f (32): Bk.4, Col.23 (Delattre).

[691] Phil., *De Musica*, Bk. 4, Col.32 (Delattre).

[692] Phil., *De Musica*, Bk.4, Col.47.23ff and Col.132-133 (Delattre).

[693] Csapo, 2004, 243-244. Terpander was associated with the first *katastasis* of music in Sparta (specifically the Karneian kitharodic competition) and Thaletas was associated with the second *katastasis* of music in Sparta, along with Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri, Polymnestus of Colophon, and Sacadas of Argos, who set up

the works of writers on music for centuries by the time of Diogenes and Philodemus. That Philodemus could say that Diogenes was the *only* author who said that Terpander played at the Spartan *syssitia*, seems to point to the continued embellishment of these examples, as well as their potential anachronisms, since it is unlikely that the *syssitia* existed during the period Terpander when was supposed to have lived.

We are so accustomed to the idea that music can make us happy, sad, or want to tap our toes and dance, that Philodemus' Epicurean approach to music seems quite odd, but the Epicurean arguments against musical ethos reveal different ways of thinking about the effects of musicking. Take Sextus Empiricus, *Against Musicians*, 18 (see also 8), where he writes that the Spartan army employed music not because it benefitted their ethos, but because it acted as a distraction from the toil at hand.[694] Indeed, arguments against musical ethos theory seem to have developed much earlier than Philodemus, and perhaps even before Plato, as seen in the Hibeh musical papyrus (mid. 3rd-century BCE, text possibly early 4th century), so they were not just a later Epicurean response to Platonic thought.[695] It is even possible that the Hibeh musical papyrus referred to Spartan music, though the keyword 'Thermopylae' is very conjectural.[696] Thus, while these sources help to reveal the existence of alternative interpretations, we must rely heavily on a single source, Philodemus, fragmentary as he is, to inform our ideas of how musical ethos theory influenced the narrative of Spartan music.

In this regard, what is particularly refreshing in Philodemus' *De Musica* is that he expresses a level of doubt concerning what we might be able to know about Spartan music. He admits that

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the Spartan Gymnopaidiai, as well as the Arcadian Apodeixeis and the Argive Endymatia (nothing is known of the last two): ps.Plut, *De Musica*, 1134b-c (9), see also, Athen. *Deipno*., 678c. See Barker, *GMW1*, 214. It is possible that there was also a (less famous) third *katastasis*, or similar. Ath. 628b notes that the Spartans say "that they have saved it [music] from ruin three times." Barker *GMW 1*, 286 n.134 "… we know nothing of any third 'establishment'. It is possible that the allusion is to the tales of various occasions on which composers were prevented by the Spartan authorities from using instruments with more strings than the traditional norm." Cf. Power, 2010, 234 n.115 and 401 n.240, who notes that Philodemus *De Musica* (1, p18 Kemke = PMG 281c) mentions Stesichorus' role in resolving *stasis*, suggesting in the latter case that the passage might have been in relation to Sparta. Power does not, however, link the passage with the mention in Athenaeus of a 'third saving'.

[694] The pomp of the sacrifices as described in Xen. *Lac.* 13.7-8 could certainly be seen this way, where no comment is given as to the impact of the music itself.

[695] *Hib. Pap.* 1.13, col.1.1.-col.2.15. The papyrus is mid-third century BCE, its text is likely earlier. Anderson and Matthiesen, 2001, suggest in might be as early as c.390 BCE, and thus predate Plato's treatises: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09055 (accessed 28.1.19). For a brief overview of the treatise: Barker, *GMW 1*, 183.

[696] *Pap. Hib.* 1.13. Barker, *GMW 1*, 184 n.7. It is given as "Θε̣[ρ / [μοπυλ]η̣σ̣ι" at *Pap. Hib.* 1.13.

the records did not show whether or not the Spartans praised the *music* of Tyrtaeus, or his *words* more generally.[697] Given that so many of the surviving sources on Spartan music are heavily influenced by the ideas of musical ethos theory, we would do equally well to remember that in doing so, they are unlikely to record the whole picture.

The extent to which musical ethos theory could colour a writer's representation of Sparta is particularly apparent in the writings of Plutarch, and it is to this topic that I now turn. As Wallace notes, Plutarch's discussion of Spartan military music at *Lycurgus* 21 is undoubtedly influenced by musical ethos, but the influence runs throughout Plutarch's discussions of Spartan music, and even affects his representation of Spartan politics.[698] Plutarch's Agis IV justifies his sumptuary regulations in a passage which is steeped in technical musical language and metaphor**.**[699] However, Agis IV's regulations pale in comparison to the regulations which Cleomenes III enforced during his dinners, where silence was *de rigueur* (the implication perhaps being that this was not the case at other Spartan dinners).[700] Agesilaus, is described by Plutarch as being 'most in harmony' (εὐαρμοστότατον) with the city than other kings (*Ag*. 1.3), further hinting at a strong Platonic influence, which is also seen in his account of the struggle between Agesilaus and Lysander, which is framed as a symptom of the Lycurgan system:

> Natural philosophers are of the opinion that, if strife and discord should be banished from the universe, the heavenly bodies would stand still, and all generation and motion would cease in consequence of the general harmony. And so the Spartan law-giver seems to have introduced the spirit of ambition and contention into his civil polity as an incentive to virtue, desiring that good citizens should always be somewhat at variance

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[697] Phil., *De Musica*, Bk.4, Col.72 (Delattre). **T**here is much in the text of Phildoemus' *De Musica* which tantalises. Phil., *De Musica*, Col.71 (Delattre), mentions something in relation to a Spartan king. As mentioned, we would like to know what the inscription attributed to Thaletas said.

[698] Wallace, 2015, 72.

[699] Plut., *Agis.*,10.4 "… ὅπου γενομένων βίων καὶ τρόπων ἀμετρία καὶ πλημμέλεια τὴν πόλιν ἀσύμφωνον καὶ ἀνάρμοστον ἑαυτῇ πεποίηκεν." This page follows on from a justification of the earlier music of Terpander and Thaletas as aligned with the laws of Lycurgus, and a commendation of the ephors who had sanctioned Phrynis and Timotheus.

[700] van Wees, 2018, 242, n. 36 (260), "Kleomenes III's banning of music at dinners… need not have been a reversion to old customs". Kleomenes only seems to have banned music at his own dinners, and even such a ban is phrased quite peculiarly. At Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F 44 (= Ath. 4.20–1, 141F –142F) we are told that "ἐπεὶ δὲ δειπνήσειαν, ἐσιώπων πάντες" and that "ἀκρόαμα δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε παρ<εισ>επορεύετο" (compare Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 13.4 "ἀκρόαμα δὲ οὔτ᾽ ἦν οὔτ᾽ ἐπεζητεῖτο"). Thus, Agis' and Cleomenes' interpretations of music appear quite different. For Agis, music of the right kind (i.e. 'Lygurgan' *Agis* 10.3 "ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ διετέλουν ᾄδοντες καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες") was allowed, but Cleomenes seems to have adopted a much more extreme approach which sought to remove music (or entertainment more generally, as we might infer from the use of the word 'ἀκρόαμα') from dinners, even if this might have only been achieved at those which he hosted.

> and in conflict with one another, and deeming that complaisance which weakly yields without debate, which knows no effort and no struggle, to be wrongly called concord.
>
> Plutarch, *Ag.*, 5.3

It is unclear to whom exactly Plutarch means by *οἱ φυσικοὶ* ('the natural philosophers'), there are parallels with Xenophon, but Plutarch himself established a link between Lycurgan Sparta and the ideas of Plato, Diogenes, and Zeno,[701] an influence seen clearly in his comparison between Lycurgus and Numa:

> In the second place, then, it is granted that, just as musicians tune their lyres, so Lycurgus tightened the strings at Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, and Numa loosened the strings at Rome, where the tones were sharp and high; but the task was more difficult in the case of Lycurgus. For his efforts were to persuade the citizens, not to take off their breast-plates and lay aside their swords, but to cast away gold and silver, and abandon costly couches and tables; not to cease from wars and hold festivals and sacrifices, but to give up feasting and drinking and practise laboriously as soldiers and athletes.
>
> Plut. *Comp. Lyc. Num.* 1.3

For Plutarch, the connection between Spartan political stability and musical order goes beyond mere metaphor. He presents the two (like Plato), as being ultimately linked. Yet despite this, Plutarch preserves several contradictory accounts regarding Spartan approaches to music. At *Agis*.10.3 the king speaks of the good example set by Terpander,[702] yet at *Lac. Inst.* 17 it is recalled that even Terpander (an otherwise excellent musician) had his kithara nailed to the wall by the Ephors, just like the Ephors cut an excess string from Timotheus' instrument.[703] Similarly, in the *Ap. Lac.*, the same (or similar) phrases of censure are attributed to a variety of named or unnamed persons. 'This musician ranks as highly as a soup-maker' is attributed to both Archidamus II and Cleomenes,[704] and similar comments on the supposed triviality of

[701] Plut. *Lycurg.*, 31.2. For parallels between Xenophon's and Plutarch's approaches to Lysander, see Meriani, 2000, *passim*. On the theory of universal harmony as distinctly Platonic, ps.Plut., *De Musica*, 1146f (44), where it is also linked to Pythagoras and Archytas, as well as other (unnamed) ancient philosophers.

[702] Other relevant passages of kingly responses to issues of music include, in the *Agesialus*: after Coroneia, auletes played while he set up a trophy, as a way to test the Thebans – after this, he continued home via the Pythian games, where he took part in the *pompē* (19.2-3); he broke up and did not reorganise the Isthmian games, but let the Corinthian exiles do it themselves, while providing them protection (21.1-2).

[703] Beecroft, 2008, 232-234 (on Terpander fr.4 Gostoli) suggests that such contradictions are due to a culturally conservative culture trying to explain or mitigate its earlier innovations.

[704] 218 D and 224a respectively.

music are juxtaposed with comments on the seriousness with which musical transgressions were treated.[705]

Plutarch sees musical correctness as integral to the operation of Lycurgan Sparta, but his representation of the Spartan kings and ephors has them at once trivialise music as a non-serious matter, while also acting as its serious enforcers. It is perhaps no surprise then that at *Lycurgus* 21 and 22 we are shown an account of Spartan music which focuses on its martial virtues. I do not mean to imply that music did not hold a notable place in the Spartan military. In addition to the works of Tyrtaeus and Simonides, there is also an Hellenistic paean to Eurus,[706] the 'Melody of Castor' (a pre-battle ,[707] and two anonymous marching songs,[708] and as was examined in **[Section 2]**, the aulos clearly played an important role in the Classical Spartan army. Even so, Plutarch has cherry-picked the quotations which best support his argument.

Alcman (if it is Alcman, he is never mentioned by name "ὡς ὁ Λακωνικὸς ποιητὴς εἴρηκε"), is used to show that the Spartans were "at the same time the most musical and most warlike" ("Μουσικωτάτους γὰρ ἅμα καὶ πολεμικωτάτους").[709] Pindar is quoted to support the same idea, but, as is noted in **[Section 4]**, Pindar fr.156 S-M presents a completely different image of Spartan music to that being sold by Plutarch here. Finally, the lines of Terpander (fr.5 Gostoli) which Plutarch quotes, and which in principle ground Plutarch's interpretation of the Spartans' connection between military and music in the earliest history, have been interpreted as a later tradition that took the name of 'Terpander' as metonymy for early kitharody.[710] While Plutarch likely had access to more Spartan poetry than we could ever hope for, this does not mean that he quoted from it unobjectively.[711] He was, after all, writing a biography of Lycurgus, about whom he says, in the very first line of his work, that "in general, nothing can be said which is not disputed".[712]

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[705] Comments on the triviality of music: Archidamus (218 C), Demaratus (220 A), Ecprepes (220 C), Eudamidas I (220 F), unattributed (233 F, 234 D).

[706] PMG 858. Cf. Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, 22.

[707] Cf. Ath., *Deip*., 1140c and Pollux, 4.78. Cf. Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, 22.

[708] PMG 856 and 857, sometimes attributed to Tyrtaeus. Cf. Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, 22.

[709] Plut., *Lycurgus*, 21.4.

[710] Plut., Lycurgus, 21.3. See Beecroft, 2008, 234-236 for the argument.

[711] Plut., *Lycurg*. 21.3 "if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time".

[712] This is not to say that Plutarch did not treat his sources with due criticism, but that his methods and preferences differ to ours. For example, he states that (*Lycurg,* 1.3-4): "although the history of these times is such a maze, I shall try, in presenting my narrative, to follow those authors who are least contradicted, or who have the most notable witnesses for what they have written about the man. [4] For instance, Simonides the poet says that Lycurgus was not the son of Eunomus, but that both Lycurgus and Eunomus were sons of Prytanis; whereas most

5.1.3 Between authenticity and invention

The extent to which this colouring of Spartan musical traditions effected the transmission of stories which ran counter to that image is best seen in Athenaeus.

At Athenaeus (14.633b) perhaps as part of a reference from Demetrius of Byzantium, the claim is made that the Spartans "καὶ τὸ χρηστομουσεῖν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ἀρχαίους τῆς μουσικῆς νόμους." The passage comes after a comment on the meaning of the word *choregos* in Sparta, and it seems, given the *kai*, that this sentence then continues the discussion of Spartan-specific musical vocabulary.[713] The implication is that the Spartans had a verb which they used to refer to 'not violating the ancient laws of music'.[714] On its own, this comment is not very telling, but an earlier of discussion on Menelaus' wedding party in the *Odyssey* reveals the extent to which such lexicographical snippets might have influenced writers' ideas about the actualities of Spartan life. The discussion comes as part of a wider examination of the editing of Homer, where it is claimed that:

> Aristarchus … added verses to Menelaus' symposium that did not belong there, making it foreign to the Spartan way of life and the king's sober-mindedness.
>
> Ath. 5.181c

The offending addition (*Od*. 4.15-19) is:

> So the neighbours and kinsmen of famous Menelaus / were feasting throughout his great high-roofed home, enjoying themselves. Among them a divine bard was singing / and playing the lyre. And a pair of tumblers separate from the others / led [*exarchontes*] the song, whirling about among them…
>
> Ath. 5.180d

---

writers give a different genealogy…". It seems that Simonides, because he is most contradicted, would not have been chosen to inform Plutarch's account, yet, as explored in **[Section 3]**, Simonides seems to be the earliest (surviving) reference to Lycurgus, making him a particularly important source for us.

[713] Whether this means that this was a word specific to the Spartans, or that only the Spartans used this word in this way (like their specific use of choregos) is unclear. Olson opts to use the earlier Ἐκάλουν as the main verb of this sentence, translating it as "[They] also [used the verb] *chrestomousein* to mean 'not to violate the ancient principles of music'". Yonge's 1854 version adopted "and so it happened, that the Lacedæmonians were good musicians, and did not violate the ancient laws of music." The latter seems unlikely. The verb is not quite a hapax, appearing elsewhere only in Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* Vol.3.906.24 (*Il*. 16.617) (Valk).

[714] Or, perhaps, 'the ancient *nomoi*' (as in songs).

The case that the performance of dancers and musicians at the feast of Menelaus was an addition is made not just on its similarity to a scene in *The Forging of the Arms* (*Il.* 18.604–606),[715] but because it was also unbelievable given the speaker's understanding Spartan *paideia*.[716] It is surprising that such an argument would have been made, at any rate the passage has survived the modern editor's axe, but in contrast to this attempted 'redaction' of Spartan musicking in the *Odyssey* the invention of stories about Spartan music is noticeable too. This was suggested by Diogenes' account of Terpander in the *syssitia*, but there are more examples too. As Philodemus suggests, the Spartans themselves (or perhaps Spartan writers such as Sosibius) helped to circulate stories about their safeguarding of music, but they were by no means the only source of these stories.[717]

Nevertheless, the Spartans' engagement, adjustment, and tweaking of their musical history is not just on the hear-say of Philodemus. Boethius, *De Institutione Musica*, 1.1, records what he says is the Spartans' 'official decree' against Timotheus.[718] There are interesting differences between the story of Timotheus in this decree compared to other sources, but of particular interest is that, as Prauscello argues, the decree seems to be the product of a deliberately archaising 2nd-century CE Sparta:[719]

> Since Timotheus of Miletus, having come to our city, dishonours the ancient muse and by turning away from the seven-stringed cithara and introducing a variety of tones he corrupts the ears of the youth; and since by means of the multiplicity of the strings and the novelty of his song in place of her simple and well-ordered garments he clothes the muse in ignoble and intricate ones by composing the frame of his melody according to the chromatic genre instead of the enharmonic one to the antistrophic responsion; and since being further invited to the musical contest at the festival honouring the Eleusinian Demeter he arranged the story improperly, for he did not instruct becomingly the youth about the *Birthpangs of Semele*; be it resolved *** that the kings and ephors shall censure Timotheus for these two reasons and, after having cut the superfluous among the eleven strings and leaving the seven, shall also enforce that anyone who sees the grave dignity of the city will be deterred from introducing into Sparta any unpleasant (musical) ethos and the glorious fame of the contests may not be affected.

[715] 5.180f – "But as I was saying, the introduction of entertainment into this sober symposium is an interpolation borrowed from the Cretan chorus, about which Homer says in *The Forging of the Arms* (Il. 18.590–4)."

[716] This image of the musically and culturally protectionist Sparta is also seen at Ath. 628b where the influence of Aristotle can be seen (that the Spartans did not learn music but were nonetheless good judges of it). For a different view, see Ath. 14.633a: "[the Spartans] were happy to make the transition from the sober austerity in which they lived to music, since the science has a charming effect. It was accordingly unsurprising that those who listened to it became happy."

[717] Philodemus, *De Musica*, Col.132 (Delattre).

[718] **[Section 1.1]**.

[719] Prauscello, 2009, 172-188.

Boethius, *De Inst. Mus.* (trans. Prauscello, 2009, 174-175)

For Prauscello the main puzzle of the decree is not its dialect or language,[720] nor indeed the 'commonplace' accusations against Timotheus' music,[721] nor its general 'rhetorical strategy',[722] but instead its recording of a second performance of Timotheus at the Spartan sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter at Therai, and how it is the performance of *The Birthpangs of Semele* there that is linked to the cutting of Timotheus' strings.[723] Given a likely revival in the cult of Eleusinian Demeter in 2nd-century Sparta,[724] Prauscello suggests that "we contextualise the document within the Spartan ruling class's broader attempts at re-asserting its own Greek local identity under the Roman empire… a desire both to display an image of the whole Spartan body as faithful to long unchanging tradition and, at the same time, to manipulate the present."[725]

While Prauscello briefly notes the paradoxical nature of the decree ("if we keep in mind Lycurgus' alleged prohibition of written laws"),[726] the very creation of the decree in 2nd-century CE Sparta strikes me as somewhat paradoxical, not because of any supposed Lycurgan law, but because of the actualities of Sparta's musical culture during that period. When Sparta was promoting its agonistic circuit, and hosting competitions in mime and tragedy, and when foreign musicians were given Spartan citizenship, even buried in Sparta, the Spartans also set-up this decree protesting their devotion to old forms of music that were in direct conflict with the kinds of music that were then currently being performed.[727]

Thus, my interpretation of the Timotheus decree slightly differs to Prauscello's (based on the wider musical traditions of 2nd-century CE Sparta) in that the final resolution of the decree ("anyone who sees the grave dignity of the city will be deterred from introducing into Sparta any unpleasant (musical) ethos and the glorious fame of the contests many not be affected") seems to oppose directly the changes that were made to Sparta's *mousikoi agōnes* in the Roman period. The decree, while ostensibly civic and connected to a re-assertion of Spartan identity,

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[720] For Prauscello, 2009, 177 the language is not that of a grammarian, a non-Spartan, nor a musicologist, thus ruling out Palumbo Stracca, 1999, 153-5 who suggested Nicomachus of Gerasa as the author of the decree.

[721] Which Prauscello, 2009, 179 n.67 cleverly notes imitate Timotheus' own words in the *Persae*.

[722] Prauscello, 2009, 178 which "from a formal point of view [resembles] the general structure and diction of the Hellenistic decrees honouring 'poeti vaganti'".

[723] Prauscello, 2009, 178.

[724] Prauscello, 2009, 183-185.

[725] Prauscello, 2009, 185.

[726] Prauscello, 2009, 188 n.124.

[727] See **[Section 5.2.2]**.

also has a whiff of the touristic and the phony, self-knowing in its attestation that that is what old Spartans did, but not what modern Roman Spartans did.

But might the decree have been more than that? It is certainly worth reading more closely, since the decree notably censures *astrophic* kitharody in the chromatic *genus* played on instruments with more than seven-strings (and thus melodies which can easily modulate between *harmoniai*), while praising kitharodic performance in the enharmonic *genus* with antestrophic responsion in a single *harmonia*. The first *tropos* (style) of music is easily associated with the style of music called 'New Music' by modern scholars, while the second *tropos* is a bit old-fashioned.[728]

Is it completely implausible that this decree could have been used to justify a strict form of musical regulation in 2nd-century CE Sparta, on the basis of what was claimed to be an earlier law made in perpetuity?[729] In contrast to the seemingly less Lycurgan musical culture of Roman Sparta, we know that Roman Sparta had 'interpreters of Lycurgan ways' and maybe even

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[728] Ps.Plut. has some interesting comments to make on musical traditions which we should take into account when discussing Sparta's archaising musical traditions, especially those used to support ideas of musical ethos. The author notes an old tradition of the Argives which required the aulos to be played during the wrestling contest at the Sthenaia. ps.Plut. then notes that the 'even nowadays' the aulos accompanies the pentathalon, but that "the music, admittedly, is neither cultivated nor in the ancient style: it is not of the kind that was current among the men of those times…" (ps.Plut., *De Musica*, 1140c-d [26]). Thus, there seems to be an awareness that while similarities might be drawn between old and modern musical customs, this does not always equate to the continual use of old musical styles.

[729] If so, the Timotheus decree might have used a traditional Spartan ploy. Jeffrey, 1961, 147 as part of a re-analysis of the Cyrene decree, suggests that the Sparta *Rhetra* "may well be a document perpetrated by a Spartan statesman in the archaic period, to avert a constitutional crisis by granting (or confirming) to the people the right to hold regular and perpetual assemblies, and to give decisions on matter introduced by the Gerousia. But if this is so, the reformer drew up his blueprint in the guise of a prose oracle, conveniently in Doric, from the Pythia, an oracle allegedly granted long ago to the Founder(s) of the constitution and now to be endorsed." In appealing to the (well-known) story of Timotheus, and the authority of the Kings and the Ephors (notably unnamed), contemporary Spartan officials might have sought to influence a change in the *topoi* of kitharodic performance (again, it is notable that the decree only seems to regulate kitharody) allowed in Spartan contests, setting them apart from other, non-restricted contests. Compare also the 'discus of Lycurgus' at Olympia recorded by Aristotle (Plut., *Lycurg*., 1.1), and the 4th century BCE Cyrenian decree which was said to preserve the original 7th century 'Pact of the Settlers' (SEG ix.3).

didaskaloi of the Lycurgan ethos too.[730] Indeed, it was on account of Sparta's Lyrcurgan laws that Nero did not visit Sparta – famously a kitharode of an exuberant, crowd-pleasing style.[731]

It is possible that such an interpretation of the Timotheus decree stretches the boundaries of credulity too far. As we shall see, Imperial Sparta had a flourishing musical culture which embraced a more complex and diverse circuit of *mousikoi agōnes* than in the time of Timotheus, but the extent to which past exempla might have been used to inform contemporary law-making is worth considering nonetheless. By unpacking the varying historical influences on Roman Sparta's musical culture, even if we are unable to fully explain them, we are in a better place to understand how the re-invention of early (by this I mean Archaic, Classical, or 'Lycurgan') Spartan music in Roman Sparta has influenced and projected itself onto our perception of Sparta as a musically austere and conservative society. Like the strings of Nero's kithara, the stories circulated far and wide, all purporting to be the genuine product.[732]

If, as I have argued, Sparta's musical regulations were by no means extraordinary, then the stories told about them were, holding a special place in the writings of those influenced by musical ethos theory in particular. It is because these stories influenced the early narratives of Spartan music, from Cleaver to Müller, and most modern accounts of Spartan music too, as explored in **[Section 1]**, before important passages of lyric and material evidence had come to light, that they have continued to be explored as a key part of Spartan musical actualities.

However, as will now be shown, when exploring the *realia* of Roman Sparta's musical culture, particularly in the 2nd-century CE, it becomes apparent that many of the stories, and certainly those of Plutarch, were written with a sure knowledge that Sparta's attitudes to music had changed quite substantially from the attitudes represented in archaising stories, and which in some cases were purported to still hold true. Drawing on a wide range of epigraphic, archaeological, and literary evidence, the second part of this section reveals a side to Spartan

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[730] Woodward, 1907/1908, 116.

[731] Lucian, *Nero*, 6-7. While perhaps perceived as a snub at the time, this was a win for posterity. Suetonius (*Nero* 24), if he is to be believed, recalls that Nero competed at all the kitharodic games in Greece, and when (without fail) he had been announced (by himself) as victor, he ordered the statues and pictures of all the previous victors be dragged off and stuffed in sewers. Nero's kitharodic circuit of Greece started at Cassiope, on Corcyra, and finished at the Isthmian games, having taken in those at Olympia (where he also competed in a chariot race). He also took to the stage as an actor during this tour.

[732] Power, 2010, 10, referring to the story told at Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 4.39, where a hustling kitharode "shows off a used *kithara* string, claiming that he acquired it from Nero's very own *kithara* at the cost of two *minae*… it is more than likely that many other Neronian strings were bought and sold in Rome and throughout the Empire at large."

music which requires further exploration, the music of Roman Sparta and its uneasy relationship with its imagined past. As such the second part of this section will explore the evidence for the 'normalising' and 'archaising' aspects of Roman Sparta's musicking, providing an in-depth analysis of the evidence provided by the *paidikoi agōnes* inscriptions, before then exploring the wider evidence and significance of *mousikoi agōnes* in Roman Sparta. In plain sight behind a faux façade of archaising traditions, the music of Roman Sparta was no different than that of any other Roman provincial town. Not only that, but the broad spread of competitions, in addition to the reflection of changing musical tastes in contemporary art, reveal a society exposed to a remarkable range of musical diversification, further supporting my wider argument that Spartan music was never really homeostatic.

5.2 DECONSTRUCTING SPARTAN MUSIC PART TWO

5.2.1 New musical traditions in Roman Sparta: the *paidikoi agōnes*

Following a brief outline of the nature of the *paidikoi agōnes*, I will explore the extent to which musicking formed a part of the contests, the evidence for the *keloia* is not entirely clear, but with the *mōa*, by the nature of its name, we might suppose a solo endeavour, perhaps with musical accompaniment, certainly not choral, given the evidence. Having discussed the musicality of these contests. I then explore the extent to which the *paidikoi agōnes* might continue an earlier tradition, as seen in a visually similar dedication made in the 4th century BCE, to which the later (2nd C. BCE) stelai allude. Traditionally, the *paidikoi agōnes* stelai have been interpreted as a form of archaising display, reasserting 'traditional' Lycurgan values in light of Sparta's changing socio-political environment. However, a reading of the dedications shows that while they might have originally served this purpose, they came to be displays of Spartan fealty to Rome, as much they were displays of Spartan localism.

One of the most enduring aspects of the British School at Athens' 1906-1910 excavations at the sanctuary of Orthia was the discovery of a vast number of stelai commemorating victories at the *paidikoi agōnes*, only eight or nine of which had been known of before then.[733] The stelai are quite formulaic, each with a socket into which the victor's prize, an iron sickle (δρεπάνη),

[733] Woodward, *AO*, 285. A number had been found built into various buildings and recorded in the 1800s, the earliest recording of a *paidikos agōn* stele (no.32 now lost) was made by Cyriac of Ancona c.1438. (*AO* 313-314). In referring to the *paidikoi agōnes* inscriptions I follow the numeration of Woodward, *AO*. For the sake of convenience, a concordance of the *paidikoi agōnes* stelai is provided in **[Appendix E].**

was inserted. **[Fig. 5.2 & 5.3]** [734] The archetype text relates the name, age-class, and title(s) of the victor, the competition(s) which they won, the name of the eponymos Patronomos, and a dedication to Artemis Orthia. Sometimes additional details (decorative or textual) are added.[735] The dedications are in prose, apart from nine which are completely or partially metrical (Woodward No.s 1-9).[736] Woodward No.7 is a *stichoi isopsēphoi* or *eisarithma epē* (isopsephism), where the letters of each line add up to the same number (in this case, 2730 for each line).[737] It has been suggested that the victor's father was a poet since the stele claims that he "εἰσαρίθμοις ἔπεσι" **[Fig. 5.4]**.[738] While we know that poets did engage in isopsephism (most famously, Leonidas of Alexandria as 1st-century CE epigrammist) the method had wider cryptographic and magical uses too.[739] At any rate, the inscription points to an understanding of letters beyond that required for the three tersely named contests which made up the *paidikoi agōnes*:[740] καθθηρατόριον (perhaps earlier – κυναγέτας), κελοῖα, and μῶα.[741]

The stelai, record: 37 *keloia* victories, 35 *mōa*, 25 *kathēratorion*, 4 *kunagetas*, and 1 *sunoidoi paidōn*.[742] Most of the dedications date to the 2nd century CE [**Table 5.1]**.

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[734] Woodward, *AO*, 286 n.1., No.s 4, 8 and 9 tells us that the sickle was the prize. The expense of these dedications must have varied. Factors would have included: the stone used (in at least four cases the expensive and highly prized *rosso antico* was used), how much decorative sculpting was required (such as pedimental details), the size of the stele, and the length and quality of the inscription.

[735] But it should also be mentioned that the stelai only ever mention the competition that has been won, and never the name of the festival during which the competition took place.

[736] Woodward, *AO*, 296-302. Woodward No.5 is so fragmentary that we should be cautious to categorise it as a metrical dedication. All of the metrical dedications which also preserve the name of the contest were won in the *keloia* or *mōa*.

[737] While perhaps no more than a coincidence, it is worth noting that 2730 divided by 4 equals 682.5, and that the letters of ΣΠΑΡΤΑ add up to 682. Whether the composer of the dedication had this correlation in mind is difficult to say for certain.

[738] Cf. Massaro, *PA* 7.

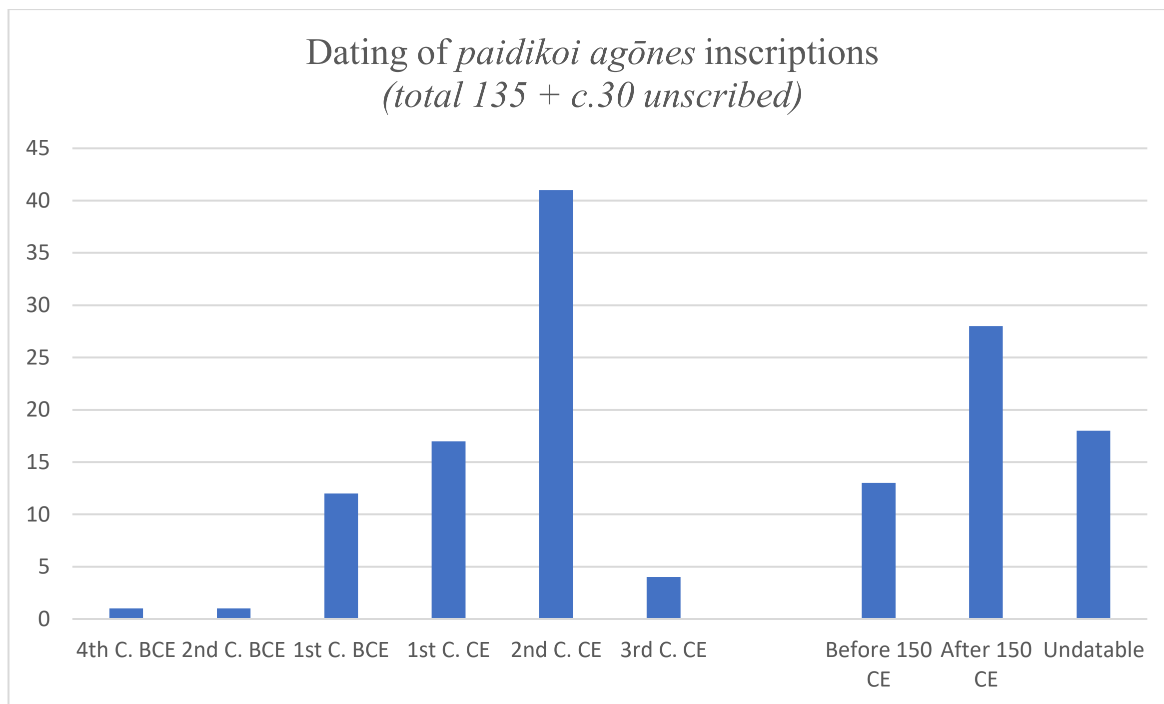
[739] Ast and Lougovaya, 2015 is a good overview of the topic.

[740] It also seems that at an earlier point the καρτεριάς ἀγών formed part of the round of competitions celebrated with sickles, and that it might earlier have had the name εὐβάλκης (*AO*, 289, suggested by Woodward, but not with absolute certainty). If so, this was before the whipping competition became 'big money' so to speak, when the victors would erect statues (*AO* 289).

[741] *AO*, 288-9, suggested by Woodward, but not with absolute certainty.

[742] Also: 4 *eubalkēs*, and 1 *karterpias agōn*.

Table 5.1 Dates of *paidikoi agōnes* inscriptions.



There is a lot we do not know about these competitions, but it is generally accepted that all the contests were solo endeavours.[743] The name καθθηρατόριον is suggestive of hunting, and has been interpreted as the name of a mimetic dance.[744] Κελοῖα might suggest singing, as Woodward proposed, but Rose conjectured that the κελοῖα was "one of oratory or declamation of some kind", more recently Kennel has suggested hunting cries.[745] Μῶα implicitly suggests some kind of musical contest (it is the Laconian word for 'Muse'), but whether instrumental or

[743] Woodward, *AO*, 287 notes that the victorious teams of the Spartan Ball Game (Sphaires) listed the names of all their members, whereas the Orthia dedications only give the name of a single victor: "there is no reason for doubting the correctness of the natural conclusion that without exception the winners were individuals."

[744] cf. Rose, *AO*, 406. κατὰ + θηρᾶν. Woodward, *AO*; Rose, *AO*, 406, and Tillyard 1905/1906, 383, all think it unlikely that the contest was a real hunt, given that many of the boys who won the competition were *mikk(ix)iddomenoi*, that is, aged ten. Given the young age of the boys Chrimes, 1949, 123-126 suggested that the καθθηρατόριον might have been a dance, noting the (unnamed) terrifying Laconian dance mentioned by Pollux 4.14.103, and that we should expect to find dance in such a series of competitions. Chrimes also links this kind of dance to Aristoxenus of Tarentum's discussion of the contemporary Spartan Pyrrhic dance, almost as a mock hunt (*apud* Athen. 14.630 e ff.). Kennel, 2010b, 210 raises the very valid point that the "contests called *deros* ("Shield") and *eubalkes* ("Valiant One") might also have been mimetic dances, but they disappear from the record in the later 1st c. B.C."

[745] Rose, *AO*, 406. Woodward, *AO*, 288. Kennel, 2010b, 210. Prauscello, 2009, 187 n.120 thinks the suggestion of hunting cries is rather speculative. Harley, 1934, 135 suggested that an oratory competition was "surely an odd thing at Sparta", but is perhaps not thinking about it being an odd thing in Roman Sparta.

vocal is unclear.[746] The only possible clue to the nature of the *mōa* is Woodward no.3 (= IG V,1 315), dated to the 1st century BCE:[747]

1 εὐφθογ̣[γ— —]

ὑμνοτόκ[— — —]

ἄμβροτο̣ι [— —]

γᾶρυν οπ̣[— —]

5 γλυπτὸ̣ν [— —]

σ̣υ[— — — — —]

3: ἄμβροτον̣ (Woodward)

6: ε̣ὐ[(Woodward)

Εὐφθόγγος, 'sweet-sounding' or similar, is easy enough to explain, so too ὑμνοτόκ[ος 'producing hymns/ musical' (cf. Nonnus, *D*. 26. 204) yet neither of these terms really help to clarify what kind of music might have been performed. More interesting, however, is γᾶρυν ὀπ[αδο (perhaps to be restored either as ὀπαδον or ὀπάδοντες), which might refer to someone accompanying a singer or singers ('accompanying the [singing-]voice/ speech'). Despite Woodward's comment that "restoration [of this inscription] is impossible", he classifies it among the *paidikoi agōnes* dedications.[748] However, the stele does not mention any of the 'keywords' associated with the *paidikoi agōnes*, (i.e. the name of the victor, the Patronomos, or the competition). Is this because it is fragmentary, or because it is something else? Woodward noted that the inscription is "complete on left only; apparently nothing is lost from above l.1" but did not note if there were any sockets for sickles present on the stele, which would confirm its association with the competitions.[749] If not, then the word γλυπτὸ̣ν in particular suggests that this inscription might be something else. If a statue or carving accompanied the inscription, that would set it apart from all other *paidikoi agōnes* dedications. The crux of the problem is if Woodward no.3 commemorates a victory in the μῶα, as suggested by Woodward, then we can

[746] Kennel, 2010b, 210 suggests singing.

[747] There is also Hesychius *s.v.* μῶά (i, p. 691 Latte): ᾠδὴ ποιά. = Massaro *PA* 1.

[748] Woodward, *AO*, 298.

[749] Woodward, *AO*, 298.

conjecture that the μῶα involved some form of accompaniment, and the contest was not a solo performance in the strictest sense, even if only one performer was counted as the contestant and announced the winner. If the stele did not commemorate a μῶα victory, as I suggest, then we can say very little about how the contest was organised. At the very least the μῶα was in existence by the time Woodward no.3 was inscribed, since the contest is explicitly mentioned in Woodward no.2 (= IG V,1 256) dated to the second or early first century BCE. Thus, even though the *paidikoi agōnes* aimed for the Lycurgan ideal, it seems that choral competition, a key component of Xenophon's 'Lyrcurgan' Sparta, is completely absent in the *paidikoi agōnes*.

With regards to the κελοῖα Woodward no.4 (= IG V,1 264) is useful, dated to the Augustan period **[Fig. 5.5]**:[750]

1 Τ̣ιμοκράτ̣ης Ἐπι-

ν̣ικίδα ἐπὶ Ἀρι-

στοτέλεος νικά-

α̣ς τὸ παιδιχὸν

5 κελήα̣.

[ε]ὔ̣στομον ε̣ὐ̣τρο[χά]λου

γλώσσης τόδ' ἆ̣ε̣θλον

ἀείρας,

Π̣αρθένε, σοὶ δρέπ̣α̣ν̣ο[ν]

10 [Τ]ιμοκρα̣της ἔθετο.

As already briefly mentioned, Woodward thought that the κελοῖα (here spelled κελήα̣)[751] was a musical contest, however, this Augustan inscription makes me question Woodward's certainty in assigning the κελοῖα a *musical* contest: [ε]ὔ̣στομον ε̣ὐ̣τρο[χά]λου γλώσσης might refer to a singer, but is not the most obvious of musical compliments 'the eloquence of the well-running tongue', though 'the melodiousness of the fast-tongue' is perhaps possible.[752] But, as Prauscello notes, while the phrase "may refer to rhetorical skill… the adjective *eutrochalos* can be used

[750] Woodward, *AO,* 298.

[751] There are a variety of alternative spellings, cf. *AO* 288.

[752] Harley, 1934, 135.

also of a song and/or melody."[753] Nevertheless, μῶα is an obvious cognate of things musical, κελοῖα seems to be cognate with κελεύω / κέλευμα, and thus the giving of orders or the sounding of cries. In this case, I am not convinced that the evidence for reading the *keloia* as a musical competition is overly compelling, but I am open to the possibility that it might have been.

However, while the *paidikoi agōnes* might not, in reality, perfectly recreate Sparta's past traditions, I am inclined to agree with Kennel that they created "a living relic from the earliest days of Spartan history".[754] We also need to take into account that not only do the *paidikoi agōnes* stelai adopt a seemingly archaising dialect, but that they are, if perhaps only visually, the descendant of an earlier tradition referred to as the *sunoidoi paidōn* 'the gatherings of the boys', which is mentioned on the earliest stele included in the corpus of *paidikoi agōnes* dedications, dating to the fourth century BCE (Woodward No.1) **[Fig. 5.6]:**[755]

> Ϝωρθείαι τάδ' Ἀρ[ή]ξιππος
> νικῶν ἀνέσηκε
> ἐν συνόδοις πα[ί]δων
> πᾶ*h*ιν *h*ορῆν φανερά.
>
> Arexippos, being victorious in the gatherings of the children, dedicated this to Worthia, clear for all to see.
>
> Woodward no.1, (trans. Author)[756]

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[753] Prauscello, 2009, 187 n.120. For the former, Eur. *Ba*. 268, Plut. *Per*. 7.1. For the latter, Apoll. Rhod. 4.907.

[754] Kennel, 2010b, 210.

[755] The date can be inferred not just from the lettering, but also because the digamma is still used in Orthia's name (Ϝωρθείαι). We can be quite certain that sometime between the fourth and third centuries Orthia's name began to be spelled with a beta in place of the digamma. The earliest datable instance of the *digamma* being replaced with a *beta* is the selection of black glazed Hellenistic pottery dedicated by Chilonis. Hondius and Woodward, 1919/1920-1920/1921, 112 noted that "[the name Chilonis] seems only to have been borne by members of one or other royal line, excepting the daughter of Chilon the Sage. It is not impossible that we should therefore ascribe these dedications to one of the royal bearers of the name in Hellenistic times, of which there seem to have been three, namely the daughter of Cleomenes II, the daughter of Leotychidas and wife of Kleonymus, and the daughter of Leonidas II, grand-daughter of the last-named." If such a suggestion is indeed correct, then we should take the very broad period of c.369 (when Cleomenes II became king) to 235 BCE (the last year of Leonidas II's kingship) as a more cautious guideline, noting also that such lexical changes need not have been uniform.

[756] It seems that Arexippos won five times, given the number of sickles. On the possible ways of translating this stele, cf. Ducat, 2006, 210-1. A point which may or may not be of significance is that on Woodward No.1 the sickles face right, whereas in all the later *paidikoi agōnes* stelai (with two exceptions) the sickle is always placed facing the left.

After Arexippos' dedication the next known stele is that of Xenokles, dated to the 2nd century BCE **[Fig. 5.7]**:[757]

Xenokles, son of Aristokritos – *mōa* – dedicated me.

Col. i Xenokles *kasen* to Leilochos, *mikichiddomenos* [16 years old]

Col. ii … *pratopompais* [17 years old]

Col. iii … *hatropampais* [18 years old]

Woodward no.2 (= IG V,1 256), (trans. Author)

As Ducat asks: "is the gap which separates [these stelai]… just the result of chance in finds? or should we, on the contrary, think of an interruption and see in [the later stelai] evidence of a new beginning?".[758] While the question of continuity is important, the stelai also allow us to see the extent to which Spartan cultural practices changed, giving a snapshot of youth competition during (primarily) the second sophistic. As Kennel says of the Roman period Spartan *agōgē*, a key part of which seems to have been the *paidikoi agōnes* "…although its complex structure, anachronistic-seeming nomenclature, and apparently primitive contests convinced many onlookers, both ancient and modern, that it preserved many elements from the earliest period of the city's development, the *agōgē* of the Roman period was almost completely the product of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods."[759] For example, there were seven age classes in the Roman *agōgē*, three in the Classical, and five tribes compared to the earlier three.[760] Additionally, stelai show changes to their phraseology and image, such as Woodward no. 51 (= IG V,1 293), which dates to c.150 CE **[Fig. 5.8]**:[761]

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

vacat

Δαμοκράτης Διο-

κλέους βουαγὸς

ἐπὶ πατρονόμου

[757] Woodward queries if it might not be early 1st century. Xenokles won in the *mōa* in three different years, as suggested by the reference to three different age-groups: *mikichiddomenos* (16 years), *pratopompais* (17 years), and *hatropampais* (18 years). See Ducat, 2006, 71-77 on the organisation of the Spartan age-classes.

[758] Ducat, 2006, 211.

[759] Kennel, 2010b, 208-209.

[760] Kennel, 2010b, 209.

[761] See **[Appendix E]**.

Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου Σηϊα-
νοῦ νεικήσας τὸ
παιδικὸν μῶαν Ἀρ-
τέμιδι Ὀρθεία ἀνέ-
θηκε. *{corona palma}*

In addition to the traditional iron sickle (at the right of the text), a wreath and a palm are incised below it as well. Such subtle changes to the formulation of the *paidikoi agōnes* inscriptions might at first seem arbitrary, but they need to be viewed in relation not only to Roman Sparta's performative culture, but also to its socio-political position, influences, and concerns. While the Hellenistic p*aidikoi agōnes* inscriptions sought to promote a sense of what it meant to be 'Spartan' in the education of its future citizens, this was also a period when Spartan politics and identity diverged from traditional norms.

In a very convincing article on the adoption of Heraklean iconography in Hellenistic Sparta (replacing earlier preferences for the Dioskouroi) Olga Palagia has shown that "in an effort to reclaim sovereignty over the Peloponnese, a handful of 3rd-century B.C. Spartan kings adopted un-Spartan policies aimed at the outside world, following current political and artistic trends in other Hellenistic kingdoms." [762] In this way, the *paidikoi agōnes* might be seen as a reaction or a counter to the adoption of traditionally 'non-Spartan' attitudes, by reinforcing traditional ideals in the education of its citizens. Yet the overwhelming influence of Roman customs and ideals permeated even the *paidikoi agōnes*, where a Roman name could be given alongside the Greek name, and notice of traditional priesthoods (Leikippides and Tyndarides) went hand-in-hand with a priesthood in the Imperial cult and the duel claim of loyalty to the Emperor and the homeland, as well as the claim of excellence among the Hellenes:[763]

Ἀγαθᾶ
Τύχα·
Μ(ᾶρκορ) Αὐρ(ήλιορ) Ζεύξιππορ ὁ κ[αὶ]
Κλέανδρορ Φιλομούσω, ἱε-
ρεὺρ Λευκιππίδων καὶ Τινδαρι-

[762] Palagia, 2006, 216.

[763] Woodward No.64 (= IG V,1 304) preserves similar claims but is more fragmentary. The dual claim of *philokaisar kai philopatris* is also made under the name of the eponymos patronomos on an official list of the 2nd century CE (*SEG* XI, 503). See Kennel, 1991, 132-133.

δᾶν, βουαγὸρ μικκιχιδδομέ-
νων, ἐπὶ πατρονόμω Πο(πλιω) Αἰλίω
Δαμοκρατίδα τῶ Ἀλκανδρίδα, ἀρ-
χιερέορ τῶ Σεβαστῶ καὶ τῶν
[θ]είων προγόνων ὠτῶ φιλο-
[καί]σαρορ καὶ φιλοπάτριδορ αἰω-
[νίω] ἀγορανόμω πλειστονε[ίκω]
[παραδ]όξω καὶ ἀρίστω Ἑλλά[νων]
[νεικά]αρ κασσηρατόριν, [μῶαν, κε]-
[λοῖαν? Ἀρτ]έμιδι Βωρθέᾳ ἀν-
[έθη]κεν.

Good
Fortune
Marcus Aurleius Zeuxippos, otherwise
Kleandros son of Philomousos,
Priest of the Leukippides and Tyndarides,
Boagos of the *mikkichiddomenoi*,
In the Patronomate of Poplius Aelius
Damokratidas, son of Alkandridas,
Archiereor of the cult of Augustus and
His Divine Descendants, who is
Loyal to Caesar and Loyal to his Homeland,
Agoranomos for life, Victor
In Many Contests, *Paradoxos* (‘admirable’/ ‘distinguished competitor’),
And Best of the Hellenes,
Victor in the *kasseratorion*,
[*Mōa*, *keloia*],
Dedicated to Artemis Vorthia

Woodward no.69 (= IG V,1 305), 200 CE (trans. Author)

What had originally been a reaffirmation of local, ‘Lycurgan’ identity in the face of Hellenistic and Republican influences became a platform for one’s loyalty and dedication to the principles

of Imperial Rome. This dual identity, at once deeply local, yet placed within its wider Imperial context, would have been obvious, since it permeated one of, if not the, highest offices of Roman Sparta, the Patronomate. On at least eleven occasions the deified Lycurgus acted as eponymos Patronomos (with a different mortal *epimelētēs* acting on his behalf each time),[764] but in either 127/8 or 128/9 BCE the Emperor Hadrian himself was made the Spartan Patronomos.[765]

Thus the *paidikoi agōnes*, rather than memorialising a purely archaising tradition, help to highlight the tensions between Spartan traditionalism, and the normalising effects brought about by the social, political, and cultural influence of Rome.[766] However, the extent to which these cultural influences might have effected the way in which music was performed at the *paidikoi agōnes* is difficult to judge. In order to assess the impact of Roman influence on the ways and types of musical performance in Sparta, we need to look elsewhere. In what follows I will draw on a range of multimedia sources, following the methodology outlined in **[Section 1]**, revealing a culture of music in Roman Sparta that seems remarkably normal and far removed from the archaising elements established by the *paidikoi agōnes*, and contemporary literary accounts of Lycurgan attitudes to music.

5.2.2 *Mousikoi agōnes* in Roman Sparta

The tensions between traditional forms of Spartan performance and those brought to the city by changing times, is best seen in the layout of the Leonidea festival, and the nearby Spartan theatre. After a discussion of the theatre, and how it acted in the Spartan landscape, I will present the evidence for the types of music performed in Roman Sparta, as well as the types of performers found there, and the artistic representations of musicians that adorned Spartan houses. To the Spartans of the 2nd century CE, the music of Tyrtaeus and Alcman must have seemed out of date compared to the performances of the superstar mimes and others they welcomed, even if they still held their history in high regard, as seen in Leonidea festival.

In his description of Sparta, Pausanias mentions the Leonidea (3.14). He does not observe any musical contests, and the surviving epigraphic evidence for the Leonidea does not indicate that musical contests were part of that festival (IG V,1 18-20). The point of interest here then is that

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764 For the deified Lycurgus as Patronomos (on at least 11 occasions) Woodward, 1908, 112-123.

765 Hadrian served as Patronomos in 127/8 CE or 128/9 CE. See Kennel, 1991, 131 n.4.

766 For the term, *HRS*^{2}, 176.

only Spartans were allowed to compete in the *agōnes* at this festival, since only they could honour the famous bravery of Leonidas (Paus. 3.14: καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλῳ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι). However, given the proximity of the Leonidea to the theatre (the tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas are 'τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ'), the physical imposition of Roman influence in the landscape, embodied by the theatre, must have somewhat challenged the fiercely independent freedoms associated with the Persian Wars which the Leonidea elicited,[767] the same traditional spirit to which Caracalla would later appeal and exploit when recruiting Spartans as allied forces in the Rome's wars against the Parthians.[768]

The nature and date of the Spartan theatre are worth further note, since it shows the influence of Roman cultural power on Spartan performative traditions developing over time. When first built (by Eurycles, likely during the reign of Augustus), the Sparta theatre was startlingly distinct. It was built with a movable stage which could be wheeled on and off. **[FIG. 5.9 a-c].**[769] In the year 78 CE, an epistyle inscription recorded the gifting of an unnamed building (of which the inscription was a part) from Vespasian to the Spartans. Walker has convincingly shown that this structure would have been a part of the theatre and linked to its 'Corinthian phase', when the movable stage was replaced with a Roman style one.[770] **[FIG. 5.10 a-d]** Walker characterises Vespasian's donation in no uncertain terms:

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[767] This would have been particularly noticeable if, as Waywell, 1999, 22 suggests (following Bulle, 1937, 27-34), the reason for originally building a moving stage was to facilitate "access to the theatre for horse-riders at the Gymnopaideia, or to allow spectators in the theatre to view the celebrations at the nearby tomb of Lycurgus during his festival that was resestablished in Augustan times." For example, the Flavian spiral fluted columns, perhaps from the theatre colonnade, would have been in marked contrast with the architecture of the ancient temple of Athena Chalkioikos above it, and, for that matter, the older monuments to the Persians Wars nearby. See Waywell, Wilkes, and Walker, 1998, 100, fig.9.8 and 110, figs.9.30-33 for the columns. Compare Waywell and Wilkes, 1999, 455 whose preliminary conclusion was that "the original design of the Sparta theatre was Late Hellenistic Greek rather than Roman. It may indeed have been a conscious evocation of the Classical type of Greek theatre … but at the same time it employed the latest technology and machinery (as manifest in the moving stage), and placed deliberate emphasis on the Dorian heritage of Sparta under the regime of its native dynast C. Julius Eurykles)." Vespasian's Roman theatre would have been all the more obvious as a foreign imposition (even if it would likely have been gladly received).

[768] Herodian 4.8.3. See Kennel, 2009, 286.

[769] Waywell, Wilkes, and Walker, 1998, 103-107. Confirmed "beyond a reasonable doubt" in Waywell and Wilkes, 1999, 449; for the 'scenery store' (*skanotheke*) 452-454.

[770] Waywell, Wilkes and Walker, 1998, 108-111. Little expense was spared, with stone sourced from Laconia, Pentelicon, and the Troad (even if measurements might have been mixed up). It is also likely that some secondary

"[the donation] surely coincided with the fall of the Euryclid dynasty under Nero and the consequent political transformation of Sparta from a kind of independent fiefdom within the Roman Empire to a more normal Roman provincial town… The imperial endowment fits well with what is known of the better studied theatres of Italy and the western provinces, most of them built in the first century AD, and as much a mark of Roman political and cultural domination as the buildings of fora, temples to the Capitoline triad and the imperial cult, aqueducts and baths."[771]

However, it was not just the physicality of the theatre which is important here. So are the performances that took place in it, which we can reconstruct based on an incomplete victor list for the Spartan Euryclea or Ourania (*SEG* xi.838), probably dating to the 1st century CE.[772] The bronze plaque was found in the Byzantine wall above the east end of the theatre's west parodos wall, connecting it to performances in the theatre.[773] **[Table 5.2]**

Competitions include those in the salpinx, heralding, solo kithara-playing, tragedy, and encomium, and probably also comedy, and solo kithara-singing or solo aulos-playing, as well painting and a wide selection of age-based athletic events. As Spawforth says "One is left with the impression of a determinedly up-to-date agonistic entertainment, attempting to cater for as many tastes as possible."[774]

Table 5.2 Competition details described in *SEG* xi.838. Woodward, BSA 26, inscription no. 12 (2794), after Woodward, *ibid*. 215 and (partially) 217-18.

COMPETITION	**PRIZE MONEY (*in denarii*)**	**VICTOR**
σαλπικτής	ω' (800)	
κῆρυξ		Socrates Migonos Thuateirenos
(κιθαρῳδός ?) or (αὐλητής ?)		
κιθαριστής	'Β (2000)	
τραγῳδός	'Δ (4000)	Theodotos (Theodotou) from Sidon

phases or restorations after Vespasian's donation can be identified. Pausanias 3.14 notes the theatre it was well worth a gander 'θέας ἄξιον'.

771 Waywell, Wilkes, and Walker, 1998, 108-109.

772 Woodward, 1923, 219. Woodward rejects the Leonidea because non-Spartans are named among the victors.

773 Woodward, 1923, 213. Along with three other plaques which are much more fragmentary and seem to detail festival regulations (13 [2795]); the mention of Herakles and perhaps, tentatively restored, 'triannual contest' (14 [2796]); and a fragment preserving the name of a high priest of the Imperial house (15 [2797]).

774 Spawforth, *HRS*², 163.

(κωμῳδός ?)		
ἐγκωμιογράφος	υ' (400)	
unknown		Theodoros Damonikou from Lacedaimonia
ζῳγράφος	ρν' (150)	] from Tarsos
unknown		Apollonios Demetriou from Ni[komedia]?
unknown		
παῖς δολιχεύς		T. Kornelius Dionusios from Sardis
unknown		
ἀγένειος πένταθλος	‘Αφ' (1500)	
unknown		Ailios Granianos from Siky[on
unknown		
παῖς σταδιεύς	‘Αφ' (1500)	… from Epidauros
(ἀγένειος σταδιεύς)		
(ἀνὴρ σταδιεύς)	‘Βφ' (2500)	Ailios P[la]ntios from Ni[?
παῖς ?		

Table 5.3 Foreign agonistic performers in Sparta, after *HRS*[2], Appendix 4. [M] marks those in Massaro but not *HRS*[2].

Name	**Profession**	**Festival**	**Source**
C. Iulius Iulianus of Smyrna	Tragic actor	Caesarea (in the third celebration of 105/6)	IG V,1 662
Claudius Avidienus of Nicopolis *Spartan citizen*	Poet	(c. 100); a victor in the Urania?	FD iii.1 no.542
M. Ulpius Heliodorus of Thessalonice	Kitharode	Urania (Antonine period)	IG IV,1 591 with W. Vollgraff, Mnemosyne ser.2 47, 1919, 259–60.
Tib. Scandalianus Zosimus of Gortyn	Aulete	Urania (twice victor in the second century)	CIG i. 1719 with G. Daux, *BCH* 68–9, 1944–5, 123–5.
M. Aurelius Ptolemaeus of Argos	Poet	Olympia Commodea (first victor in the	FD iii.1. no.89.

		contest for poets under (?) Severus)	
Se[—]vatus of Damascus *Spartan citizen*	Encomiast	Unknown	FD iii.4 no. 119
C. Antonius Septimius Publius of Pergamum.	Kitharode	Unknown, victor under Severus	IGRR iv.1432 = CIG 3208 = Marm. Oxon. 34
M. Aurelius […..]lon of Ancyra *Spartan citizen*	Aulete	c. 200	FD iii.4. no.476.
Tib. Claudius Protogenes of Cypriote Salamis *Buried at Sparta*	Aulete	2nd or 3rd century	IG V,1 758.
[M] L. Cornelius Korinthos from Corinth	Aulete		SEG xxix, 340
[M] Tiberius Claudius (Julius err.) Apolaustos	Pantomime		*IEphesos* 2070 + 2071

In fact, of the 34 foreign *agōnistai* recorded by Spawforth as competing in Sparta in *HRS*^{2} Appendix 4, eleven are performers of some kind; those recorded there and in Massaro's new edition of Spartan musico-poetic *agōnes* (excluding those in *SEG* xi.838, above) are reproduced in **[Table 5.3]**.

Before we look at these musicians and performers of Roman Sparta in more detail, let us consider the festivals themselves. During the Roman period (in addition to the Leonidea, which was only for Spartans) four major festivals were instituted in Sparta; one in the Augustan period, the Caesarea,[775] and three in the late-1st to 2nd centuries, the Urania,[776] the Euryclea,[777] and the

[775] *HRS*^{2}, 170-171. Likely founded in the Augustan age, probably by Eurycles (cf. his payment for the refurbishment of the Spartan theatre). However, as far as the evidence goes, this competition was purely athletic.

[776] *HRS*^{2}, 171-172. A quinquennial contest founded 97/98 CE with financial aid from C. Iulius Agesilaus, as part of a larger festival in celebration of Zeus Uranios. They were 'crowned prize-games' *thematεitaistephaneitai agōnes*.

[777] *HRS*^{2}, 172-173. Founded by a descendant of Eurycles, the senator Eurycles Herculanus (after whom they were named), in 136/7 CE. It is possible that the festival involved worship of the heroized Herculanus. The Euryclea were *agōnes themateitai* or *talantaioi*.

Olympia Commodea.[778] The Olympia Commodea, would become the most important of these, since its contests were, at some point during the mid-2nd to early 3rd century CE, promoted to the rank of *hieroi kai eiselastikoi agōnes* (‘iselastic’).[779] This placed the Olympia Commodia *agōnes* in the same category as a select group, those of the Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, as well as the Epidaurian Asclepea, and four sets of *agōnes* in Athens, the Panhellenia, the Olympia, the Hadrienea, and the Panathenaea, which were the only other iselastic games in the province of Achaea.[780]

The Spartan festivals would likely have been well-known to Plutarch who was well enough acquainted with Herculanus (the founder of the Euryclea) that he dedicated one of his books to him, and who elsewhere sets his work at dinners his friends have organised during local *agōnes*,[781] and as Spawforth highlights, there were a number of other important connections between Plutarch and Sparta.[782] Plutarch’s Spartan *xenos* Zeuxippos, is especially interesting. Despite Zeuxippos appearing somewhat of an Epicurean, Plutarch announces him as *φιλευριπίδην*, a lover of Euripides: how his ancestors would have turned in their graves! Plutarch even has Zeuxippos quote some lines from the musically adventurous tragedian and supposed friend of Timotheus. Zeuxippos’ son, Tyndares, is presented by Plutarch as leaning towards Platonism, and, as Spawforth suggests, he might have attended Plutarch’s ‘private academy’.[783] It is possible that these prominent Spartans might be the father and grandfather of Ζεύξιππος Τυνδάρους, who is recorded as a *nomophulax* in 147 CE (IG V,1 86 and 446) and as a member of the *Gerousia* in (IG V,1 111), his father Zeuxippos perhaps having served as *presbus* of the *nomophulakes* in the 1st century (IG V,1 81).

It then seems very likely that Plutarch would have been well aware of contemporary approaches to music in Sparta, and how they broke with ‘Lycurgan’ traditions, yet at the same time he promoted those traditions in his writings. Indeed, by all accounts, Spartan representations of

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[778] *HRS*², 173. Founded in honour of Commodus, an ‘extravagant gesture’ perhaps linked to Marcus Aurelius’ (Commodus’ father) return of the *ager Dentheliatis*. It was probably reorganised as ‘Olympic’ under Severus or Caracalla, at which point it was also given the honour of an *iselastic* festival.

[779] Spawforth, 1989, 173, either by Severus or Caracalla.

[780] Spawforth, 1989, 194.

[781] Spawforth, 1989, 196. *Moralia* 664b; 675d.

[782] *HRS*², 164-166.

[783] Euripides Frag. 986 Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag*., p. 678: πλούτῳ χλιδῶσα θνητὰ δ᾽, ὦ γύναι, φρόνει. Plutarch, *Moralia,* 755 B. *HRS*², 166 suggests that, if it was not hereditary, Plutarch and Zeuxippos’ *xenia* “might well have been initiated during shared student-days at Neronian Athens, where Plutarch was taught by the Alexandrian philosopher Ammonius.” See *Moralia*, 762 D for the unexpected detail that Zeuxippus had an ancestral feud (πατρικὴν ἔχθραν) with Anytus, the main prosecutor of Socrates.

music in the Roman Imperial period show no signs of the local traditions seen in Archaic art. Houses could be adorned with sculptures of Marsyas (with Roman-style *tibia*),[784] **[Fig. 5.11 a-b & 5.12]** and Apollo kitharoidos **[Fig. 5.13]**.[785] Public buildings and town houses could be decked with mosaics of dramatic masks **[Fig. 5.14]** and Orpheus **[fig. 5.15]**, who is also shown on a stele (**fig. 5.16**).[786] In this regard, Apollo and the Muses appear on mosaics at least twice.[787] This is not to say that Sparta's musical past is neglected entirely. On the border of the second of these two mosaics of Apollo and the Muses, Alcman is depicted, but alongside Anacreon, Alcaeus and Sappho.[788] Nevertheless, coffins were made with distinctly Roman musical iconography, such as cupids **[Fig. 5.17 a-b].**[789]

With regards to the performers of Roman Sparta we should note the visit of the 'superstar' pantomime Tiberius Claudius Apolaustos. In fact, the popularity of pantomime in Sparta was explicitly berated by Aelius Aristides. [790] This was not the same Sparta as that of Agesilaus II, who, as presented by Plutarch, dismissed the famous tragic actor Callippides.[791] Indeed, the

[784] Two halves survive, the first is in the Sparta Museum 284 **[Fig. 5.11a-b]**, and shows Marsyas and his aulos from the hips down, the second, collected by Le Bas and now in the Louvre, shows Marsyas from the hips up, hands bound behind his head (cf. Le Bas, 1850, pl.94, and Dressel and Milchöfer, 1877, M.67) **[Fig 5.12]**. The fact that these two halves seem to be broken in the same place led Tod & Wace, 1906, 160 to suggest that these are two halves of the same statue. I have only been able to examine the first, but given the similar dimensions of the two halves, this seems possible. On Marsyas in Roman contexts: Rawson, 1987; Weis, 1992.

[785] On the use of Apollo kitharoidos in Roman villas, Roccos, 2002. On the statue type more generally, Flashar, 1992.

[786] Wattel-Decroizant and Jesnick, 1991, 95 "The depiction of Orpheus, seated on a rock, enthralling the animals with his music was one of the most popular in Roman art. In mosaic some eighty certain examples are known from all the provinces of the Roman Empire and dating from the second to the fifth centuries A.D." The first Orpheus mosaic from Sparta dates to c.300 CE and was paired with a mosaic of Europa. See Wattel-Decroizant and Jesnick, 1991 for comprehensive analysis and bibliography (but without illustrations). Panayotopoulou, 1998, 115 notes a second Orpheus mosaic, unpublished, which is given in Panayotopoulou and Raftopoulou, 2003, 46, as Catalogue no.7 "House; mosaic pavement representing Orpheus charming the beasts; 2nd half of the 3rd c. AD; bb 140, Herakleidon St., ex-properties Papadimitriou and Nikolettos; unpublished." For the theatre masks, which bordered a pavement, see Panayotopoulou, 1998, 115, fig. 10.4.

[787] Panayotopoulou, 1998, 115. In addition to these mosaics, Raftopoulou, 1998, 136 notes tombs with wall paintings of Apollo Lykeios and the Muses (referring to Adamantiou, 1931, 91-96 and 1934, 123-128).

[788] Panayotopoulou, 1998, 115, with reference to Christou, 1964, pl. 138c and 139.

[789] SM 307, with a small fragment, Athens, NAM, No. 2005.

[790] *HRS*^{2}, 174-175. As related by Lib. Or. 64, seemingly for its un-Lycurgan sentiment. On this passage, cf. *HRS*^{2}, 174-174 and Bowersock, 2008, 71-77.

[791] Plut., *Moralia*, 212F.

tragic actor Theodotos of Sidon received the kingly sum of 4000 denarii (double that awarded to the kitharist) for his winning performance at the festival recorded by *SEG* ix.838.[792]

The appeal of travelling to Sparta for a shot at up to 4000 denarii was not always the main attraction, however. As mentioned above, the Olympia Commodea was an *iselastic* festival. The winners there would receive no money, but a crown, and, more importantly "the right to a cash-pension and a triumphal procession (*eiselasis*), the financial burden in both cases… falling on the home-cities of the *hieronikai*."[793] The dependence of Sparta's *agōnes* on international musicians then raises questions about Plutarch's depiction of ancient Spartans who worried that the music of foreign musicians weakened the laws of Lycurgus (*Agis* 10.3-4). This must surely be seen as somewhat tongue-in cheek given the 'Lycurgising' attempts seen in the Timotheus decree and the *paidikoi agōnes*, which would doubtless have been curiosities to the professional agonistes flooding to Sparta, and to some of whom Sparta even granted citizenship. Indeed, given the metropolitan nature of Roman Sparta it is easy to see how a bronze Hathor sistrum, with a depiction of Bes on the handle, was found there, a symbol of the varied sounds and contexts to which one would have been exposed **[Fig. 5.18]**.[794]

Indeed, the itinerant musicians of the Roman period make those of the Archaic and Classical periods seem rather unadventurous by comparison. The musicians competing in Roman Sparta where quite literally citizens of the world, with citizenships from numerous cities and prizes from across the empire; such an environment places an interesting spin on the idea that Alcman and Tyrtaeus were non-native naturalised Spartan citizens, especially given the grave of Tib. Claudius Protogenes, an aulete from Cypriote Salamis who was buried in Sparta (IG V,1 758). The flow went both ways, however, as seen in a remarkable Spartan grave from the time of Marcus Aurelius which serves as the finale to this section.

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[792] Though we might suppose that the kitharode might have received a prize nearer that of the tragic actor rather than the kitharist. Compare the prize money for the Athenian *Great Panathenaia* c.380 BCE in *IG* II2 2311, where the winning kitharode receives prizes totalling 1500 drachmas, the kitharist probably only 800. For the *agōnes* in honour of Artemis in Eretria (IG XII 9.189 c.340 BCE), the winning kitharode was awarded 200 drachmas the winning kitharist 110. On these, see Rotstein, 2012, Table 1. Compare the prize money for the *agōnes* at Oenoanda, a much less important festival, which is reflected in the smaller sums of prize money. See Mitchell, 1990, 184-185 in particular. To compare: salpinx and kerux (50 denarrii each), encomasts (75 denarii), poets (75 denarii), chorauloi (1st 125, 2nd 74 denarii), comic poets (1st 200 denarii, 2nd 100), tragic poets (1st 250, 2nd 125), kitharodes (1st 300, 2nd 150 denarii).

[793] Spawforth, 1989, 193.

[794] Roeder, 1956, 464. I have not been able to find out much about the origins of this sistrum, but it is plausible it came to Berlin via Ross. It is also possible that it should be associated with an earlier period.

Θρέπτος ὁ ταῖς Μούσαις ἀρέσας, ὃν

ἐπήνεσεν Ἑλλὰς καὶ περίφρων Ἀσίη

καὶ νοεροὶ βασιλεῖς οὐκέτι ταῖς

θυμέλαις ταῖς εὐστεφάνοις παρεδρεύω

τερπνὰ μέλη κελạδῶν τοῖς λιγυροῖσι

χοροῖς οὐδὲ σύνευνον ὁρῶ φιλο-

σύνγαμον οὐδὲ τὰ τέκνα κεῖμαι·

τοῦτον ἔχων οἶκον ὑπ’ ἀΐδιον.

παροδεῖτα χαῖρε.

> Threptos has made good to the Muses, he, who Hellas, astute Asia, and clever kings applauded. No longer do I attend upon hearths and the well-crowned, singing sweet song with clear-toned choirs, nor do I see my dearly betrothed companion, nor my children, [here] I lie. Having this house under Hades. Greetings, passers-by.
>
> IG V,1 734 (trans. Author)

Who was this Threptos?[795] Who were the kings who praised him? What were the songs that he sang, who were the choirs? We might never know the answers to these questions, but what we do know, is that the musical culture of Roman Sparta, for all its archaising elements, appears to have thrived. Indeed, its success seems to have been influenced not a little by Sparta’s reputation as a city with deep musical roots, roots so deep that there can be no history of Sparta without Spartan music.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

[795] Whether *threptos* should be translated here as the name of the musician or ‘household-slave’ or ‘pupil’ or ‘assistant’ is unclear. Cf. *CIL* x 3007, where a freedman is called Threptos. If the musician was as famous as their gravestone suggests, they probably did not think that their name needed much elaboration.

The influence of key texts and theories, musical ethos in particular, created an image of Spartan music which has remained popular and influential. By looking at the role of Spartan musicking outside its Spartan contexts, this chapter has deconstructed some of the ways that the 'tradition' of Spartan music has clouded and obscured some of the more salient points about Spartan musicking, such as the different interpretations of citizen aulos-playing, and the uniqueness of Sparta's musical regulations.

Of additional importance here is that the archaising attempts of Roman Sparta, such as the *paidikoi agōnes* dedications and the Timotheus decree, as well as contemporary accounts of Sparta's musical traditionalism, are at odds with the musical culture of Roman Sparta more generally. Roman Sparta, particularly with the iselastic Olympia Commodea, became an important centre for *agonistic* performances, these included a contemporary spread of competitions, and musicians travelled form far and wide to compete in them.

5.4 REDEFINING SPARTAN MUSIC

In Section One, I spoke about the diversity of Spartan musicking, and how it had often been overlooked. One of the reasons for this is that our picture of Spartan musicking had been informed by a limited selection of sources, informed by a traditional narrative that had privileged written sources, meaning that multimedia analyses were few and far between. In order to reveal the diversity of Spartan musicking, a wide range of sources needed to be explored and critiqued. The reason for adopting such an approach is that any study of Sparta needs to grapple with the influence of the Spartan mirage. In this regard a methodology based on music archaeology was adapted for this study, focusing on organology, and textual and material criticism, in order to reveal overlooked aspects of Spartan musicking, and the extent to which our modern narrative of 6th century innovation and 5th century conservatism presents a skewed image of Spartan attitudes to music, which has in turn meant that other periods have been overlooked.

In Section Two, I looked at how instrumental finds might tell us about the complexities of musical production in ancient Sparta, focusing on the Sparta aulos. By providing new measurements and interpretation of the fragments, it was argued that, contrary to previous studies, the basic design of the 'early type' aulos was already in existence by the end of the 7th century, if not a little before. Nevertheless, the Sparta auloi were not entirely like other archaic aulos finds: the extension sections had a different shape, and they were also simply decorated. An object biography of the Sparta auloi explored the complex social interactions that would have been required to make such instruments, as well as the different meanings those

instruments conveyed during their lifetime. This led to a discussion of the well documented role of aulos-players in the Spartan military, and it was found that, while not mentioned by Herodotus, the Spartan practice of military aulos-playing had a divine aetiology.

In Section Three, I turned to another overlooked aspect of Sparta's musical culture, the role of Simonides. Simonides has often been closely associated with the regent Pausanias, acting in some ways as a war poet. This study showed, however, that Simonides' associations with the Spartan state were more complex, ranging from praises of the war-dead and educational choral works to narratives concerning the legitimacy of kings. In addition, given the fragmentary work of Simonides' nephew Bacchylides, it was further argued that instead of the beginnings of the fifth century acting as lull in Spartan commissions of new songs, that it was a seemingly fiery period of deep and critical engagement.

In Section Four, I looked at the evidence for musicking within the context of dances and dinners, providing detailed study of the iconography of Laconian BF pottery. This first required exploring what Laconian BF might reasonably tell us about Sparta society, before then placing it in its wider material and literary context. The heterogeneity of the iconography reflected the diverse nature of Spartan musicking, which, while often difficult to locate precisely, was explored within the context of worship for Apollo, Orthia, and Dionysos.

In Section Five, I looked at how we might deconstruct the mirage of Spartan music. This involved exploring the ways in which Sparta's musical conservatism and regulation of music has been misrepresented, before then exploring the cultural dynamics of music in Sparta under Roman socio-political influence (primarily). The influence of musical ethos theory was a key factor in the creation and perpetuation of the tradition of Spartan music, a tradition that was propagated strongly through Roman Sparta, where archaising traditions clashed with an ever evolving, thriving, and up-to-date performance culture.

Throughout this thesis I have moved away from viewing Spartan music through the lens of chorality, arguing that we need to examine Sparta's attitudes to music more broadly, and that this is best achieved through a music archaeology methodology.

5.5 NEW DIRECTIONS

Throughout this thesis I have argued for two things, the diversity of Spartan music, and the need to adopt a music archaeology methodology in order to better understand such diversity.

There was an ancient fixation with Sparta as a musically conservative state, one where the types of music allowed to be performed in public was heavily regulated. The re-discovery of Alcman in particular, as well as the Archaic culture discovered by archaeological excavations, has led modern scholarship to fixate on a strict divide between Sparta's attitudes to music in the Archaic and Classical periods. This image of Sparta's musical traditionalism is largely the result of such studies only examining a limited number of literary sources, however, and by approaching said sources from the view-point of authors such as Plato and ps.Plutarch. By studying a broad range of multimedia sources, and critiquing them through a music archaeology methodology, it is now clear that Spartan music was never truly homeostatic. The traditional narratives concerning Spartan music need to be reconsidered.

Music and musicking are vital forms of social expression. If Spartan music was more like that experienced throughout the ancient Greek world, that is not to say it did not have its own local flavour. Tyrtaeus and Alcman remain two key sources for understanding Archaic Sparta and Spartan society more broadly, but just because they are the only local Spartan poets whose texts have survived in any quantity, does not mean that they are our only sources for understanding Spartan music. The methodology I have adopted has helped to show that Spartan music was indeed closely tied to the military – whether through the verses of Tyrtaeus and Simonides, the military auletes, or the celebration of the Gymnopaidia, but this distinction perhaps blurs two key points. Firstly, Spartan music, like ancient Greek music more generally, served to foster and delineate social divisions. Militarism was a key aspect of Spartiate identity, particularly in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. In this regard then, the music of Sparta is not too dissimilar in principle to the music of other *poleis*, even if these governing principles of music led to an ostensibly different praxis. Secondly, off the battlefield, Sparta enjoyed a rich and diverse spread of music, whether it was performed during festivals, dinners, dances, or in other contexts, and the creation of the instruments needed to accompany such performances would have involved a large network of people, likely from a range of differing social backgrounds.

It is further hoped that the music archaeology methodology used in this thesis will be fostered and adapted by others studying the music of ancient cultures, and it remains to be seen what such an approach will reveal about ancient Greek music more generally. In particular, the application of new methodologies has the potential to change our understanding of the craft of aulos-making. I have also highlighted that a variety of aspects regarding material from the British School at Athens Sparta excavations merit further analysis, as well as Laconian BF pottery and Laconian material culture more generally.

APPENDIX A: MUSICIANS AND POETS IN SPARTA, THREE CASE STUDIES

Cinaethon (Demodocus, Abaris, Probolus, Sipias, and Pharidan?)

The role of the epic tradition in Sparta is a particularly murky affair, but the figure of Cinaethon is just about visible as a composer of epic, perhaps in the 8th century.[796] The strong tendency of our sources is to suggest that since the beginnings of Sparta, music played a key role – given our wider knowledge of Bronze Age and Geometric society, this is unlikely to be a complete projection, and Spartan Geometric pottery does indeed depict musicians and dances.[797] More

[796] Cinaethon the Lacedaemonian is named as the author of the *Oedipodea* (*IG* 14.1292 ii 11, the Borgia plaque), the *Telegony* (Eusb. *Chron. Ol.* 41. 764/763 BCE), and as a possible author of the *Little Iliad* (Σ Eur. *Tro*. 822 gives the attribution of Cinaethon to Hellanicus, perhaps the author of the *Karneian Victors*, rather than the grammarian). Pausanias 4.2.1 notes that Cinaethon had written genealogies, in which Pausanias had hoped to find out more about the children of Polycaon and Messene. Cinaethon referred to Orestes' illegitimate son (Paus. 2.18.6), the children of Jason and Medea (Paus. 2.3.9), Rhadamanthys (Paus. 8.53.5), and a child of Helen and Menelaus (Porphyrius ap. Σ(D) *Il.* 3.175). Fantuzzi and Tsagalis, 2015, 21 ff. suggest Cinaethon was likely the author of the *Oedipodea* (but a Boeotian authorship is also possible**)**, but not the *Telegony* (Eugamon), nor the *Little Iliad* (otherwise attributed to Lesches). MacLeod, 1985, 162 is more sceptical of Cinaethon's authorship of the *Oedipodea*, given that the only source to attribute this title to him is the Borgia plaque (*IG* 14.1292 ii 11), which he finds otherwise unreliable.

[797] In addition to those in **[Appendix F]**, see Δεληβορριάς & Βλίζος, 2012, fig.2 and 6 for examples of dances/ choruses. It has been known for a long time that certain sites in Sparta had early origins, but in the case of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia there has never been a conclusive agreement on just how early. We might reasonably say that the earliest structures at Orthia's sanctuary were mid- to late-8th century BCE. See, Boardman, 1963, *passim*, compared to Rose at *AO* 399, who suggests the 10th century for the origins of the site's ritual use, with its monumental structures following sometime after. At the Menelaion there is evidence that the cult site occupied the location of a short-lived late Mycenaean (late Minoan III pottery) settlement (Catling, 2009, *passim*). The sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai also had early origins, and Mycenaean votives were found on the site. While Fourmont claimed to have found the site of Amyklai in the 18th century, this was a fabrication (Spawforth, 1976, 139). It was the excavations of Tsountas that uncovered the site (see Tsountas, 1892 in particular), with further work by Christou (1956, 1960, 1961). The material from the Amyklaion and the surrounding sanctuary of Agamemon and Clytemnestra has never been fully studied or published, but Salapata has provided an extensive study of the votive terracotta plaques from the latter (Salapata, 2014 – it seems that musicians were never included on these heroic dedications). The origins of Sparta are still shrouded with uncertainties, so the discovery of the Mycenaean palace at Ayios Vassileios, especially its Linear B tablets, has already revealed a wealth of exciting finds, and will continue to do so as more is excavated, and more is published. For English summaries of the reports published in *Ergon*, see Archaeology in Greece Online: https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=6530

difficult to place are the Spartan and Laconian musicians mentioned by Demetrius of Phalerum and Eustathius. First, there is Demodocus the Laconian, whom Demetrius says was the bard with whom Agamemnon entrusted Clytemnestra when he went to Troy, perhaps to be identified with the Demodocus who played in the court of the Phaeacians.[798] This connection would make sense of Pausanias' observation that Demodocus and Phaeacian dancers were depicted on Bathykles of Magnesia's 'Altar' of Apollo at Amyklai. [799] Demetrius (supplemented with Eustathius) also mentions an Abaris of Lacedaemon, the Spartan Probolus, Pharidas the Laconian, and the Dorian Sipias (or Sinias) in relation to Demodocus.[800] If these musicians are not later inventions, it is possible that they might have been mentioned by Cinaethon.

While much has been made of the guardian-like-role of the bard in epic, which has been seen as a link to their earlier role in palatial culture, this role also relates to the more contemporaneous socio-political function that musicians such as Terpander and Tyrtaeus were said to have taken. [801] Where Cinaethon sat in relation to these figures, however, is unclear.

(accessed: 18.1.2019, 17:39). Highlights include at least 119 fragments of Linear B, a wide range of votive offerings, a large complex of rooms, an altar, and tombs, as well as a spectacular ivory figurine of a male holding a calf. A seal-stone from Ayios Vassileios with the word *wanax* in the genitive (*wa-na-ko-to*) might suggest that like Pylos, this was also the palace of an important *wanax*, where music would have formed a key part of their courtly entertainment, and have been a key tool in their arsenal of politicking (see Steel, 2004, 283, and Nakassis, 2012, 24). Music was a central aspect of Mycenaean worship, and kingly culture: see the Ayia Triada Sarcophagus, as well as the Ayia Triada Procession Fresco fragment (perhaps both by the same artist). For a description of the sarcophagus, Burke, 2005, 412. For the suggestion that the Ayia Triada Procession Fresco might be a scene of feasting, Wright, 2004, 160. On the wall of the Pylos Megaron fresco, which shows a large figure playing a phorminx, see Wright, 2004, 162, 163 fig.13. On music in the Aegean Bronze Age, see Younger, 1998a, *passim*, and in the Bronze Age more generally, Younger, 1998b, *passim*. Music must have been a key part of BA Laconian society, just as it was throughout BA Greece, yet the extent to which the instruments of Geometric and Archaic Sparta were part of a continuous development from these earlier traditions or were informed by newer sources of influences (the two are not mutually exclusive), is very unclear. The same can be said for the extent to which Cinaethon's epic poetry drew on earlier Geometric or BA traditions (see *S&L²*, 51 *contra* Huxley, 1969, 85). What is clearer is that it is to this imaginary heroic age, at the edge of pre-history, which various later authors projected stories relating to the foundation of Sparta and its heroes, many of which included aspects of musicking, for example, the performers at Menelaus' palace in Sparta **[Section 5.1.3]**. It is also to this legendry time that Athena accompanied the Dioskouroi into battle on the aulos **[Section 2.8]**.

[798] Demetrius of Phalerum, *BNJ* 228 F 32a. Bartol, 2007, 234.

[799] Paus. 3.18.9 ff.

[800] Demetrius of Phalerum, *BNJ* 228 F 32a.

[801] *S&L²*, 46: "The suggestion that [Cinaethon's] subjects included the deeds of Herakles and Orestes makes sense in the light of the attempt of the Spartan royal families to connect themselves with these 'Achaeans' but it hardly

Chilon

In Diogenes Laertus' account of Chilon the Ephor (part of his work on the Seven Sages, among whom Chilon was counted), we are told two interesting details which are nowhere else attested: firstly, that Chilon wrote a 200-line elegiac poem (1.68),[802] and secondly, that his most popular song was the following:

> ἐν λιθίναις ἀκόναις ὁ χρυσὸς ἐξετάζεται, διδοὺς βάσανον φανεράν: ἐν δὲ χρυσῷ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε νοῦς ἔδωκ᾽ ἔλεγχον.
>
> By the touchstone gold is tried, giving manifest proof, and by gold is the mind of good and evil men brought to the test.

Dio. Laert., 1.71[803]

In addition to these references, Diogenes provides his own epitaph for Chilon, as well as the epigram on his statue.[804]

In accounts of Archaic Sparta, Chilon is an important figure, the first ephor (having created the ephorate), he is traditionally seen as a 'great man' responsible for the creation of laws linked to Spartan austerity,[805] yet very rarely is Diogenes' reference to Chilon's compositions either mentioned or critiqued.[806] This is important, since in 'Chilon the Poet' we see evidence for an awareness of poetic knowledge among the higher strata of Sparta society, and a knowledge that this was a medium through which moralising statements could be imparted, which implicitly means that there must have been available contexts through which these poems and songs could

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inspires confidence in Kinaithon's impartial striving after veracity. Indeed, he may owe his rather dim remembrance to precisely this sort of religiose para-political activity rather than to his skill as a poet."

[802] Dio. Laert., 1.68: οὗτος ἐποίησεν ἐλεγεῖα εἰς ἔπη διακόσια.

[803] Dorandi, 2013**:** alt. readings: ἀθήναις for ἀκόναις; φοβεράν for φανεράν; χρόνῳ / καίρῳ for χρυσῷ.

[804] Dio. Laert. 1.73.

[805] *S&L²*, 120 "If any one Spartan was chiefly responsible for the new direction, he may have been Chilon, eponymous Ephor c.556…" *S&L²*, 133 "The 'mirage' was accordingly revised [after the British School at Athens excavations], and Chilon, a veritable Lykourgos *redivivus*, was credited with sponsoring c.550 a sort of Spartan Arusha Declaration, a self-denying ordinance through which Spartan society abandoned its fun-loving ways and transformed itself, overnight, into the familiarly philistine barracks. Unfortunately, subsequent archaeological and art-historical research has shown that the revised picture will not do either, at least not when it is presented in this black-and-white form."

[806] Kennel, 2010, 160 "Chilon's fame as one of the Seven Sages grew through the centuries, so that by the third century C.E. he appears in Diogenes Laertius' collection of potted biographies fully equipped with a corpus of written works…"

have been dispersed by key political figures in order to spread their agendas, as was the case for Tyrtaeus. Yet how readily can we believe the testimony of Diogenes, and how can we test it?

The authenticity of Chilon's poetry is cast into doubt because it is included among spurious letters and maxims assigned to him by Diogenes.[807] Also, the (presumably opening line of the) song at first reads rather similarly to the Chilonian maxims and other more general 'Lycurgan' sentiments attributed elsewhere, the implication being that gold (or wealth or money more generally) tests the moral character of men.[808] Further, that any accurate history concerning Chilon existed in Diogenes Laertus' day is also doubtful. From a relatively early period there were divergent narratives concerning Chilon, as we see in Herodotus and the Rylands Papyrus fr.18, but also Aristotle too.[809] Nevertheless, if references to Chilon's poetry were to be found in Herodotus or Aristotle, rather than Diogenes Laertus, we would not find the idea of an Archaic statesman composing elegiacs (nor, not really, lyrics) too unbelievable, noting the tradition of Tyrtaeus which also made him a general, or more obviously Solon, even Archilochus or Alcaeus.

While the fragment of Chilon quoted by Diogenes Laertius might seem too Laconic to be true, such sentiments were nonetheless quite popular in Archaic poetry.[810] The first half of the fragment of Chilon seems straight out of Theognis, where the trope of testing the purity of gold on a whetstone is repeated many times.[811] Importantly, however, Alcman PMG 5 also expresses similar views, more closely linking the verse attributed to Chilon to the Spartan *kosmos*.[812] But the trope appears in Pindar too (*P*.10.67-68, *Paean* 14.37-38, and *Encomia* 122.16). The sentiment of the Chilon fragment cannot guarantee its authenticity, even if Alcman PMG 5 goes someway to show that similar messages were popular in Sparta around the same time.

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[807] Dio. Laert., 1.73, 'Chilon to Periander'. 1.69-70 for Chilon's conversation with Aesop and his maxims.

[808] E.g., Dio. Sic. 7.12.5, a proverb relating to an oracle given to Lycurgus: ἁ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν "love of money will destroy Sparta, and nothing else."

[809] Hdt. 1.59; 7.235. On the Rylands papyrus, Leahy, 1959, *passim*. Aristot. *Rhet*. 2. 1389b and 1398b.

[810] Ananius fr.2 (*ap.* Ath. 14.625c) and 3 (*ap.* Ath. 3.78f); Simonides PMG 541, 592; Pindar, *I.* 1-3;

[811] Theognis, 77-78, 119-128, 415-418 and 447-452 and 1105-1106 and 1164eh, 499-502, 719-728.

[812] Alcman PMG 5 "…Tyrannion read χρυσῶ ('gold') in the genitive to give the meaning, 'Nor will anyone find fault with you [fem. sing.] if you stand near gold, nor will gold show you up, but you will surpass it.' This might be a purely aesthetic comment, however.

Further, if Chilon did compose poetry to disseminate his political-moral messages, what is the likelihood that these songs would have been recorded or remembered? Again, the evidence is inconclusive, but suggestive.

Pausanias (3.16.4) refers to a *herōon* for Chilon at Sparta. While we cannot say for certain when this particular *herōon* was created, its location near to one of the focal points of Spartan cult, 'the tunic' (the *chiton*) – the building where every year Spartan women wove the tunic for Apollo at Amyklai – emphasises the honour Chilon received. Yet there is reason to believe that the heroization of Chilon happened soon after his death. A stele dating to the sixth century bears traces of his name. The fragmentary inscription is perhaps a remnant of a longer boustrophedon dedication, but today only reads [Ch]ilon.[813] **[Fig. A.1]**

The relief is one of a group of very similar Spartan stelai which have been more widely interpreted as chthonic/ heroic (often referred to as 'hero-reliefs').[814] The general composition of these stelai involves one (or two) figures seated on a throne, where the male can hold a kantharos, from which a snake drinks, [815] while a female raises a veil, and smaller votaries approach with dedications. **[Fig. A.2]** The archetype of the stelai is seen in the 'Chrysapha Relief', now in the Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. **[Fig. A.3]**

On the Chilon stele the feet of the throne survive, as well as a coiled snake-tail beneath it. At left a well-shod foot rests on a stool. It is a shame that more has not survived, but given what we know of Spartan customs in commemorating the dead, this broken monument speaks loudly of the prestige that Chilon held in Sparta at the time of, or shortly after, his death.[816] Thus, if we accept that Chilon received hero cult after his death, the likelihood that any poems or songs he composed during his lifetime were preserved in some way seems to increase. However, there is one more source we need to consider.

At Plutarch, *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat*, 35f ff. (§14) it is noted that "our faith gains an added strength and dignity" when philosophical readings are in agreement with readings of poetic and performative works. Here, Chilon is not included with the performances

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[813] Given the size of the inscription, it is unreasonable to think that the word could be resolved any other way, and this reading is well accepted. Cf. Hodkinson, 2000, 244.

[814] See: Förtsch 2001, 218, nn. 1840, 1842.3, figs.210-11; Salapata 1992 and 1993 for more on hero reliefs; Salapata, 2014, on the terracotta plaques from the Alexandra-Agamemnon sanctuary. Also of relevance, Salapata, 2017.

[815] Salapata, 2006, *passim*. The detail of the snake was always present, but only later in the series did it drink from the cup "sometime around the middle of the 5th century B.C" (p.547).

[816] On the dead in Sparta, and how performance played a role in their commemoration, see **[Section 3]**.

of the stage or the songs taught in schools. It is Chilon's παραγγέλματα which are matched with children's reading of γνώμη. Thus, for Plutarch at any rate, Chilon was not to be known for his songs, but his precepts. Nonetheless, the word παράγγελμα conveys the sense of a spoken act, a command or utterance, a spoken instruction, an oral aspect lacking in the contrasting γνώμη.

Whether or not the lyric fragment attributed to Chilon is genuine is less than certain, let alone the unnamed elegy, nonetheless, these attributions remain important possibilities.

Alcman[817]

An understanding of the music of Alcman, like any other Greek lyric poet, is difficult to reconstruct given how little survives. Nevertheless, within the surviving fragments Alcman provides us with a rich tapestry of performative contexts and styles.[818] As the earliest author included among the Alexandrian canon of nine lyric poets, we also know roughly how his poems were later classified and divided, and such an accolade is telling of the perceived pan-Hellenic importance of his work.[819] Clearly a poet of interest to many outside the boundaries of Archaic Sparta, a number of commentaries and other works tried to elucidate the meaning of, and critique the composition of, his songs; much needed for an audience separated from the ritual traditions of Sparta and accustomed to more modern developments in song composition.

[817] For the purpose of this appendix I treat Alcman as a native Spartan poet, but his origins were, and are, an issue of much debate. Page, 1951, 102–70 provides a good overview of the evidence.

[818] Ancient commentators include: Aeschylus of Phlius, PMG fr.10(a) = P.Oxy. 2506 fr.1 col.ii); Apollodorus of Athens (PMG 94, 100); Aristarchus, commentary on the Louvre Partheneion; Aristonicus, discussed Alcman PMG 3; Aristophanes of Byzantium, commentary on the Louvre Partheneion; Aristotle knew the work of Alcman (P.Oxy. 2389 fr.9 col.i 5ss. = PMG fr.13(a) and *Hist. An.* 556b-557a); Aristoxenus knew the work of Alcman (Hesychius, K 2939); Crates of Mallos (Suda A 1289); Chamaeleon, *On Alcman* (hypothetically) (PMG 39, 59); Cornelius Alexander, *Place-names in Alcman*, (PMG 151, 153); Didymus, may have posited the idea of the 'second Alcman' (P,Oxy 2802 = 5 S.L.G.); Dionysius (unspecified) wrote a commentary on Alcman Book 4 (cf. Alcman PMG 18); Pamphilus, commentary on the Louvre Partheneion; Philochorus (3rd c BCE Athenian historian), *On Alcman* (Suda, Ph 441); Ptolemaeus, discussed PMG 3; Sosibius, *On Alcman* (at least three books) (PMG 94, 96, 100); Sosiphanes, commentary on the Louvre Partheneion; Stasicles, commentary on the Louvre Partheneion; Theon (Augustan grammarian), commented on Alcman PMG 5; Tryphon (the Augustan Scholar) who wrote on Alcman's dialect (Suda T 1115); Tyrannion (either the Elder, Cicero's contemporary, or the Younger, his pupil), commented on Alcman PMG 5.

[819] Even if such divisions might have been somewhat superficial, they also further help to categorise his songs.

Nevertheless, we should be wary of the fact that even among the sparse and fragmentary commentaries, scholia, and other notes which survive concerning Alcman, a degree of disagreement is recorded. And if not openly acknowledged by these sources, further contradictions become apparent too. For example, the author of the Plutarchian *De Musica* constantly refers to the musical innovations of Alcman, and these, especially his rhythmical innovations, are mentioned in several other sources too. In contrast to Alcman's innovative flair, is the well-noted tradition that Sparta was a musically conservative state, after all, as Athenaeus tells us, the Spartans had a specific word for being musically conservative. In light of this, one might feel sympathetic for Timotheus, who at the end of his *Persae* places his musical innovations within the wider tradition of Hellenic musical innovations (including those of Terpander, who had proven so popular at the Spartan Karneia, unlike Timotheus), and gives a rather boisterous defence of his music as the child of progression (or more literally, the child of Chronos).

While it should be noted that some sources suggest that it was not just the music, but the narrative or religious content of Timotheus' song which offended the Spartans, an important distinction was made by the author of the Plutarchian *De Musica* that Alcman's (and others') innovations were within the boundaries of the *kalos* style of music, whereas Timotheus' stylistic innovations pandered to the public (*philanthropon*) and prize money (*thematikon*) styles.[820] Admittedly, other terms are used to define what we might call pre-New Music and New Music styles, and other differentiations were made between styles or schools of music, but the use of the word *kalos* is particularly interesting, with its connotations of aristocratic class (*kaloi kagathoi*) and beauty.[821]

As alluded to, Alcman actually defines his songs as 'new' or mentions others' teaching of new songs in one or two occasions,[822] but does he make a self-referential comment on the songs'

[820] Ps.Plut., *De Musica*, 1135c-d.

[821] For example, Aristotle, *Pol.* 1270b24, and Xenophon, *Lac. Pol.*, 10.1-4, who emphasise that the *gerontes* were elected from the *kaloi kagathoi*. See Rahe, 1980, 386 and n.7. For the surprisingly outdated opinion that a class of aristocratic *kaloi kagathoi* would be unthinkable in a Lycgurgan Sparta, Bourriot, 1996, 130.

[822] PMG 3.1.3 (conjecturally restored) Ὀλ]υμπιάδες, περί με φρένας | ἱμέρωι νέα]ς ἀοιδᾶς | πίμπλατ᾽·. PMG 4 "... tu pourrais désirer un autre... pour les hommes... de doux sons... ils ont enseigné (des chants) nouveaux... bien travaillés... des cavaliers... Clésimbrota" (*Calame*). PMG 14a "Come, Muse, clear-voiced Muse of many songs, singer always, begin a new song for girls to sing."

musical originality, or simply that they are unheard songs (in the same way that he distinguishes the gift of his ‘unfired’ cauldron)?[823] Let us take PMG 4 (lines 4-7):

> σαυ]μαστὰ δ' ἀνθ[ρώποισ(ι)
>
> γαρύματα μαλσακὰ̣ [
>
> νεόχμ' ἔδειξαν[824] τερπ̣[
>
> ποικίλια φ . [.] ρα̣ [.] . αι·[825] [

Unfortunately, the fragment does not qualify who the ‘they’ of ἔδειξαν/ ἐδί<δα>ξαν is (Lobel suggests Terpander, τερπ̣[, and Polymnestus, Calame suggests the Muses).[826] Nevertheless, what is important here is the qualification of these new songs as ποικίλα,[827] which in a musical context tends to refer to musical complexity,[828] so ps.Plut. *De Musica* 1138b, seemingly from Aristoxenus:[829]

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[823] So D’Angour, 2011, 192 (Kindle edition) “*Melos neokhmon* here [PMG 14a], like the *nea aioda* earlier [PMG 3], seems to signify no more than ‘another’ tune.” D’Angour, 2011, n.32 and n.33 seems to misattribute PMG 14a as fr.30 and fr.14c respectively.

[824] *Calame* keeps the form on the papyrus, ἐδί<δα>ξαν

[825] “And wonderous soft sounds they [the Muses?] revealed [taught?] to men… [to voice?] delightful … colourful” (author’s own). *Calame* reads φ . [.] .α̣ [.] . αι and that this was probably φθέγξασθαι, which as *Calame* notes, could be used of the voice, but also of musical instruments.

[826] Whether or not this was the song by Alcman which referenced Polymnestus is unclear, but it nonetheless seems to discuss the history and development of music and then further qualify that music.

[827] Cf. PMG 1.66-67, among the list of luxury items, “οὔτε ποικίλος δράκων | πανγχρύσιος”. The word is also used describe the Ix (a type of bird) at PMG 93.

[828] LeVen, 2013, 236, “One important element of the archaic and early classical experience of sound, and especially mousikē (song-and-dance) is that it involves all the senses, and representations of mousikē have recourse to a pan-aesthetic vocabulary.” And, 238-239 “This is, I believe, what ποικίλος encapsulates in the archaic and classical period: it captures, in the description of an animal, an artifact or a sound, the notion that the luscious patterns in a bird’s feathers, the wrought motives of a shield, or the many-voiced and swift-moving notes of a lyre cause an aesthetic reaction of rapt pleasure through the senses. Ποικίλος is not exactly synonymous with ‘beautiful’ either: it is not simply a judgment on beauty, but a self-conscious expression of the sensual nature of its experience. Rather than being transferred from one realm to another, the adjective shows the continuity between the senses regardless of their object, and regardless of whether beauty is found in art (choral music) or nature (bird-songs).”

[829] On this, and the above passage (1135c-d), from the perspective of New Music, LeVen, 2014, 80-83, as well as a discussion on the reading of later musical innovations in light of earlier musical innovations.

> If one undertook a straight and experienced investigation of complexity [*poikilia*], comparing former times with nowadays, they would find that complexity [*poikilia*] was also part of former practice.[830]

This 'complexity' manifests itself most clearly in Alcman's rhythmical and metrical figures, which, though the sources are not always clear, were record as possessing 'a certain innovative newness' ('τις … καινοτομία'). For example, the Suda (A 1289) records that Alcman was the "first to sing poetry to rhythms other than hexameter". Important here though, is that Alcman's innovations did not abandon the *kalos tropos* of music.[831] However, D'Angour is quite sceptical of this later claim to Alcman's innovation.[832] For him, Alcman appeals to "a novelty of a less ambitious kind" than other composers.[833] This might well be the case for PMG 3 and 14a, where Alcman's music is 'νέας' and 'νεοχμὸν' (the 'τις … καινοτομία' of ps.Plut. 1135c), but D'Angour does not reference PMG 4, which refers to specific elements of the 'new sounds' (itself suggestive of musical innovation, drawing on the sound of the newness, it is not just new songs, as in PMG 3 and 14a, but 'new soft sounds') in similar ways to PMG 851b, especially its *poikilia*.

A key aspect here is the *poikilia* not just of any individual song by Alcman, but of his entire oeuvre. While the innovations of Terpander and the musicians of the second *katastasis* are often highlighted, the innovations of Alcman are rarely referenced. Key here were his rhythmical innovations.[834] Whole songs could be in the same metre,[835] formed of two metrically different

[830] Hagel, 2010, xvi-xvii, on the 'evolutionary' model, also **[Section 1]**.

[831] Ps.Plut., *De Musica*, 1135c.

[832] D'Angour, 2011, 192 (Kindle edition) "There may have been no independent grounds for such assertions other than the poet's frequent allusion to 'new songs', which were perhaps taken over-literally by later commentators to constitute a claim to his being the originator of certain features instantiated in his songs."

[833] Than that invoked in PMG 851b, by Pindar (*O.* 3.4-6) (D'Angour, 2011, 190-191, 192-193).

[834] Cf. Calame, 2018 highlights the innovations of Terpander and the composers associated with the second *katastasis*, but not Alcman. Ps.Plut. *De Musica* 1135c-d provides an account of rhythmical innovations, leading from Terpander to Polymnestus, Thaletas and Sacadas, then Alcman and Stesichorus, all of whom were associated with the *kalos tropos*, and then Crexus, Timotheus, and Philoxenus, and other poets of their day, who were more 'vulgar' and played in styles later called *thematikon* and *philanthropon*. As Barker *GMW* 1 notes, this passage actually contains no details of what these rhythmical innovations actually were (though they are generally later elaborated upon), it is indeed "curious that Archilochus is not mentioned, since he figures prominently as a rhythmic innovator at 1140f-1141a."

[835] Whole songs written in ionics PMG 46.

sections,[836] or involve similar and dissimilar cola in strophes,[837] or indeed whole strophes in the same metre.[838] Additionally, particular metrical structures were associated with Alcman, such as the 'Lakōnikon',[839] and variations on 'archebulean',[840] iambics,[841] and catalectic trimeters.[842] Epionic *a minore* trimester acatalectic,[843] lines only formed of cretics,[844] hepthemimeral dactylic lines,[845] and 'clepsiambi'[846] are also attested (as well as the metrical features preserved in the surviving fragments).[847]

Other innovations or elements particularly associated with Alcman include a song whose "words and melody Alcman invented by observing the tongued cry of chuka partridges",[848] the

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836 Hephaestion, *On Critical Signs*, 4 – Test.17 Campbell. "Alcman composed songs in fourteen strophes, with the first seven in one metre and the second seven in different metre. The diple (>) was placed against each of the seven strophes to mark where the metre changed."

837 PMG 14

838 PMG 27, in this case, dactylic tetrameter acatalectic.

839 Hephaestion, *Handbook on Metres*, 8.4, school. A (p.134 Consbruch)) – Test.18 Campbell. "Catalectic anapaestic tetrameter with a spondee instead of the anapaest in the second last foot, e.g. Carm. Pop. PMG 857."

840 Hephaestion, *Handbook on Metres*, 8.9, Test.19 Campbell. Alcman's use of the archebulean (four anapaests followed by a bacchius) allowed spondees somewhere.

841 PMG 14, on Alcman's use of iambics with spondees not only at the end, but in other positions.

842 PMG 14, catalectic trimeters with an iamb or spondee in the fourth position.

843 PMG 50ab, "The epionic a minore trimester acatalectic is in Alcman: the first metron is iambic, either (a) u – u - or (b) - - u -, the other two are pure ionic, u u - -".

844 PMG 58, for lines composed only of cretics (- u -), a hexameter catalectic, its specific name is not preserved.

845 PMG 119, a line of three-and-a-half feet.

846 Hesychius, K 2939 (ii 487 Latte)), Test.20 Campbell. Clepsiambi, according to Aristoxenus, certain songs (*mele*) [metres?] in Alcman.

847 Gerber, 2011 [1997], 225 "The remains show an extensive use of iambic, trochaic, and dactylic rhythms… [on the *Louvre Partheneion*] the strophes are 14 lines long, with the metrical pattern abababab ccddef. [n.4] The first eight lines may be seen as four couplets, but if they are viewed as two identical strophes abab and abab, the whole may be thought of as our earliest example of triadic structure, with the last six lines an epode." In comparison to the fourteen line strophes of PMG 1, it seems that PMG 3 (another partheneion) was formed of fourteen nine line strophes (cf. Gerber, 2011 [1997], 228).

848 Influence of nature, bird-song in particular, on Alcman's music (PMG 39, "these words and melody Alcman invented by observing the tongued cry of (chukar) partridges (caccabides)") –Arnott, 1977, 337 n.1 suggest this might be evidence for Alcman growing up in Lydia, but it is surely wrong to take modern bird populations as accurately preserving those of the time of Alcman. (PMG 40 "and I know the tunes of all the birds"

use of the 'Alcmanic figure',[849] the invention of 'love' songs,[850] and a certain narrative originality.[851] Additionally, Alcman was credited by some as the teacher of Arion, himself widely credited with inventing the dithyramb.[852]

Having made the case for Alcman as a musician of not little innovation, I must ask what the music of Alcman sounded like, which is in many ways linked to the contexts for which Alcman composed his songs.

Alcman's music directs itself at royal families or aristocratic elements, but also the *damos*, and many see Alcman as an arbitrator between the two. Choruses could be accompanied by aulos or lyre,[853] and arranged in different shapes.[854] The only indication we have to the number of people in a chorus suggests that they were quite small, however, we might infer from references to the organisation of choruses by tribe, and even the meeting of different tribal choruses, that larger choruses might have existed, and given the potentially agonistic language in certain songs, that more than one chorus might have performed at any given festival.

Such festivals would have required different music. Nicolette Pavlides counts 51 different cult sites in Laconia (not all contemporary, admittedly).[855] We know very little about the rituals of these sites, but Alcman provides glimpses of some of the different contexts of Laconian cult songs. For example, the Bacchic night-time festival of torches, in comparison to the worship of the Dioskouroi.[856] Sadly, there are few references to the male performative context of Alcman's songs, much of what seems to have survived coming from the books of *Partheneiai*, but we should note the poet's comments on the suitability of male dinners as a place to raise the

[849] The 'Alcmanic figure' "used to excess" but this is the only example, where "one which inserts plural or dual nouns or verbs between (singular) nouns or verbs which belong together", "Castor – tamers of swift steeds, skilled horsemen – and glorious Polydeuces" PMG 2 (P.Oxy. 2389 fr3(a) 3-7) – Herodian, *Figures of Speech*, 61.

[850] He was amorous/ erotic (Suda A 1289), questioned at Gerber, 2011 [1997], 239-230. Archytas notes his amorous nature (PMG 59ab, according to Archytas, apud Chamaeleon) – note, falling in love with Megalostrate, a poetess – cf. Marzullo, 1964.

[851] Innovations in 'plot' "…introduces complications, for he sought, as I have said already, to use different stories, not ordinary ones…" (PMG 13b, P.Oxy.2506fr4 10-15), an aspect of Pindar's own writing too (*N.* 8.20-21) (cf. D'Angour, 2011, 193 (Kindle edition)). However, in the case of Alcman, such a comment might have originated in the uniquely Spartan aspects of his mythology.

[852] Suda A 3886 (Arion), born 38th Olympiad (628/624), "Some said he was the pupil of Alcman."

[853] PMG 37b, 38, 41.

[854] PMG 32 'edge-loving', 33 'all in one row'.

[855] Pavlides, 2018, *supplementary material*.

[856] E.g. PMG 56. See, Constantinidou, 1998.

paean.[857] It is possible that Alcman performed musical *nomoi*, given that he says he knows the *nomoi* of all the birds, seemingly the first author to use the term in a musical sense, but as Rocconi points out, it seems unlikely that his use of the word *nomos* stems from the technical musical sense it would later come to have, and it might not convey a musical sense at all.[858]

Importantly, there are one or two references to the mode of music played in Alcman. Here a problem arises in distinguishing between terms that could be ethnics or technical musical terms. This is particularly apparent in PMG 24 ("Alcman, who mingled the Dorian lyre with Lydian songs…"), it seems unlikely that we should read this as meaning that Alcman accompanied songs sung in the Lydian mode with a lyre tuned to the Dorian, but rather, the passage is explained as referring to the poet's dual homelands (a popular motif).[859] More direct references are also made, such as PMG 126, where "he piped a Phrygian tune, the Cerbesian". Thus, Alcman is linked to compositions in all three of the original *harmoniai*: Dorian, Lydian, and Phrygian (especially important given Plato and Aristotle's later comments on the suitability and

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[857] See **[Section 4.4.1]**.

[858] Rocconi, 2016, 73, "In this fragment the musical meaning of the word may only be assumed… There is in fact no clear evidence for a musical meaning of the word earlier than the fifth century BC." Note, however, that Herodotus 1.24, who says Arion played the *orthios nomos* before jumping off the boat (Rocconi, 2016, 75). Whether this is a retrojection of contemporary terms is unclear, especially given the role of *nomoi* in early Greek music suggested by ps.Plutarch, but more relevant here, Plato, *Laws*, 700a-701b.

[859] Messoa, Laconia (Suda A 1289); Sardis, Lydia (Suda A 1289, according to Crates of Mallos, c.168 BCE, librarian of Pergamum); He was descended from household slaves (Suda A 1289); Sardis as the land of Alcman's father, but that he was brought up in Sparta (Anth Pal. 7.709 = Alexander Aetolus i Gow-Page = Plut. De exil. 599e); P.Oxy. 3542 (3rd c. CE) "some say that D(amas), his father, moved from Lydia…, (having) with him (his son), still a child." (cf. Loeb Alcman 2 n.1); Alcman as a Lydian (slave?) in Sparta (Anth. Pal. 7.19 Leondas of Tarentum lvii Gow-Page); Notes the tomb of Alcman and his disputed origin "singers have many mothers" (Anth. Pal. 7.18 = Antipater of Thessalonica xii Gow-Page); "Alcman falsely claimed by the Spartans as their own" (Velleius Paterculus, History of Rome, 1.18.3 – p.19 Stegmann de Pritzwald); "Alcman shines strongly among the Lydians; but his father is Damas and he is from Sparta and his song is Dorian." (eis tous ennea lyrikous 19s, Shol. Pind. I11 drachmann), "X [Aristarchus? suggests the Loeb] says (the Ibenians are a people) of (Lydia), and from this he is ready (to infer) that Alcman (was) Lydian." (Schol. B. [papyrus 50-100 CE] ad Alcman 1.58s. = P.Oxy 2389 fr.6 col. i 10-13); Unnamed source given as reliable "… craftsman of skilled maiden-songs, rival to Spartan Alcman, and fitting… of … sons" but suggests that Aristotle and [Crates?] were deceived by Alcman fr.16 "he was no rustic…" (P. Oxy. 2389 fr.9 col. i 5ss = PMG fr.13(a)); Jumps about with various snippets suggesting Alcman was or wasn't Spartan/ Lydian. Passage from Alcman or Aeschylus or Pratinas'[?] *Hyacinthia*, someone's history dealing with Lydia etc. (P.Oxy 2506 fr.1 col. ii = fr.10(a) PMG). "Alcman was a household slave of Agesidas, but since he was talented he was set free, and he turned out to be a poet." (Heraclides Lembus, *Excerpt. Polit*. P.16 Dilts = Aristotle *Fragm*. P.372 Rose); The 'Spartan' metre "since Alcman used it, and he was a Spartan." (Hephaestion, *Handbook on Metres*, 8.4, schol. A (p.34 Consbruch))".

ethos of such *harmoniai*). This implicitly raises the question of what these scales actually were during the 7th and 6th centuries, as well as the issue of the *spondeion*.

This is not to say that Alcman was a musical revolutionary. Take PMG 31 "you will destroy the Muse". It is preserved by Eustathius, discussing the use of the verb αὔω at *Od.* 5.490, who quotes the use of καταύω by Alcman as meaning the same as ἀφανίζω, though we might more literally translate it as "you will burn down the Muse". We cannot say for certain, but might this have been a comment on a particular style or method of performance with which Alcman disagreed? Take PMG 171 too, perhaps to be treated among the *dubia*, which is hard to interpret but worth mentioning, "and do not prevent me from singing".

Given the varied contexts for which Alcman composed his songs, the aural richness of them is unsurprising.[860] Voices can be 'clear',[861] 'sharp',[862] 'screeching',[863] 'honey-tongued' and 'strong' (or 'holy').[864] Songs can be *kalos*,[865] as can the aulos.[866] The lyre can be 'resounding',[867] and elsewhere a sound is described as 'clear-struck'.[868] While some birds produce sounds to be emulated or praised (swans, the chuka partridge etc.),[869] others do not (the owl).[870] Here the Sirens are supreme.[871] There are 'wonderful soft utterances', [872] 'playful

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[860] LeVen, 2013, 231 "…how can we explore the Greeks' auditory world, starting from sound-names silently read on the page, and get access to an aural reality through *le parole delle Muse*? How do we distinguish nuances between many nouns for noises, voices and sounds (φθόγγος, ψόφος, κέλαδος, καναχή, πάταγος, ἠχώ, φωνή, αὐδή, ὄψ, to name only a few), and hear the specific tones and timbres described as λαμπρός (clear, bright), λιγύς (clear, shrill), λευκός (clear, distinct), or λειριόεις (lily-like)? Is it our ear, or our language, that is most dull to ancient sounds, and is there any hope of accessing the "phonosphere" of the Greeks and its meaning?"

[861] Singing 'clearly' PMG 28, λίγ' ἀείσομαι, "singing clearly". PMG 30, ἁ Μῶσα κέκλαγ', ἁ λίγηα Σηρήν, "the Muse cries out, that clear-voiced Siren".

[862] PMG 138, καρχάραισι φωναῖς, "with sharp [female] voices".

[863] PMG 1.85-87, [ἐ]γὼν μὲν αὐτὰ παρσένος μάταν ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα γλαύξ, "… I am myself only a girl screeching pointlessly, an owl from a rafter…". PMG 30, ἁ Μῶσα κέκλαγ', ἁ λίγηα Σηρήν "the Muse cries out, that clear-voiced Siren".

[864] PMG 26, μελιγάρυες ἱαρόφωνοι.

[865] PMG 35, κάλλα μελισδομέναι "singing beautifully".

PMG 36, ὡς ἁμὲς τὸ καλὸν μελίσκον "as we (sing?) the beautiful song".

[866] PMG 87b κάλλιστ' ὑπαυλῆν "to accompany most beautifully on the aulos".

[867] PMG 140, κερκολύρα "resounding lyre".

[868] PMG 141, λιγύκορτον "clear-struck".

[869] PMG 1.100-101, 39.

[870] PMG 1.85-87.

[871] PMG 1.96-98; PMG 30, "ἁ Μῶσα κέκλαγ', ἁ λίγηα Σηρήν".

[872] PMG 4, "γαρύματα μαλσακᾳ perhaps foreshadows the military narrative of the song, which later even refers to a salpinx".

songs',[873] the chorus can be 'graceful' with 'desire on song'.[874] It is also worth mention that Alcman also referred to the most confusing of all Greek instruments, the magadis: μάγαδιν δ᾽ ἀποθέσθαι, "and to set aside the magadis" (PMG 101).

While later writers often created a dichotomy between simpler kinds of music typified by the *kalos tropos*, as suggested by the Ps.Plutarchian *De Musica* a straight comparison would show that the earlier music would not be without *poikilia*. This *poikilia*, a musical complexity, a variegated canvas of differing musical elements, has often been overlooked in the works of Alcman, particularly the extent to which he created new ways to present his music. This appendix has provided both an overview of Alcman's music, but also how it might be constructed as somewhat innovative, given that later accounts tend to emphasise how traditionalist it was.

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[873] PMG 11 κἀμὰ πα̣[ίγνια πα]ρσένω[ν] μάλι[σ]τ̣᾽ ἀείσατ[ε· . . . or 'light-hearted' / 'light-verse'. 'παιγνία' 'play/sport/game'. 'παιγνήμων' jocular. 'παιγνιᾱγράφος' 'writer of playful poetry' (Ath.14.638de, used of Gnessipus, Athenaeus, quoting the author of Helots then draws contrast between the poems of Steschorus, Alcman, and Simonides as 'old-fashioned' ἀρχαῖον, compared to the songs of Gnessipus, before quoting Cratinus, *Soft Men* (fr.104), where Gnessipus (or his work) is characterised as "μωρὸν εἶναι καὶ κενόν").

[874] PMG 27, Μῶσ᾽ ἄγε Καλλιόπα, θύγατερ Διός, / ἄρχ᾽ ἐρατῶν ϝεπέων, ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἵμερον / ὕμνῳ καὶ χαρίεντα τίθη χορόν. ἐρᾰτός can be seen here simply as 'lovely' or 'beloved', but it might convey an element of desire, in the same way that it is used at Tyrtaeus 10.29 (ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξί), or indeed elsewhere in Alcman,
Calame, 3.76, 126.3, 3.91, 241.16, 241.12, 27.8, 84.2, 82b.2. ἔπος also used at Alcman PMG 39:
ϝέπη τάδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμὰν / εὗρε γεγλωσσαμέναν / κακκαβίδων ὄπα συνθέμενος.

ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πολέμων, πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς - καλεῖ δὲ τοῦτον Δημήτριος ὁ Τροιζήνιος βιβλιολάθαν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐκδέδωκε συγγραμμάτων ἐστὶ γὰρ τρισχίλια πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις - φησὶ τάδε · 'Πολυκράτης (φησί) ἐν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἱστορεῖ ὅτι «τὴν μὲν τῶν Ὑακινθίων θυσίαν οἱ Λάκωνες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντελοῦσι, καὶ <τῆι μὲν πρώτηι> διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ γενόμενον περὶ τὸν Ὑάκινθον οὔτε στεφανοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῖς δείπνοις οὔτε ἄρτον εἰσφέρουσιν <οὔτε> ἄλλα πέμματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα διδόασι, καὶ τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ᾄδουσιν, οὐδ᾽ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον εἰσάγουσιν οὐδέν, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπέρχονται. τῆι δὲ μέσηι τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται θέα ποικίλη καὶ πανήγυρις ἀξιόλογος καὶ μεγάλη · παῖδές τε γὰρ κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες πάσας ἅμα τῶι πλήκτρωι τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ῥυθμῶι μὲν ἀναπαίστωι, μετ᾽ ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ᾄδουσιν · ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἵππων κεκοσμημένων τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται· χοροί τε νεανίσκων παμπληθεῖς εἰσέρχονται, καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν, ὀρχησταί τε ἐν τούτοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τὴν κίνησιν ἀρχαικὴν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν καὶ τὴν ὠιδὴν ποιοῦνται. τῶν δὲ παρθένων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κανάθρων φέρονται πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένων, αἱ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ † ἁμίλλαις ἁρμάτων ἐζευγμένων πομπεύουσιν. ἅπασα δ᾽ ἐν κινήσει καὶ χαρᾶι τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν, ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῆ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους· οὐδεὶς δ᾽ ἀπολείπει τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ κενοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θοίνην».'

This is what Polemon says. Contradicting him Didymos the grammarian—Demetrios of Troizen calls him 'the book-forgetter' because of the many books which he composed (there are over 3,500)—says this: 'Polykrates records in his Lakonika that "the Lakonians celebrate the festival of the Hyakinthia for three days, and <on the first day> because of the grief they have for Hyakinthos, they do not wear garlands at their dinners and do not serve wheaten bread <or> pastries and the things that go with them, and they do not sing the paean to the god and do not introduce anything else of this sort as they do in other festivals, but after eating very orderly they leave. But in the middle of the three days a colourful spectacle takes place and a large festival worthy of mention: for boys play the kithara in girded-up tunics and sing to the accompaniment of a[n aulos]; at the same time, running through all the strings with the pick in anapaestic rhythm, they sing praise of the god with high pitch; and others pass through the theatre on decorated horses; very many choruses of young men come in and sing some of the local

compositions; and dancers mixing among them perform motions in the ancient fashion to the flute and the song. Some of the unmarried girls are carried in wicker carriages equipped expensively, and others process in two-horse racing chariots. The whole city is brought into a state of motion and joy for the festival. They offer many sacrificial victims this day, and the citizens entertain all their acquaintances and slaves at dinner; and no one misses the sacrifice, but rather it happens that the city empties for the feast."

Polycrates BNJ 588 (=Athenaeus, *Deip.* 4.139 d-f) (trans. Bayliss)

BNJ 588 is quoted at Athenaeus 4.139 d-f, and is the longest sustained narrative concerning the Hyakinthia, totalling some 206 words. As mentioned in **[SECTION 1]** Jacoby was not the first to be interested by the question of which Polykrates wrote the above passage, and previous interpretations by K. O. Müller (author of *Die Doriens*), K. W. L. Müller (author of *FHG*), as well as Sauppe, and von Vogt, are important. This appendix thus outlines the various arguments for assigning this passage to a Hellenistic or Classical author and tentatively suggests that (even though the evidence is weak on both sides) it is more likely that the passage was written by the Classical Polykrates. I will refer to the passage in question as BNJ 588 throughout, for the sake of clarity.

Firstly, in 1850, Sauppe argued that BNJ 588 could not have been by the Athenian Polykrates, since none of the quoted passage was hostile towards the Laconians, and thus not in keeping with the style the Athenian Sophist, as inferred from the following passage of Josephus, which Sauppe argued must have referred to the fourth century Athenian sophist Polykrates:[875]

καὶ γὰρ ἐθνῶν τινες καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων πόλεων ῥυπαίνειν τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησαν λοιδορεῖν· Θεόπομπος μὲν τὴν ᾿Αθηναίων, τὴν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυκράτης· …

[875] Sauppe, 1850, 221. "Quae vero Didymus apud Athenaeum 4 p. 139 D narravisse in Laconieis Polycratem de Hyacinthis testatur… ea certe non ex libro petita sunt qui contra Lacedaemonios scriptus esset et color orationis magis videtur peripateticam disciplinam et consuetudinem referre quam rhetoric gorgiani manum." Following Livingstone, 2001, 29 n.65, Bayliss (*BNJ* 597 T1) has suggested that since Isokrates' *Boursis* (11.17-20) criticised the Spartans, then it is possible that Polykrates' *Boursis* did too (since Isokrates' version was addressed to Polykrates). We should also note that Polykrates the Athenian likely wrote other works on (or partially on) Sparta: he wrote about Clytaemnestra, whose most famous cult was at Amyklai, where she was worshipped alongside Agamemnon, and in the hypothesis to Isocr. *Orr.* X. *Helen*, Polykrates is given as a dedicatee of sorts, something which was noted by Müller, *Oratores Attici* (Vol.2), 484.

For some have also endeavoured to defile the nobility of peoples and of cities with the highest reputations and to denigrate their constitutions. Theopompos [BNJ 115 F 306] (did this to the city) of the Athenians, and Polykrates (to the city) of the Lakedaimonians…

Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.220 (= BNJ 597 T1)

In 1851 (with no reference to Sauppe's work of the year before) K. W. L. Müller published volume four of *FHG*, and came to a similar conclusion (that the two Polykrates should be separated), but he did not elaborate why the Polycrates passage in Athenaeus should be "Distinguendus, puto, a nostro Polycrates de quo Josephus C. Apion. I, 24."[876]

In 1902, Vogt returned to the issue of attribution, stating that "Unter die ältesten Bearbeiter der spartanischen Lokalgeschichte dürfte auch noch der athenische Sophist Polykrates, der Rivale des Isokrates (F. H. G. IV 480: Λακωνικά nach Athen. IV 139 d) zu stellen sein".[877] Vogt argued against Sauppe's view (and, implicitly, K. W. L. Müller's) because "Und damit ist trotz Sauppes Widerspruch (Fragm. Orat. Attic. p. 221) das von Athenäos bewahrte Fragment über die Hyakinthienfeier sehr wohl zusammenzubringen, da der Tadel schwerlich den Grundton in der Schrift des Polykrates gab."[878] That is, it could not be expected that every passage written about the Lacedaemonians by the Athenian Polykrates had preserved the 'Tadel' that Josephus found characteristic of his writing.

Such a statement would seem quite reasonable to modern ears, but for Jacoby, writing in 1954, Vogt's argument was 'töricht'.[879] For Jacoby: "Es ist ein zufall dass uns gerade in der literature über Sparta eine reihe von homonymen begegnen, die ernsthaft niemanden täuschen können."[880] And so the argument of Sauppe, posited some one hundred year earlier, entered

[876] Müller, *FHG*, 4.480-1.

[877] Vogt, 1902, 764.

[878] Vogt, 1902, 764. "Unter die ältesten Bearbeiter der spartanischen Lokalgeschichte dürfte auch noch der athenische Sophist Polykrates, der Rivale des Isokrates (F. H. G. IV 480: Λακωνικά nach Athen. IV 139 d) zu stellen sein: wenigstens finde ich keinen Grund, die von Josephus contra Apionem I 24 gegebene deutliche Beziehung auf den Sophisten, der die eufeveia und die Staatsform der Spartaner getadelt habe, in Abrede zu stellen. Und damit ist trotz Sauppes Widerspruch (Fragm. orat. Attic. p. 221) das von Athenäos bewahrte Fragment über die Hyakinthienfeier sehr wohl zusammenzubringen, da der Tadel schwerlich den Grundton in der Schrift des Polykrates gab; dasselbe war der Fall in seinem Busiris nach Isokr. XI § 5 ff."

[879] Jacoby, ***FGrH*,** 597 n.13.

[880] Jacoby, *FGrH,* 597 n.13.

something approaching an accepted point of view, via Jacoby. BNJ 588 could not have been written by the fourth century Athenian sophist for two reasons: style (based on comparable passages) and content (based on Josephus, *Against Apion,* 1.220), to say otherwise would be foolish.

However, are content and style reliable factors against which the attribution of BNJ 588 can be assessed? I suggest that they are not.

As BNJ 588 is presented, Athenaeus' speaker is referencing Didymus, who himself references Polykrates (φησὶ τάδε… φησί). There are reasons to suppose that BNJ 588 might not be an exact paraphrase, especially given that it clearly seems to exclude an account of the third day of the festival. Even when Athenaeus refers to what we would treat as a rather canonical text, subtle stylistic differences occur: a few paragraphs before the passage on the Hyakinthia, Athenaeus refers to a passage from Herodotus 9.82, but Atticizes and alters some of the narrative slightly.[881] Thus, it seems that there is no overly strong reason to discount this passage as being by Polykrates the Sophist on the basis of style, because there is no overly strong reason to believe that the text, as transmitted, preserves the original account verbatim.

On the point of content, without wider treatment of the passage, we are unable to know how Polykrates used it. On the one hand, it is rather extreme not to allow a single neutral passage in Polykrates' otherwise inflammatory *Lakonians*, on the other hand, it might also be too extreme to assume that this passage, in its wider context, was not inflammatory.

As laid out here, I propose that the general consensus regarding BNJ 588 (that it is a Hellenistic work by an otherwise unknown author) be adapted to take into account the uncertainty of the authorship of the passage, and reflect the possibility that it might have belonged to a work by the fourth century Athenian sophist, Polykrates, rather than an otherwise unattested author of the same name who also wrote about similar things, which, if we were to apply Occam's razor, appears to be the less likely option, though not impossible.

[881] Lenfant, 2007, 49 Table 1, classifies this as a "citation littérale d'au moins une phrase [mais] étant un cas atypique."

APPENDIX C: SPARTA AULOI MEASUREMENTS

All measurements in millimetres.

Aulos SA 1

D – 15344a

Total length: 82.2

Length excluding spigot: 79.5

Length excluding spigot and socket: 69.0

Internal diameter of bore: 7.2 / 7.3

External pipe diameter: 12.5 / 12.3 / 11.1 (Slight bulge of pipe towards section bone where thumb hole is.) – 12.2. thick over thumb hole – 10.2 thick at top – c. 12.3 thick at bottom

Hole diameter: I 6.5; T 6.5, II 6.5; III 6.4;

Hole distances (from edge of hole to edge of hole): I-II 30.5; I-III 48.6; I-T 10.1

Hole distances (from centre of hole to centre of hole): I-II 37.6; I-III 54.9; I-T 16.2

Hole distances (from edge of hole to edge of hole): I-T 10.1; T-II 14.8; II-III 11.2

Hole distances (from centre of hole to centre of hole): I-T 16.2; T-II 20.4; II-III 18.6

Hole distances (from centre of hole to end of pipe): I – top 19.8; T – top 35.7; II – top 56.2; III – top 74.3

Hole distances (from centre of hole to end of pipe – excluding spigot): I-bot. 60.2; T-bot. 43.5; II-bot. 23.3; III-bot. 5.2

Bottom ring: 1.6mm from bottom (excluding spigot)

Top ring(s): 15.0mm from top

G – 15346

Length of fragment (excluding spigot): 50.8

Length of fragment (including spigot): 58.5

Diameter of end of pipe (external): 8.0 / 8.5

Internal diameter of bore (internal measure): 7.3 (= same as 15344a)

Aulos SA 2

A - 15345

Total length: 48.5

Length of socket: 11.1

Tapers down to create a very fine end where the walls of the pipe are only 1.2mm thick.

Internal bore (‘top’) = 8.6

Internal bore (‘bottom’) = 7.8

I - 15344b

Total length (including spigot): 96.9

Length (excluding spigot): 95.2

Diameter of complete hole: 7.6 / 7.4

Diameter of broken hole: 7.2?

Internal diameter of bore at complete end: 8.6 / 8.4/ 8.2/ 8.5

Internal diameter of bore at broken end: 8.5/ 8.6

Position of holes (from centre): ‘I’-‘II’ 29.1; ‘I’-top 9.4?; ‘I’-bottom 85.6; ‘II’-‘I’ 29.1; ‘II’-top 37.6; ‘II’-bottom 57.8

Position of holes (from edge); ‘I’-‘II’ 20.5; ‘II’-bottom 53.1; ‘II’-top 35.1; ‘I’-bottom 81.6; ‘I’-top?

Table C.1 Hole diameter of selected Archaic and Classical *auloi*. After Psaroudakēs, 2002, 350, pl.13.

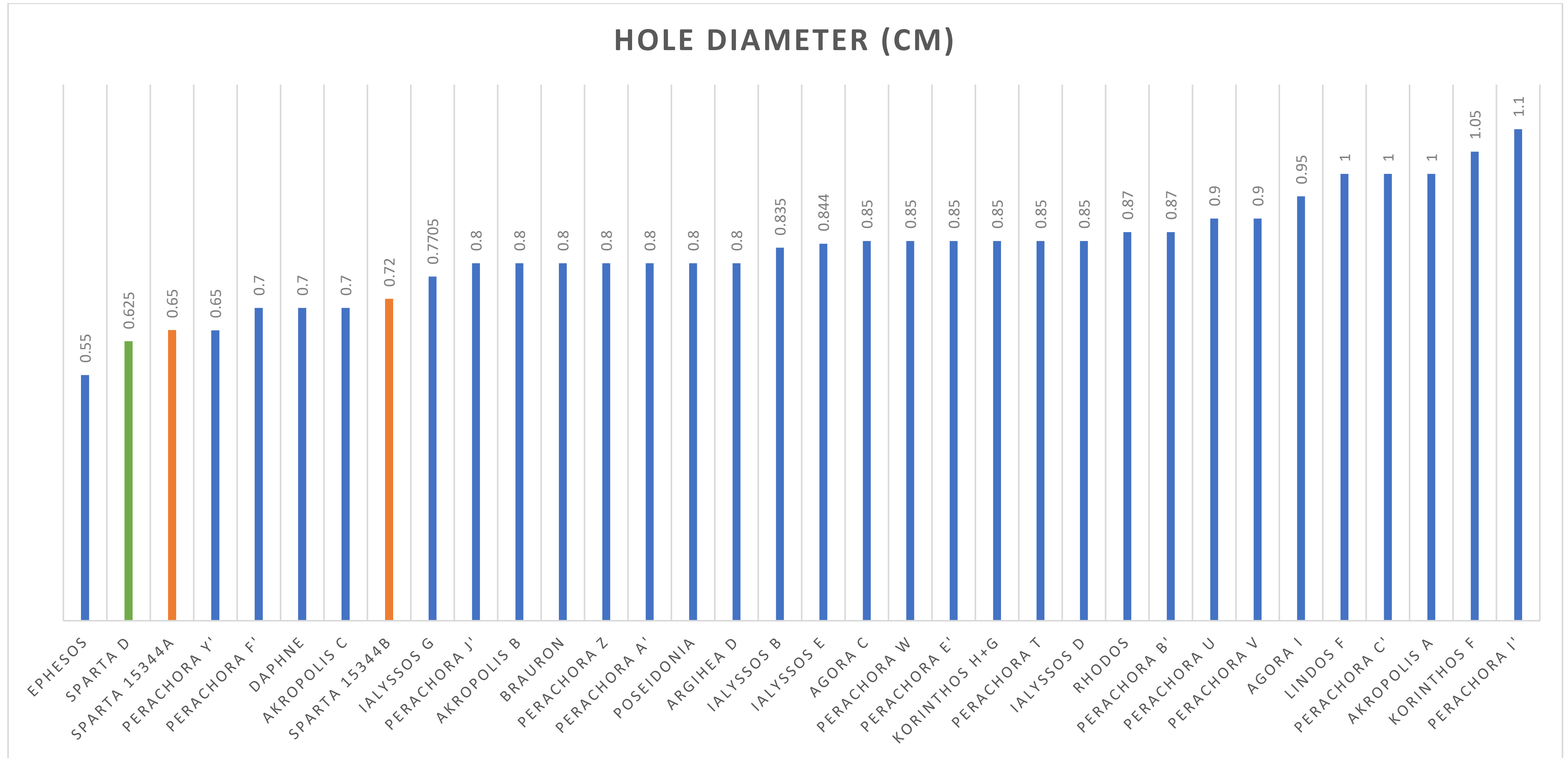
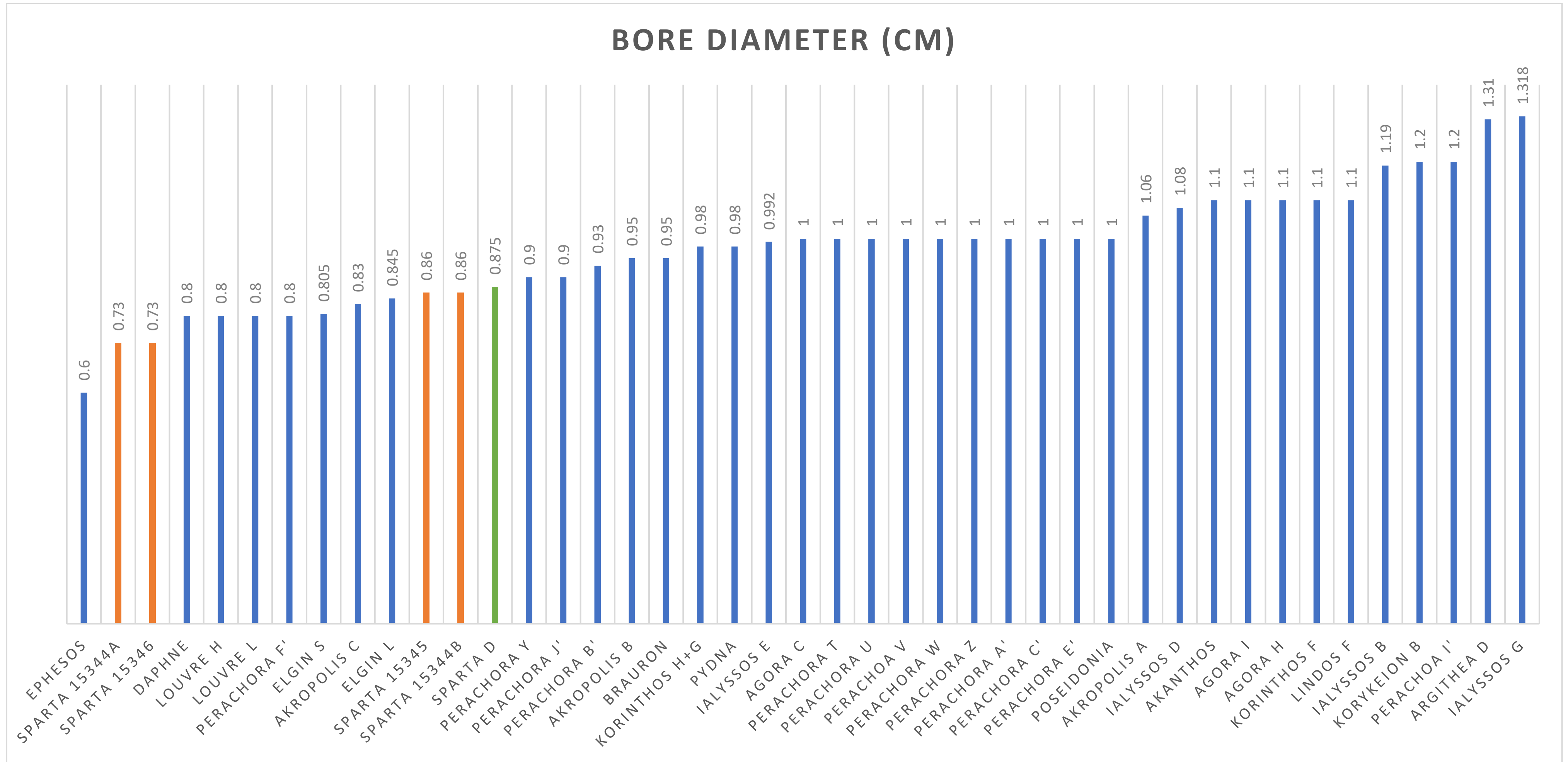


Table C.2 Bore diameter of selected Archaic and Classical auloi. After Psaroudakēs, 2002, 351, pl.14.



APPENDIX D: CHRONOLOGIES OF SPARTAN MATERIAL CULTURE

Table D.1 Comparative date and grouping of the five main Laconian BF vase painters, according to Stibbe, 1972, *passim* and Stibbe, 2004, *passim*.

	Naukratis Painter	**Boread Painter**	**Arkesilas Painter**	**Hunt Painter**	**Rider Painter**	**Allard Pierson Painter** (2004)	**Chimera Painter** (2004)
Group A	c. 575-570	c. 575-570	c. 565	c. 565-550	c. 570-560	'Likely between 550 and 530, given one grave context c.540, can't be precise because the painter archaises shapes and stylistically relates to the Rider and Hunt Painters.'	'Difficult to date precisely.'
Group B	c. 570	c. 570	c. 565-560	c. 560-550	c. 560		
Group C	c. 565	c. 570-565	c. 560	c. 555-545	c. 560-550		
Group D	c. 565-560	'Hard to date fragments'	c. 555	c. 550-530	c. 550-540		
Group E	c. 565-550	'Style of Boread Painter' (Art des Boreaden-Malers)		c. 550-530 'medium-sized and large bowls of laconic Droop-Type, medallion decoration in the shell interior, exterior decoration inconsistent.'	c. 545-535		
Group F	'Large Vessels'			'Vessels of which too little survives to allow for easy grouping.'	'Comparable to'? (1972). 'Unclear fragments: Probably his work; Style of; Comparable to' (2004).		

Group G	'Hard to date fragments'			'Style of Hunt Painter, from his workshop and successor. The late vessels from the circle of Hunt Painter can hardly be distinguished according to workshop and successor.'			
Group H	'Style: Succession' (Art: Nachfolge)						
Group I	'Comparable to' (Zu vergeichen sind)						

Table D.2 Comparative date and grouping of the Spartan lead votives.

Wace		**Boardman**		**Cavanagh & Laxton**		**Boss**	
Lead 0	c.800	'Geometric'	8th cent. to 650				
Lead 1	700-635	Lead 1	650-620			Phase 1	c.650/ Late 7th cent. – 570/560?
Lead 2	635-600	Lead 2 (to the sand)	620-570/560	Lead 3	600/590		
Lead 3-4	600-500	Lead 2 (as a style)	620-580	Lead 3/4	560	Phase 2	570/560 – c.550?
Lead 5	500-425	Lead 3	580-425?			Phase 3	Second half 6th cent. – 480 BCE
Lead 6	425 – c.250?						

APPENDIX E: CONCORDANCE OF *PAIDIKOI AGŌNES* DEDICATIONS

Table E.1 Concordance of *paidikoi agōnes* dedications.

Woodward No.	***I.G.* v.1,**	**Massaro, *PA***	**Original Publication(s)**	**Other Pubs.**	**Date (*AO*)**
Verse dedications					
		1 = Hesychius s.v. μῶά			
1	255	2	BSA, 12, 380, 48 and BSA 14, 101, 48	Bourguet, *Dialecte Laconien*, 75 no.xv	4th C. BCE
2	256	3	BSA, 12, 380, 47 and BSA 14 95, 47	Bourguet, *Dialecte Laconien*, 102, xxviii	2nd (/1st?) C. BCE
3	315	4	BSA, 13, 183, 50		1st C. BCE
4	264	5	BSA, 12, 361, 5 and BSA 13, 199		Augustan (2nd C. CE?)
5	unpub. (in 1929)		B.S. Inv. No. 2520; S.M. 1601		1st C. BCE
6	250	6	BSA 12, 378, 44		not before 150 CE
7	257	7	SMC 218 and BSA 12, 355, a	(found near Magoula before 1868)	not before 150 CE
8	258	8	BSA 13, 196, 63 and BSA 15 106		second half of 2nd C. CE
9	316		BSA 12 367		probably not before 150 CE
Prose dedications					
10	265	9	BSA 14, 84, 75		no later than 50 BCE (?)
11	260	10	BSA 14, 74, 66		mid-1st C. BCE at latest
12	261	11	BSA 12, 360, 3		"the Eponymos is without doubt the victor in No.11… this text [is] roughly twenty to thirty years after the other"
13	262	12	BSA 14, 86, 79		"the lettering bears out the possibility that the victor was a son of the Damoppos found in Nos. 11 and 12"

14	299	13	BSA 14, 80, 72		If Alkimos Sokleida, then they are in the list of Hierothutai at IG v.1 141, l.25, and perhaps the proxenos to Delphi recorded at *FD* iii.2,160 (cf IG v.i. p.xvi, ll.98ff.) "dated by Pomtov to A.D. 23. Thus as a boy he may have been a victor here at about the beginning of the Christian era."
15	266		BSA 13, 198, 64		1st century BCE
16	267	14	BSA 12, 373, 35		"If the victor was, as suggested, the brother of the well-known Eurykles, his date may have fallen *ca*. 30 B.C."
17	263	15	BSA 14, 84, 76		
18	268	16	BSA 14, 85, 78		
19	269	17	BSA 12, 361, 4		
20	270		BSA 13, 185, 56		"the type of stele with a phiale in the pediment is closely similar to that of No.13, and may well indicate that they are nearly contemporary, though the lettering shows no particular resemblance."
21	271	18	BSA 12, 365, 13		*see note for no.22*
22	272	19	BSA 13, 188, 62		"this and the previous item are among the few undated dedications: in their style of writing they have something in common with each other, and with other texts probably of the late first century B.C."
23	336		BSA 12, 370, 28		not later than mid 1st C. CE.
24	326		BSA 12, 363, 7		mentions Aboletos, but perhaps not the same one in no.11 and 12
25	277	20	BSA 12, 376, 40		"If *Menekles,* to whom the victor is *kasen,* is the Eponymos of the year 97 or 98 (v.1, 667), this dedication must be contemporary with his boyhood, and can hardly be later than 75-80 A.D."
26	274		BSA 12 367, 16		Probably the father of 'G. Julius Charixenos son of G. Julius Lysikratos' in No.30, but perhaps his son too
27	278		BSA 14, 77, 70	Bourget, *Dialecte Laconien*, 116, xxxiii	Flavian (if not earlier) - the victor must be M. Anthestios Philokrates son of Philokleos, twice a member of the *gerousia* (BSA 26, 167 and 170, 1, C1 and E2) - c.70 CE. He is *kasen* to Agesilaos Neola, who was the Eponymos of his second year in the *gerousia*, - Woodward suggests this supports "the contention that a boy was *kasen* to the *bouagos* of his year."

28	297	21	BSA 14, 92, 94	SM No.1147 - n.b. perhaps dedicated by Sister	end of 1st C. CE
29	280	22	BSA 12, 371, 31 and 384 (fig)		reign of Trajan, "cannot be far idstant in date from No.27" … "it can scarecely fall later than the death of Vespasian and may be even earlier."
30	275	23	BSA 12, 358, 1		"the victor is almost certainly the Eponymos of *ca*. 126 A.D.", c.100 CE then
31	279	24	BSA 12, 366, 15 and 13, 199	Bourget, *Dialecte Laconien*, 118, xxxv	the victor Onasikeidas' *cursus* in IG v.1, 36A ll. 4ff - many other details too, cf. Woodard. His latest Eponymos was c.140, so he was probably victor c.100.
32	282	25	BSA 12, 357, *i*	See biblio. In *IG.* Cyriac of Ancona, c.1438 "Lacedaemoniae ad lapidem prope colosseam Lycurgi statuam"	poss. Father or son of Chhaleas Damokleida ? - cf. woodward
33	273	26	BSA 14, 79, 71		beginning of 2nd C. CE -
34	281	27	BSA 13, 187, 60 (lower half) and 14, 100, 60		reign of Trajan - victor's father's victory recorded in No.27
35	298		BSA 12, 364, 10		c.110-120 (Patronomate of Pratonikos) - resemblance of lttering to no.29
36	283		BSA 13, 186, 58		beginning of 2nd C. CE
37	290		BSA 12, 368, 20 and 15, 102, 20		reign of Trajan
38	284		BSA 14, 85, 77		reign of Hadrian
39	329	28	BSA 12, 366, 14		perhaps the son of the Eponymous in the previous fragment?
40	317	29	BSA 12, 367, 19 and 14, 102 ff., 19		reign of Hadrian
41	296	30	BSA 14, 82, 74	Bourget, *Dialecte Laconien*, 125, xxxix	early Hadrianic
42	285		BSA 12, 357 ff.	D.-M. *Ath. Mitt*. 11. (1877), 440, 24	
43	286	31	BSA 12, 365, 12 and 13, 199	IG v1 p.303 and Bourget, *Dialecte Laconien*, 120, xxxvi	(end of) reign of Hadrian
44	287	32	BSA 14, 93, 95	IG v1 p.303	beginning or before reign of Hadrian
45	288		BSA 12, 357, *h*	SMC 783	same year as no.44
46	289	33	BSA 12, 372, 32	Bourget, *Dialecte Laconien*, 122, xxxviii	c.140 CE
47	291	34	BSA 12, 363, 8		

48	295		BSA 12, 375, 38		mid-2nd C. CE
49	276	35	BSA 12, 362, 6 and 13, 199, 6		c.145-150 CE ?
50	292		BSA 12, 364, 11		c. 150 CE
51	293	36	BSA 14, 80, 73	n.b. in koine	same year as no.50
52	294	37	BSA 14, 41, 96		same victor as in no.50?
53	322		BSA 15, 43, 98		
54	319		BSA 12, 186, 59		early 2nd C. CE?
55	301	38	BSA 12, 356, *d*	SMC 221; Bourguet, 127, xli	c.160-170 CE?
56	302		BSA 12, 374, 36		c.180 CE
57	303	39	BSA 13, 185, 57		end of the 2nd C. CE
58	300		BSA, 13, 184, 55		first quarter of 2nd C. CE
59	306		BSA 13, 187, 61		late 2nd C. CE
60	307	40	BSA 12, 368, 21	Bourguet, 126, xl	
61	308		BSA 14, 77, 69		
62	309	41	BSA 12, 355, *b*	SMC 219 + 501 (found at Magoula in 1868, cf. IG)	cf. No.63 where the victor is *kasen* to the Victor here
63	unpub. (in 1929)	42	BS Inv. Nos. 2502 + 2928	SM No.1586	sound after the beginning of the 3rd C. CE
64	304		BSA 12, 359, 2 and 14, 99, 2		c.180 CE (?)
65	330		BSA 15, 75 ff., 67		date uncertain, not before last quarter of the 2nd C. CE
66	311		BSA 13, 184, 53 and 14, 112		
67	310	43	BSA 12, 379, 45 and 14, 99, 45		uncertain, but contemporary with no.66
68	312	44	BSA 14, 89, 85	("built into the wall of a private house in Sparta, over the entrance to the inner yard; copied by A. M.W. in 1908")	
69	305	45	BSA 12 356, *c*	SMC 220; Bourguet, 130, xliv	just before 200 CE
70	313	46	BSA 12, 369, 24 (*a* only) and 14, 96, 24 (all)		not before 200 CE, maybe after 212 CE (eponymos = victor in no.60)
71	314		BSA 12, 367 ff, 18, 23, 29, 30 and BSA 13, 200 and BSA 14, 97, 18	SM Nos 1533 (lower part), 1543 (upper part)	latest inscription (a 'return' to koinese)

Fragments of inscriptions: 72-83 "names of victors"; 84-104 "names of eponymoi, lacking the victors' names"; 105-118 "Names of Contests and Dedications"; 119-128 "fragments head 'agathe tuche' *only"*; 129-135 "small and unplaced fragments".					
72	323		BSA 12, 356	SMC 410	
73	325		BSA 13, 198, 65	SMC 1615	
74	324		BSA 12, 378, 43		
75	331		BSA 12, 374, 37		
76	332		BSA 15, 43, 99		
77	333		BSA 12, 373, 33		
78	327		BSA 14, 91, 91		
79	328		BSA 14, 77, 68		
80	unpub.		B. S. Inv. No. 2498	SMC 1637	
81	354		BSA 14, 91, 92	SMC 1610	
82	unpub.		B. S. Inv. No. 2186	SMC 1605	
83	unpub.		B. S. Inv. -	SMC 1654	
84	334	47	BSA 12, 370, 26		
85	320	48	BSA 12, 369, 22		
86	unpub.		B.S.Inv. 2567	SMC 1610	("Now lost? 'Artemis Orthia. May 20th, 1907. In old avlaki at entrance of it into arena.' A. J. B. Wace")
87	341	49	BSA 14, 89, 84		
88	340	50	BSA 14, 88, 83		
89	337	51	BSA 14, 87, 81		
90	321		BSA 12, 375, 39		
91	338	52	BSA 14, 87, 80		
92	351		BSA 14, 91, 89	SMC 1583 and 1597	Three fragments, but this only records *a*
93	unpub.		B.S.Inv.No. 2514	SMC 1600	
94a	629		BSA 14, 92, 93		
94b	unpub.		B.S.Inv. No. 2190	SMC 1598 (both together)	
95	unpub.	53	B.S.Inv.No. 2559	SMC 1090	
96	unpub.	54	B.S. Inv. No. 2565	SMC 1551	
97	unpub.	55	B.S.Inv. No.2410		
98	318		BSA 14, 88, 82		

99	unpub.		B.S.Inv.No.2324	SMC 1599	
100	unpub.		B.S.Inv.No.2496	SMC 1635	
101	339		BSA 12, 379, 46		
102	355		BSA 12, 369, 25		
103	335		BSA 15, 42, 97		
104	Unpub.		B.S.Inv. No 2309	SMC 1623	
105	344	56	BSA 12, 377, 41		
106	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2164	SMC 1550	
107	3442	57	BSA 12, 370, 27		
108	350	58	BSA 14, 90, 86		
109	343	59	BSA 12, 373, 34		
110	345	60	BSA 12, 378, 42		
111	347	61	BSA 13, 184, 54		
112	346		BSA 13, 184, 51		
113	349		BSA 12, 363, 9		
114	353		BSA 14, 90, 87		
115	352		BSA 14, 91, 90		
116	unpub.		B.S.Inv. No. 2488	SMC 1616	
117	unpub.	62	B.S. Inv. No. 2643	SMC 1618	
118	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2557	SMC 1625	
119	356(b)		BSA 13, 184, 52		
120	unpub.		B.S. Inv No. 2670	SMC 1545	
121	356(a)		BSA 13, 183, 49		
122	356(c)		BSA 14, 91, 88		
123	unpub.		B.S. In. No. 2181 and 2184	SMC 1639 and 1640	
124	unpub.		B.S.Inv. No. 2584	SMC 1621	
125	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2663	SMC 1089	
126	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2515	SMC 1606	
127	unpub.				"not in B.S. Inventory nor in that of S.M., but certainly from the series"
128	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2325	SMC 1626	
129	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2326		

130	unpub.		B.S.Inv. No. 2195	*a squeeze*	"not re-found"
131	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2503	SMC 1607	
132	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2512	SMC 1604	
133	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2328	SMC 1596	
134	unpub.				"No inventory numbers"
135	unpub.		B.S. Inv. No. 2560	SMC 1656	"if this is rightly ascribed to the series"

APPENDIX F: INDEX OF VASES

Laconian Pottery

Black-figure

(1) Museum: Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universitat Leipzig, T2177
Beazley no.: 1008144
Painter: Rider Painter
Date: c.545-535 (Groupe E)
Provenance: Cerveteri
Shape: Cup
Scene: *Kōmos* with male aulos-player
References: Stibbe, 1972, (314) (pl.112,1), p.173-4

(2) Museum: Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 9320
Beazley no.: 9019280
Painter: Hunt Painter
Date: c.550-530 (Groupe E)
Provenance: Syracuse
Shape: Cup
Scene: Single male lyre-player
References: Stibbe, 1972, no.238, pl.85,1.

(3) Museum: Bochum, Ruhr Universitat, Kunstsammlungen, S1022
Beazley no.: 9032185
Painter: Allard Pierson Painter (nr.23) (Group Ba: Schalen mit Komastenbildern. Formgruppe VII. Henkelpalmetten des Typus 1,4,6 S.115)
Date: c.550-530 (perhaps c.540-530 if in the second half of the painter's career)
Provenance: x
Shape: Cup
Scene: *Kōmos* (Left) two male dancers face each other (right) male aulos plays to them
References: Stibbe, supplement, no.335, pl.84,1
Bochum, Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universitat 3, 37, Beilage 5.1, pl.(4251) 23.2-4.

(4) Museum: London, British Museum, 1854,0810.4
Painter: Rider Painter
Date: c.550-540 (Group D)
Provenance: Sikyon
Shape: Cup
Scene: (Left) beardless male aulos (centre) krater (right) beardless male with rhyton and dish
References: Stibbe, 1972, no.306

(5) Museum: Atlanta, Michael C. Claros Museum, Emory University, 2003.8.19 'The Carlos Cup'
Painter: Rider Painter (Group A)
Date: c.570-560
Provenance: -
Shape: Cup
Scene: A large Apollo with lyre surrounded by smaller komasts and attendants
References: Stibbe, 2004, [182], Rider Painter, nr.1, pl. 49, 50, s.79.
Förtsch, 2000, 149-153

(6) Museum: Taranto, Museo Archaeologico, 20909
Painter: Allard Pierson Painter nr.26 (Group Ba) – in 1972 Rider Painter (Group E)
Date: c.545-535
Provenance: Taranto (Tomb on via Ptagora)
Shape: Cup
Scene: Male lyre-player in top band
References: Stibbe, 1972, 312.
Pipili, p.71 no.198
Stibbe, 2004, [no. 338], p.120 f. and 193 f.

(7) Museum: Sparta
Painter: Unknown
Date: Laconian VI/ black-red figure transition?
Provenance: Sparta *herōon*, by the riverbank
Shape: Fragment (cup?)
Scene: Procession?
References: *B.S.A.* 15, 38.

(8) Museum: Samos, Vathy Museum K1428
Painter: Chimera Painter (nr.11)
Date: c.520-510
Provenance: Samos, Heraion
Shape: Cup
Scene: Apollo *kitharoidos* facing Artemis
References: Pipili, p.62 (no.164)
Stibbe, 2004, [278], p.102 "Die Ritzung ist dünner und unsorgfältiger als bisher bei ihm und läßt auf eine späte Entstehungszeit, etwa 520-510, schließen."
Stibbe, 1972, (102), "Art des Naukratis-Malers, aus seiner Nachfolge"

(9) Museum: Samos, Vathy Museum K1203, K1541, K2402, Berlin, Antikenabteilung Charlottenburg 478X, 460X
Painter: Arkesilas Painter (Group A)
Date: c.565
Provenance: Samos, Heraion
Shape: Cup
Scene: Dinner
References: Pipili, 71-2, no.196/ 204b
Stibbe, 1972, (191), p.113 and 243-245.

(10) Museum: Rhodes, 15373
Painter: Hunt Painter
Date: c.555-545 (Group C)
Provenance: Rhodes
Shape: Amphora

Scene: *Kōmos*
References: Stibbe, 1972, no.219 pl.76-7

(11) Museum: Florence, 3879
Painter: Hunt Painter
Date: 550-530 (Group D)
Provenance: Cerveteri?
Shape: Cup
Scene: *Kōmos* (with syrinx)
References: Stibbe, 1972, no.227, page, 140. pl.81,1-2.

(12) Museum: Sparta, (not found)
Painter: Hunt Painter
Date: ???
Provenance: Sparta, acropolis
Shape: Fragment
Scene: *Kōmos* with male aulos-player
References: Stibbe, 1972, no.244, pl. 85,4.
Droop, *BSA*, 1926-7, 71.

(13) Museum: Samos, Vathy Museum, unknown
Painter: Hunt Painter
Date: (Group F) – *too fragmentary to easily group*
Provenance: Samos, Heraion
Shape: Fragment
Scene: Kitharode?
References: Stibbe, 1972, no.247, pl.86,3.
Shefton, 307, "Hunt painter, probably his work (Nr.4)".

(14) Museum: Vatican City, Raccolta Guglielmi, unknown
Painter: Hunt Painter (style of?), Group G
Date: Late (?) c.540-530? But also influenced by Hunt Painter Groups B and C?
Provenance: -
Shape: Cup
Scene: *Kōmos* with lyre-player (male or female?)
References: Stibbe, 1972, 149, no.272, pl.90,2

(15) Museum: Samos, K2522
Painter: Rider Painter
Date: c.560-550 (Group C)
Provenance: Samos
Shape: Cup
Scene: Lyre-player (kitharode?) and komasts
References: Stibbe, 1972, no.293, pl.98,1

(16) Museum: Samos, K1960
Painter: Rider Painter
Date: c.535 "Däs Stück dürfte um 535 enstanden sein." - 545-535 (Group E)
Provenance: Samos (which sanctuary?)
Shape: Cup
Scene: Kitharode, *komos*, dinner

References: Stibbe, 1972, no.315, pl. 112,4

(17) Museum: Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, 2006.042.001A-B
Painter: Hunt Painter
Date: c. 565-550 (Group A)
Provenance: Taranto (allegedly)
Shape: Three fragments of a big cup
Scene: *Kōmos*, aulos-player with *phorbeia*
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), [no.123], pl.24-25 ('Centre Island' private collection [von Bothmer?], p. 58 ff. and 164-166.

(18) Museum: Basel, 'Kunsthandel' (previously, Japan, Noriyoshi Horiuchi)
Painter: Hunt Painter (nr.3)
Date: c. 565-550?? (Group A)
Provenance: Gela (allegedly)
Shape: Krater, volute (complete)
Scene: *Kōmos*, lyre- and aulos-players
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), no.125, pl.26, p.59, 217

(19) Museum: Rome, Villa Giulia, 72/15949
Painter: Rider Painter nr.30 (Group F, unklare fragmente)
Date: c.550-535 (?)
Provenance: Gravisca
Shape: Cup
Scene: Aulos-player?
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), no.211, pl.61,7, pl.84

(20) Museum: Rome, Sammlung Sinopoli ??? (formerly Kuntshandel Basel, Palladion)
Painter: Allard Pierson Painter nr.25 (Group Ba)
Date: c.550-530 (perhaps c.540-530 if in the second half of the painter's career)
Provenance: Taranto (allegedly)
Shape: Cup
Scene: *Kōmos*, lyre/percussion(?)
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), no.337, pl.86,1, p.120, 193 f.

(21) Museum: Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 82.1
Painter: Allard Pierson painter nr.27 (Group Ba)
Date: c.550-530 (perhaps c.540-530 if in the second half of the painter's career)
Provenance: -
Shape: Cup
Scene: Aulos-player
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), no.339 pl.88,1, p.121

(22) Museum: Tarento, Museo Nazionale, unknown
Painter: Rider Painter nr.28 (Group F, unklare fragmente)
Date: c.550-535 (?)
Provenance: Satyrion port
Shape: Cup
Scene: Fragment of male aulos-player
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), no.209, pl.61,3, p.84, 177, 227

(23) Museum: New York, Private Collection, Centre Island *(von Bothmer maybe?)*
Painter: Rider Painter nr.29 (Group F, unklare fragmente)
Date: c.550-535 (?)
Provenance: -
Shape: Cup
Scene: Fragment male aulos-player
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), no.210, pl.61,5, p. 177 and 227

(24) Museum: Tarento, Museo Nazionale, ???
Painter: Allard Pierson Painter nr.29 (Group Ba)
Date: c.550-530 (perhaps c.540-530 if in the second half of the painter's career)
Provenance: Saturo (Satyrion)
Shape: Cup
Scene: Fragment male lyre-player
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), no.341, pl.90,3, p.121, 196, 243

(25) Museum: Tarento, Museo Nazionale
Painter: Allard Pierson Painter nr.30a (Group Ba)
Date: c.550-530 (perhaps c.540-530 if in the second half of the painter's career)
Provenance: Saturo (Satyrion)
Shape: Cup
Scene: Fragment lyre-player
References: Stibbe, 2004 (supplement), no.342, pl.91,1, p.122, 196, 244

(26) Museum: Samos, Magazine of the Ephorate, 3960
Painter: Miniature Painter nr.6 (Group Ac) Stibbe (Manner of Hunt Painter – Pipil 2001 nr.36, c. 540-530)
Date: **-**
Provenance: Samos, Artemision
Shape: Chalice
Scene: Procession with aulos-players
References: Pipili, 2001, nr.36
Stibbe, 2004, p.137 [nr.373], pl. 21 S, p.138f., p.248

(27) Museum: (Pomezia) Lavinium, Pratica di Mare, E1986
Painter: Naukratis Painter (Group D)
Date: c. 565-560
Provenance: Sanctuario delle Tredici Are
Shape: Cup
Scene: Dinner, aulos-player
References: Thomsen, pl.49
Stibbe, 1972, (no. 19), p.71, 72

(28) Museum: Florence, Museo Archaeologico, 3882
Painter: Naukratis Painter (Group B)
Date: c.570
Provenance: -
Shape: Cup
Scene: *Kōmos*, lyre-player
References: Thomsen, pl.41
Stibbe, 1972, no.71, taf. 27, Abb 32, p.69

See Stibbe, 1972, p.273 (no. 71) for detailed bibliography

(29) Museum: Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, L 166 (formerly in the Feoli collection)
Painter: Rider Painter (Group C)
Date: Generally, '560-550', but "… is eine problematishce Schale…"
Provenance: -
Shape: Cup
Scene: *Synaikla*, female diner playing the aulos
References: Thomsen, Abb. 48
Stibbe, 1972, no.298 (taf. 103, s.167)
See Stibbe, 1972, p.285 for detailed bibliography

(30) Museum: Paris, Louvre, E 662
Painter: Rider Painter
Date: 545-535 (Group D)
Provenance: Cerveteri
Shape: Dinos
Scene: Satyr(?) wearing a *phorbeia*
References: Stibbe, 1972, (313) Taf. 111,1, pages 153, 154
See Stibbe for further bibliography

(33) Museum: Madrid, MAN, 1999/99/45
Painter: Hunt Painter
Date: c. 550-530 BCE
Provenance: The collection of Várez Fisa (acquired by MAN in 1994)
Shape: Cup
Scene: *Kōmos,* aulos-player
References: Bonet, 2003, no.46

Geometric

(31) Museum: Sparta Museum, 827 (?)
Date: c.7th century BCE
Provenance: Sparta
Shape: Fragment
Scene: Two figures holding a lyre

(32) Museum: Athens, NAM, 234
Date: c. 7th century BCE
Provenance: Amyklai
Shape: Fragment
Scene: Chorus ?

1 (courtesy of the Antikenmuseum d. Universitat Leipzig for study use only)

a

b

2 (after of Stibbe)

3 (after Stibbe)

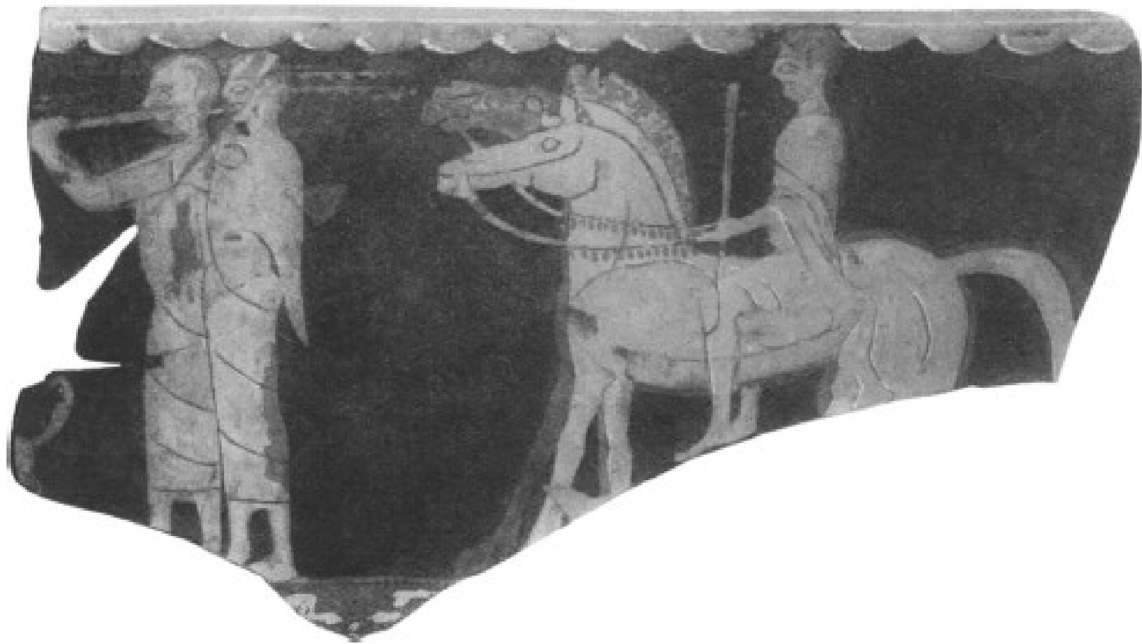
84,1 [335]

4 (author's own; with permission from the British Museum for study use only)

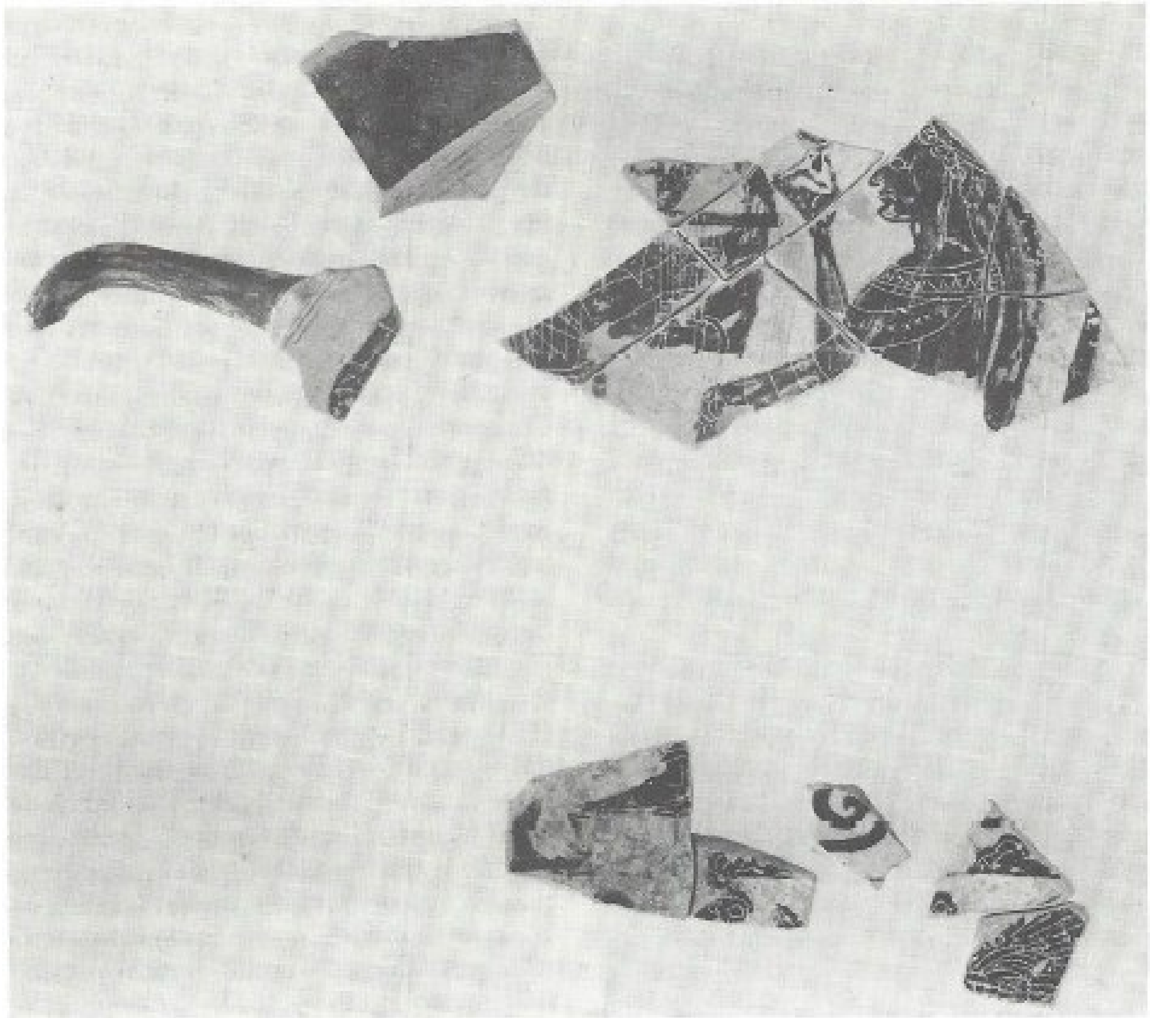
5 (courtesy of the M. C. Carlos Museum for study use only)

6 (after Thomsen, 2011, 114, pl.50)

7 (after Droop, 1909, BSA XV, 38 fig. 14)



8 (after Pipili, 1987, 62, fig.89)



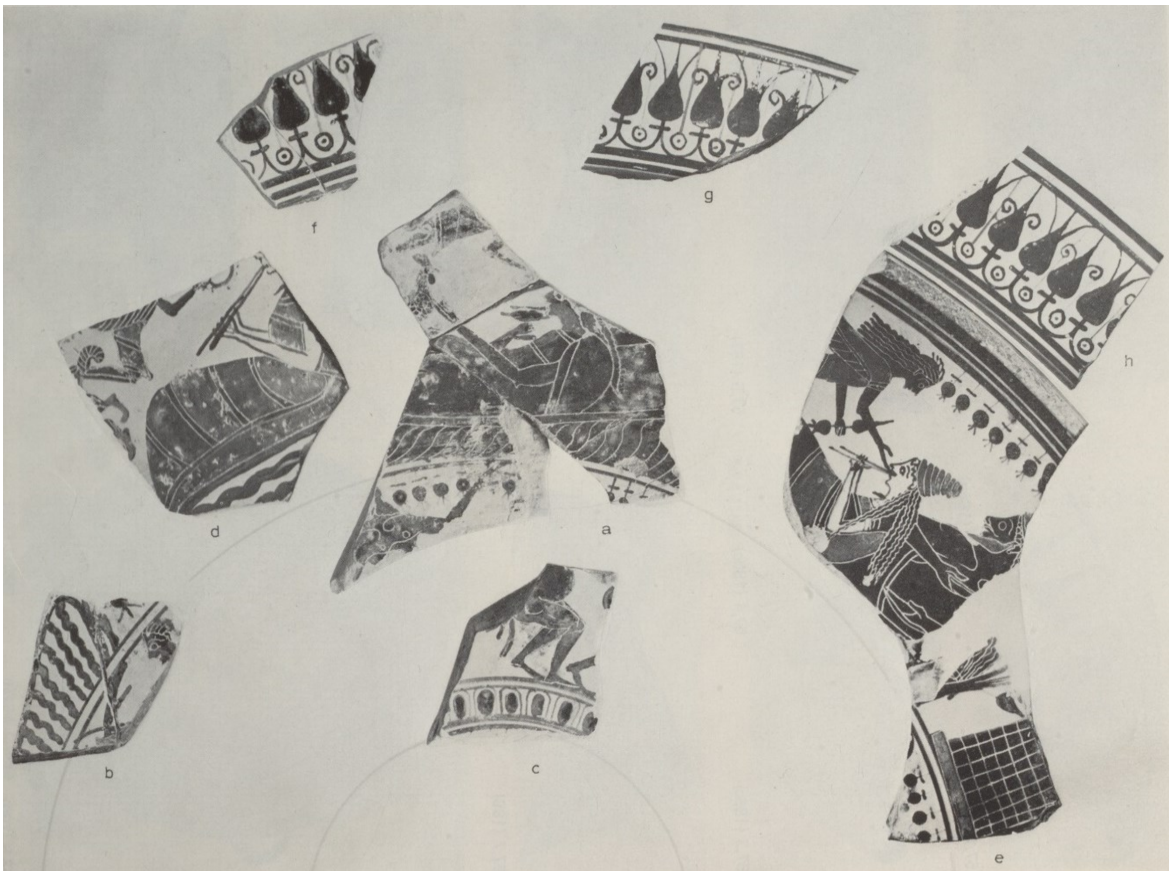
9 (courtesy of the Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Σάμου for study use only; after Stibbe)

a

b

c

d



10 (courtesy of the Ephoreia of the Dodecanese, for study use only)

11 (courtesy of the Museo Archaeologico Florence, for study use only)

12 (after Stibbe)

13 (courtesy of the Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Σάμου, for study use only)

14 (after Stibbe)

90,2 (272)

15 (courtesy of the Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Σάμου, for study use only)

a

b

16 (courtesy of the Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Σάμου, for study use only)

17 (courtesy of the M. C. Carlos Museum for study use only)

18 (after Stibbe)

26,1 [125]

19 (after Stibbe)

61,7 [211]

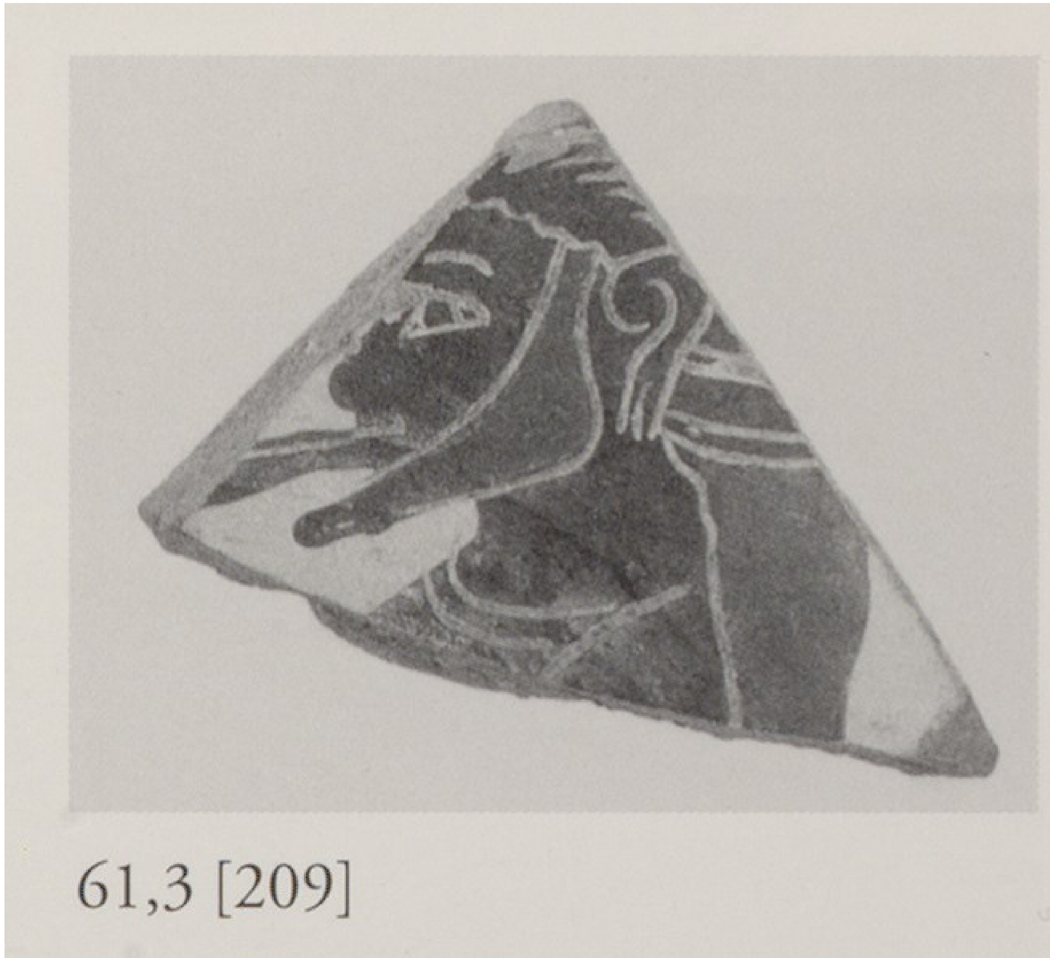
20 (after Stibbe)

86,1 [337]

21 (after Stibbe)

88,1 [339]

22 (after Stibbe)



61,3 [209]

23 (after Stibbe)

24 (after Stibbe)

90,3 [341]

25 (after Stibbe)

91,1 [342]

26 (after Pipili, 2001, 77 fig.a,b)

27 (after Thomsen, 2011, 109, abb.49)

28 (courtesy of the Museo Archaeologico Florence, for study use only)

a

b

29 (courtesy of the Martin von Wagner museum, for study use only)

a

b

30 (from the Louvre online database)

31 (author's own, courtesy of the 5th Ephoreia, Sparta, for study use only)

32 (after Fitzhardinge, 1980, 25 fig.8)

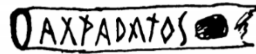
33 (courtesy of the Madrid, MAN, for study use only)

IMAGES

Fig. 1.1 Statue of Eilytheia flanked by *daimones*. On her right, one plays the aulos. c. 550-525 BCE. Sparta Museum, 364. Author's own.

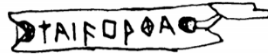
Fig. 2.1 The first illustrations of the Sparta *auloi* inscriptions. From Hondius and Woodward, 1919/1920 – 1920/1921, Inscription no. 26 & 27.

26 (1501). **Fragment of an ivory flute with one orifice preserved.** L. ·063; diam. ·015. Letters ·01.



'Αχραδαῖος (or 'Αχράδατος?)

27 (1502). Fragment of an ivory flute, broken at both ends, with two orifices. L. ·082; diam. ·011. Letters ·008.



τᾶι Ϝορθά, or *Ϝορθα[ίαι]*(?).

Fig. 2.2 The second illustration of the Sparta *auloi* inscriptions. From Dawkins, 1929, CLXI, 2 & 4.

Fig. 2.3 First detail noting part the Orthia *auloi* inscription? BSA Archive: SPARTA 19, Notebook 19, George, W. S., Catalogue of lead figurines, I, §77.

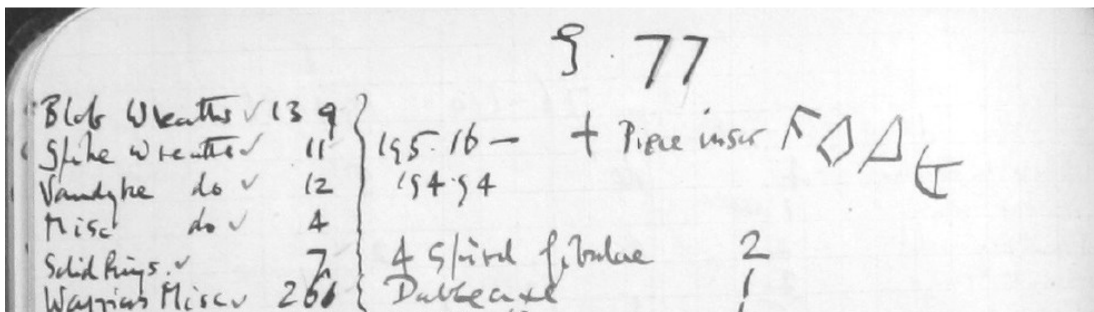


Fig. 2.4 Second detail noting part of the Orthia *auloi* inscription? BSA Archive: SPARTA 7, Notebook 7, Dawkins, R. M., Notes on the Artemis Orthia site, March to April, 1908.

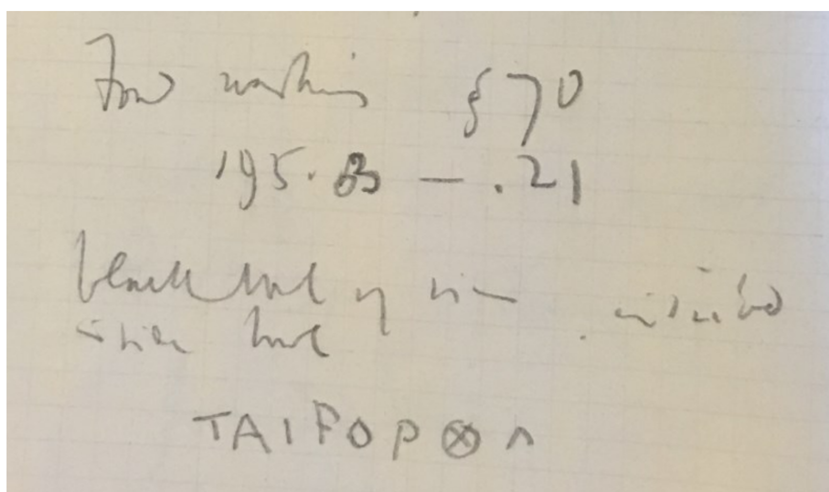


Fig. 2.5 Artemis Orthia excavation sections. From Luongo, 2014, pl.2.

Fig. 2.6 Sparta auloi fragments (l. to r.): **I** (15344b), **A** (15345), **G** (15346), **E** (15344a). Author's own.

Fig. 2.7 Psaroudakēs' photographs of the Sparta auloi fragments (l. to r.): 15346 **(G)**; 15342 **(J)**; **???** ; **(H)**; **(M)**?; 15344b **(I)**; 15344a **(E)**

Fig.2.8 Drawings of the Sparta auloi. Dawkins, 1929, Pl.CLXI.

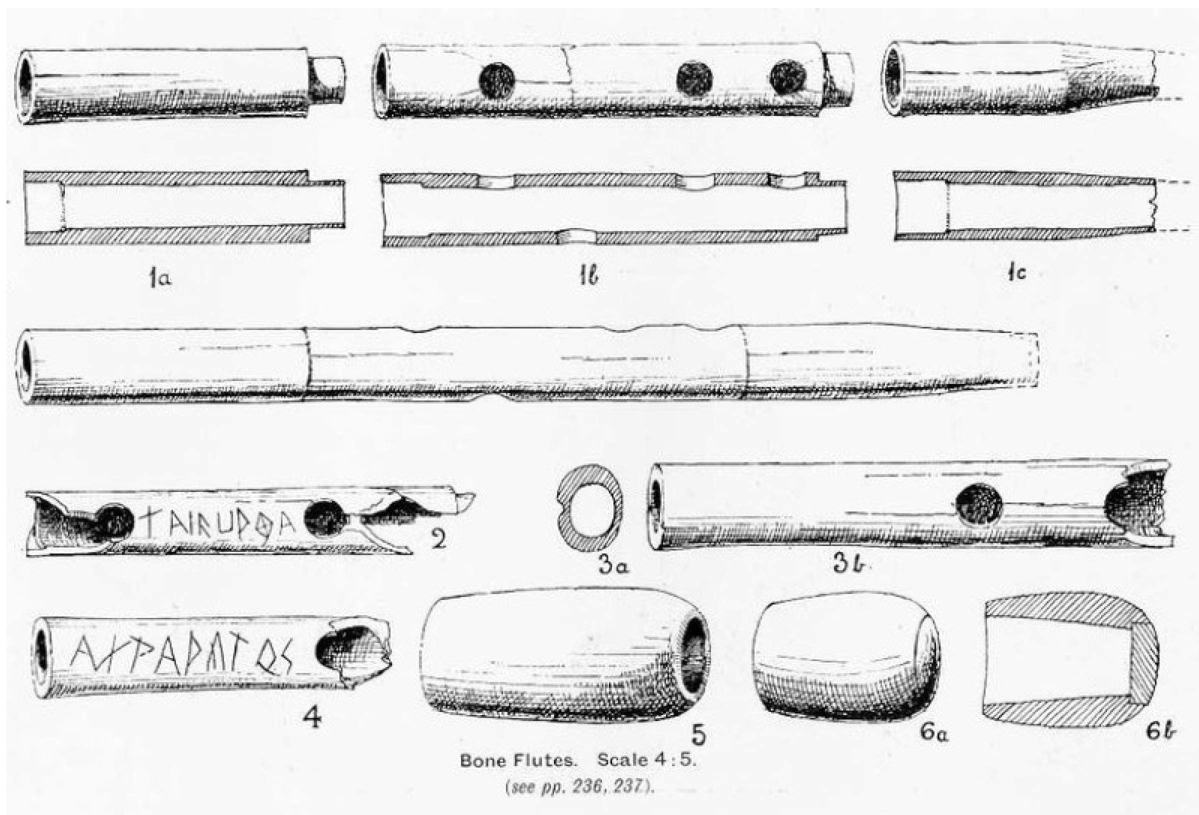
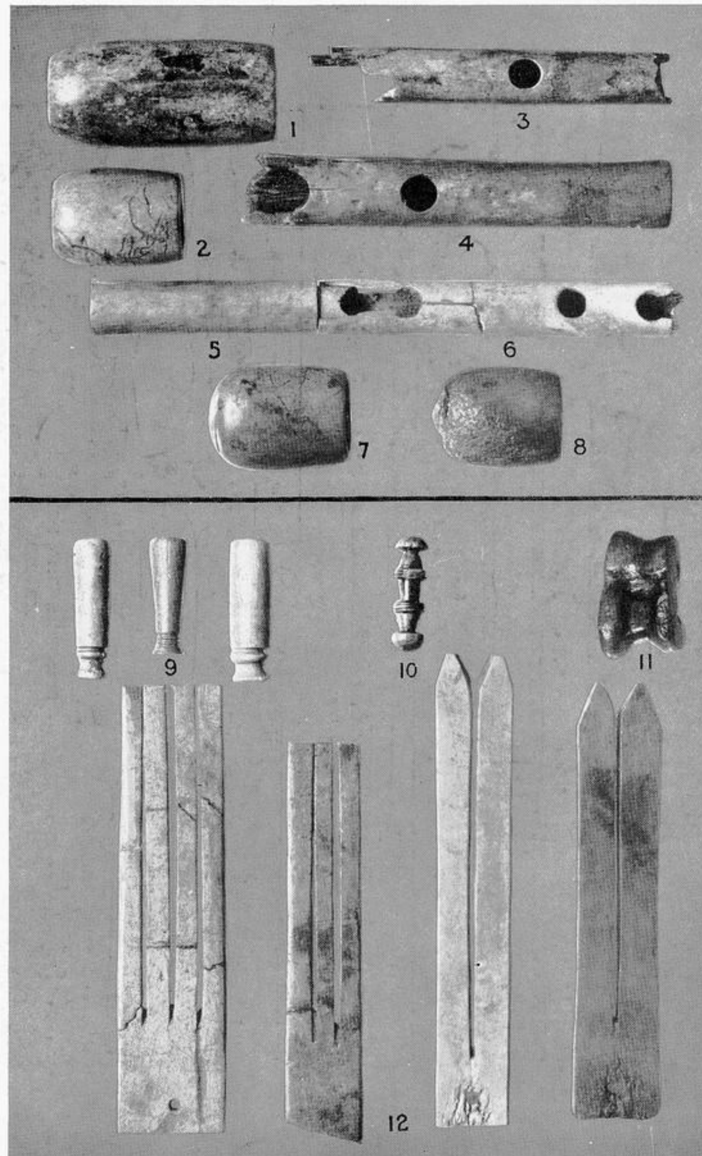


Fig.2.9 Dawkins, 1929, Pl.CLXII



1—8. Bone Flutes. Scale 4 : 5.
(see pp. 236, 237).

9—12. Miscellaneous classes of bone objects. Scale 4 : 5.
(see p. 237).

Fig. 2.10 From Hagel, 2013, 160, Fig.4. “The Daphne bulb overlaid with the Poseidonia bulbs and the Ialyssos F bulb (the former at 68% of the Daphne bulb’s scale, the latter at 79%). Poseidonia aulos photos and drawings © P.J. & B. Reichlin-Moser/C. Steinmann; Ialyssos photo: S. Psaroudakēs.”

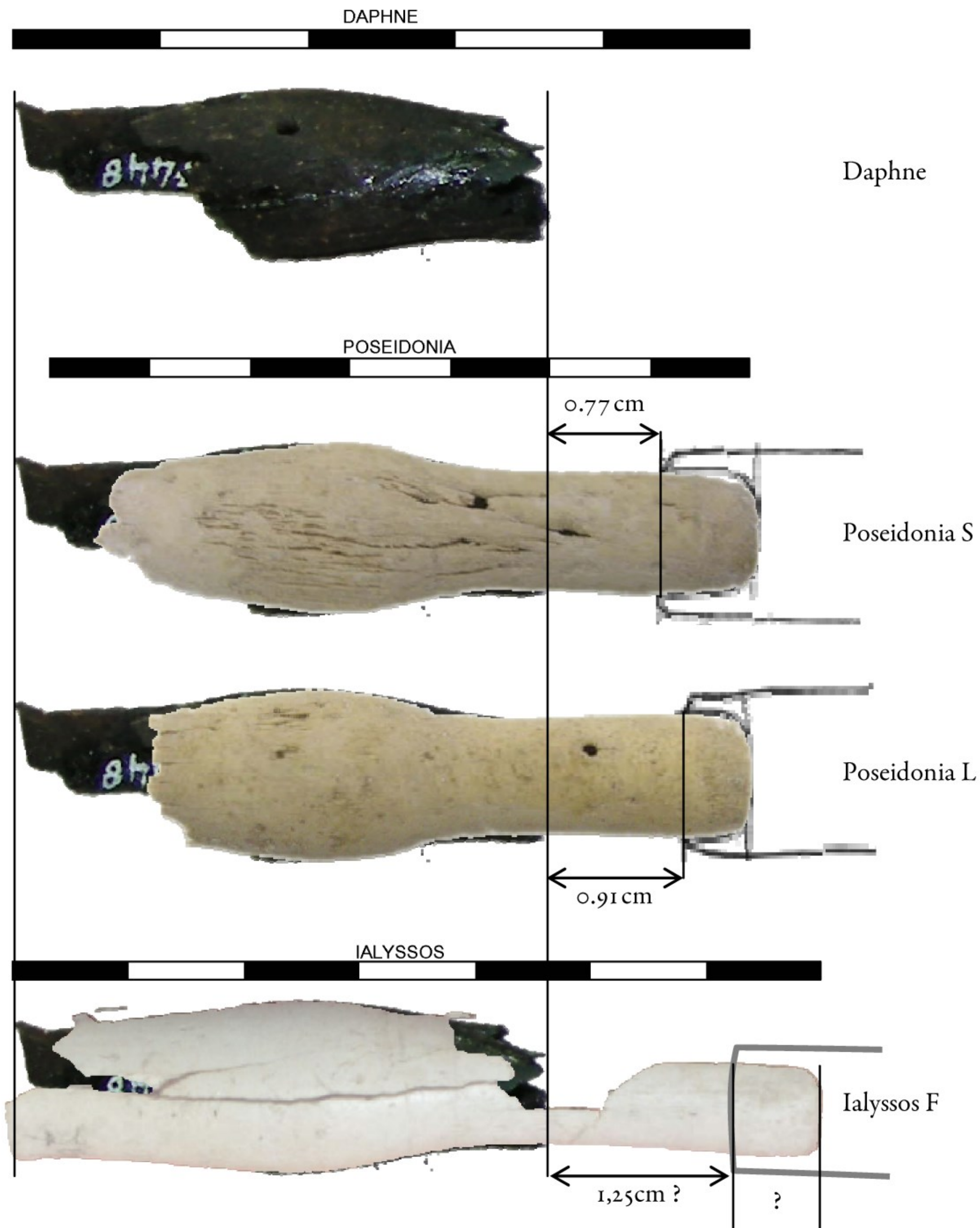


Fig. 2.11

Above: 'cups' and 'extensions' of the Poseidonia aulos. Psaroudakēs, 2013, Plate V 2c.

Below: Full length photograph of Poseidonia aulos. Psaroudakēs & Terzēs, 2013, fig.27a.

Fig.2.12

Above: Perachōra A ‘cup’. Psaroudakes, 2013, Plate V 3d.

Below: Perachōra B ‘cup’. Psaroudakes, 2013, Plate V 3e.

Fig.2.13

Above: Ialyssos F ‘cup’. Psaroudakēs, 2013, Plate V 3f.

Below:. Pydna aulos ‘cups’ and ‘extensions’. Psaroudakēs, 2013, Plate V 4b.

Fig. 2.14

Above: Perachōra I ‘extension’. Psaroudakēs, 2013, Plate V 4c.

Below: Perachōra Q ‘extension’. Psaroudakēs, 2013, Plate V 4d.

Fig. 2.15

Above: Perachōra end sections Psaroudakēs, 2013, Plate V 6a.

Below: Perachōra 'cups' and 'extensions'. Psaroudakēs, 2013, Plate V 6b.

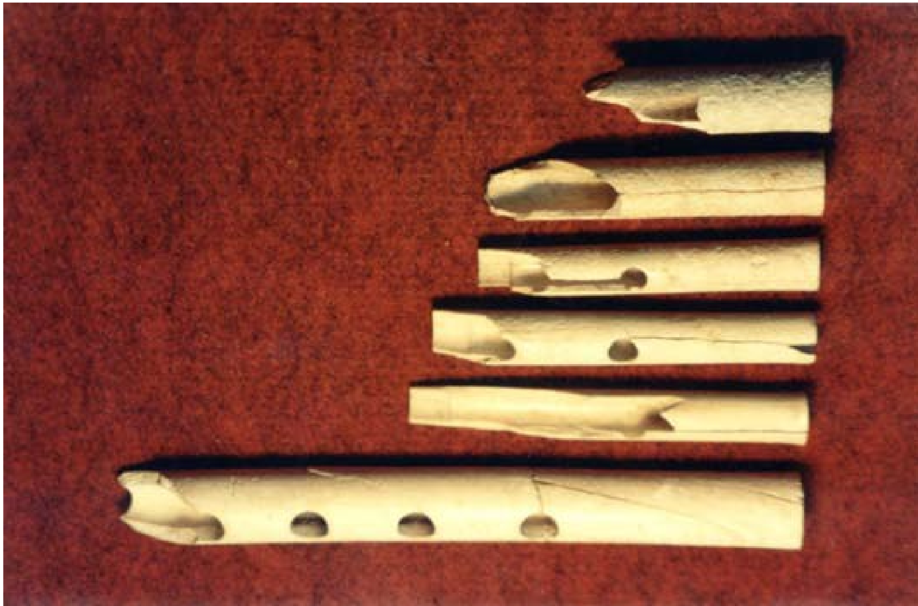


Fig. 22 Akanthos aulos: the 'central' sections seen from below, with slant cuts over the thumb holes. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 23 Akanthos aulos: the 'left' central section held in the left hand. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 24 Akanthos aulos: the 'right' section held in the right hand. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 25 Akanthos aulos: central and exit sections of left (top) and right (bottom) pipes. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 2.17

Above: Akanthos aulos. Psaroudakēs, 2008, Figs. 22-25.

Below: Akanthos aulos 'cups' and 'extensions'. Psaroudakēs, 2013, Plate V 4e.

Fig. 2.18

Details of the Reading aulos ‘cup’. Courtesy of museum.

Fig. 2.19 Sparta A. Author's own.

0 1 2 3 4 5
cm

Fig. 2.20 Sparta D. Author's own.

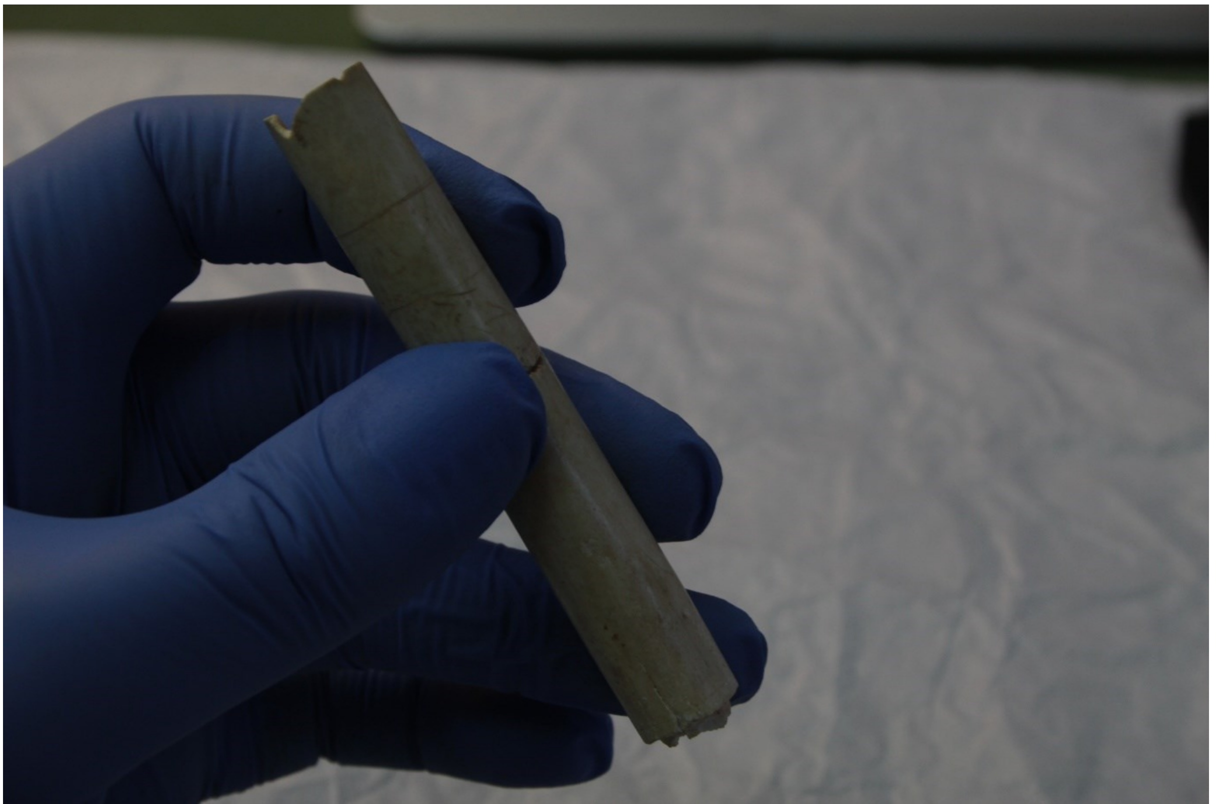


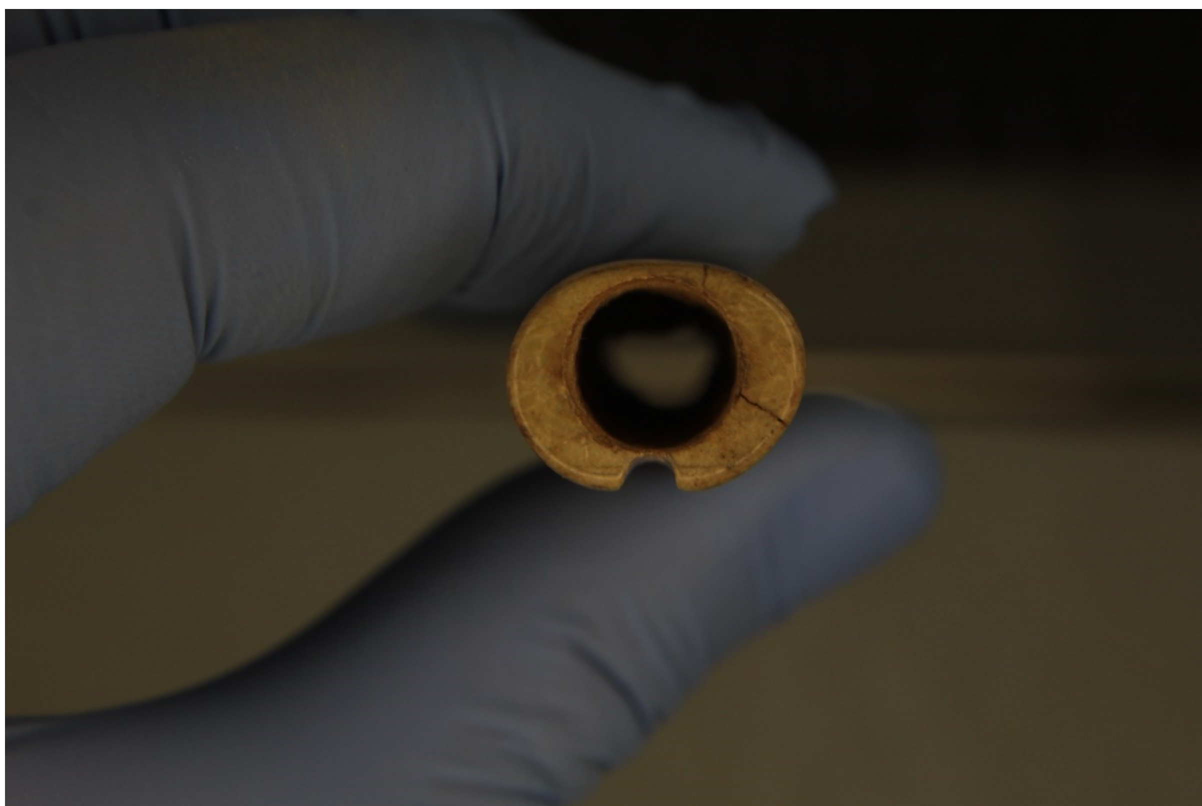
Fig. 2.21 Sparta G. Author's own.

0
1
2
3
4
5
cm

0
1
2
3
4
5
cm

Fig. 2.22 Sparta E & G. Author's own.

Fig. 2.23 Sparta I. Author's own.



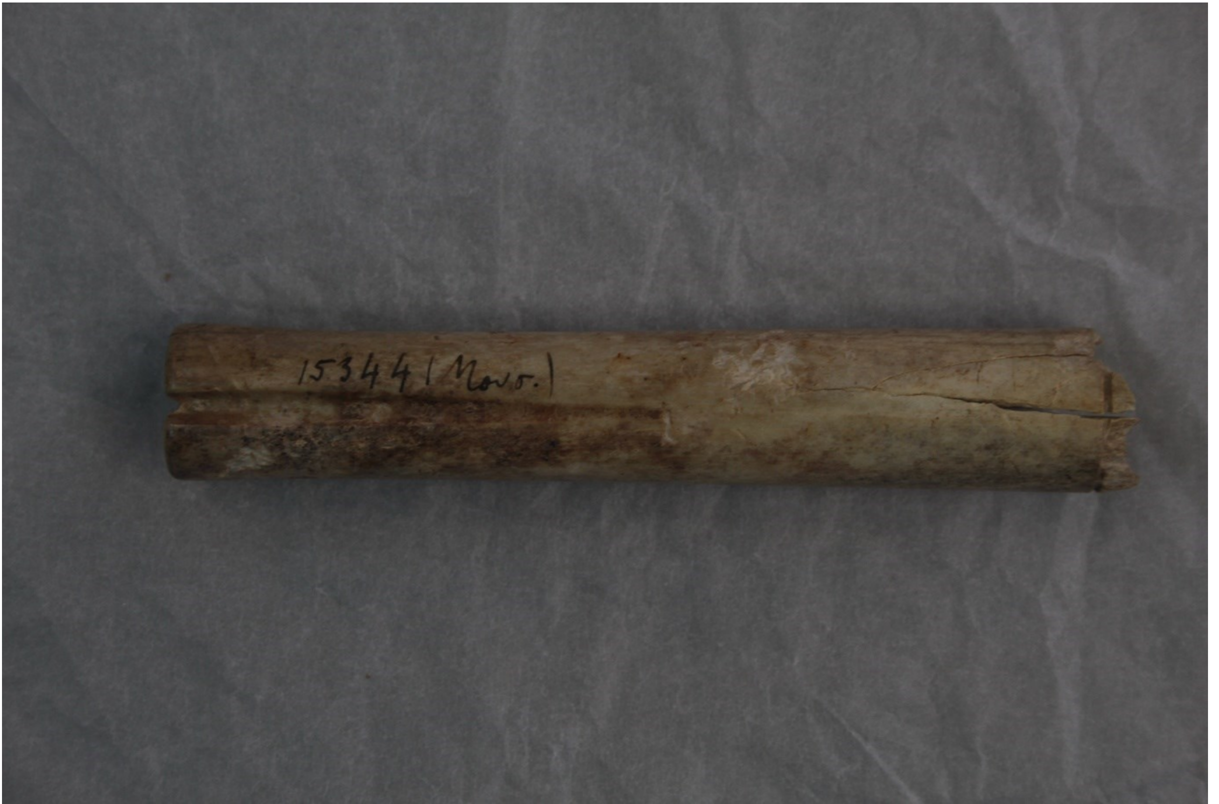

15344 (Novo.)

Fig. 3.1. *En polemoi* stelai. A) SM 1000 = IG V,1 1591 4th C. BCE. B) SM 6596 = SEG XXXIL.3 97 l. 4h C. BCE. C) SM 377 = IG V,1 703 e. 4th C. BCE. Author's own.

A

B

C

Fig. 3.2. Geometric and Archaic Spartan burials. A) Christesen, 2018, Fig. 6 and Table 3. B) Christesen, 2018, Fig. 7 and Table 4. C) Detail of the Archaic two-story tomb on Zaimis St. (Raftopoulou, 1998, Fig.12.18). D) Archaic pottery offered outside the tomb (Raftopoulou, 1998, Fig.12.19.

A

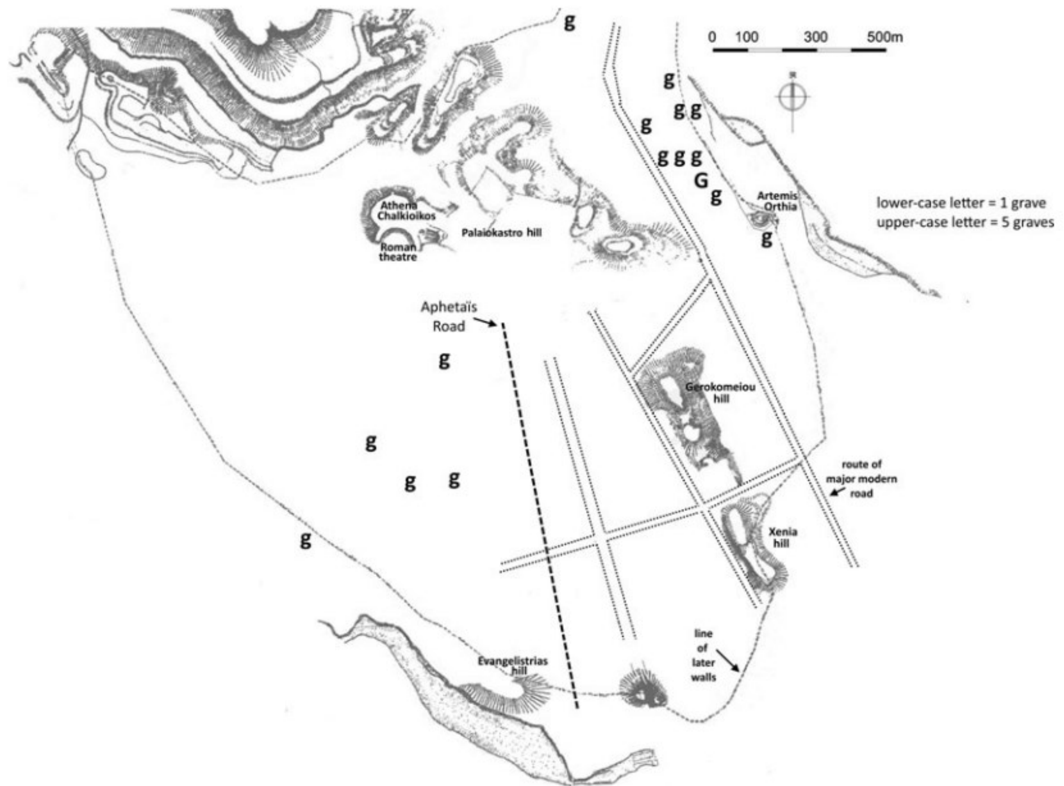


Fig. 6. Locations of Geometric burials in Sparta.

Table 3. Tomb types of Geometric burials in Sparta.

Pithos	Cist	Pit	Unstated
7	6	5	4

B

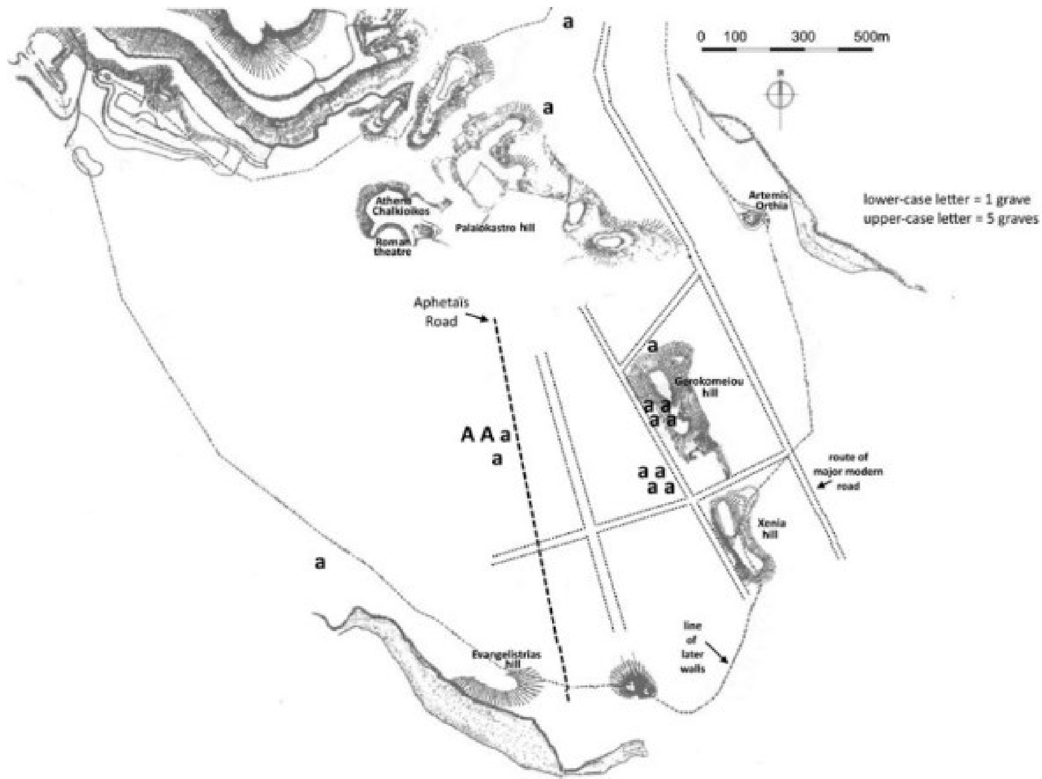


Fig. 7. Locations of Archaic intracommunal burials in Sparta.

Table 4. Tomb types of Archaic burials in Sparta.

Cist	Pit	Tile	Two-level	Unstated
11	9	2	1	8

C

D

Fig. 3.3. Archaic burial *peribolos* A, showing a central equine burial. From Christesen, 2018, Fig.9.

Fig. 9. Peribolos A in the Olive Oil Cemetery seen from the north. Peribolos A is outlined with a dotted line; the skeleton in the middle of Peribolos A is the remains of a horse (Tsouli 2013, fig. 1; Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia – Regional Office, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Fig. 3.4. Spartan burial kantharos-like vessels, Hellenistic. From Christesen, 2018, Fig.10.

Fig. 10. Two complex kantharoid vessels from the Olive Oil Cemetery: (a) SM 16681 and (b) SM 16698, showing the metal dowel in the interior (Tsouli 2013, figs 5–6; Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia – Regional Office, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Fig. 3.5. The Laconian Kerameikos grave. Low, 2011, fig. 1.4.

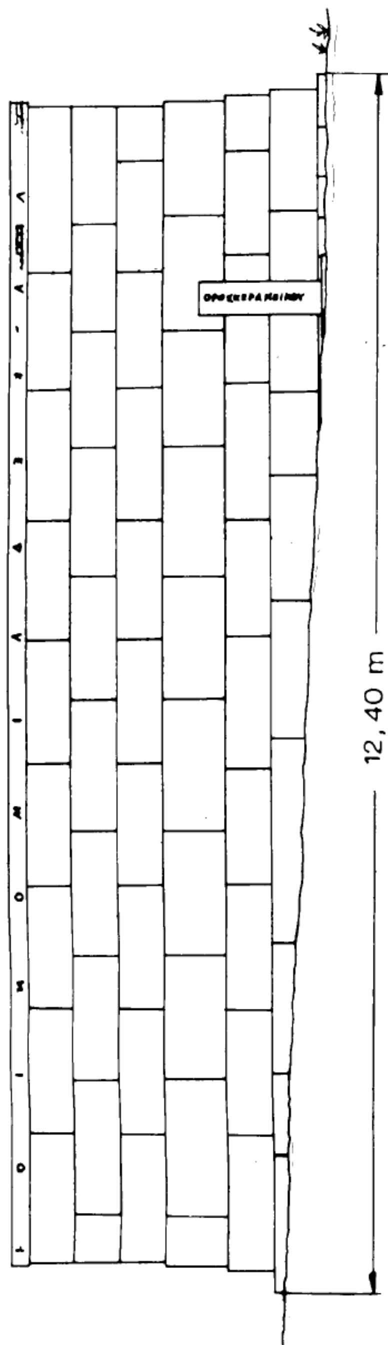
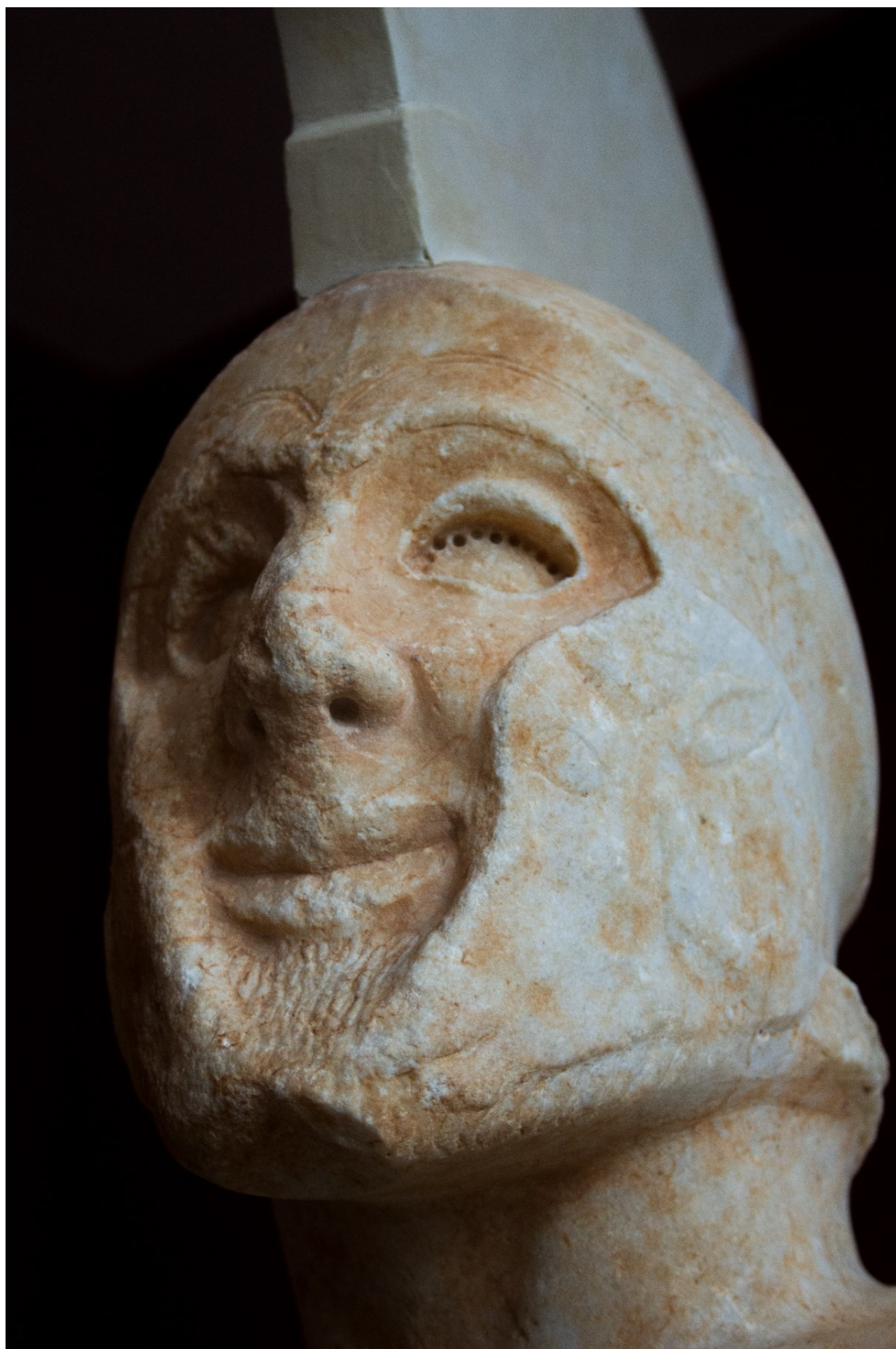


Figure 1.2 The tomb of the Lacedaemonians in Athens, 403 BC (after Knigge 1991, 161, fig. 156, drawing A. Kunanek).

Fig. 3.6. Three views of the 'Leonidas' statue. Sparta Museum, 3365.Author's own.



3365
Statue of a hoplite, known as "Leonidas" , 480-470 B.C.
Sparta, Acropolis, Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos.

Fig. 3.7. Sporting dedications from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. A) Jumping weight. B) Attic black-figure Panathenaic amphora, c.525-500 BCE, for a victor in the four-horse chariot race. Sparta Museum, 1641. Author's own.

A

B

Fig. 3.8. Detail of the top of the Damonon stele. Author's own.

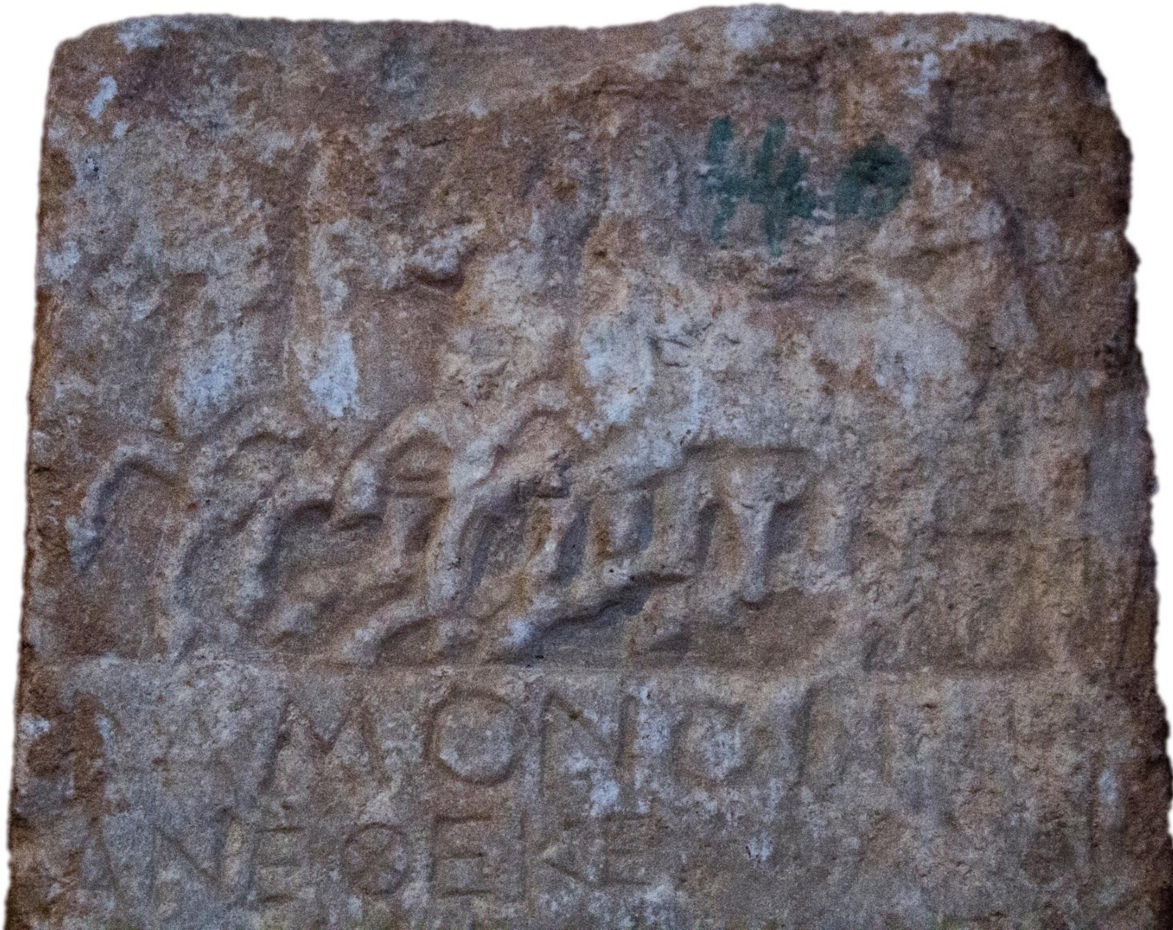
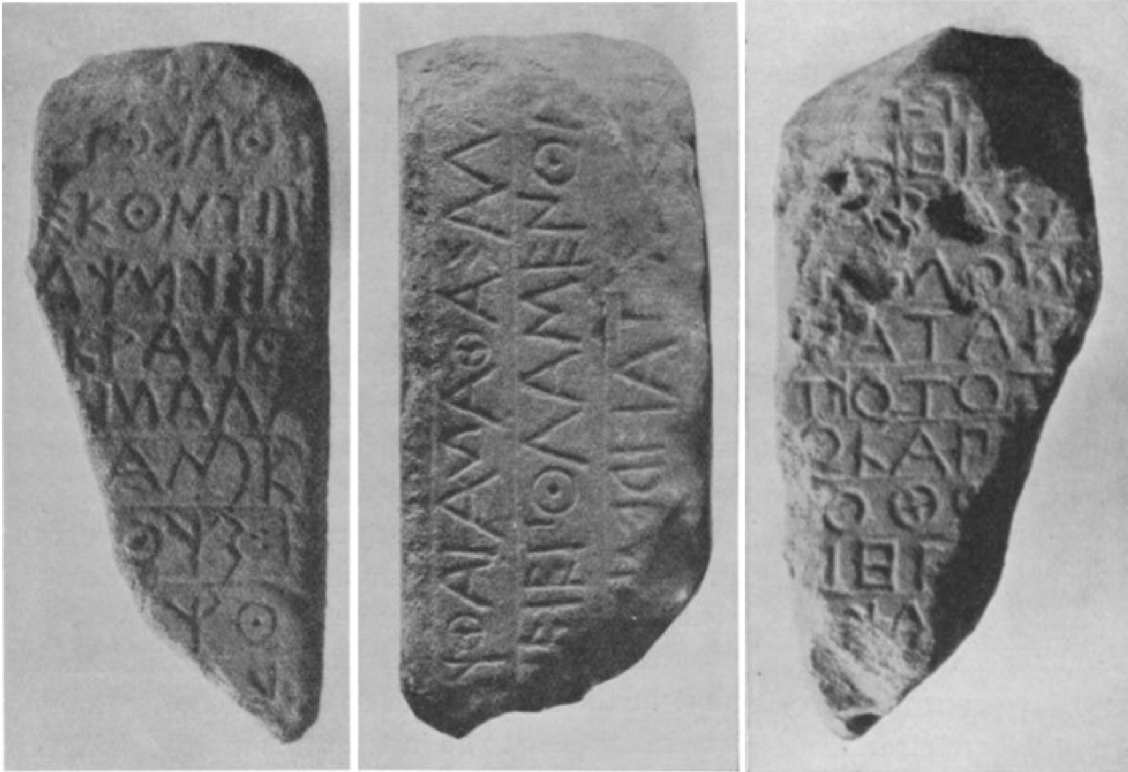


Fig. 3.9. Ibycus S.166 = P.Oxy. XXXV 2735. From www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/ .

Fig. 3.10. The so-called ‘Hymn to Athena’ = *SEG* 11.625. From Woodward et al., 1927/1928, 46, unnumbered figure (inscription no. 69, 2888).



a. [Π]α̣λὰς ᾽Αθαναία, θύ[γατερ Διὸς - -
- - - - - - - -] ε̣ιε πολὰ μὲν ὀν̣ .
. . . . . ν̣τα Ϝιδε̂ν̣ - - - - - - - - -

b. - - - ο̣πλ . | ι̣οακο . . - - - | - - - [h]έκοντι) κ̣|α̣ὶ σύνχα[ιρε(?) - - - || - -
-]κράνο[s] | α̣λανε - - - | - - - αν) κ|ἐs χο[ρὸν - - - | - - -]χο||ρο̣ - - -

c. . . ε̣β̣ - - - | - - - ο̣ιhι . . | . α̣β̣α̣s α̣ - - - | - - - νον . . || κ̣αταρ - - - | - - -
τ̣ο τοῦτ|ο κἀπι̣ - - - | - - - ρ̣θοσ̣ | . ι̣hε̣ - - - || - - - α̣κ̣ . . |

Fig. 3.11. P.Oxy. 2430 fr.132. From www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/ .

Fig. 3.12. P.Oxy. 2623 fr.1. From www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/ .

Fig. 4.1 Laconian red-figure krater with detail of possible Karneia dancer (a & c). On the inside, a battle scene (d). From Stroszeck, 2014, 5-a-f.

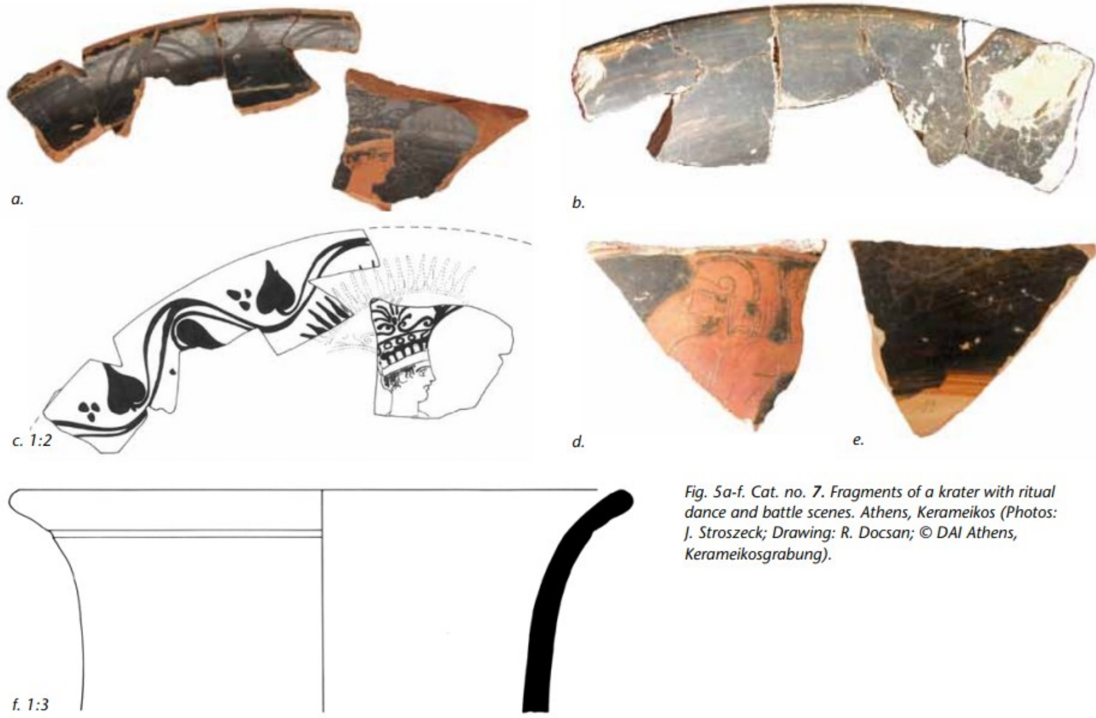
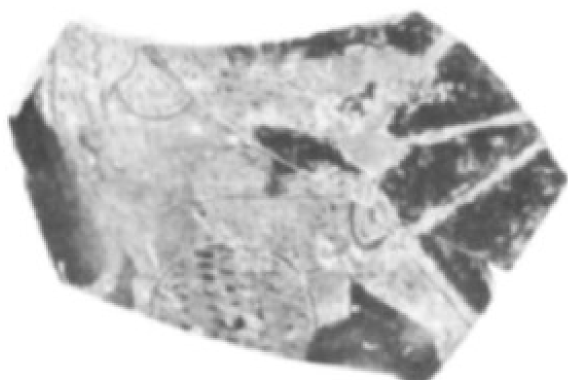


Fig. 4.2 Red-figure fragments. A) Laconian RF, bell-krater fragment. An old satyr sat on a cart, facing right. From McPhee, 1986, no.37. B) Laconian RF, bell-krater (?) fragment. Interpreted as a satyr by McPhee, 1986, no.38. Author's own. C) Fragment of Attic RF bell-krater, c.380-360 BCE. A youth reclines, with Dionysian like curls. SM 3216. McPhee, 1986, no.A3. Author's own.



A

B

C

Fig. 4.3 Bronze statuette of a seated satyr, *papasilenus*, or Pan, playing a syrinx. A) General view. B) Detail of syrinx. SM 5358. Author's own.

A

B

Fig. 4.4 Roman statue with youthful figure playing a syrinx. Author's own.

Fig. 4.5 A ceramic *phormiskos* rattle. Boeotian, date uncertain. Ure Museum 34.10.15. Courtesy of museum.

Fig. 4.6 A bronze pomegranate rattle. Date uncertain. British Museum 2009,5018.18. Author's own.

Fig. 4.7 Herakles plays the *aulos* to a dancing satyr, whose pose is like that of the Myron Marsyas. Attic RF stamnos attributed to Polygnotos, c.440-420 BCE. Houston Museum of Fine Arts, 2003.713. Courtesy of museum.

Fig. 4.8 A Laconian BF ‘Nature Goddess’ cup, attributed to the Naukratis Painter. London, British Museum 1886,0401.1063. Courtesy of museum.

Fig. 4.9 a-b A Laconian bronze statuette of a lyre-player. A) Front view. B) Side view. Athens, NAM, X7547. Author's own.

A

B

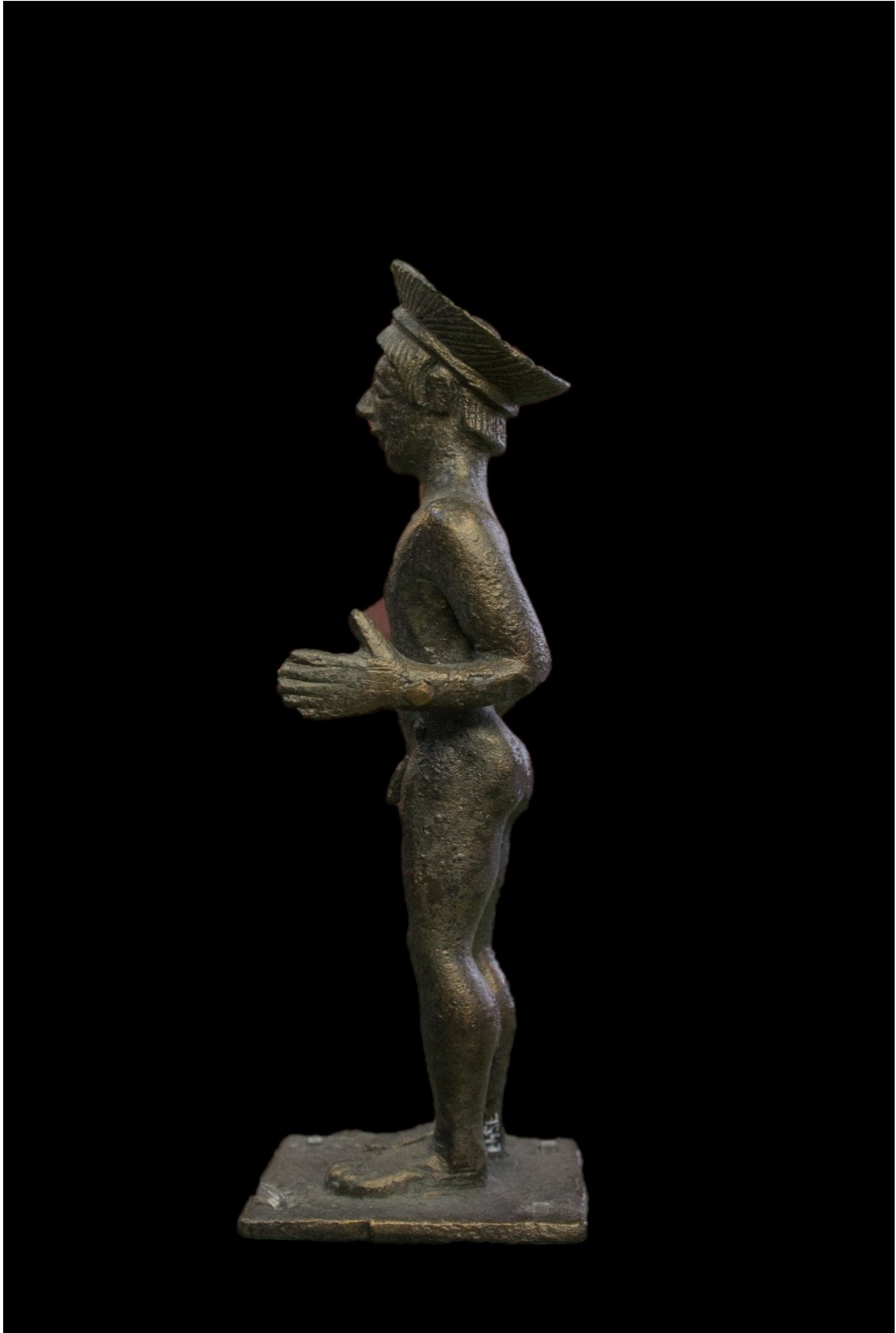
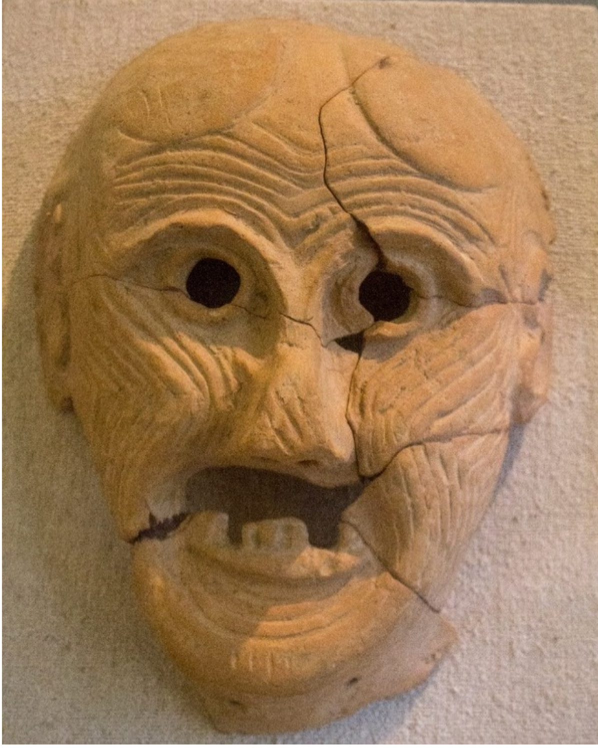


Fig. 4.10 A marble stele showing Apollo kitharoidos and Artemis at the Delphic omphalos. Likely 4th C. BCE, possibly of Athenian manufacture. Sparta Museum, 468.

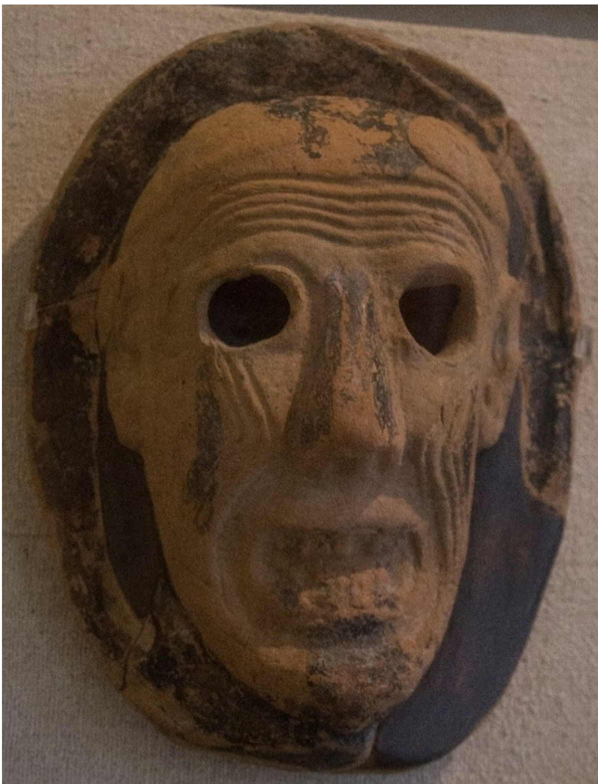
Fig. 4.11 Selection of Orthia masks. A) Satyr, SM. B) Satyr (?), SM. C) Old woman (?), SM. D) Old woman (?), SM. A-D Author's own. E) Old woman (?), British Museum, 1923,0212.249. F) Portrait (?), SM. Author's own. G) Youth (?), with black hair, red skin, and yellow detail (a hairband?), British Museum, 1999,1101.33 (photo © Trustees of the British Museum). H) Youth (?), with red skin and yellow hair, British Museum, 1999,1101.31 (photo © Trustees of the British Museum). I) Warrior (?), British Museum, 1923,0212.245 (photo © Trustees of the British Museum). J) Grotesque (?), Fitzwilliam Museum, GR.191.1923 (photo © The Fitzwilliam Museum).

A

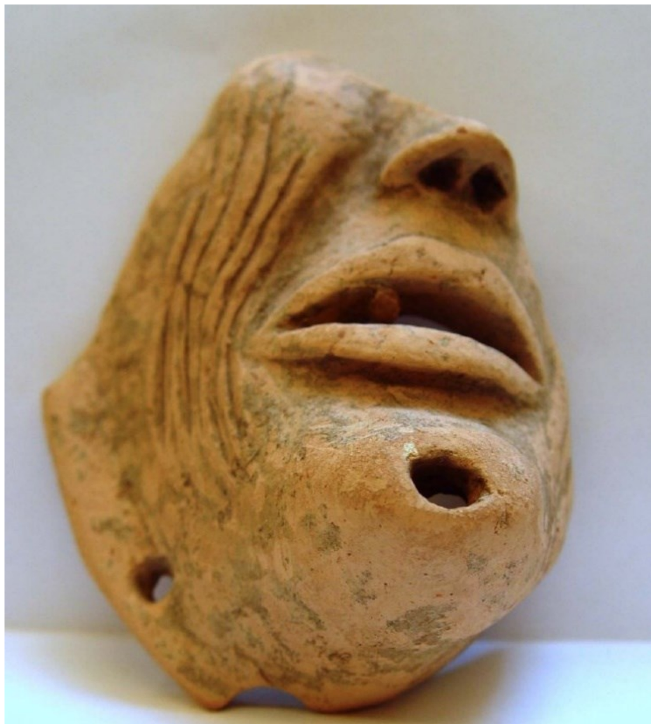
B



C

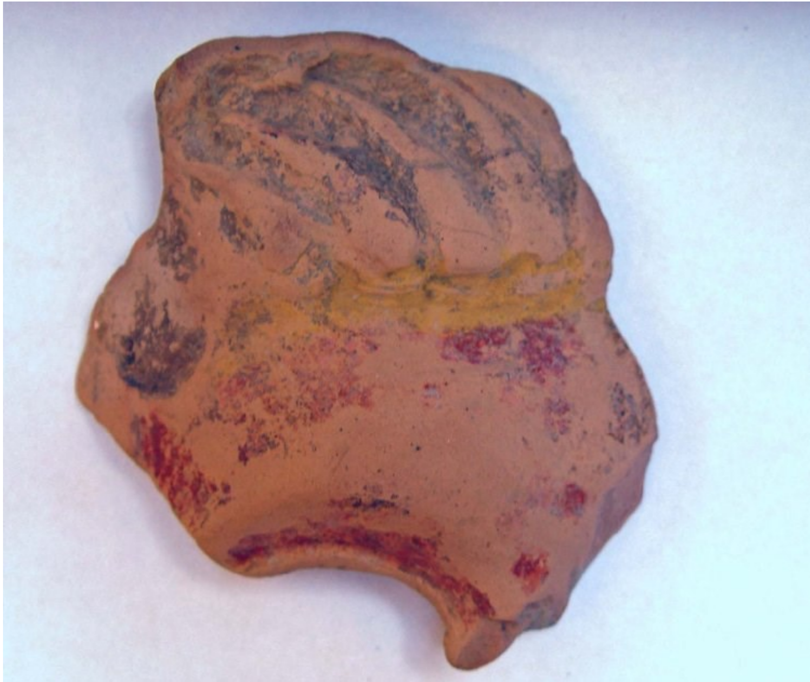


D



E

F



G

H

I

J

Fig. 4.12 Lead votive: running gorgon = CLXXXIII, 29. Sparta Museum. Author's own.

Fig. 4.13 Lead votive: squatting dancer = CLXXXIII, 25. Sparta Museum. Author's own.

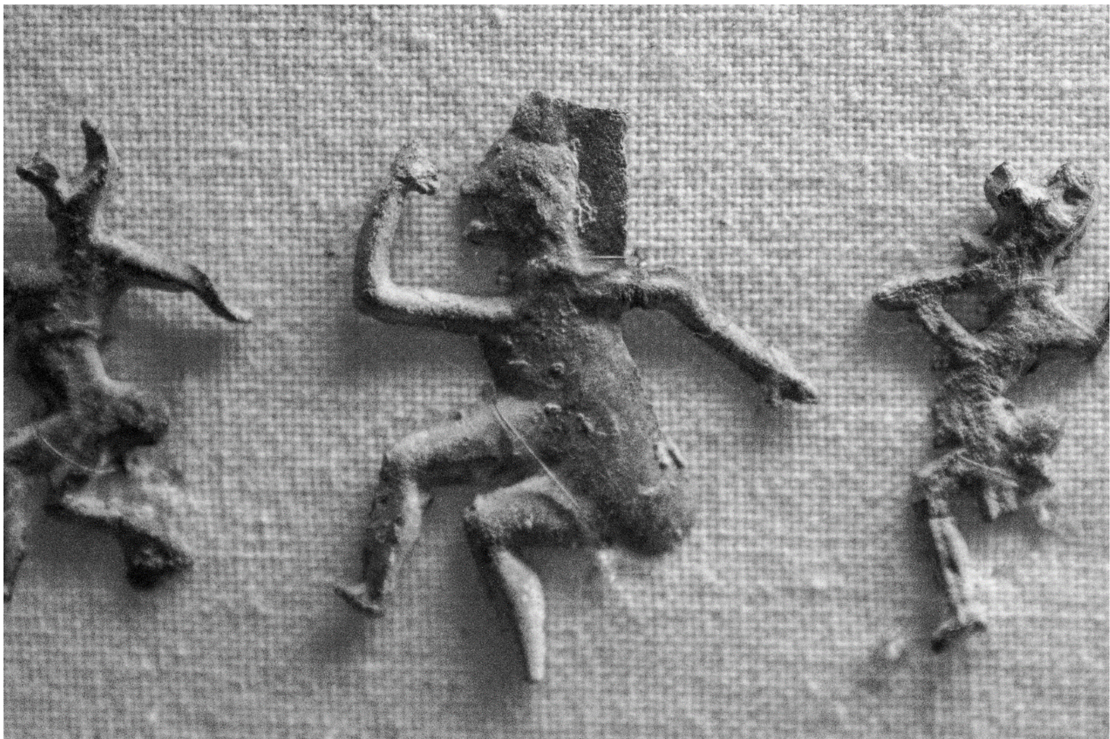


Fig. 4.14 Lead votives: squatting aulos-players. Left = CLXXXIII, 22. Right = CLXXXIII 24. Sparta Museum. Author's own.

Fig. 4.15 Lead votives: left, upright aulos-players with short chiton; centre, female cymbal-player = cxcv, 44; right, upright aulos-players with short chiton = cxcv, 43. Sparta Museum. Author's own.

Fig. 4.16 Lead votive: standing/ walking upright naked aulos players = clxxxix, 14; clxxxiii, 21; cxcvi, 19. Sparta Museum. Author's own.

Fig. 4.17 Lead votive: aulos-players wearing ankle-length robes. Author's own. Left = clxxxiii, 28. Sparta Museum. Right = clxxxix 6, 8, 9. *AO*.

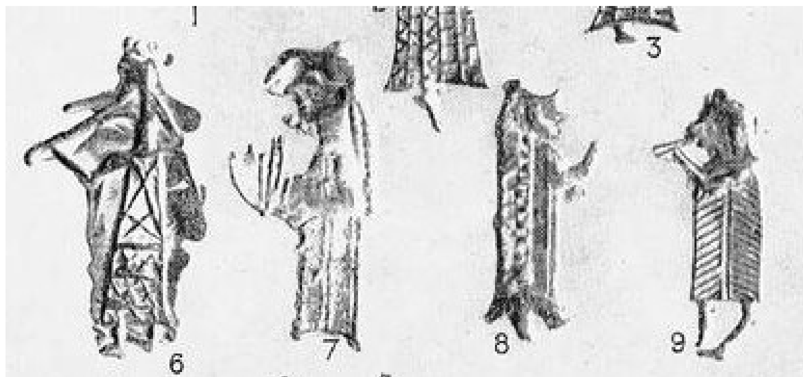
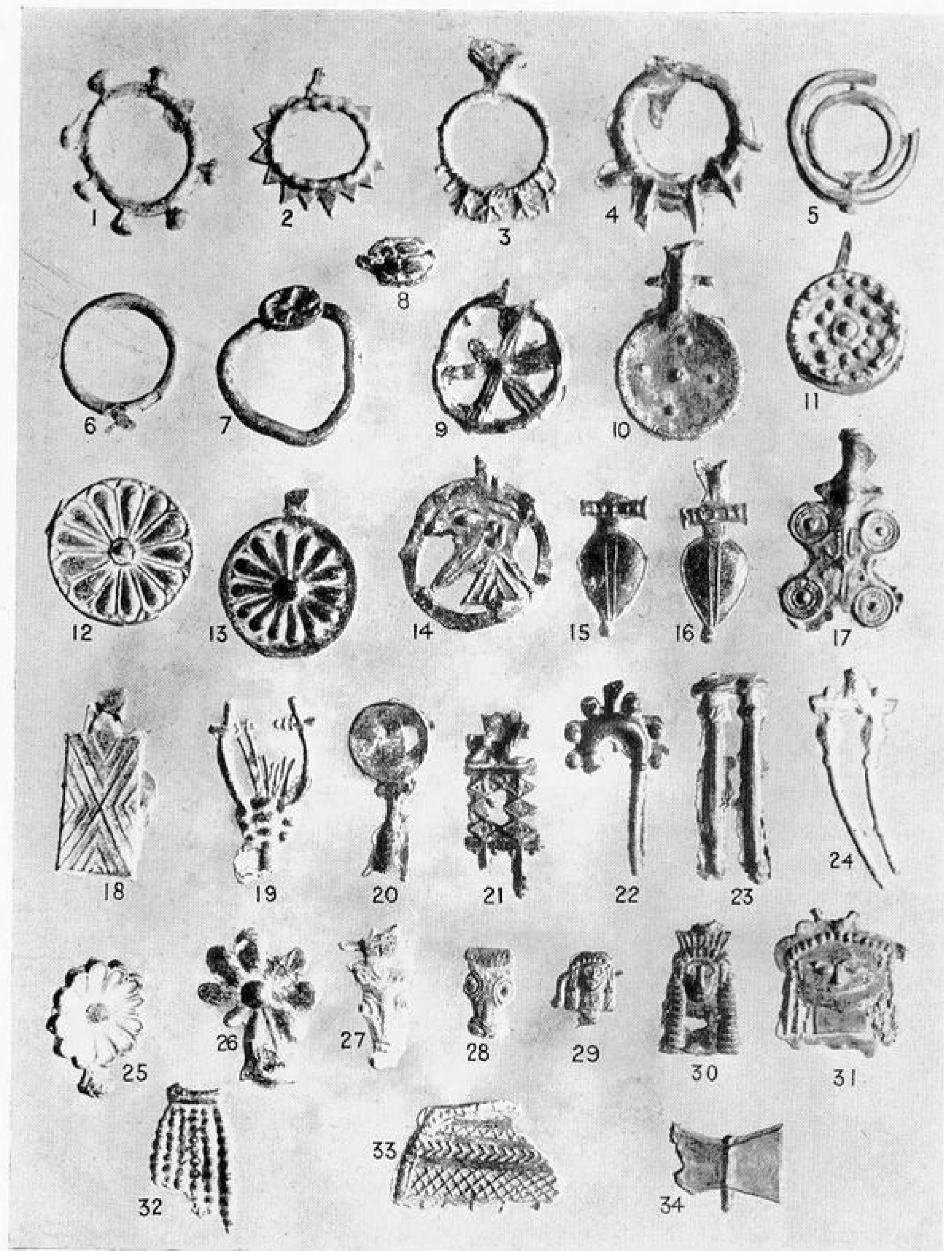


Fig. 4.18 Lead votive: walking naked lyre-players. Top = clxxxiii, 19. Bottom = clxxxiii, 18 (left) and 20 (right). Author's own.

Fig. 4.19 Lead votive: chelys lyre = clxxx, 19. From *AO*.

ARTEMIS ORTHIA, PL. CLXXX.



Lead Figurines. Lead I.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 254 sqq.*)

Fig. 4.20 Example page from the lead votive notebooks, showing the recording of musicians. BSA Archive: SPARTA 19, Notebook 19, George, W. S., Catalogue of lead figurines, I, p.18.

½ metre Pit 1906
Warriors 55
do whirl 8
do [illegible] 1
do gorgon 6
do eagles 6
[illegible] 38
Women 216
~~Deer~~ 13
W-goddess 51
Horses 12
Lions 4
Athena 19
Sphinxes 2
Cocks 11
Mask 1
Hyg [illegible] 1
Man on throne 1
Plain Disc 1
[illegible] 1
Palms 13
Car pins 13
Nude men 15
Flute player var. 10
Horses + rider 3
Trident B r 1
do B l 1
Odd men 2
Bowmen 3
Goddess + lion 3
~~W-goddess 25~~
1508

1906 B. [illegible]
do 65
do 3 Cock 31
do Scorpion 1
do 1
do 3
do 11
do 125
do 32
do 25
do 6
do 1
do 4
do 2
do 5
do 1
do 2
Ring women 1
Odd men 2
do 19
do 2
Men var 7
do 7
do 3
do 2
Poseidon 1
do 2
Goddess + deer 1
Athena on face 1
Disc 1
373

A 1906
Women 145
Warriors 125
do whirl 2
do gorgon 1
do Scorpion 1
do cock 1
Grilles 42
Discs 5
Palms 4
Car pins 1
Lions 4 + 1 also sand
Horses 5
Athenas 8
do en face 2
Deer 14
Cock a.s. 2
b.s. 2
Sphinx a.s. 1
Flute player a.s. 2
b.s. 4
Lyre player 1
Odd men 6
Horses + rider 1
W. Goddess b.s. 15
do a.s. 3
Headless do 1
Hyg [illegible] flutes 2
Grid 1
Solid cup 1
Scale do 1
[illegible] 1
Hyg heads b.s. 1
a.s. 3
Fan flower 1
Women a.s. 36
b.s. 34

Fig. 4.21 Lead votive: aulos-player with unique 'lozenge' costume = clxxxiii, 27. Sparta Museum. Author's own.

Fig. 4.22 Lead votive: short pipe player (?) = cxcvi, 22. Author's own.

Fig. 4.23 Lead votive: long curved pipe player (?) = clxxxiii, 23, clxcvi, 23. Sparta Museum. Author's own.

Fig. 4.24 Laconian bronze statuette of a salpinx-player. Sparta Museum. Author’s own.

Fig. 4.25 Laconian *perirrhanterion*, Dionysos, satyr, and aulos-player. SM 6248. A) High contrast lighting view of the aulos-player (left) and satyr (right). B) View of the satyr (left) and legs of reclining Dionysos (right). C) View of seated Dionysos (left), aulos-player (middle), and satyr (right). D) View of Dionysos (left), and aulos-player (right). E) View of the mis-moulding, with the aulos-player and satyr superimposed on the figure of Dionysos. Author's own.

A

B

C

D

E

Fig. 4.26 Laconian bronze statuette, possibly of a female aulos-player. Athens, NAM, A15900. Author's own.

Fig. 4.27 Fragment of Laconian BF: a female chorus? After Pipili, 1987, fig.38. Samos, now lost.

Fig. 4.28 Small bronze female cymbal-player, clothed. Athens, NAM, A15890. Author's own.

Fig. 4.29 Bronze mirror handle in the form of a female youth playing cymbals naked. Athens, NAM, X7548. Author's own.

Fig. 4.30 Bronze mirror handle in the form of a female youth, playing cymbals. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.5680. Public Domain.

Fig. 4.31 Bronze mirror handle in the form of a female youth, perhaps holds a bell in her left hand. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 38.11.3. Public Domain.

Fig. 4.32 Examples of Laconian BF dinners without musicians. Top: detail of Brussels, Musée Royaux, R 401. Author's own. Middle: detail of Paris, Louvre, E 667. From Stibbe, 1972, pl.6.1. Bottom: detail of Paris, Louvre, E 672. From Pipili, 1987, fig.105.

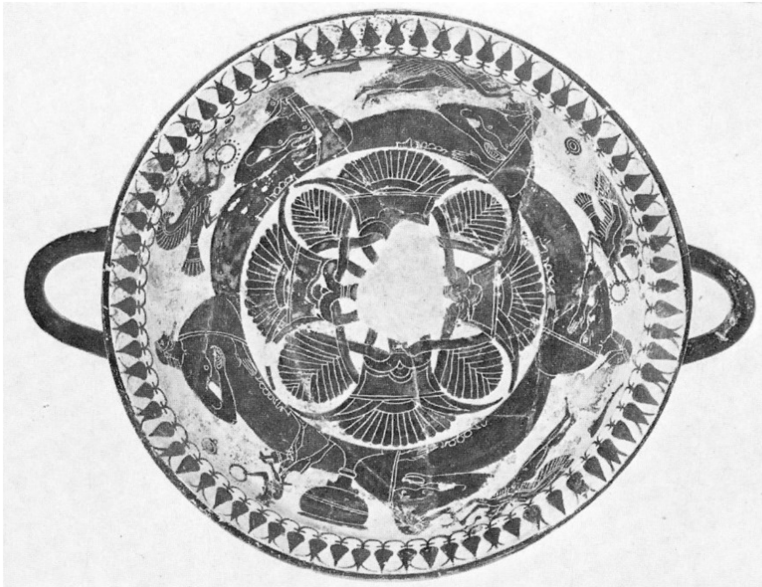


Fig.5.1 Phrynis dragged off by Myronides. Paestan bell-krater by Asteas, c.350 BCE. Salerno, Museo Provinciale Pc 1812. Image provided by the museum for study purposes only.

Fig. 5.2 One of the cheaper *paidikoi agones* dedications. Glykon, son of Hermogenes, victor in the *moa*. 1st half of the 2nd C. CE (reign of Hadrian). Sparta Museum, 1524. Massaro, 2018, *PA* 28. Author's own.

Fig. 5.3 One of the more expensive *paidikoi agones* dedications, made from the highly prized *rosso antico* / marmor taenarium. Damion, son of Anthestios Philokrates, victor in the *keloia*. 1st half of the 2nd C. CE (reign of Trajan). Massaro, 2018, *PA* 27. Author's own.

Fig. 5.4 Leonteos, victor in the *moa*. Written in *stichoi isopsēphoi*. Marble stele. c. 2nd half 2nd C. CE. Sparta Museum, 218. Massaro, 2018, *PA* 7. Author's own.

Fig. 5.5 Timokrates son of Epinikidas, victor in the *keloia*. Marble stele, late 1st C BCE – early 1st C. CE (Augustan). Sparta Museum, 1510. Massaro, 2018, *PA* 5. Author's own.

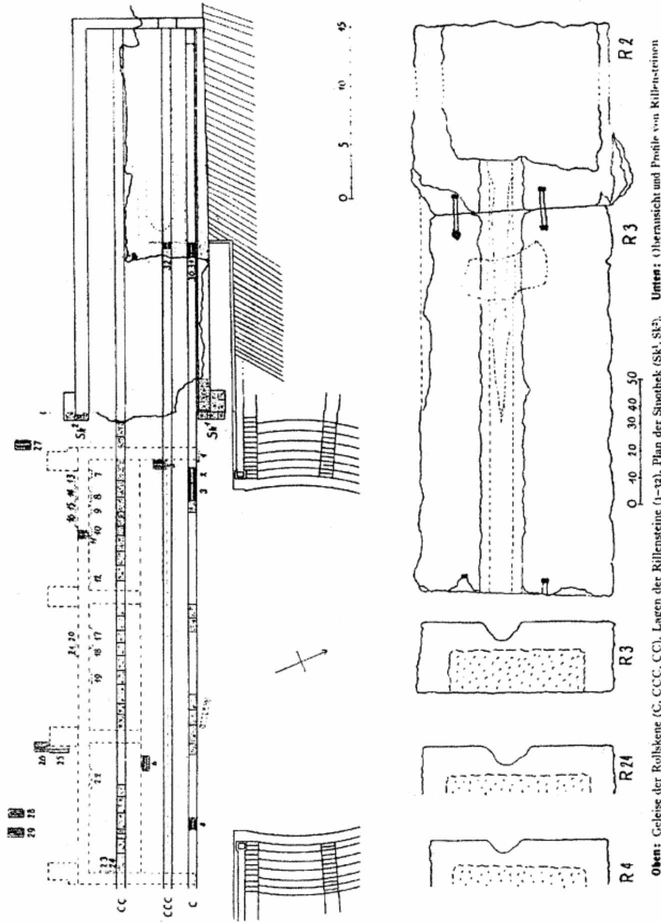
Fig. 5.6 Arexippos, five-times victor (?) in the *sunoidoi paidōn*. Marble stele. Early 4th C. BCE. Sparta Museum, 1541.

Fig. 5.7 One of the more ornate *paidikoi agones* dedications. Xenokles, son of Aristokritos, three-times victor in the *moa*. Marble stele in the form of a distyle temple *in antis*, sockets for three sickles placed in the intercolumniations. 2nd-1st C. BCE. Sparta Museum, 1505. Massaro, 2018, *PA* 3.

Fig. 5.8 Damokrates son of Diokles, victor in the *moa*. Written in *koine*. Marble stele. c.150 CE (reign of Antoninus Pius). Sparta Museum, 1526. Massaro, 2018, *PA*, 36. Author's own.

Fig. 5.9 The moving stage of the early phases of the Sparta theatre. A) Detail of the channelled blocks and trackways for the moving stage. From Waywell and Wilkes, 1999, fig. 3. B) Plan showing the *skanotheke* and channels. From Waywell and Wilkes, 1999, fig. 1.

A



B

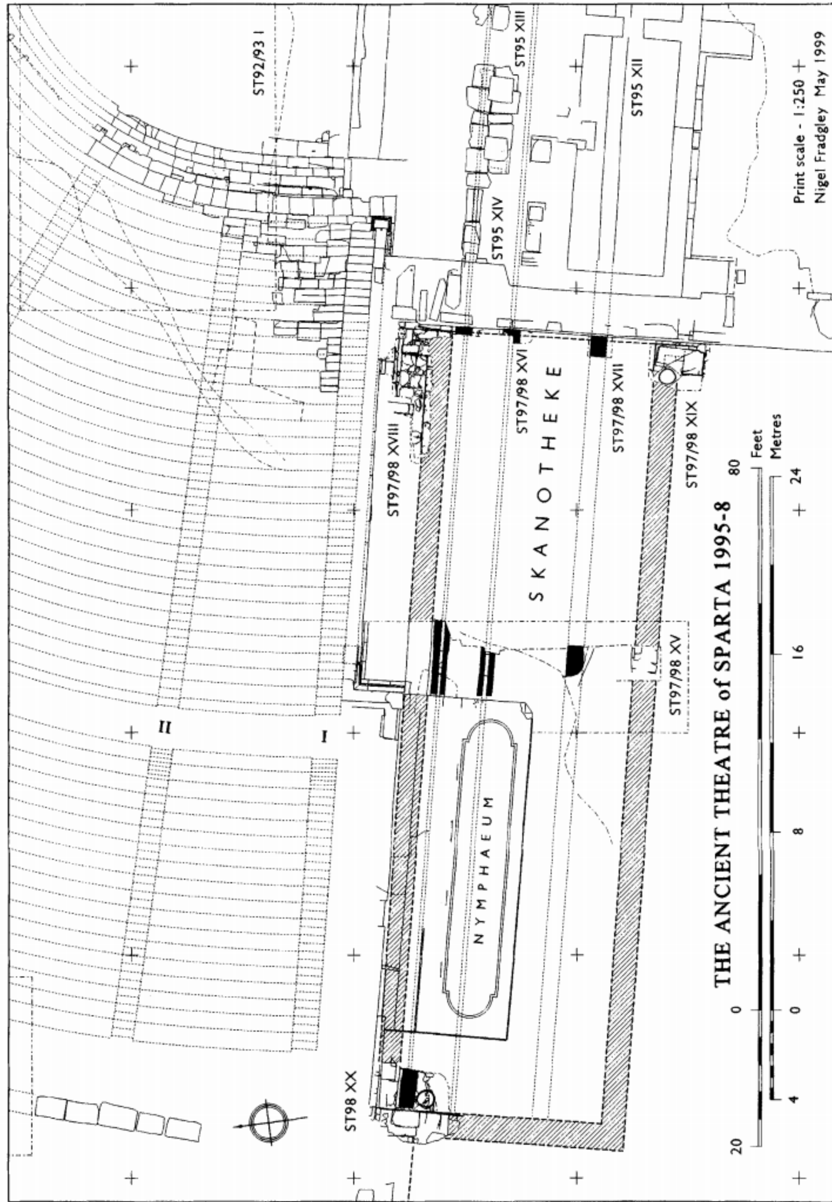
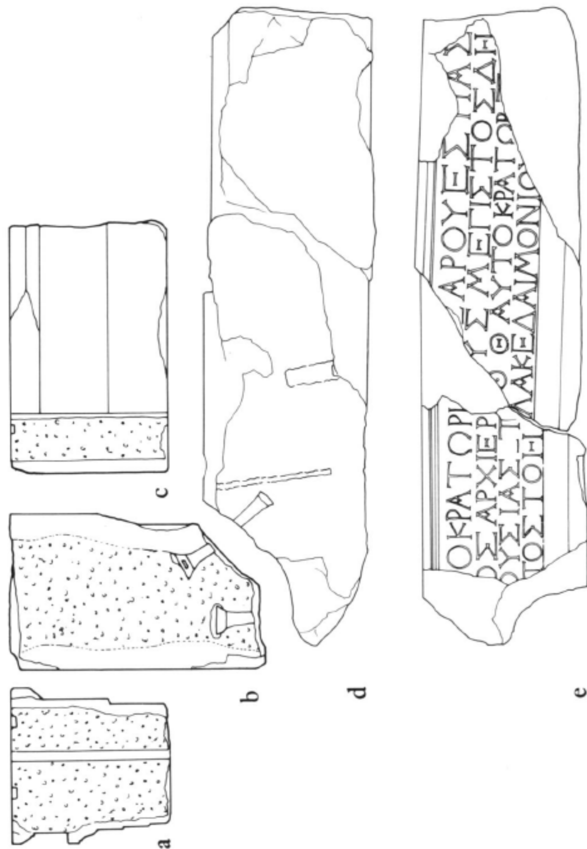


FIG. 1 Restored plan of the south-west area of Sparta theatre, showing the location of trenches.

Fig. 5.10 The second phase of the Sparta theatre: A) Dedication of the theatre in 78 CE. From Waywell et al., 1998, fig. 9.26. B) De Jong's 1926 plan of the theatre. From Waywell et al. 1998, fig. 9.18. C) Reconstructions of the different theatre columns. From Waywell et al., 1998, Fig. 9.30-33. D) Fragmentary columns from the theatre. From Waywell et al., 1998, fig.9.8.

A

Fig. 9.26 (a)–(c) Section, top view, and interior elevation of A618; a short block from the entablature of the lower order, showing (b, d) how such a block might join A757 (= IG V 1 691); the inscribed epistyle (e). Drawings by G. B. Waywell, inked by S. Bird. Scale 1:25.



B

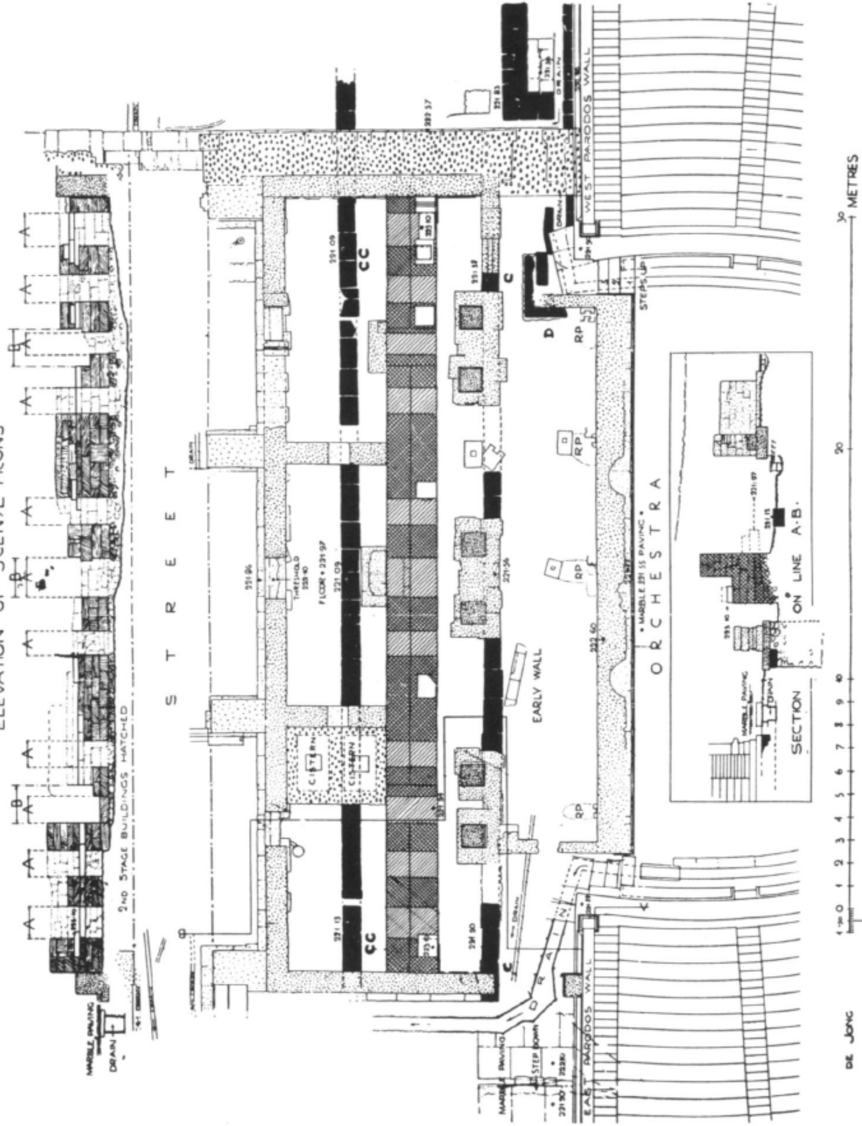


Fig. 9.18 Plan of stage-building of Sparta theatre by P. de Jong, 1926.

C

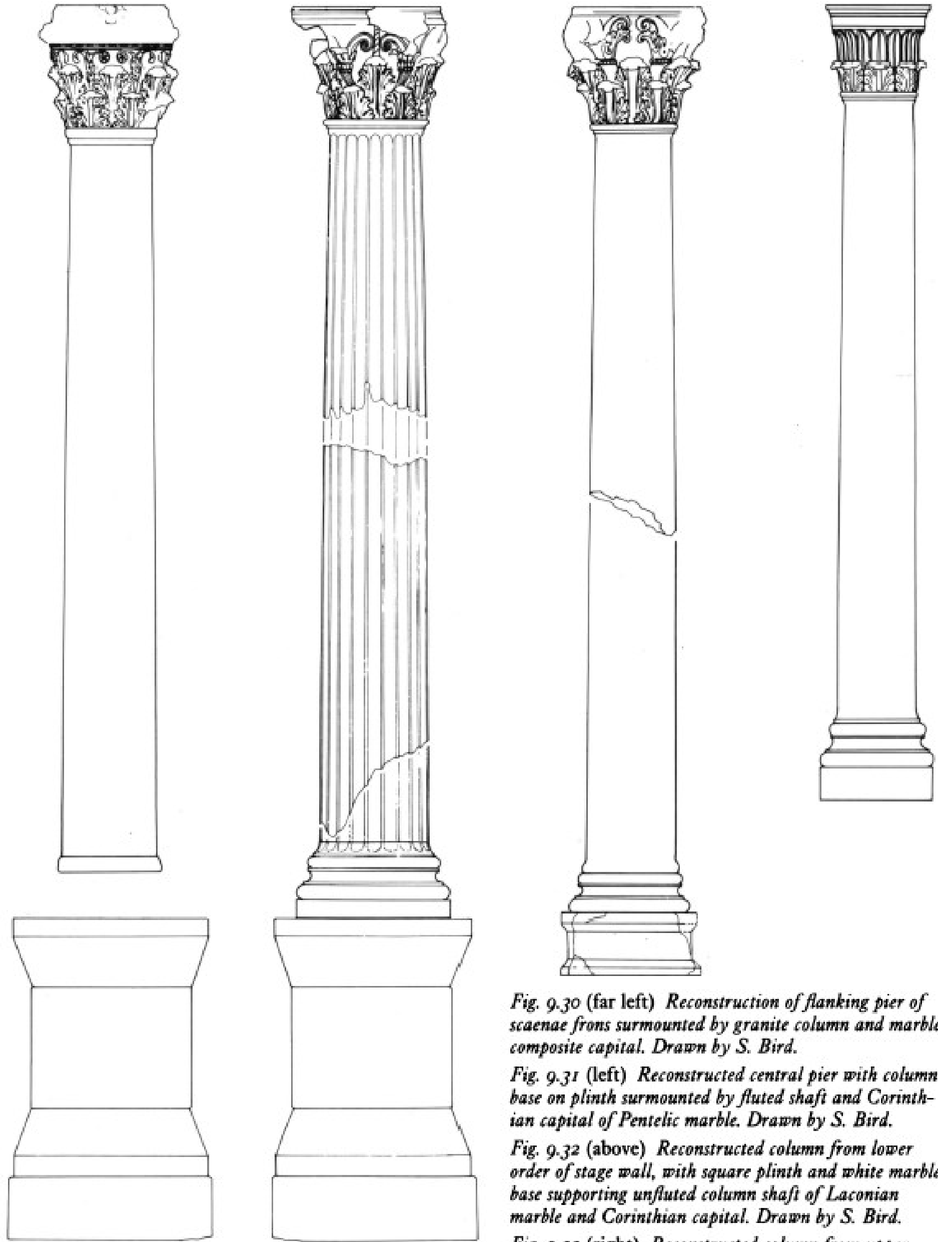


Fig. 9.30 (far left) *Reconstruction of flanking pier of scaenae frons surmounted by granite column and marble composite capital. Drawn by S. Bird.*

Fig. 9.31 (left) *Reconstructed central pier with column base on plinth surmounted by fluted shaft and Corinthian capital of Pentelic marble. Drawn by S. Bird.*

Fig. 9.32 (above) *Reconstructed column from lower order of stage wall, with square plinth and white marble base supporting unfluted column shaft of Laconian marble and Corinthian capital. Drawn by S. Bird.*

Fig. 9.33 (right) *Reconstructed column from upper order of stage wall, with circular plinth and base supporting unfluted shaft of Laconian marble and Pergamene capital. Drawn by S. Bird.*

D

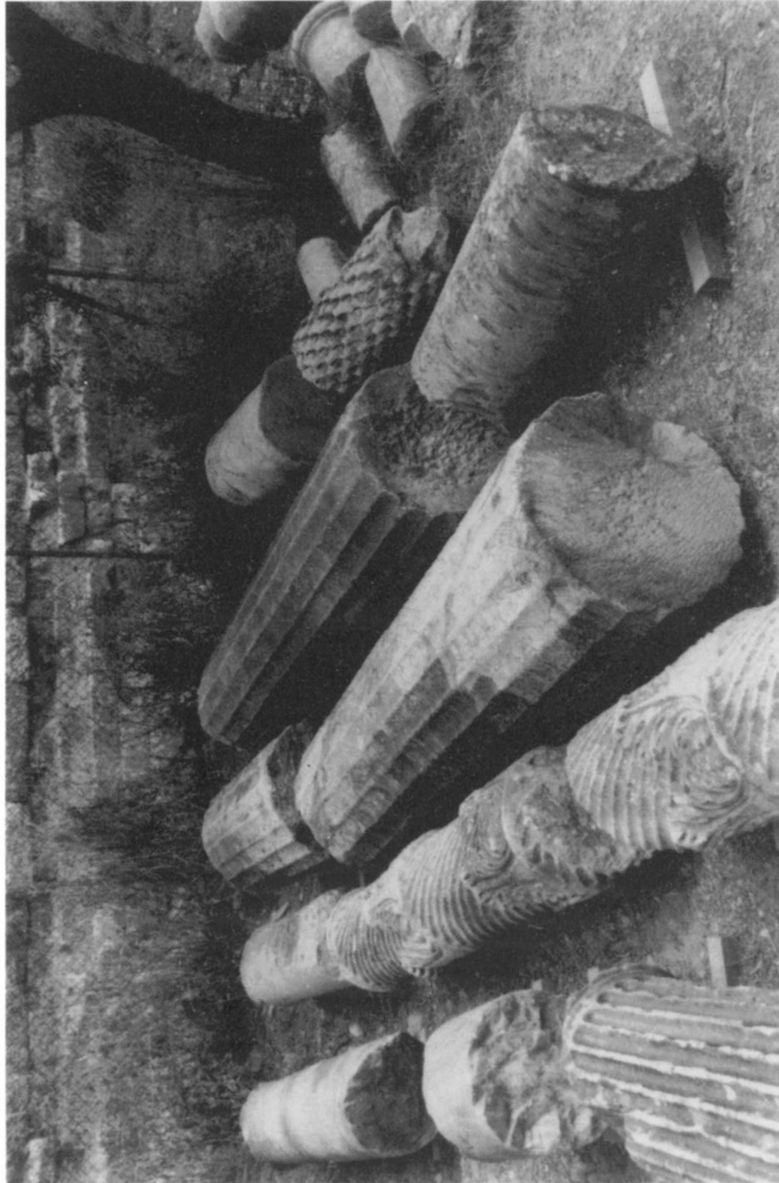


Fig. 5.11 a-b High relief of Marsyas bound, on either side an aulos pipe in relief (the right pipe has a curved end), on the base a relief of wild animals in chase and flight. A) Right side. B) Left side, note the curved 'Phrygian' end of the aulos. SM, 900. Author's own.

A

B

Fig. 5.12 The ‘Le Bas’ Marsyas, perhaps to be identified as the upper half of SM 900? From Le Bas, 1888, Mon. fig. 96. Currently in the Louvre?

Fig. 5.13 Apollo kitharoidos. SM, 103. According to *SMC*, "common late work of doubtful date". Author's own.

Fig. 5.14 Mosaic bordered with fish and theatre masks. From Panayotopoulou, 1998, Fig. 10.4.

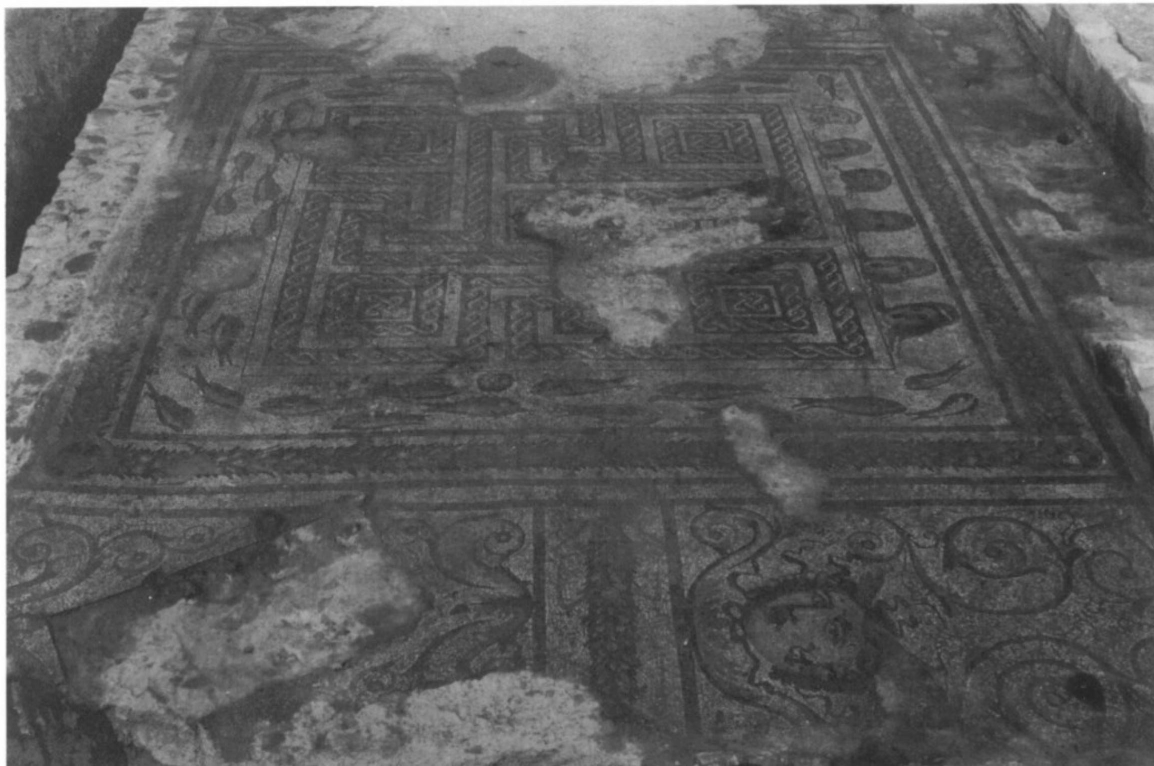


Fig. 5.15 Mosaic of Orpheus. From Waywell, 1979, Pl.51 Fig.42.

FIG. 42. Cat. 46, Sparta, Property of Mourabas

Fig. 5.16 Stele of Orpheus and a seated philosopher (?). SM, 6. Date uncertain. Author's own.

Fig. 5.17 a-b Roman sarcophagus for a child: A) Eros playing tibia B) Eros playing cymbals (his head and shoulders are in the NAM, Athens, 2005). 2nd C. CE (?). Sparta Museum, 307. Author's own.

A

B

Fig. 5.18 Hathor sistrum from Sparta. Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, ÄM 9710. Museum's own.

© SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: Sandra Steiß

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Hathor-Sistrum mit Griff in Gestalt des Gottes Bes, auf Löwen stehend sowie weiteren Göttern und Sak..., Ident. Nr.: ÄM 9710

© Foto: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
Fotograf/in: Sandra Steiß

Fig. A.1 Laconian 'hero-relief', dedicated to Chilon. Marble stele fragment, 2nd half 6th C. BCE. Sparta Museum. IG V,1 244. Author's own.

Fig. A.2 Laconian 'hero-relief', tippling-snake variety. Marble stele, c.520 BCE. Sparta Museum, 6518. Author's own.

Fig. A.3 ‘The Chrysapha Relief’. Marble stele, with traces of red paint, c. 540 BCE. Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Sk 731. Copyright museum.

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