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Titel der Dissertation

*Musical scenes of Roman daily life: from the Etruscans to
the end of late Antiquity*

[*Musikszenen des römischen Alltags: Von den Etruskern bis
zum Ende der Spätantike*]

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Introduction

The scope of this study is to investigate the musical information surviving in depictions of Roman archaeological finds and their contemporary philological sources. The realistic or artistic handling of the musical elements is testified through the comparison of the visual and written sources in an attempt try to come closer to the musical reality of this important and interesting period, which has its roots in the civilisation of the Etruscans and extends up to the end of the ancient world and the domination of the Arabs.

Music has always played an important role in the daily life actions of highly cultured societies. The study of the remains of a civilization helps us estimate its level, while the remains of musical activity, that is, the archaeological remains with musical scenes, the musical instruments, the notated musical compositions and the treatises on the theory of music indicate the status of its musical culture.

The extremely rare surviving samples of musical instruments dated to our period do not give us enough material for a purely organological survey. Moreover, the almost complete lack of written notated musical compositions consists an obstacle to the survey of the daily musical practice as well as the small amount of treatises on music theory, characterized not for giving an image of contemporary musical thoughts, but for imitating the writers of the past. So, the more fruitful sources seem to be the musical depictions and the philological texts. Although the Roman literary sources usually deliver more musical information than the more fragmentary depictions that we are lucky to have, a comparable study of common themes exhibited in both media corresponds better with the complexity of the sources.

The musical depictions collected can be separated into two main categories, those with mythological subject matter or symbolic purpose and those depicting scenes from daily life. The latter ones seem to have a more realistic disposition because of their subject. This study is based on them. The tendency of the artist to use contemporary elements well known to him in order to create a detailed depiction of a social event accompanied by musical practice more possibly applies also to the musical components of the scene which reveal a musical custom contemporary to the artist's epoch. The opposite, thus the tendency for simplicity and reduction to the most basic and important aspects of the symbolic and mythological scenes

often characterises the musical elements included. Therefore, real musical practice is omitted, while the musical instruments become symbols in the hands of deities.

Actually, the works of art depicting musical scenes have a complicated role. On the one hand they can be seen as artistic creations of individuals that are influenced by the social, cultural and musical environments of their places of birth and the places where they travelled. These artistic creations reveal the contemplations not only of the craftsmen, but also of the rich patrons, while they simultaneously improve the status of the society. They cannot be seen as photos that capture moments of real life but they should be treated as creations that, even if their intension was usually to depict real musical events, they are completed with the personal inspirations, artistic tendencies and skills as well as musical awareness or unconsciousness of their craftsmen.

In addition, the philological texts that include musical informations are products of individuals also influenced by their social, cultural and musical environments. We can separate the texts into categories according to their context. Very interesting, but rare examples are the texts where the writer tends to describe a musical event or a musical instrument. Often the musical information is a reference to the name of a musical instrument or a general description of it within a narration of happenings from daily life, a poem, or a story created by the writer. Otherwise, like in the case of the Church Fathers of the first centuries A.D., a polemic against the music of the pagans influences their writings, which some times turn out to be more symbolic and didactic. The musical knowledge of the writer is, in this way, mixed with his willingness to be accurate with his musical references or his tendency to replace, for example, the name of a musical instrument, some lines later, with another similar because of poetic inspiration. For this reason, a careful critique is needed, not only on the style of the writer but also on the style of the text.

A comparative analysis of both depictions and musical references in the philological sources is perhaps the most interesting and safest way towards a closer perception of the Roman musical practice. The simultaneous use of the disciplines of archaeology, history of art, philology, history of music, iconography of music and organology is the only way towards a mature collection and fruitful analysis of the sources.

Thanks to archaeology, basic information is collected about the material from which a work of art was made, the place and date of origin as well the place where it is now exhibited. Within the study of history of art, the archaeological findings are analysed as artistic creations. Fields such as the depicted subject matter, the style of the artist, the style of their epoch, the purpose of their creation and the quality of the depiction can be estimated and

analysed. Within the study of philology we gain information about the life of a writer and the style and tendencies expressed in his works. Studying the history of music supplies us with important information about the musical elements of previous and following periods of time, material which is very useful for a comparative analysis of the musical elements dated to our period of interest. Iconography of music offers important ideas and models for the description, analysis and understanding of the musical elements within a depiction. The thought that a work of art should first of all be viewed as an entity, the consideration of the ignorance of the artist about precise musical detail or the inability of his medium to portray it, are ideas developed within this science. Panofsky's three-level-model¹ of pre-iconographical description, iconographical analysis and iconological interpretation is the most basic tool used during this study. Finally, organology provides us with knowledge about the instrumental types.

This kind of study has, until now, never been attempted. The important and unique collection of works with musical scenes under the title *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* includes one volume with Roman works dated to the epoch of Etruscans, thus from the sixth century B.C. on and until the third century A.D. The band is edited by Fleischhauer and it is titled *Musikgeschichte in Bildern: Rom und Etruria* (1964). Actually, it is a collection of mythological scenes placed together with those depicting daily life, while all works are from the Italian peninsula. This is the time when the musicality of the Romans is appreciated in contrast to previous studies, where they are characterised as a nation without musicality!² A Byzantine band, planned to fill in the gap between the third century and the Carolingian times, was never published.

Three years later the precious work of Wille, titled *Musica Romana*, will become the most extended study, mainly on the literary sources that are systematically collected, for the first time. After so many years this work remains unique and, until now, no further studies in this field have been published.

During 1982 the doctoral study of Wardle, a pure organological survey on Roman musical instruments, will not see the light of publication³.

Over the following years a tendency to study the so called 'Greek and Roman music' of the Roman period separately is followed and also revealed by the titles of the published surveys. First and during 1991, the book of Comotti, *La musica nella cultura Greca e*

¹ See for example Panofsky 1955: chapter I.

² For an extended reference to this earlier bibliography see Fleischhauer 1964: 5-6.

³ Wardle 1982.

*Romana*⁴, will add a chapter about music theory and a few pieces of information about the musical instruments and the notated musical texts of the period. The same focus characterizes the book of Tintori, *La musica di Roma antica* published during 1996. The next book has the title *Music in ancient Greece and Rome* (1999) and it is written by Landels⁵. The discussion about a country and a city is problematic and historically wrong because a whole peninsula, the Italian, is omitted. Even if Rome was important cultural centre other cities, like Pompeii and south Italian ones, played a very important role by creating local musical traditions. Moreover, musical customs imported from classical Athens, like music during banquets or music within the theatre appeared earlier in south Italian cities where Greeks traveled and lived and later in Rome.

The concept of distinguishing between Greece and Rome seems to be abandoned in the publications of Vendries, who treats the Roman Empire and its music as a whole. This is the only way dictated by the historical and cultural evidences available. So, in 1999 his organological survey under the title *Instruments à cordes et musiciens dans l' Empire romain: etude historique et archéologique (IIIe siècle av. J.-C. – Ve siècle ap. J.-C)*⁶ will focus on the stringed musical instruments of the Roman Empire and will be the only extended organological survey concerning them. His next book was published during 2001 under the title *Musique et spectacles à Rome et dans l' Occident romain sous la République et le Haut-Empire*⁷. The book focuses mainly on the spectacles of the theatre, and one chapter is dedicated to the music of the amphitheatre and the circus of the epoch. The bibliography is based mainly on the France bibliography⁸.

Historical review

The Etruscans, the inhabitants of the north part of the Italian peninsula, are according to the scholars, the ancestors of the Romans, with an eastern place of origin in Asia Minor. They are the *Τυρρηνοί* or *Τυρσηνοί* of the Greeks and the *Tusci* or *Etrusci* of the Romans. Their artistic production, in comparison with that of the contemporary Greeks, reveals, not only Greek influence on musical customs and copies of earlier Greek artistic models, but also a separate artistic style as well as local musical traditions. Even if the influence of the Greeks on the Etruscans is testified by the depictions, which, in some cases, even completely copy,

⁴ Comotti 1991.

⁵ Landels 1999.

⁶ Vendries 1999.

⁷ Péché / Vendries 2001.

⁸ A number of articles, as for example that of Wille 1986 and Pölmann 1998 in *MGG* as well as the related articles of Fleischhauer 1980 and 2001 in *Grove*, focus to the area of Rome and Italy.

for example, banqueting scenes or just describe within their artistic creations the musical customs, such as the double aulos playing during wedding ceremonies, probably imported from Greece, the Etruscans created their own artistic style, easily recognized and differentiated, despite the similarities, from that of classical Greece as well as from later styles of the Roman Republic and Empire. In wedding scenes, for example, they also add, apart from the imported double aulos and forminx from the Greeks, their local cornu and lituus suggesting a local, musical, creative tradition. Their epoch is an interesting starting point for this study, inasmuch as there are very few earlier artistic products, if not a lack of them, placed in the Italian peninsula or elsewhere in the Mediterranean area, except Greece, Egypt and Mesopotamia, which belong, of course, to another civilization.

The musical elements depicted on works of art are automatically related to the artistic tendencies and styles. Thus, they can be seen as a part of the artistic production and not as a photo of the social history. For this reason the history of art and not history in general, indicates the chronological limits of this study. It is true that the history of the society does not always influence the cultural production or the development of musical practice, which may follow its own way. Even if Roman history begins with the era of the Kings (ca. 750-510 B.C.) and continue through the early Republic (509-265 B.C.), the Hellenistic period (323 B.C. – 30 B.C.) to the Roman Empire from the first century B.C. and its end with the great expansion of the Arabs from the seventh century onwards⁹, the surviving artistic production follows its own limits in parallel with the different ones of the literary production.

Therefore, the earliest and latest depictions collected differ from subject to subject, but they are included in a chronological limit of six centuries B.C. and six centuries A.D., with a few rare examples of the seventh century A.D. On the other hand, the related literary sources containing musical information are dated not earlier than the second century B.C. and come to an end in both East and West in the fifth century A.D. The fifth century also marks the end of the golden age of the patristic literature¹⁰, while the literary examples of the sixth century are exceedingly rare.

The important historical event of the rise of the Christian world will mark a new artistic period characterised, during its first steps, until its establishment during the Byzantine period, by the coexistence of elements of the ancient pagan past and the new Christian and Jewish present. The classical mores of the antique past will continue to exist in competition with the

⁹ More about Roman history see for example in Alföldi 1976.

¹⁰ McKinnon 2001: 795.

renovations of the new way of living in a dying procession until the triumphal establishment of the Christian imagery and its burst of exuberant productivity¹¹.

Nevertheless, the musical scenes of daily life will continue their own development which is not influenced by the new Christian way of living. The symbolic depictions, like the Good Shepherd, David and the Jewish ones will follow their separate didactic way delivering musical instruments of the past and the present within a new context. But they have nothing to do with the daily musical practice that cannot be distinguished as Pagan or Christian, but continues its own development as both parts participate. This fact is also testified by the polemic of the Church Fathers, who are intensively opposed to the entertainments of the Pagans where Christians participate, often accompanied by music.

The common participation of both Pagans and Christians in the public events of their epoch is reflected in the musical scenes of daily life that do not separate the two religious groups as no Christian elements, symbols or attributes survive within the musical scenes of everyday life. Music seems to accompany the celebrating moments of a banquet, a wedding or a musical contest, the intense moments of a spectacle like a horse race, gladiatorial combat or a theatrical performance as well as the culminating moments of a sacrifice and possibly others not survived through depictions and texts.

After the seventh century the artistic production seems to have diminished. The Arabic invasion starts and the Empire will remain silent as far as art is concerned. After Iconoclasm came to an end, Christianity had finally triumphed and paganism was no longer a threat. This was the best time for a turn towards the ancient authors and the study of their world. The educational reform took place around the imperial court of Constantinople, where the classical modes were never forgotten. The new artistic period known as Macedonian Renaissance is characterised by the copy of classical modes that coexist with the Byzantine ones, forming a mix where all elements have equal importance. For the first time the classical modes are copied not in a procession of simply imitating the past, but with a conscious tendency to create new forms in which the classical elements are fused in an artistically eclectic way. The two cultures not only coexist but also blend harmonically in a creative way¹².

The scenes with musical elements will not of course escape this trend. The musical instruments of Antiquity unknown in most cases to the artists, when they are depicted without all of their elements, or in a wrong playing position, constitute new artistic inventions that

¹¹ More about history, culture and mentality of late Antiquity see for example in Brown 1971 and Cameron 1993.

¹² More about Macedonian Renaissance see for example in Weitzmann 1951, 1960, 1963 and 1981 chapter x.

mainly serve the needs of decoration and not that of a realistic depiction. In addition, new musical instruments come to the fore for the first time. A new artistic epoch accompanied by the christianization of the scenes is marked by a new instrumentarium. Most scenes will be didactically symbolic in contrast to the more naturally descriptive Roman scenes reflecting the reality of their epoch. The established Byzantine ethos will influence the way of depicting the contemporary way of living and with it the musical life.

Sources

Any document that visualizes music either concretely or abstractly is an artist's reflection on music¹³. Thus, every depiction representing musical instruments or musical practice within a social event was collected together with symbolic or mythological themes accompanied by musical instruments or musical performance. For the needs of this study the more 'realistically' depicted musical scenes from Roman daily life were used as a basis in order for the musical reality of the epoch to be approached. The contemporary symbolical and mythological scenes are used, when this is needed, in order to confirm, for example, the development of an instrumental type. Of course the collection of earlier and later works is important for the understanding of the scenes and the place of the subjects into historical view. Therefore, the artworks of the Etruscans are included in the study as they are the ancestors of the Romans, while works from ancient and classical Greece are also included when they exist as being the prototypes that influenced or inspired the Etruscan ones. The artworks dated after the period of iconoclasm are used additionally where a Roman social event, for example banquets or bucolic scenes, seems to continue. The new Byzantine way of depiction and musical instruments comprise not only a different period but contain elements from the ancient past. Exhibition catalogues, catalogues of Museums, archaeological, musicological and organological surveys were used for the collection of the artworks.

A second important task was the collection of philological sources related to the scenes in order to testify the amount of reality or artistic influence underlying every scene. Thus, the literary references referred to the works of Wille (1967) and McKinnon (1987 and 1998) were used together with the related surveys of the secondary bibliography. The online versions of two computer-based data banks of ancient Greek and Latin texts the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* centered at the University of California at Irvine were also useful tools.

¹³ Seebass 2001a: 54.

Working methods

The scenes collected are analysed with the aims of archaeology, history of art, iconography of music, organology and the philological sources. The history of society and the history of art of the examined epoch give us a basic knowledge, a frame within the models of music iconography function¹⁴. First are described and analysed the characteristics of each depiction, the date, the place of origin, the material used, the style of the artist, the aims for which the work is created and the subject matter where the scene belongs. Then the way the musicians are portrayed, their clothing and gestures, the types of musical instruments used or simply depicted, as well as their relation to the rest of the elements in the scene are all examined.

Depictions of the same subject are compared with each other and with works from the previous and following periods. Works from the past of Greek classical Antiquity are referred to together with works dated to the period of the Kings, the Roman Republic, Hellenistic times and the period of the Roman Empire, and discussed in comparison with the following middle Byzantine works in order to prove, where needed, the historical continuity or revival of an artistic subject or conception. Thus, the changes in the use of music within the scenes, the development of the instrumental types, the role of every musical instrument as well as the roles between female and male musicians are attested. Only the interpretation of the artistic trends, the date and origin of each element within the work, will give us hints about an artistic inspiration or use of real elements of the past or the present.

Having all this in mind, the types of the musical instruments depicted are observed and explained from other viewpoints. They are analysed not only according to their shape, resonator and number of strings as is done in the organological surveys, but they are also compared with earlier and later types within their artistic and cultural environment so that the first impression becomes clearer and the elements are accumulated in order to accent more closely the reality.

Problematic fields

The Roman sources that are exhibited in this study are a limited number of works that escaped demise and deliver important, but fragmentary, information. Additionally, Roman writers supply us with musical descriptions and references to daily life that frequently do not meet a counterpart in the artistic world of the depictions.

¹⁴ More about music iconography and its methods see in *Imago Musicae* 1997/8 (bibliography from 1976-1995), Ketteler / Jewansky / Finscher 1997, Seebass 1997, Baldassarre 2000, Seebass 2001a and 2001b.

The complexity which the sum of the collected scenes represents arises not only due to the fragmentary character of the surviving works of art, but also because of differences in the material used for the depiction, the place of origin and the artistic inspiration that characterize them.

For example, the scenes are represented on different materials, such as floor mosaics, sarcophagi, reliefs and objects of minor art found in different territories of the huge Roman world extending from the rich oriental Syria, Egypt and Palaistine along to North Africa, Greece and Rome and as far as the less fruitful west provinces of present day France and Germany. The occurrence of a motif or an episode on both, for example, a mosaic or a sarcophagus, does not imply that it was chosen for the same purpose, or that the same significance was attributed to it in both cases.

A theme found in distant places of the same empire does not always constitute a portrayal of the contemporary reality, but may indicate artists who travelled throughout the Empire and copied familiar motifs. These are the preconditions for an artistic production with recycled themes such as the Muses, Dionysus, Apollo and Orpheus, but also David, the Good Shepherd, banquets, horse races, gladiatorial combats, musical contests, sacrifices and bucolics depicted on different materials and well understood, from the Hellenistic era on, like the Greek and Latin, to the East and West of the Mediterranean.

The works are often located far from their place of origin, in museums all over the world. Therefore, the role of a depiction is easily misunderstood if shown as a single piece of work in isolation from its artistic environment. Moreover, an artistic synthesis, an inspiration of the craftsman, cannot be seen as a photo, as a realistic depiction of everyday life or be interpreted in this way.

In addition, the archaeological remains of musical instruments or musical compositions dated to the epoch as well as the related music-theoretical treatises and the philological sources provide us with precious knowledge about the musical material, the theory of music, the names of the instruments and the social, cultural and musical context in general. Unfortunately the musical fragments and the archaeological findings of musical instruments are extremely rare, while the theoretical treatises of music are remote from tradition and the authors are copying those of the past¹⁵.

On the other hand, the complexity of the literary sources leads not only to difficulties in interpreting the text, but also in understanding which of the writer's experiences are expressed through his sayings. Questions about the exact meaning of the text arise: 'is he using the

¹⁵ About music theory from Antiquity until the Middle Ages see in Mathiesen 1999.

terminology properly, for example, about the types of actors or of the musical instruments?’ or ‘during his reference to musical elements while speaking, for example, about banquets after weddings, is he referring to the musical instruments used at banquets or at weddings?’ The knowledge about the musical elements referred to in the text is a result of the writer’s musical experiences gained in the place where he was born or in the places where he travelled or lived. For these reasons only texts where the descriptions are clear and the musical elements referred to are related closely with the social event were used and not when they are used metaphorically or in a general sense.

The same problem also applies to the depictions, while after having collected both mythological and symbolical examples along with those representing moments of daily life, the study of the latter seems more close to the Roman musical reality although not without problems. The musical scenes of daily life collected were separated into the following subjects, each studied in a chapter: scenes from Roman banquets, wedding processions, races with horses, gladiatorial combats, theatrical scenes, musical contests, sacrifices and scenes of bucolic life.

During this study a number of problems appeared. The fragmentary character of the collected depictions caused difficulties in identifying the types of musical instruments because often there are not many contemporary examples of an instrumental type from the same region of the Empire. We cannot easily compare, for example, the image of a kithara depicted on an artwork from a Constantinopolitan workshop with that from a North African workshop of the same period.

In addition, the existing organological surveys do not include, with rare exceptions, the Roman instrumental types. Moreover, an extended iconographical or organological survey of Byzantine musical instruments or depictions has not yet been published. The articles on Byzantine secular music or musical instruments are not sufficient for an effective comparison¹⁶. Furthermore, there are few surveys about the history of women or the fashion of clothing and styling.

Apparently, there is no interest from the writers of archaeological, historical and cultural surveys about the musical terms that do not appear in their indexes. The same reluctance is shown by the translators of the ancient authors, who do not cite musical terms.

One more interesting point was the examination of the names of the musical instruments which are very often referred to by the scholars with a wrong term. This misuse of the terms is frequently found not only in the translations of the philological sources but also in

¹⁶ See for example Braun 1980 and Touliatos 2001.

archaeological treatises. For example the term ‘flute’ is used almost always instead of the correct ‘aulos’ or ‘tibia’, while the terms ‘lyra’ / ‘lyre’ or ‘kithara’ / ‘cithara’ are used without organological criteria that distinguish one instrument from the other. Of course the term ‘lyra’ that arises as a transcription of the Greek *λύρα* with Latin letters, describes a different instrumental type of the lute family, which has nothing to do with the lyre that belongs to the family of the ancient kithara.

Things seem more complicated with the scenes serving mythological subjects or Christian or Jewish ones. The symbolic way of depicting things that serve the needs of a religious community, gives a more ‘mystic’ dimension to the image which is more difficult to approach closely and interpret properly. Of course the elements of music that are sometimes borrowed from the musical customs of everyday life, serve the abstracted depiction and also become symbols in the hands of their important owners. As symbols they do not represent all of their characteristics but the most important ones, or they may be just careless depictions serving decorating purposes and not a realistic representation.

Unanswered questions

A number of questions that arose during the writing of this study could not be answered. In some rare cases the depicted scene could not be completely identified, and the names of some organological types depicted could not be ascertained through a description in the literary sources, but only assumed. Technical, organological questions about the materials a musical instrument was made of, the names of its parts, the playing positions and techniques were, in most cases, under assumptions.

Secondly, questions about the way the musical compositions were used and performed at the different moments of daily life could not be answered. Thus, the roles and importance of music within a social or private event, the roles of the musical instruments within a musical performance, the types of compositions played, the aesthetics in the use of the musical material within the compositions and, further, the differences between the music theory and the musical practice are unanswered topics of interest. Questions about the different roles of the musicians within a performance, their social status, as well as about the differences in the roles of a female and a male musician could not be researched.

Questions related to the aesthetic perception of music are of course more difficult and complicated and, because of the lack of data, not answered: which are the characteristics of a ‘beautiful’ sound and how this is realised by a normal or an expert listener, which elements of the society transform the meaning of the ‘beautiful’ in music, which are the common and

different aesthetic criteria between the different districts, which social classes form the aesthetic criteria for music, which are the connections between the music and the other arts, how the cultural, historical and social elements of the Eastern Mediterranean both respect and simultaneously transform the local musical traditions during this period?

While preparing this study an important quotation from a prominent historian, Fergus Millar, was firmly held: “Those who study the history of the ancient World suffer from a great disadvantage which we find difficult to admit even to ourselves: in a perfectly literary sense we do not know what we are talking about. Of course we can dispose of a vast range of accumulated knowledge *about* what we are talking about.”¹⁷ We can compile lists of depictions with musical scenes, literary passages written from contemporary authors or some archaeological findings of musical instruments, but the musical reality of the period, the theory of music and the ways of playing and performing on and with the musical instruments, the social roles of music and musicians, the musical aesthetics and the exact types of the musical instruments will remain like some secondhand sense of the real experience that we may only conjure up through analogy and imagination.

¹⁷ Beacham 1999: xii.

CHAPTER I

*Banquets***1.1 Introduction**

For those of the ancient world, to lie down to eat and drink while others stood to serve them was a sign of power, of privilege, of prestige¹⁸. The presence of musicians accompanying with their music, the luxurious moments of banqueting is one more element supporting this statement. The powerful host capable of having servants and plenty of food and drink for himself and his banqueters is also capable of hiring and feeding, musicians and dancers who will play and dance for him wherever and whenever he chooses. According to sources the custom seems to have started in the area of Mesopotamia, while the Greeks and the Etruscans imported it later. The theme of reclining to the accompaniment of music will decorate a variety of drinking cups, walls of tombs, grave monuments, sarcophagi and the wall and floor mosaics of rooms in private houses. It is adopted and used by people of different languages not only throughout Mesopotamia, the Greek world, and the Etruscans, but also in Rome and most of the Roman Empire in regions extending from Syria to North Africa and Italy.

A variety of musical instruments accompany the depicted banqueting. Simple idiophones such as cymbals, forked cymbals and oxyvaphi are present in many combinations with stringed types of kithara, lyre and harp, and wind instruments like double aulos, aulos, syrinx, transversflute (*πλαγίαυλος*) and the impressive organon (*ὄργανον πνευματικόν*) the development of the hydraulis. According to depictions one musical instrument or, in some cases, two represent the musical accompaniment. This element is in accordance with the sayings of contemporary writers as far as the types and the number of the musical instruments are concerned. The great number of musical instruments mentioned merely by the Church fathers if not an exaggeration due to their polemic against pagan customs, may reveal larger musical ensembles, an element that meets only one example among the depicted banqueting scenes from Mariamin, Syria (fig. 31). On the other hand, the reference of writers to the existence of mimes and performers that make the audience laugh (*γελωτοποιούς*) is not represented within the scenes probably because of lack of archaeological data.

¹⁸ Dunbabin 2003: 11.

1.2 From Mesopotamia to ancient Greece

The custom of reclining with the accompaniment of music seems to have started in the East, according to the most ancient depiction on a Mesopotamian relief from a palace in Nineveh of the seventh century B.C. (**fig. 1**)¹⁹ The theme depicted is a banquet in the garden of King Assurbanipal. The king is reclining on a couch while his queen is sitting on a throne beside him. They are both drinking accompanied by music played by a female harp player.

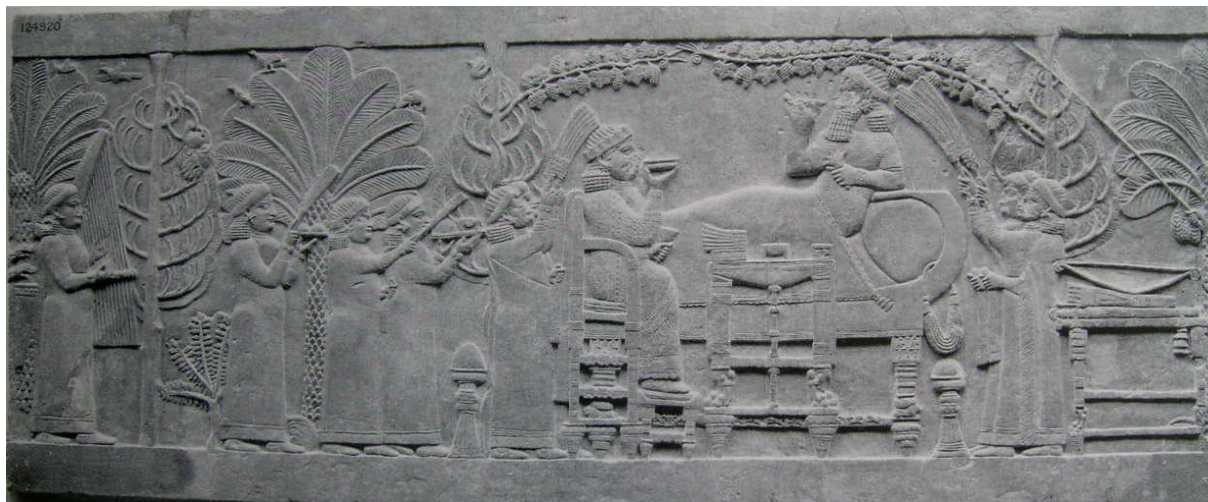


Fig. 1. Mesopotamia, Nineveh, palace, seventh century B.C., relief (London, British Museum, BM 124920).

Foto: Rashid 1984: 131, fig. 147.

Some decades later the reclining banquet appears for the first time in Greek poetry (Alkman). The most flourishing production of drinking scenes accompanied by music will take place on the classical antique vases of Athens and on Etruscan tomb wall paintings and Apulian vases. The scenes represent the drinking feast called, in ancient Greek, *symposion* (συμπόσιον), and followed by the dinner held for celebrating weddings, birthdays or the arrival and departure of friends²⁰. The *symposion* opened with three libations, while the aulos music gave a more solemn character to the sacrificial act. Among Greeks the aulos player at a libation was called *spondaules* (σπονδαύλης), while aulos playing at libations also prevailed as a rule among the Romans. Plutarch reports that a libation was performed in conjunction with a solemn paean sung to the aulos²¹ each time a fresh crater of wine and water was brought²².

In classical Athens respectable women citizens never participate in a symposion. The female entertainers shown in depictions are sometimes dressed in long chitons, like professional musicians, and sometimes nude or semi-nude, probably prostitutes, that never

¹⁹ Rashid 1984: 130-131, no 147 and Dunbabin 2003: 14, fig. 2.

²⁰ For more see Chew / Mathiesen 2001: 849.

²¹ See Quasten 1983: 14-15.

²² Mau 1900: 616-617. See also Hug 1931: 1266-1270 and Lamer 1922: 1295.

recline. The male participants sometimes undertake the role of the female musicians in accompanying the symposion with music on krotala or barbitos.



Fig. 2. Attica, Duris painter, 480 B.C., drinking cup (München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 2646 (J. 371).
Foto: Wegner 1963: 95, fig. 60.

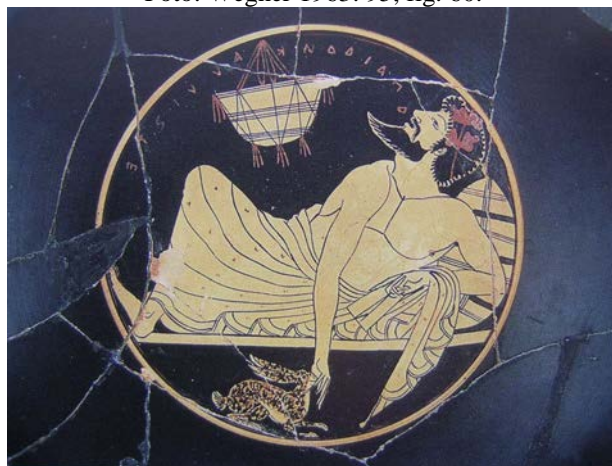


Fig. 3. Athens, Tanagra, 500 B.C., kylix (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1357). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 258, no 133.

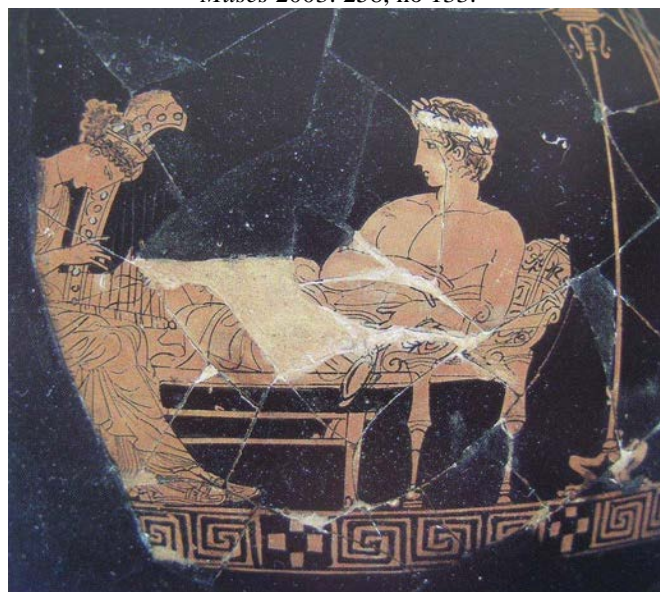


Fig. 4. Athens, theatre of Dionysus, fifth century B.C., attic vase (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15308). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 259, no 134.

The great number of depictions from Greek classical Antiquity represent apart from the double aulos players (**fig. 2**)²³, both male and female krotala players (**fig. 3**)²⁴, as well as a female harp player (**fig. 4**)²⁵. A number of figures from classical Athens represent barbitos players (**fig. 6**)²⁶ in their banqueting scenes, as well as double aulos, krotala, harp and lyre players (**fig. 5**)²⁷.

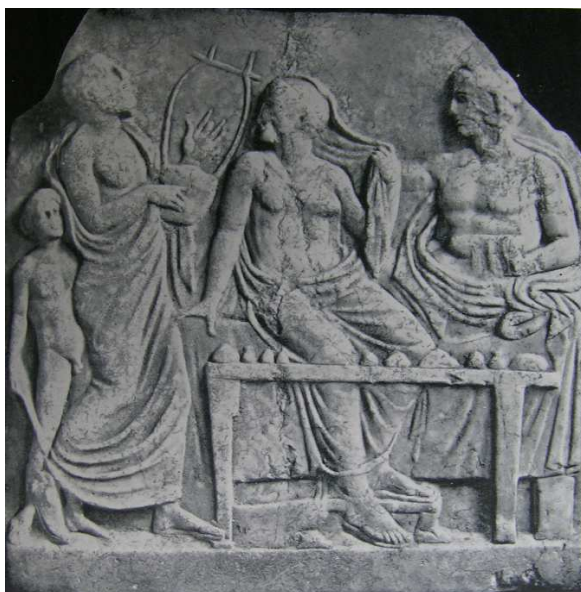


Fig. 5. Greece, fifth century B.C, relief (Rome, Barracco Museum). Foto: Dölger 1927: fig. 233.



Fig. 6. Attica, fifth century B.C., skyphos of Brygos painter (Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 156). Foto: Wegner 1963: 101, fig. 64.

²³ Wegner 1963: 94-95, no 60 and 96-97, no 61. See also *Dons des Muses* 2003: no 135 and the attic crater from the sixth century B.C. (München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 8935).

²⁴ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 258, no 133.

²⁵ *Ibid.*: 259, no 134. See also Wegner 1986a: 895, fig. 16.

²⁶ Wegner 1963: 100-101, no 64. For more see Maas 1989: 85-87, 127.

²⁷ Dölger 1927: fig. 233. See also Maas 1989: 105, fig. 12.

Double aulos, lyre or barbitos are more frequently depicted, while a combination of double aulos and krotala, double aulos and lyre²⁸, double aulos and barbitos (**fig. 7**)²⁹ and (**fig. 8**)³⁰, double aulos and phorminx (**fig. 9**)³¹ as well as lyre and barbitos (**fig. 10**)³² are also possible.



Fig. 7. Attica, 500 B.C., crater of Euphronios (Arezzo, Museum, 1465). Foto: Wegner 1963: 99, fig. 63.

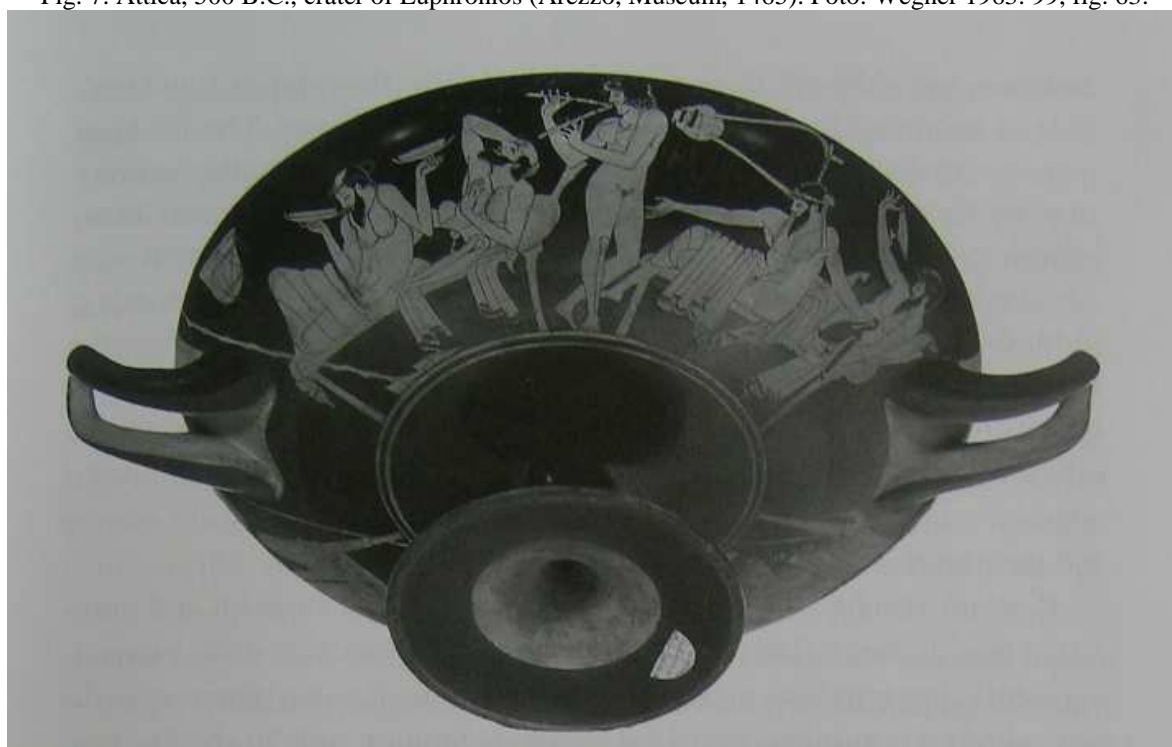


Fig. 8a. Attica, red-figure kylix, Foundry painter, 490-480 B.C. (Cambridge, Corpus Christi college) side b. Foto: Dunbabin 2003: 16, fig. 4.

²⁸ See Greece, Kos, 510 B.C., sculpture relief (Kos, Archaeological Museum, 29).

²⁹ Wegner 1963: 98-99, no 63.

³⁰ Dunbabin 2003: 16-17, fig. 4 and fig. 5.

³¹ Giannou 1998: 47, no 37.

³² Maas 1989: 91, 133, fig. 9.



Fig. 8b. Attica, red-figure kylix, 490-480 B.C. (Cambridge, Corpus Christi college) side a. Foto: Dunbabin 2003: 17, fig. 5.



Fig. 9a. Attica, crater of Ephronios painter, 510 B.C. (München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 8935, side a). Foto: Giannou 1998: 47, no 37.

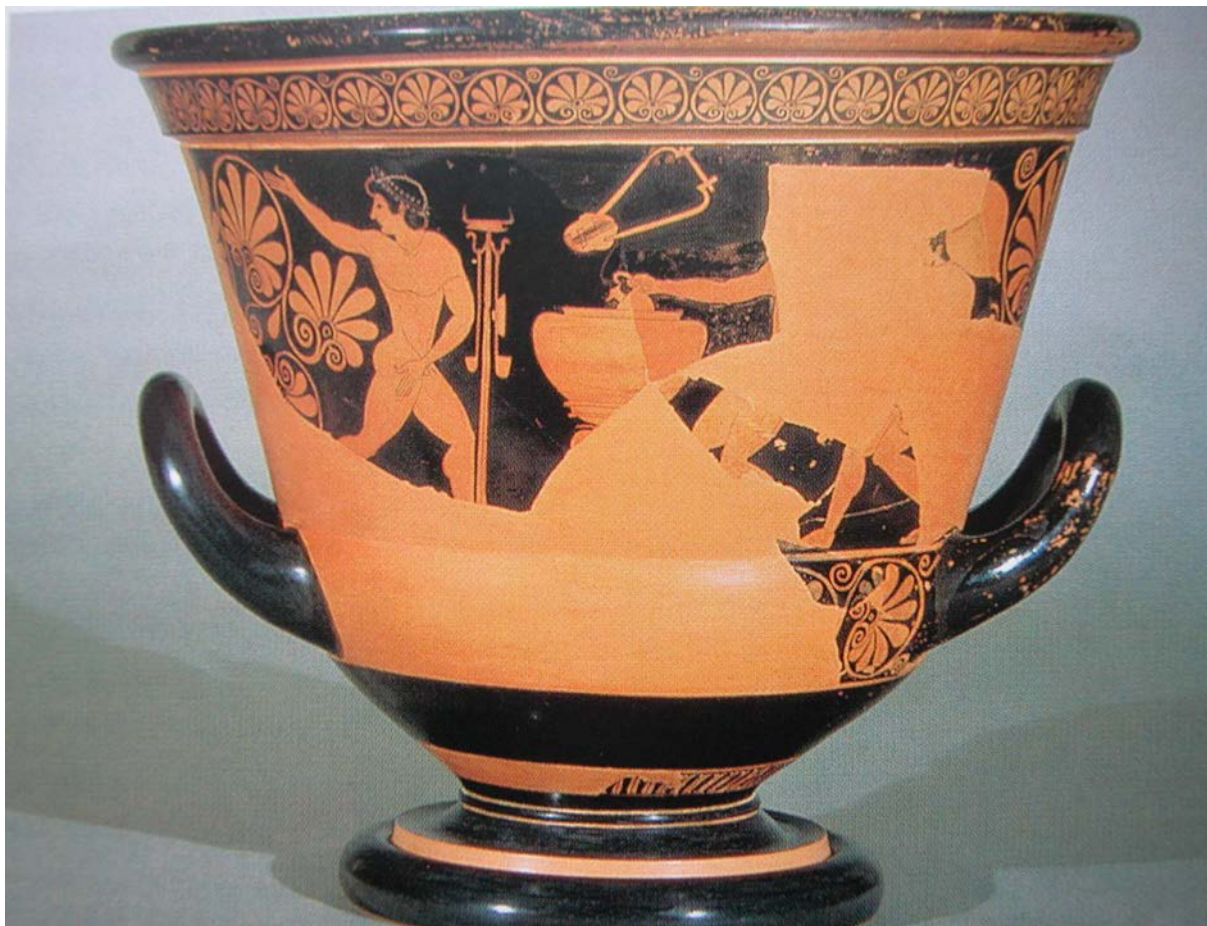


Fig. 9b. Attica, crater of Ephronios painter, 510 B.C. (München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 8945) side b.
Foto: Giannou 1998: 47, no 37.

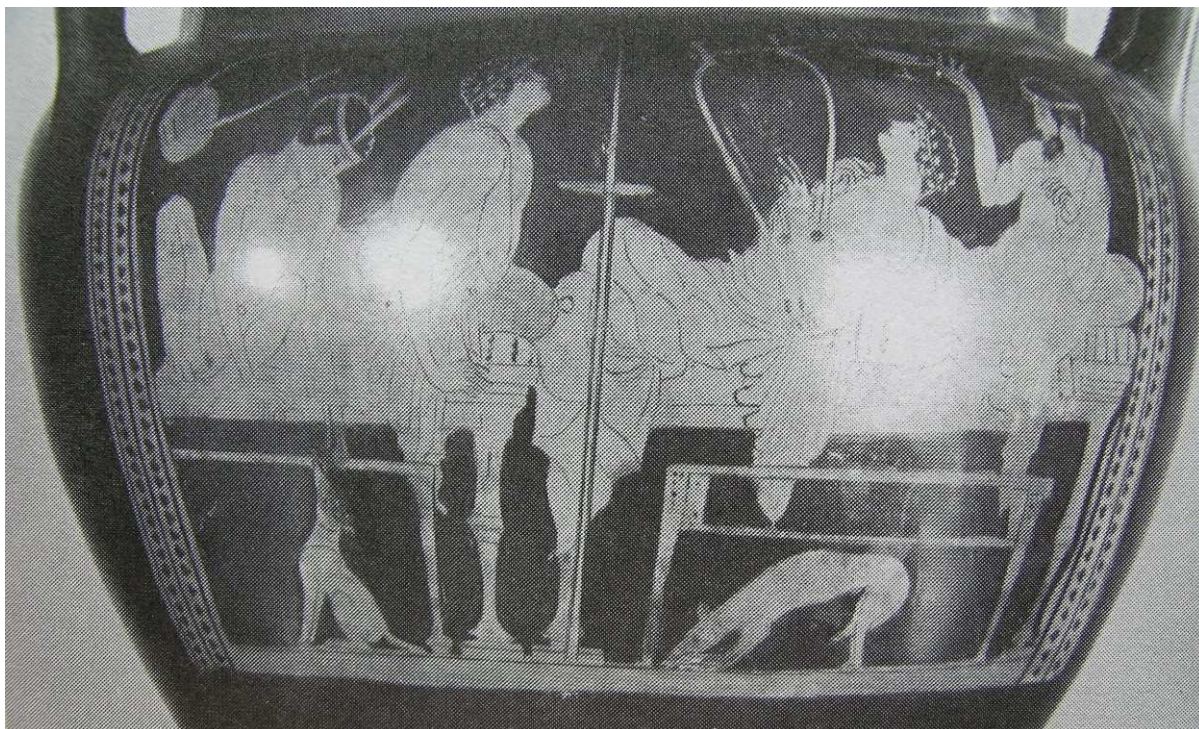


Fig. 10. Attica, fifth century B.C., crater (Milan, private collection 'H.A.', C 354). Foto: Maas 1989: 133, fig. 9.

A female double aulos player and a lyre hung on the wall are portrayed on a red-figured crater from fourth century B.C. Italy (**fig. 11**)³³. Three male wreathed figures can be seen in the typical reclining position leaning on the left hand resting on the pillows of the banquet couch. In front of them food is placed on tables and a crater for the wine is on the ground while a diner to the right brings more wine in a vessel. In the centre of the scene a semi-nude figure, probably a prostitute, forms a couple with the one of the three male participants. The rest two are placed symmetrically to the left and the right. A professional, female double aulos player, wearing a long chiton and imatio and with her hair tied up with a ribbon, is accompanying the moment with her music. On the wall hangs a lyre with eight strings, a head, perhaps of Dionysos, and three round elements resembling tympana, dishes or other decorative elements.

The clothing and styling of the figures as well as the combination of lyre and double aulos music during banquet are found the same on classical Greek vases. Moreover, the fact that the city of Cuma was a Greek colony already for three centuries give place for three assumptions: a. the painting represents a depiction of imported Greek custom, part of the artist's daily life, well know to him and the owner of the crater, possibly a Greek, b. a copy of Greek motives just for fashion or because of influence by the Greek way of living and c. an easy copy of existing prototypes used for the Greeks of Cuma. As far as Cuma was a Greek colony the first assumption seems more possible.

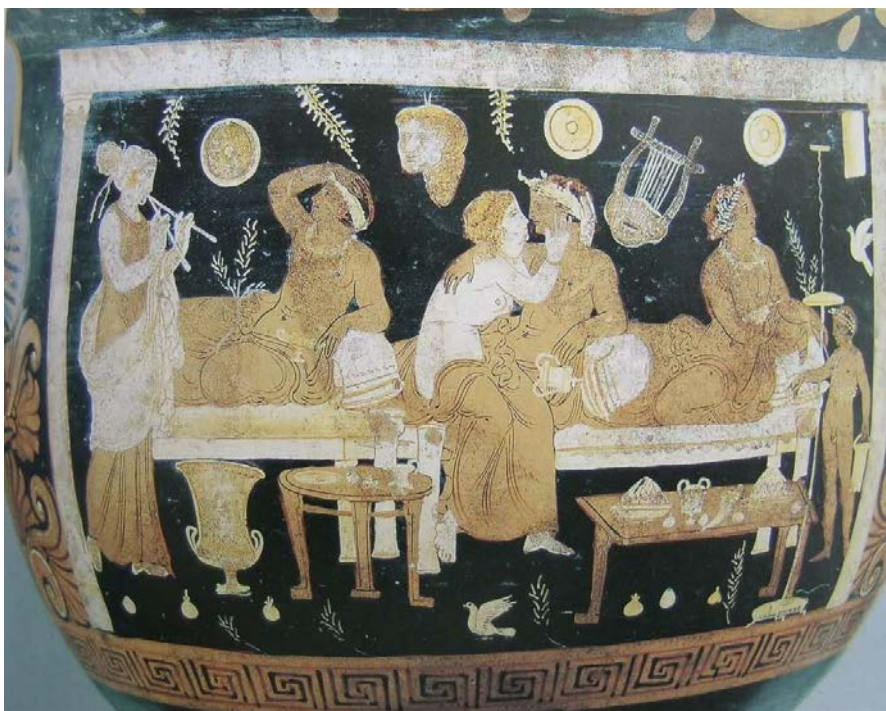


Fig. 11. Cuma, Italy, 340-330 B.C., painter of Cuma A, red figured crater (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 85873). Foto: *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* 1994: 53.

³³ *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* 1994: 53.

The custom of lyre playing after a banquet is mentioned much later and during the first century A.D. by Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* I. 10.19): ‘From the importance thus given to music also originated the custom of taking a lyre around the company after banquet, and when on such an occasion Themistocles confessed that he could not play his education was, to quote the words of Cicero: *regarded as imperfect*’³⁴.

During this period the kithara is rarely connected with banquet scenes but an interesting example is a wall painting dated to the fourth century B.C. Thessalonike, Greece (**fig. 12**)³⁵. The centre of the depiction is occupied by, perhaps, the most important figure, a wreathed female musician, seated between two male, also wreathed, banqueters. The musician holds a kithara vertically to her body with both her hands plucking the strings. Her feet rest on a stool, probably for practical reasons that ease playing, with the right realistically raised possibly keeping the rhythm. She wears a long and long-sleeved chiton, mantle and red coloured shoes.



Fig. 12. Greece, Thessalonike, Saint Athanasios, façade of grave, fourth century B.C., fresco (in situ). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 99, no 2.

³⁴ Quintilianus 1996: 168-169.

³⁵ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 98, no 2. More about kithara in meal scenes of Greek classical Antiquity see Maas 1989: 57.

Both male participants are turning their heads towards her as if listening to her music, while she is looking at her instrument, as if concentrating on her playing. The man to the right is reaching with his right hand towards one of the four pegs, as if tuning the string. This unique gesture, among the scenes, can be interpreted, possibly, as an artistic attempt towards a realistic and vivid depiction, underlined also by the raised foot of the musician, her concentration on her musical instrument and the movement of the male figures turning towards her.

This wall painting is a rare example of such an early colourful depiction. The next colourful banqueting scene, which will be dated many centuries later, during the fourth century A.D., Syria (fig. 38), depicts female musicians wearing the same red shoes indicating a Greek influence and wealthy women of a high social status. The majority of the two-coloured, or in some cases three-coloured ancient Greek or Italian vases do not give us the opportunity for such detailed depictions.

An element found among the Roman banqueting scenes and referred to by contemporary writers, is dancing during banquets. This element seems to be unchanged from classical Athens onwards as shown on a red-figure hydria from fifth century B.C. Athens, Greece, which represents such a banquet female dancer with *krotala* together with the typical female double aulos player (**fig. 13**)³⁶. The references of Plato, Xenophon and Athenaeus about female dancers as entertainers at banquets³⁷ comprise more evidence, found again, many centuries later, in the works of Martialis from Rome, as well as in the speeches of the Christian Church Fathers fighting the pagan banqueting customs of their epoch.



Fig. 13. Attica, fifth century B.C., hydria (Kopenhagen, Nationalmuseum, 1942). Foto: Wegner 1963: 97, fig. 62.

³⁶ Wegner 1963: 96-97, no 62.

³⁷ See Maas 1989: 184.

1.3 Etruscan scenes

The custom of the reclining banquet spread, probably, from the East to the Greeks and then to the places where Greeks came in contact, commercial or otherwise, such as Etruria, as shown on a terracotta plaque of the sixth century B.C. Rome (**fig. 14**)³⁸ where a female double aulos player accompanies the drinking moments of the male and female reclining figures grouped in pairs. The male double aulos player, placed between the two couches in the middle of the depiction wears a short chiton and short-sleeved mantle and a long cover on his head.



Fig. 14. Rome, Velletri, sixth century B.C., terracotta plaque (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 21600).
Foto: Dunbabin 2003: 33, fig. 13.

The appearance of banqueting scenes in Etruscan funerary monuments starts during this century, while the theme will be continuously depicted, as a meal for the dead, on late Roman sarcophagi. A number of wall paintings found decorating the walls of Etruscan graves, especially in the area of Tarquinia, portray vivid banqueting scenes accompanied by musicians playing double aulos, lyre, krotala and phorminx and dancing female and male figures, richly dressed, nude or seminude, within the sorrowful funerary environment of the tombs.

A comparison between the Etruscan depictions and the contemporary Greek ones reveals similarities testifying to the migration of Greek artists to Etruria as well as the copying of Greek models by local Etruscan artists³⁹. The types of the musical instruments, as well as their depicted combinations (for example double aulos and lyre or double aulos and krotala) are similar to those found on the contemporary Greek vases with banqueting scenes, as are the

³⁸ Dunbabin 2003: 32-33, fig. 13.

³⁹ Weege 1921: 108.

types of clothing and, in some cases, the whole motif that seems to be copied. The wall paintings of Tarquinia are the oldest, colourful and revealing the imported Greek banqueting customs, which are for the first time, connected with the deceased.

The wall painting from the *tomba della Caccia e Pesca* in Tarquinia dated to the end of the sixth century B.C. represents a male double aulos player accompanying the banqueting pair with his music (**fig. 15**)⁴⁰. The musician wears a short chiton and short-sleeved mantle and he is wreathed according to the Greek custom, which demands that the banqueters be wreathed. In the right part of the scene above the slaves represented with smaller dimensions, a lyre is hanging from the wall, as in Greek depictions, reminding us of the sayings of Horatius speaking about the use of lyre and tibia during Roman banquets.

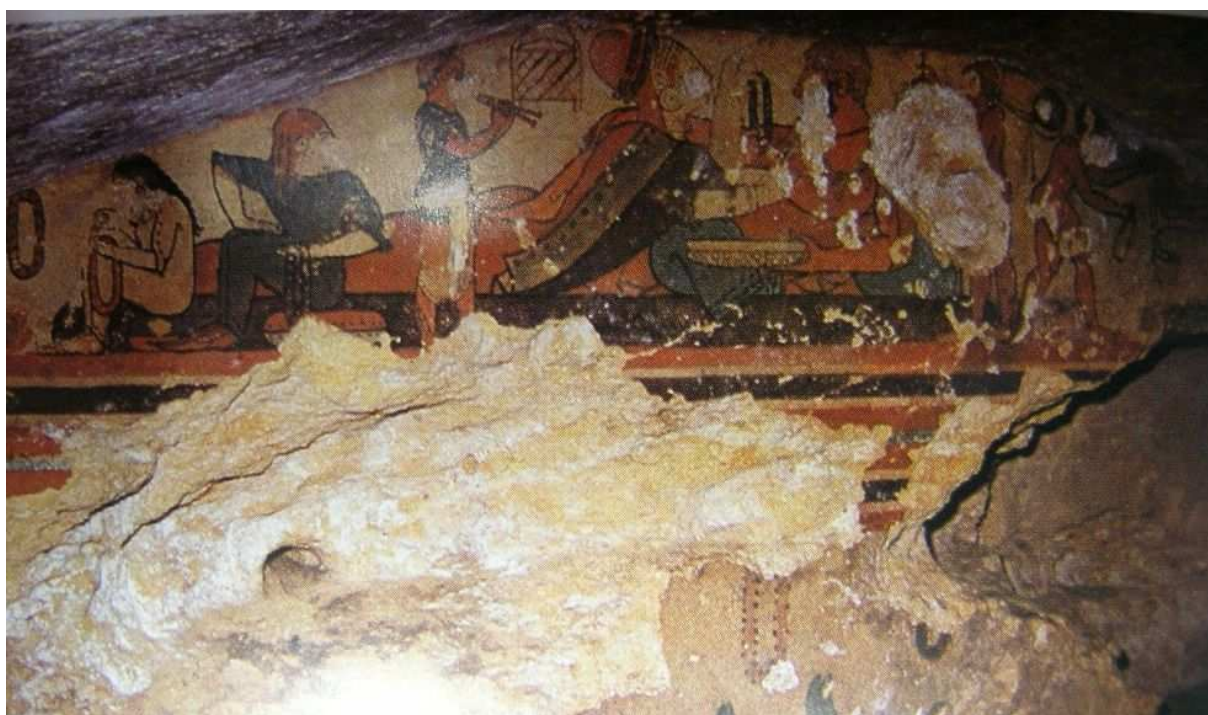


Fig. 15. Italy, Tarquinia, tomba della Caccia e Pesca, end of the sixth century B.C., fresco (in situ). Foto: Weeber 1980: 18, fig. 5.

On the walls of two contemporary graves also from Tarquinia (530-520 B.C.) called the *Tomba delle Inscrizioni* and the *Tomba delle Leonese* the environment resembling a *symposion* is not directly portrayed but hinted at by the depicted elements. In the paintings of the first grave, a male double aulos player accompanies five wreathed male figures with drinking cups, while the banqueting environment is suggested by the wreaths, the drinking vessels and the double aulos accompaniment⁴¹. In the second grave, a male double aulos player and a male kithara player are placed beside a crater, while on the right side a male and

⁴⁰ Weeber 1980: 18, 22, fig. 5.

⁴¹ Fleischhauer 1964: 32.

a female figure are dancing to their music and on the left side, a solo female dancing figure is depicted with impressive details⁴².

One more grave from Tarquinia of the fifth century B.C. (500-490) called the *Tomba del Citaredo* retains elements suggesting the environment of a symposion (**fig. 16**)⁴³. On the right wall, among five dancing nude or semi-nude male figures is placed a double aulos player. The wreaths hanged from the branches in the background, as well as a vessel for the wine suggest one more symposion scene.

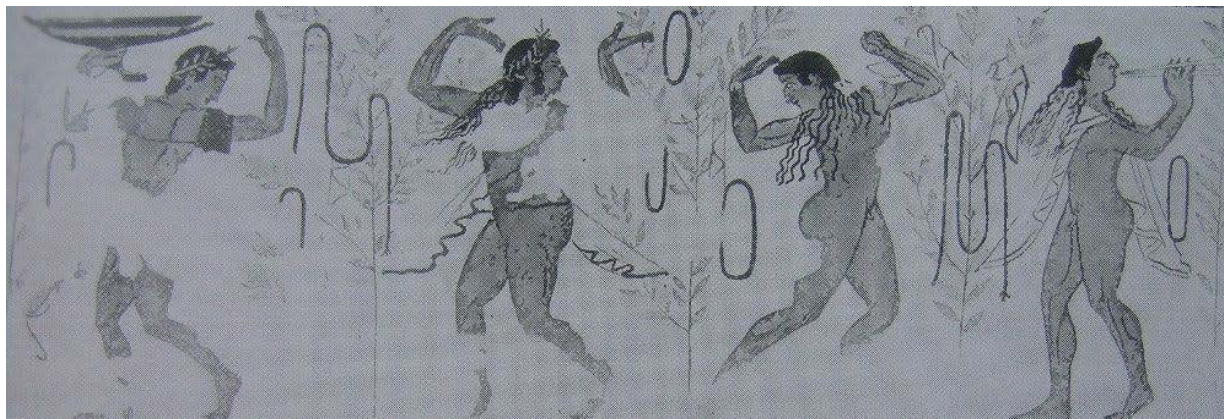


Fig. 16a. Italy, Tarquinia, Tomba del Citaredo, 500-490 B.C., wall painting (in situ). Foto: Weege 1921: 100, fig. 84.



Fig. 16b. Italy, Tarquinia, Tomba del Citaredo, 500-490 B.C., wall painting (in situ) left side. Foto: Weege 1921: 101, fig. 85.

On the left, two female figures wear long transparent pointed chitons decorated with a piece of textile falling from the neck, possibly of local origin. They are dancing facing each other. The one on the right is playing krotala. Next to her, to the right a male, semi-nude figure is playing a lyre and next to him a female figure is playing double aulos. Weege

⁴² Fleischhauer 1964: 32-33, no 9.

⁴³ Weege 1921: 100, 101, figs. 84, 85 and Fleischhauer 1964: 32.

mentions a lyre player⁴⁴ while Fleischhauer a kithara player⁴⁵ possibly suggesting phorminx. Eventhough the shape of the musical instrument is unclear, the remaining design corresponds to the small round lower end of the resonator of a lyre and the narrow upper part of its left arm.

Reclining banqueting pairs accompanied by the music of a male double aulos player are portrayed on the fresco wall painting in the grave called *Tomba del Triclinio* from Tarquinia of the fifth century B.C. (**fig. 17**)⁴⁶. The wreathed banqueters are served by slaves, while wreaths are hung from the background wall, and animals, such as a leopard, and two birds are depicted under the couches. The musician at the left edge is dressed in a chiton exomis and shoes similar to those depicted on related Greek vases.

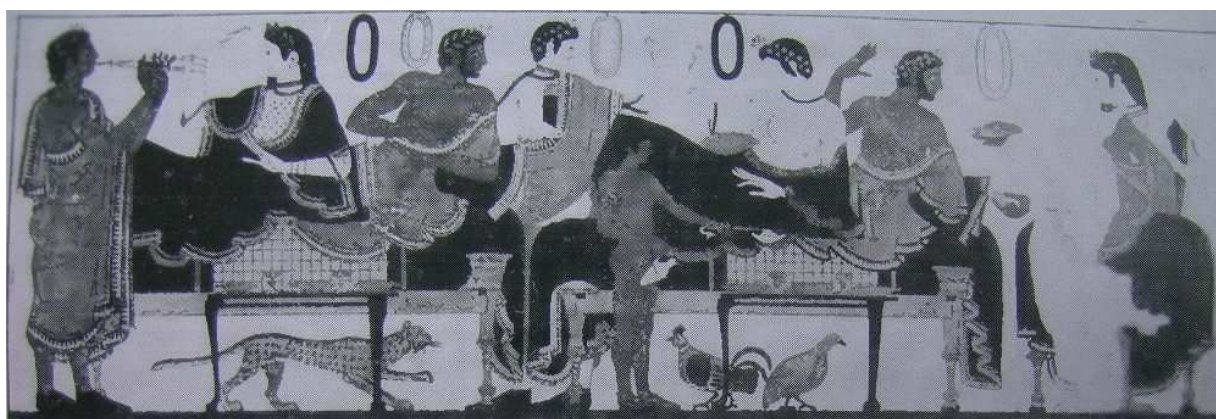


Fig. 17a. Italy, Tarquinia, Tomba del Triclinio, 480-470 B.C., wall painting (in situ) side a. Foto: Weege 1921: 57, fig. 54.



Fig. 17b. Tarquinia, Tomba del Triclinio, 480-470 B.C., wall painting (in situ) side b. Foto: Weege 1921: 1, fig. 1.

The walls of the two sides of the grave are occupied by wreathed, dancing male and female figures and among them is a male lyre player wearing a chiton exomis and a couple, consisting of a semi-nude male double aulos player and a female krotala player facing each other. The krotala player is elegantly depicted wearing a decorated skirt and a long ribbon placed behind her back and on both her arms. The use of such pieces of cloth, hanging round

⁴⁴ Weege 1921: 101.

⁴⁵ Fleischhauer 1964: 32.

⁴⁶ Weege 1921: 1, fig. 1; 23, fig. 20; 57, fig. 54; 101-102, Fleischhauer 1964: 32.

the neck or from the back to the arms, is localised to the depictions of Tarquinia and for this reason may indicate a local dressing custom.

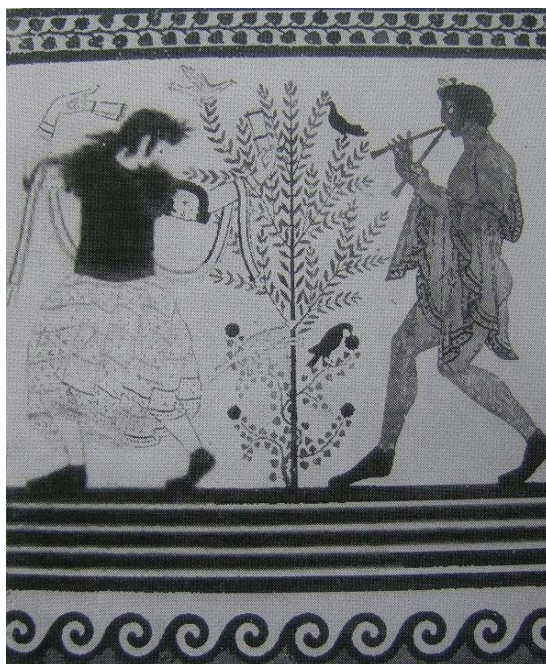


Fig. 17c. Tarquinia, Tomba del Triclinio, 480-470 B.C., wall painting (in situ) side b. Foto: Weege 1921: 23, fig. 20.



Fig. 18a. Italy, Tarquinia, tomba dei Leopardi, fifth century B.C., fresco (in situ) right side wall. Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 35, fig. 10.

The contemporary wall paintings of the *Tomba dei Leopardi*, also in Tarquinia depict a surviving main banqueting scene on the front wall and on the left and right side walls related figures, among them musicians (**fig. 18**)⁴⁷. On the side wall to the right three wreathed male semi-nude figures are connected with the main banqueting scene by the vessel for wine which

⁴⁷ Fleischhauer 1964: 34-35, no 10 and Weeber 1980: 18, 21, fig. 4.

is held by the figure to the left, and with the double aulos and the lyre that are played by the figures in the middle and to the right respectively. The organological characteristics of the double aulos are clearly depicted with the holmos, the hypholmio and the metal ring, painted here in a darker colour. The lyre is depicted with seven strings, as on the contemporary Greek vases. The musician is placing the fingers of his left hand against the strings, a technique that can be also seen on the contemporary Greek vases, while, in his right hand, he is holding the plectron.

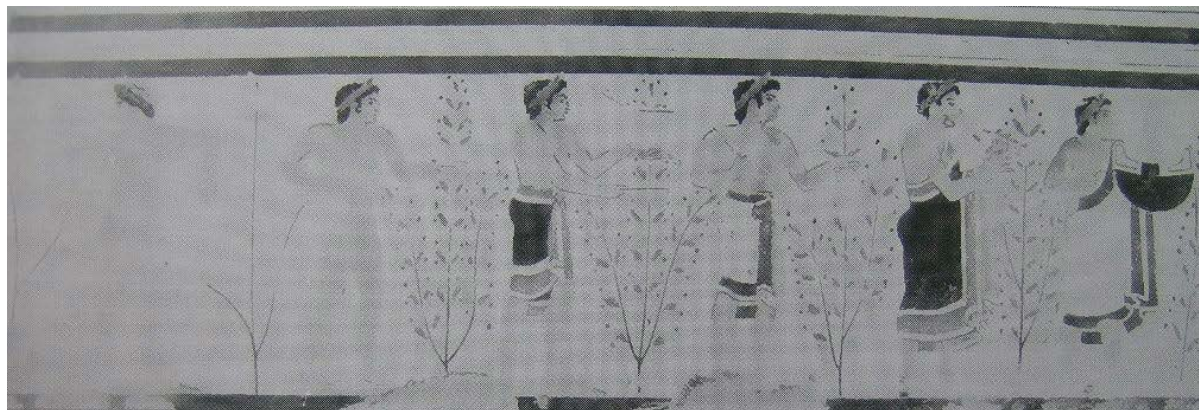


Fig. 18b. Italy, Tarquinia, tomba dei Leopardi, fifth century B.C., fresco (in situ) left side wall. Foto: Weege 1921: 66, fig. 61.

The left-hand side wall is occupied by wreathed male figures, one of which holds a vessel for incense and another plays double aulos⁴⁸. The scene seems to represent the libation that opens a symposium and, according to Plutarch, is accompanied by aulos music. This scene is unique.

Male banqueting figures accompanied by a female double aulos player occupy the three walls of the contemporary grave, named as *Tomba Bruschi* also found in Tarquinia. The fourth wall is covered with male and female figures, dancing to the sounds of the musician (**fig. 19**)⁴⁹. The male figures are semi-nude and wreathed, while the females are dressed in long white pointed chitons decorated up to the waist with a decorative textile and headgear known as *tutulus*.



Fig. 19. Italy, Tarquinia, tomba Bruschi, fifth century B.C., fresco (Tarquinia, Palazzo Grafen Bruschi). Foto: Weege 1921: 92, fig. 78.

⁴⁸ Weege 1921: 66, fig. 61.

⁴⁹ Ibid.: 92, fig. 78.

Eventhough the kithara seems to be rarely depicted among the banqueting scenes of Greek Antiquity, an urn relief from Volterra, Italy, of the third (?) century B.C., (**fig. 20**)⁵⁰ portrays an ensemble of a kithara, syrinx and transverse flute players, who entertain banquet participants grouped in couples on banqueting couches, according to the Greek tradition.



Fig. 20. Italy, Volterra, third century B.C.(?), urn relief (Volterra, Museo Etrusco, 197). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 37, no 12.

The type of kithara depicted is curved according to the Greek model of kithara, often found on Greek coins, vases and reliefs of the fourth century B.C. as for example on the silver coin from Methymna, Greece showing on one side, the head of the goddess Athina and on the other, the back of a kithara (**fig. 21**)⁵¹.



Fig. 21. Greece, Methymna, 330-240 B.C., silver coin (Athens, Numismatic Museum, Collection Empedokleous). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 133, no 27.

⁵⁰ Fleischhauer 1964: 36-37, no 12.

⁵¹ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 133, no 27.

This type of instrument seems to have been imported into Italy from Greece, since a contemporary red-figured vase from Campania, South Italy, depicts the same musical instrument in a scene with the Greek subject, the death of Agamemnon (**fig. 22**)⁵².



Fig. 22. South Italy, Campania, late fourth century B.C., red-figured crater, Catania 737 painter (St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, Pizzati Collection, Italy. 1834). Foto: Hermitage Museum, digital collection.



Fig. 23. Italy, Bologna, Certosa, end of the sixth century B.C., bronze basket (Bologna, Museo Civico). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 23, fig. 1.

The presence of the syrinx in Greek cycladic statuettes dated to the 2700-2500 B.C.⁵³ and also in later artworks during the archaic and classical period⁵⁴, confirms its use from the

⁵² Hermitage Museum, digital collection.

⁵³ Haas 1985: 84, 146, figs. 1-3.

⁵⁴ For a collection of works see Haas 1985.

Greeks, while its depictions within Greek mythological scenes on archaic vases from Italy⁵⁵ and in an Etruscan scene from the sixth century B.C. Bologna (**fig. 23**)⁵⁶, attest its import from Greece into Italy possibly together with the Dionysian cult.

The depiction of the transvers flute in fig. 20 is the earliest, and unique among banqueting scenes, while its presence in this urn relief, where not only a Greek custom and theme are copied but also musical instruments such as the kithara and syrinx known to the Greeks, suggests a Greek origin. Thus, the ancient Greek influence, recognizable in the dress and the hairstyle of the figures is also testified to by the musical instruments.

On the other hand, the Greek term ‘*plagiaulos*’ used for the transverse flute is not used within the literary sources in connection with banquets. If we admit, that fig. 20 is realistically depicted, an assumption can be made: the general term *aulos* / *tibia*, used, according to this study, for oboe, clarinet and recorder could be also used for the transverse flute.

The later depictions of the transverse flute reveal a Greek influence. A relief from an ash urn with a male transvers flute player from the end of the second to the first century B.C. Perugia, Italy (**fig. 24**)⁵⁷, a statue with a satyr dated between the first and the fourth century A.D. Rome⁵⁸, a Greek mosaic from the second century A.D. showing a shepherd playing transvers flute (fig. 186) and sarcophagi reliefs from third century A.D. Rome (**fig. 25**⁵⁹ and **fig. 26**)⁶⁰ will depict this organological type.



Fig. 24. Italy, Perugia, tomb of Volumnier, end of the second to first century B.C., ash urn (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 45, fig. 20.

⁵⁵ Italy, Chiusi, 570 B.C., crater (Florence, Archaeological Museum, 4209) in Haas 1985: 85, 148, fig. 7 and Italy, Ruvo, end of the fifth century B.C., pelike (Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, 81392) in Haas 1985: 89, 153, fig. 21.

⁵⁶ Fleischhauer 1964: 22, 23, fig. 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid.: 44, 45, fig. 20.

⁵⁸ Satyr playing transverse flute, Rome, first to fourth century A.D., statue (Vatican: Musei Vaticani) in Alinari ADA-F-1376.

⁵⁹ Fleischhauer 1964: 78, 79, fig. 41.

⁶⁰ Ibid.: 80, 81, fig. 43.



Fig. 25. Rome, third century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 79, fig. 41.



Fig. 26. Rome, second half of the third century A.D., sarcophagus (Dresden, Skulpturensammlung (Albertinum)). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 81, fig. 43.

The influence of ancient Greek models on Etruscan art can be seen on a wall painting from a tomb in Tarquinia, Italy, of the third century B.C. (**fig. 27**)⁶¹ where the meal of a couple is accompanied by the music of a double aulos and a phorminx player. Together with the hairstyles and the clothes, the artist also copies the musical instruments that are known from ancient Greek vases to accompany the banquet. This scene, together with that of fig. 20 are related to the funerary environment of their epoch and they are early depictions of the favourite theme of the meal for the dead oft portrayed on sarcophagi during the period of the Roman Empire.

⁶¹Fleischhauer 1964: 38-39, no 13. For more about Etruscan music see Wegner 1986b: 1601.



Fig. 27. Italy, Tarquinia, tomba degli Scudi, third century B.C, wall painting (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 39, fig. 13.

Even though the Etruscans seem to copy, sometimes exactly, the meal scenes of the Attic red-figured vases of Greek classical Antiquity⁶², the instrumental types are another matter. The double aulos seen in fig. 27 is possibly not a copy of earlier models but a musical instrument from the artist's everyday musical life as it was imported to the Italian peninsula at least two to three centuries earlier, together with the Attic theatrical plays and it is seen in earlier and later Italian theatrical scenes and processions leading to a sacrifice.

The phorminx, which is of a Greek origin, it was known to the Etruscans from the sixth century B.C. on, as Etruscan reliefs testify (**fig. 28**)⁶³, and connected with Etruscan funeral⁶⁴ and wedding processions (see figs. 46, 47) dated to the fifth and fourth century B.C. In that case, the artist copies musical instruments of his own epoch, possibly used with the funerary customs of his area, thus using this type of kithara instead of the alternative with the rectangular sound box seen on Greek coins, reliefs and vases from the fifth and fourth century B.C. onwards. The relevant surviving Etruscan scenes portraying wedding processions with the musical accompaniment of the phorminx seem to be the last depictions of this musical instrument, which disappears by the end of late Antiquity.

⁶² More about Etruscan meal scenes see in Dunbabin 2003.

⁶³ Fleischhauer 1964: 24, 25, figs. 2, 3.

⁶⁴ Double aulos player, phorminx player and female figures in funeral procession, Italy, Chiusi, fifth century B.C., stele (Rome, Museo Barracco) in Fleischhauer 1964: 26, 27, fig. 4.



Fig. 28a. Italy, Chiusi, end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B.C., urn relief (Chiusi, Museo Civico, 2269).
Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 25, fig. 2.



Fig. 28b. Italy, Chiusi, end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B.C., urn relief (Chiusi, Museo Civico, 2247).
Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 25, fig. 3.

1.4 Philological sources from the Roman Empire to the end of late Antiquity

Important information about music at banquets survives from Roman writers. The tibia and lyre accompaniment to banquet is referred to by Horatius (*Epoden* IX. 1-6) during the first century B.C. ‘When, happy Maecenas, shall I drink with you, in joy at Caesar’s victory, in your high house (for that’s what the god intends) the Caecuban that has been laid by for a banquet of celebration, while the lyre sounds forth its Dorian music mingled with the foreign notes of the tibia?’

*Quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes victore laetus Caesare tecum sub
alta – sic Iovi gratum – domo, beate Maecenas, bibam sonante mixtum tibiis
carmen lyra, hac Dorium, illis barbarum?*⁶⁵

A little later, the Spanish Valerius Martialis (40 - 102 A.D.) who lived in Rome will refer to female dancers and a slave playing the tibia during a private banquet in Rome. ‘A modest little meal (who can deny it?), but you will speak no falsehoods nor hear any and recline benignly wearing your own face. Nor yet shall the host read a thick volume or girls from wanton Gades, endlessly prurient, vibrate lascivious loins with practiced tremor. But the tibia of little Condylus will play something light and witty. Such is my little dinner.’:

*parva est cenula, - quis potest negare?- / sed finges nihil audiesve fictum / et
vultu placidus tuo recumbes; / nec crassum dominus leget volumen, / nec de
Gadibus improbis puellae / vibrabunt sine fine prurientes / lascivos docili tremore
lumbos; / sed quod non grave sit nec infacetum, / parvi tibia Condylus sonabit. /
haec est cenula. (Liber spectaculorum v. 78.22-31)*⁶⁶

During the same century, Petronius from Rome will refer, in his *Satyricon*, to a female cymbal player entering the dining room and signaling the start of the dinner: ‘A female cymbal player entered and roused everyone with the clash of brass. So the party recommenced. Quartilla recalled us to our cups, and the cymbal player sang to add to the jollity’ (*Satyricon*. 22.6-23.1)⁶⁷:

*Cum intrans cymbalistris et concrepans aera omnes excitavit. Refectum igitur est
convivium et rursus Quartilla ad bibendum revocavit. Adivvit hilaritatem
comissantis cymbalistris*⁶⁸.

The contemporary Spanish Fabius Quintilianus (35 – end of first cent. A.D.) who lived and studied in Rome mentions the use of the lyre or kithara (*fides*) and the tibia ‘even at the

⁶⁵ Horatius 2004: 292-293. The term ‘pipe’ of the translator is replaced with the ‘tibia’ of the original.

⁶⁶ Martialis 1993: 421. The term ‘flute’ of the translator is replaced by the ‘tibia’ of the original. Mau says that in this passage the female dancers referred to sing and play forked cymbals, something that is not in accordance with the original text (Mau 1900: 617).

⁶⁷ Petronius 1996: 16.

⁶⁸ Ibid.: 20.

banquets of our own forefathers' where 'it was the custom to introduce the tibia and fides, and even the hymn of the Salii has its tune':

*Sed veterum quoque Romanorum epulis fides ac tibias adhibere moris fuit. Versus quoque Saliorum habent carmen. (Institutio oratoria i. 10.20)*⁶⁹

Banquets continue during late Antiquity among pagans and Christians as is shown in the depictions and testified to by the writers of the epoch. The participation of musicians is shown in a few mosaics, sarcophagi and a manuscript and confirmed by eastern and western authors of the epoch, who speak about the musical instruments and the dancers at banquets. Of course, musical praxis and musicians have no place among the Christian depictions of banquets in Catacombs. The early Church Fathers severely condemned this practice⁷⁰ and distinguished pagan from Christian banqueting customs.

For example, Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-c.215 A.D.) in his *Paedagogus* speaks against the banquets of his epoch as well as the musical instruments used and the music heard there. The aulos is characterized as intoxicating:

*Ο μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ μεθυστικός αὐλὸς ἄλως ἐρωτικῆς σχεδίας. (Logos 2 chapter 4. 14)*⁷¹

While 'everyone who participates by playing the auloi and the psalteries, and joins the choruses and the pantomimic dances (*ορχήμασι*), as well as everyone who plays the Egyptian clappers (*κρότοις Αἰγυπτίων*⁷²), the cymbals and the tympana, all these instruments of the pagans that do not have the real faith (*καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀπάτης οργάνοις*), are indecent and uncouth. Such a symposium, it seems to me, becomes nothing but a theater of drunkenness.'⁷³:

*Εἰ δὲ ἐν αὐλοῖς καὶ ψαλτηρίοις, καὶ χοροῖς, καὶ ορχήμασι, καὶ κρότοις Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ τοιαύταις ραθυμίαις ἀλῶσι ἀτάκτοις, καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι κομιδὴ γίνονται, κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἐξηχούμενοι, καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀπάτης οργάνοις περιψοφούμενοι. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, θέατρον μέθης τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεται συμπόσιον. (Logos 2 chapter 4. 17-20)*⁷⁴

And Clement continues by speaking about the syrinx which 'should be given to the shepherds, while, the aulos to superstitious men who are obsessed by idolatry. Truly these

⁶⁹ Quintilianus 1996: 168-169. The term pipe of the translator is replaced with tibia of the original and the lyre is replaced with lyre / kithara as synonym to *fides*.

⁷⁰ See Pomeroy 1985: 143.

⁷¹ Clement of Alexandria *PG* 8: 440-441. For a French translation see Clément d'Alexandrie 1960/70.

⁷² Even if the exact meaning of the word *κρότοις* is 'noise' the adjective Egyptian added may well suggest clappers like forked cymbals that were so beloved among the Egyptians.

⁷³ This passage is translated also by McKinnon (1987: 32, no 51) who interprets the term *ορχήμασι* as 'dances'.

⁷⁴ Clement of Alexandria *PG* 8: 440.

musical instruments should be banished from a sober banquet, because they are proper for the wild animals and not for the human beings':

Σύριγγ μιν οὖν ποιμέσιν ἀπονενεμήσθω. αὐλός δὲ ἀνθρώποις δεισιδαίμοσιν, εἰς εἰδωλολατρείας σπεύδουσι. Καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποπεμπτέα τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα νηφαλίου συμποσίου, θηρίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις κατάλληλα. (Logos 2 chapter 4. 20)⁷⁵

Athenaeus (third century A.D.) from Naukratia near Egypt, in his work *Deipnosophistae* speaking about symposia and the acroamata that the banqueter Larensios introduced to his banquet refers to performers that make participants laugh (γελωτοποιούς). Nevertheless, Anaxarsis the Skythian remained sober even if performers that cause laughter were present:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας μετὰ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν καινοὺς αἰεὶ λεγομένους λόγους καὶ ἀκροάματα ἐκάστοτε διάφορα ἐπεισάγει ὁ λαμπρὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιάτωρ Λαρήνσιος ἔτι τε καὶ γελωτοποιούς, φέρε λέγωμεν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τούτων. Καίτοι γε οἶδα καὶ Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην ἐν συμποσίῳ γελωτοποιῶν εἰσαχθέντων ἀγέλαστων διαμείναντα. (Deipnosophistae 14. 14-20)⁷⁶

Basil (c. 330-379 A.D.) in his *Commentary in Isaiah* condemns the musicians participating in the banquet where 'in the accompaniment of the kithara and of psaltery and tympana and auloi the participants drink wine. There young male kithara players are drunk through their eyes and the female aulos players and the female players of the psaltery spend badly their time. Dances accompany the immoral activities of the banquet'⁷⁷:

Μετὰ γὰρ κιθάρας, φησί, καὶ ψαλτηρίου, καὶ τυμπάνων, καὶ αὐλών, τὸν οἶνον πίνουσι. Κιθαρισταὶ γὰρ τινες νέοι, οἱ κακῶς παραπεσόντες μεθύουσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς. καὶ αὐλητρίδες καὶ ψάλτριαι, κακῶς τὴν ὥραν διατιθέμεναι. καὶ χοροί.... (Commentary in Isaiah, chapter 5. 156.35)⁷⁸

And he continues: 'Woe, it is written, 'unto them who drink wine to the accompaniment of kithara, aulos, tympanon and song. You place a lyre ornamented with gold and ivory upon a high pedestal as if it were a statue or devilish idol. And an awful woman plays the lyre because she is in need of the slavery'⁷⁹:

Οὐαί, φησὶν, οἱ μετὰ κιθάρας, καὶ αὐλών, καὶ τυμπάνων, καὶ ψαλμών, τὸν οἶνον πίνοντες. Σοὶ δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ ἐλέφαντι πεποικιλμένη ἡ λύρα, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινός βωμοῦ ὡσπερ τι ἀγάλμα καὶ εἰδωλὸν δαιμόνων ἀνάκειται. Καὶ γυνή τι ἀθλία, αὐτὴ τοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ερεΐδειν πρὸς ἀτρακτὸν διδαχθῆναι, τὴν ἐκ τῆς δουλείας ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ λύραν ἐκτείνειν. (Commentary in Isaiah, chapter 5. 158)⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Clement of Alexandria PG 8: 440.

⁷⁶ Athenaeus 1962: vol. III, 353.

⁷⁷ McKinnon 1987: 70, no 143.

⁷⁸ Basilus PG 30: 376.

⁷⁹ McKinnon 1987: 70, no 143.

⁸⁰ Basilus PG 30: 376-377.

John Chrysostom (c. 347-407) in his letter *ad Colossenses* speaks about the use of auloi, kitharas, syrinxes and songs in the *symposion* where the Demons are worshipped, while the songs heard together with the accompaniment of the *πηκτίδες* (*pectides* = type of harp) are songs for the Demons. ‘There, indeed, are auloi, kitharas and syrinxes, but here no discordant melody. What then? Hymns and psalmody. There the demons are hymned, but here God, the ruler of all.... For these songs accompanied by the pektis are nothing else but those of demons.’⁸¹:

*Εκεί μεν αυλοί και κιθάραι και σύριγγες, ενταύθα δε ουδέν απηχές μέλος. αλλά τί; ύμνοι, ψαλμωδίαι. Εκεί μεν οι δαίμονες ανυμνούνται, ενταύθα δε ο πάντων Δεσπότης Θεός. ... τα γαρ δια των πηκτίδων ουδέν άλλο, η δαιμόνων άσματα. (Ad Colossenses, Homilia 1.320)*⁸²

Chrysostom also refers to the rich people who invite kithara and aulos players after their banquets (*σιτία*) making their houses resemble a theatre: ‘you do not realize the wealthy people, how after their banquets they invite to their houses kithara and aulos players making their houses look like the theatre?’:

*Ουχ οράτε τους ευπόρους των ανθρώπων, πως μετά τα σιτία κιθαρωδούς και αυλητάς επεισάγουσι; θέατρον εκείνοι ποιούσι την εαυτών οικίαν. (In Genessim, chapter 48, Homilia 8)*⁸³

He finds, ones more, the chance to condemn not only the music played at banquets but also the participants. The songs heard at *symposia* are characterized as *άσματα πορνικά* (pornographic songs) that attract demons. In addition, everyone who introduces *μίμους* (mimes) and *ορχηστάς* (pantomimes) and *πόρνας γυναίκας* (prostitutes) to the *symposia* of his house is inviting the devil and he turns his house into a theatre. ‘Just as those who introduce mimes, pantomimes and prostitutes into banquets, also summon there demons and the devil, and fill their homes with every manner of discord.’⁸⁴:

*Ούτως ένθα μεν άσματα πορνικά, δαίμονες επισωρεύονται. ... Ωσπερ γαρ οι μίμους και ορχηστάς, και πόρνας γυναίκας εις τα συμπόσια εισάγοντες, δαίμονας και τον διάβολον εκεί καλούσι, και μυρίων πολέμων τας αυτών εμπιπλώσιν οικίας Εκείνοι ποιούσι θέατρον την οικίαν αυτών. (Expositio in Psalmum 41)*⁸⁵

⁸¹ McKinnon 1987: 86, no 185.

⁸² Chrysostom *PG* 62: 306.

⁸³ Chrysostom *PG* 54: 616.

⁸⁴ McKinnon 1987: 80-81, no 167. The general term ‘actors’ used from the translator is replaced by ‘mimes’ and the term ‘dancers’ by pantomimes.

⁸⁵ Chrysostom *PG* 55: 157-158.

Perhaps, the exact meaning of the characterization as prostitutes can be questioned, because it is not clear if the women referred to are really prostitutes or described as such because of their appearance or their activity outside their houses. According to Webb⁸⁶ the appearing of women on the public stage was a source of scandal. These women are described in the Christian sources as immoral in general, not only because they failed to cover their head and all of their body, but also because of their effect on the viewer, especially for the dancers and entertainers of private or public spectacles.

Sidonius Apollinaris (431/2 - 487) from Lyon speaking about the dinner of Theodorich, a Gothic king of the west Empire, refers to a great ensemble of performers accompanying his dining (*Epistulae* 2. 9). The *acroama* consists of a mimic show and the music of water-organs (*υδραύλεις*) along with a singing vocal ensemble but without its leader-singer (*μεσόχορους*) or the music of the lyre and the male aulos player of the chorus (*χοραύλης*) or the female tympanon and psalter player, because the king likes to hear only the lighter songs. ‘It is true (not often) the banter of low comedians is admitted during supper, though they are not allowed to assail any guest with the gall of a biting tongue. In any case no hydraulic organs are heard there, nor does any concert-party under its trainer boom forth a set performance in chorus; there is no music of lyrist, choraules, tambourine-girl or female citharist; for the king finds a charm only in the string music which comforts the soul with virtue just as much as it soothes the ear with melody.’:

...sane intromittuntur, quamquam raro inter cenandum mimici sales, ita ut nullus conviva linguae felle feriatur; sic tamen quod illic nec organa hydraulica sonant nec sub phonasco, vocalium concentus meditatum achroama simul intonat; nullus ibi lyristes choraules mesochorus tympanistria psaltria canit, rege solum illis fidibus delinito, quibus non mimus mulcet virtus animum quam cantus auditum.
(*Epistulae* 2. 9)⁸⁷

Isidore of Pelusium (d. c. 435) from Alexandria, refers to the use of auloi and cymbals during drinking (*Epistulae*, Book i, *Palladio Diacono, Eis to ‘Mē kōmois kai methais’*). The musical instruments play a central role in transforming the symposium into a shameful carousal. ‘*Kōmos*⁸⁸, my dear friend, it is the intoxicating aulos, together with prolonged drinking, which arouses one to sensuality, and makes of the symposium a shameful theater, as it bewitches the guests with cymbals and other instruments of deception.’⁸⁹:

⁸⁶ Webb 1997: 131. See more about Chrysostom and the church fathers of his epoch speaking against the public spectacles in the chapter on the theater.

⁸⁷ Apollinaris 1956: 344-345. I replaced the ‘flautist’ with choraules and the ‘dance-conductor’ with mesochorus of the original text.

⁸⁸ The word ‘carousal’ of the translator is replaced with the one of the original Greek text.

⁸⁹ McKinnon 1987: 61, no 122.

Κώμος ἐστίν, ὡ φιλότης, μεθυστικός αὐλός, ἐγχρονίζοντος οἴνου, ἐρεθίζον τὴν ἡδυπάθειαν, καὶ θέατρον ἀσχημον ποιῶν τὸ συμπόσιον, κυμβάλους τισὶ καὶ ὀργάνοις ἀπάτης καταθέλων τοὺς δαιτυμόνας. ὅς ἐξῶ στήσειν τῆς βασιλείας τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῷ γέγραπται, ὡς ἐπίστασαι.⁹⁰

The passage reminds us of that of Clement of Alexandria previously referred to. The writer seems to copy in a shorter form the sayings of the church father.

During the sixth century A.D., Chorikios of Gaza survives interesting information concerning the mimes contained in the symposia. In his work *Συνηγορία μίμων* (*Apologia mimorum*) he says that ‘even the emperor does not neglect the spectacle (that the mimes produce), but in the middle of winter, when the Romans celebrate the traditional feast at the end of the previous year and the beginning of the new one, and the emperor eats together with the other officials, he believes that the symposion becomes more joyful with the presence of the mimes’:

Οὐδέ βασιλεύς γὰρ ἀποδοκιμάζει τὴν θέαν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀκμὴν, ἐν ἡ Ρωμαῖοι τὴν πάτριον ἀγούσιν εορτὴν, ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῦ μὲν πεπαυμένου, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχομένου, ἠνίκα νόμος αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐν τέλει συνεστιᾶσθαι, ἠδίῳ τὴν εὐωχίαν ἡγείται θεάματι γίνεσθαι μίμων. (Apologia mimorum 58)⁹¹

And he continues: ‘every day, I would say, we see and hear them playing cymbals at the symposia’:

Ἡμέρας ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκάστης ὁρώντες ἀκούοντες τε κυμβαλιζόντων ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις. (Apologia mimorum 86)⁹²

The presence of a double aulos player in a symposion is also referred to by Chorikios: ‘a symposion took place and an aulos player was performing on the aulos and the participants drinking were listening to him. While the symposion went on they started to dance, because the wine and the aulos cause dance. So, the aulos player was blowing with more and more strength and someone started to laugh at him because of his puffed cheeks.’:

Συμπόσιον ἦν, καὶ παρήν αὐλητῆς, ἠύλει μὲν οὗτος, οἱ δὲ πίνοντες ἤκουον, ὡς δὲ τοῦ δείπνου προϊόντος ὠρχούντο –οἶνος γὰρ καὶ αὐλός εἰς ὄρχησιν ἐγείρειν φιλεῖ-, ἔτι σφοδρότερον ἐνέπνευσε τοῖς αὐλοῖς, ὥστε διέσυρέ τις τὸν ἄνδρα τὰς γνάθους ὁρῶν ὠγκωμένας. (Apologia mimorum 153)⁹³

Information survives from western authors concerning the dance at banquets and the lyre, tibia and cymbals the dancers used until the end of the fourth century A.D. Ambrosius

⁹⁰ Isidorus of Pelusium *PG* 78: 433.

⁹¹ Stefanos 1986: 86.

⁹² *Ibid.*: 100.

⁹³ *Ibid.*: 138.

Mediolanensis (c. 339-397) the Christian bishop connected with the Roman chant, speaks in his *De virginibus ad Marcellinam sororem III* against the dance at banquets ‘where the companion of luxury is unrestrained dancing, modesty is imperiled and temptation must be expected. From that sort of thing I wish the virgins of God to maintain their distance. No one dances when sober, unless he is insane!’⁹⁴:

ibi enim intuta verecundia, illecebra suspecta est, ubi comes deliciarum est exirema saltatio. Ab hac virgins Dei procul esse desidero. Nemo enim, ut dixit quidam saecularium doctor, saltat sobrius, nisi insanit. (Book 4, chapter 5. 25)⁹⁵

Gaudentius of Brescia (d. after 406) contrasts the immoral pagan domestic banquet with its ideal Christian counterpart. The reader is advised to preserve his faith by avoiding drunkenness and shameful banquets ‘where the serpentine movements of lewd women stir one to illicit desire, where the lyre and tibia sound, and where, finally, every sort of musician (*musicorum*) makes noise amid the cymbals of the dancers. Those are wretched homes which differ in nothing from theatres.’⁹⁶:

Hoc autem custodire ita demum poteritis, si ebrietatem devitetis, et convivial inhonesta, ubi turpium feminarum colubrini gestus concupiscentiam movent illicitam; ubi lyra sonat, et tibia; ubi omnia postremo genera musicorum inter cymbala saltantium concrepant. Infelices illac domus sunt quae nihil discrepant a theatris. (Sermo viii. 272)⁹⁷

Venantius Fortunatus (540-600 A.D.) refers to the sweet sound of the kithara and the lyre and the elegant sound of the syrinx (*fistula*) used in the banquets. ‘Poiché vedo che il legno sonoro della cetra canta, che la lira si unisce a quel suono con le sue corde soavi (del cui dolce canto paiono risonare anche le campane) e che la delicata zampogna blandisce le orecchie con le sue modulazioni, sebbene io non sia altro che un convitato sciocco accolto da voi, anche la mia zampogna muta intende dire qualche parola.’⁹⁸:

Cum videam citharae cantare loquacia ligna dulcibus et chordis admodulare lyram (quo placido cantu resonare videntur et aera) mulceat atque aures fistula blanda tropis: quamvis hic stupidus habear conviva receptus, et mea vult aliquid fistula muta loqui. (Carmina L.X. 11.1-6)⁹⁹

According to the writers the tibia and lyra or kithara are almost always referred to as

⁹⁴ McKinnon 1987: 133-134, no 302.

⁹⁵ Ambrosius *PL* 16: 227.

⁹⁶ McKinnon 1987: 169, no 392.

⁹⁷ Gaudentius *PL* 20: 890.

⁹⁸ Translation: ‘As I have seen that the sonorous wood of the citharae have sung, that the lyre sounds with its sweet strings (to which pleasant song resonate even the cymbals) and the delicate syrinx soothes the ears with its modulations, although I do not receive another foolish guest from you, my syrinx intends to say some word.’

⁹⁹ Fortunatus 2001: 532-533.

being used at banquets. They must be the musical instruments of classical Greece imported, together with the banqueting custom, to the colonized Italian peninsula. These musical instruments seem to be used not only in Rome, where for example, Horatius, Martialis and Quintilianus lived, but also later in the area of Egypt, as Clement of Alexandria mentions, as a result of the Hellenisation of the area during the Hellenistic epoch. Cymbals and the Egyptian clappers referred to by Clement and Chorikios of Gaza are favourites in this area of Egypt and Syria and used within the local culture of Isis. The syrinx seen in two Etruscan banqueting scenes is mentioned, after many centuries, by Clement of Alexandria, and depicted in a contemporary mosaic from Carthage possibly portraying a musical custom located in Italy and transferred, together with the artists, to North Africa. The writings of Basil and Chrysostom testify to their experience from different places, such as Rome, Constantinople, Egypt and Greece where they travelled and lived. The tympana, vocal ensemble, water organ, pantomimes and performers who make banqueters laugh mentioned by the writers are not depicted but only referred to in the literary sources.

1.5 Pictorial evidence from the Roman Republic to the end of late Antiquity

After Etruscans captured Rome, during the third century B.C., the artistic production was transferred from the Etruscan cities and the Greek colonies of South Italy into Rome. The following centuries Rome will be a great artistic center where influences from Greece and Egypt, the places with which there were commercial contacts, will be blended with local artistic trends. An impressive amount of art works reveal, from the third century B.C. onwards and until the transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople, continuous Greek influences. The following scene is such an early example.

An altar relief from the second to first century B.C. Rome (**fig. 29**)¹⁰⁰ depicts the reclining Dionysus, to the right, holding his thyrsus and a drinking vessel, while to the left he is accompanied by the music of a female harpist who is seated on the edge of his bed facing him. The bed is decorated with a lion skin. In the background, between them, a stele is portrayed with a hanging picture of a bearded mask and a vessel placed on the top.

The triangular harp consists of the resonator placed on the upper side, while only a part of the strings is depicted. The harpist is depicted as if playing the harp with the fingers of her right hand in characteristic movements touching the harp strings. Although the environment seems to be Dionysiac, the reclining god and the figure of harp suggest a banqueting scene. This type of harp seems to be a Greek copy as the one shown on the Greek vase of fig. 4. The

¹⁰⁰ Fleischhauer 1964: 100, 101, fig. 56.

female harpist and the reclining man depicted shown on the vase are in the same position as Dionysos and the female harpist of the Roman altar relief.



Fig. 29. Rome, second to first century B.C., altar relief (Venice, Museo Archeologico, 263). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 101, fig. 56.

During the fourth century B.C. the city of Pompeii was captured by the Greek colony of Cuma, while the excavations revealed frescoes and mosaics unveiling Greek influences not only to the subjects depicted but also to the musical instruments, dated much later between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. Among them musical scenes have survived connected to theatre, banquets, gladiatorial combats, musical contests and sacrifices indicating an active city. In some cases, the artists seem to adopt antique motifs from the Hellenistic epoch, while, sometimes, they are enough creative to introduce contemporary musical instruments of their epoch. One such motif is that of the banqueting Erotes¹⁰¹ as depicted on the fresco from the Casa della Suonatrice (**fig. 30**)¹⁰².

The young nude winged figures are reclining on the typical Roman semi-circular couch (*stibadium*) which is accompanied by the round table with the drinking vessels in the middle. Some of them stand behind the couch in pairs filling the empty space, while the couch is placed under a *velum*, indicating, perhaps, an outdoor banquet. To the left, a wreathed Eros is playing a wind instrument consisting of a relatively short tube ending in a conical bore.

The depiction of such a musical instrument in a banquet scene is depicted here for the first time, while it is shown later in a banqueting scene carved on a Roman sarcophagus from third century Rome (see fig. 34). It resembles a musical instrument depicted in works all dated between the first and the third century A.D. Rome (see figs. 168 - 174) which connects

¹⁰¹ See for example the Attic crater (Naples, Archaeological Museum, 2202) in Maas 1989: 181.

¹⁰² Dölger 1927: fig. 240.

it with the musical life in Rome, the theatre, athletic competitions and sacrifices as well as with mythological representations such as satyrs.

The short tube with the fingerholes appears to be made of wood, while the mouthpiece could resemble the recorder or clarinet type. The single and the double use of the tubes are depicted. It could be a contemporary musical instrument, well known to the artist, as are the couch and the round table that he uses, in order to make the antique motif of the banqueting Erotes more vivid and familiar to the viewer, or, possibly, because it is easier for him to apply to his work, elements already known to him.



Fig. 30. Italy, Pompeii, Casa della Suonatrice, first century A.D., sketch from the fresco (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale). Foto: Dölger 1927: fig. 240.

The depiction of this type of wind instrument on art works of Italian origin all dated to the first three centuries A.D., beside the Greek double aulos with the long tubes shown on contemporary art works (the co-existence of the two types can be seen, for example, on a sarcophagus relief of the third century A.D. Rome that depicts muses and sirenes¹⁰³) indicate an instrumental type used locally in mythological subjects as well as in those of daily life. As no detailed description concerning this instrumental type has been found in the philological texts of the Roman epoch it cannot be precisely named. Nevertheless, the use of this musical instrument within scenes showing banquets, the theatre and sacrifices may indentify it as a type of tibia / aulos as this musical instrument is connected in literary sources with all these events of daily life.

¹⁰³ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 7.10.104 in Kraus 1967: 242, fig. 246a.

Another fresco, located in the House of M. Lucretius at Pompeii (**fig. 31**)¹⁰⁴ and dated to the first century A.D., represents a banqueting scene with Erotes and Psyche. The Erotes are placed under a *vellum* while among them a seated Eros is playing a kithara.

This type of kithara is the same as that used in the statues, coins and paintings of the Hellenistic period and has nothing to do with the italiote kithara known on the Italian peninsula from the fourth century B.C.¹⁰⁵ and depicted in other Pompeiian frescos (e.g. Herculaneum). This banqueting scene is an example of a complete copying procession, not only of an ancient artistic motif, that of the Erotes, but also of a type of musical instrument from the far removed past.

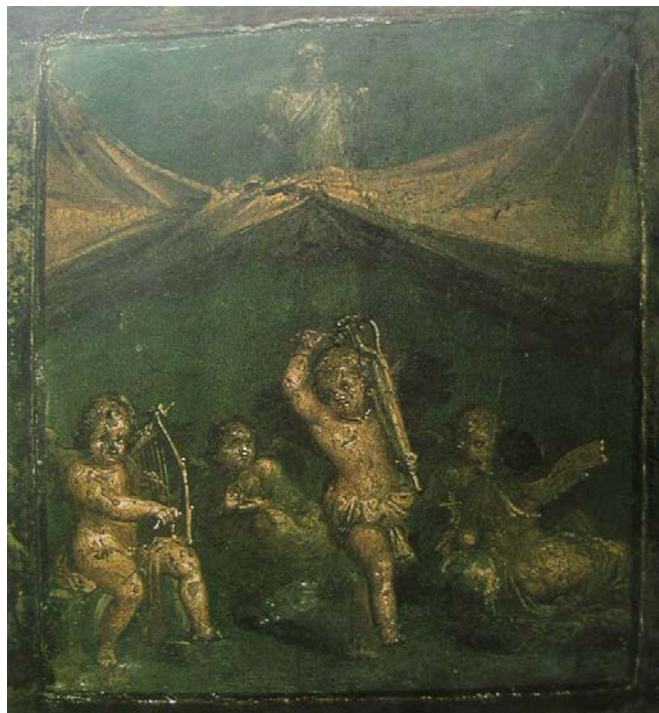


Fig. 31. Pompeii, House of M. Lucretius, ix 3.5, middle of the first century A.D., fresco, (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9207). Foto: Dunbabin 2003: 60, pl. 4.

During Hellenistic times the Eastern Mediterranean was hellenised, while later, during the Roman Empire, the area was captured by Romans and become part of the big 'ekoumene'. Beside the writers that describe or criticize the customs of the places where they live or travel, craftsmen that travel through the whole Empire create monuments according to their taste and artistic capabilities, as well as according to the commands of the patrons who commission them. The copying process, a practice more or less favoured among the craftsmen of all epochs, seems to continue in some works of late Antiquity leaving less place for realistic depictions, although the theme of the scene is inspired by everyday life. Therefore, elements

¹⁰⁴ Dunbabin 2003: 60, pl. 4.

¹⁰⁵ About the Hellenistic and italiote kithara see Maas 1989: 171 - 178.

from the past are blended with those of the present, introduced into themes which are modern in the artists' epoch.

One such depiction, representing a meal scene, survives on a floor mosaic of the third century A.D. from the House of Menander in Antioch (**fig. 32**)¹⁰⁶. In the centre a couple recline on a couch with their feet towards the left, according to the classical custom. The man's breast is bare and he is wearing a red-purple mantle. The woman is wearing a light short-sleeved tunic with dark red decoration on the neck and the sleeve ends. Both figures are crowned with leaves. In front of them there is a small round table with the food. To the right a young girl with a long sleeved tunic decorated with clavus is probably serving the banqueters.

On the left, a female harp player sits on a stool with a green-grey cushion looking at the viewer. She is wearing a long sleeveless deep red tunic that folds richly to her feet and she is also wreathed. Both these elements remind us of Greek Antiquity. Even if half of the musical instrument, its lower part, is destroyed we can appreciate the attempt of the artist to depict a type of harp¹⁰⁷.



Fig. 32. Antioch (Syria), House of Maenander, third century A.D., floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Levi 1945: 204, fig. 76 and pl. XLVd.

¹⁰⁶ Levi 1945: 203-204, pl. XLV d.

¹⁰⁷ Compare the depictions with harps in Vendries 1999: pl. 4 and 5.

A female musician playing the harp during a drinking session is shown on the Mesopotamian relief of the seventh century B.C. from the palace in Nineveh (fig. 1), while the female harp players shown on the red-figured vase from fifth century classical Athens (fig. 4), a Hellenistic Apulian crater (fig. 33)¹⁰⁸ and an altar relief from second to first century B.C. Rome (fig. 29) accompany drinking processions and not banquets.

Only John Chrysostom who lived in Syria refers to harp playing at banquets. The *pēktides* (harps) are, of course, condemned as worshipping Demons. The term ‘psalteries’ mentioned by Clement of Alexandria and Sidonius Apollinaris is very general, suggesting the organological family of harps played with the fingers, thus without a plectrum (psalteries > ψάλλω (*psalw*) = play the strings with the fingers¹⁰⁹). Nevertheless, all the references about psalteries or harps used at banquets are located in the area of Syria and Alexandria and may indicate the use of such instruments at banquets there.



Fig. 33. Italy, Apulia, Hellenistic, crater (New York, The Jan Mitchell Collection, L63.21.6). Foto: Maas 1989: 195, fig. 14.

1.5.1 Meal for the deceased

The custom of the Etruscans to relate meal scenes with funerary objects continue as *klinē* meals on late Roman sarcophagi, where beside the reclining figures, the dishes with the food, the drinks and the servants, a female musician is accompanying the meal with her music. One

¹⁰⁸ Maas 1989: 195, fig. 14.

¹⁰⁹ As referred by Athenaeus: ‘having a musically skilled hand *epsalle* without plectron’: μουσικώτατος δ’ ὡν κατὰ χεῖρα δίχα πλήκτρον ἐψάλλεν (iv 183 c-d). The term *psallw* is used in contrast to the *krouw* that suggests the use of a plectron.

such sarcophagus, from the third century A.D. Rome (**fig. 34**)¹¹⁰ depicts the dead man in the centre reclining on the couch with his feet to the left. Beside him the servants carry plates with the food. On the left, on a woven *kathedra* sits the female lute player. This type of chair is used supplementary to the table during late Antiquity¹¹¹ and is common in scenes with *kline* meal on Roman sarcophagi, where instead of the musician a seated figure, relevant to the dead person, is depicted. The musician is wearing a long chiton that folds richly to the feet and a long sleeved mantle. Her hair is tied up. She is playing the lute with the fingers and looking simultaneously towards the dead person.

Behind her the female musician with the wind instrument is wearing a long sleeved chiton with deep folds to the feet and girded under the breast. She is holding a short aulos which opens at the lower end to a bore, identified as being of the clarinet or the recorder type and depicted in art works from first to third century A.D. Rome. This type of aulos is not a Greek copy but a musical instrument of the musical life of Rome.

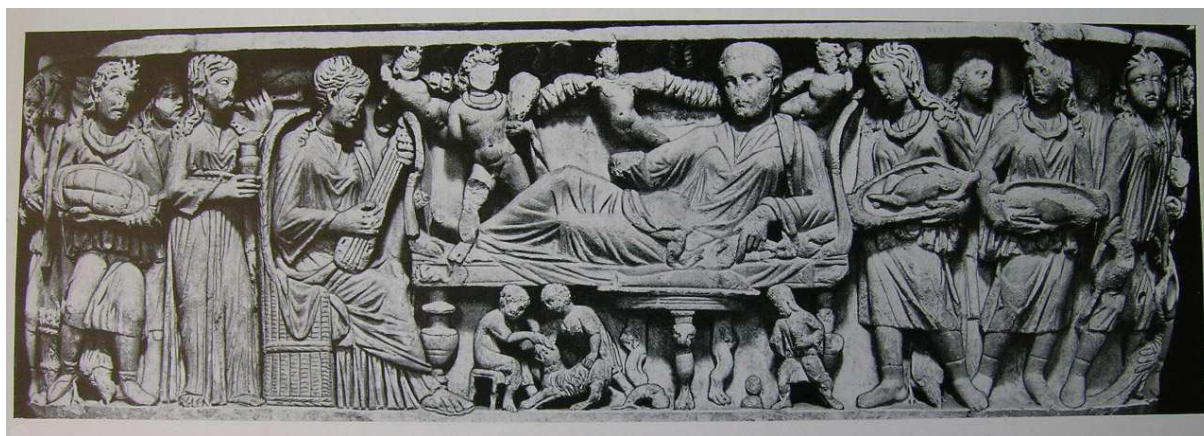


Fig. 34. Rome, Meal for the dead, female lute player, third century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 131, fig. 76.

The female figure holds the aulos with her left hand, while in the other she holds an ewer. This last element is uncommon and can be seen only as an artistic composition which does not mirror reality but the tendency of the craftsman to add the combination of the aulos and the ewer for the drinks, known from Antiquity as indicating a symposion. The awkward handling of the player's hand also reveals his lack of interest for exact and detailed depiction.

The combination of the aulos and the lute is depicted, here, for the first time revealing local funerary customs where the lute is introduced beside the accompaniment to aulos known from Greek Antiquity. A number of sarcophagi from third century A.D. Rome portray lute

¹¹⁰ Malbon 1990: no 40, Fleischhauer 1964: 130, 131, no 76 and Dunbabin 2003: 120-122.

¹¹¹ Dunbabin 2003: 188.

players¹¹² connecting them to funerary customs not though to funerary banquets. As no literary information relates lute to banquet and the contemporary references to *pectides* or *psalteries* (stringed instruments played without plektron) are fairly general, the music of the lute could accompany the mourning of the deceased.

The female lute player will be seen one more time in a scene of *kline* meal on a child's sarcophagus from Rome in the same century (**fig. 35**)¹¹³. The pair on the couch is that of Cupid and Psyche, recognized by their famous embrace. They both recline towards the left with Cupid resting on his left elbow. He is bare-chested while he holds a cup for drinking. The long sleeveless chiton of Psyche leaves her right arm uncovered. In front of them is placed the typical table for the food. Around them all the protagonists are winged cupids and psyche. Two of them play a type of lute and a kithara.



Fig. 35. Italy, third century A.D., child sarcophagus (London, British Museum, GR 1805.7-3.132). Foto: Huskinson 1996: 53, pl. 14.1.

The psyche with the lute is shown seated on the throne beside the couch. She wears a long chiton and a long sleeved mantle down to her feet and she rests her feet on a footstool like the Muse of the ivory plaque of the fifth century A.D., perhaps from Rome¹¹⁴. The combination of the typical meal scene for the dead with the mythological allegorical meaning of the relationship between Cupid and Psyche, is here clearly seen.

Both the lute and the kithara are often depicted on sarcophagi from third century A.D. Rome or Italy, but this scene does clearly connect them to funerary customs. The same type of kithara survives on a tomb stone relief from third century A.D. Rome (fig. 120) representing

¹¹² Female lute player beside the figure of the Good Shepherd, Rome, second half of the third century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Museo Lateranese) in Fleischauer 1964: 132-133, fig. 78 / female lute player, Rome, second third of the third century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Santo Crisogono) in Fleischauer 1964: 132-133, fig. 77 / female lute player in the central medallion where the figure of the deceased is usually portrayed, Rome, end of the third century A.D. (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6598) in Fleischauer 1964: 130, 131, fig. 75.

¹¹³ Huskinson 1996: 53, no 7.1, pl. 14.1.

¹¹⁴ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 258, no 241.

funeral plays for the honoured deceased. Here also, it is not clear if the kithara is connected with the theatre (according to the philological texts of the epoch the kithara is used in the theatre) or whether it is used especially for funeral plays. Moreover, the presence of a kithara in a meal scene for the dead and the absence of similar, contemporary depictions do not let us prove the information mentioned by Fabius Quintilianus of first century A.D. Rome speaking about the use of the kithara at banquets.

An ivory casket found in Brescia and with a possible place of origin North Italy of the fourth century A.D. (360-370) (**fig. 36**)¹¹⁵ portrays male forked cymbal players among scenes from the Old Testament that represent the banquet held for celebrating the golden calf created by Moses (*Exodus 32,2 – 32,6*).

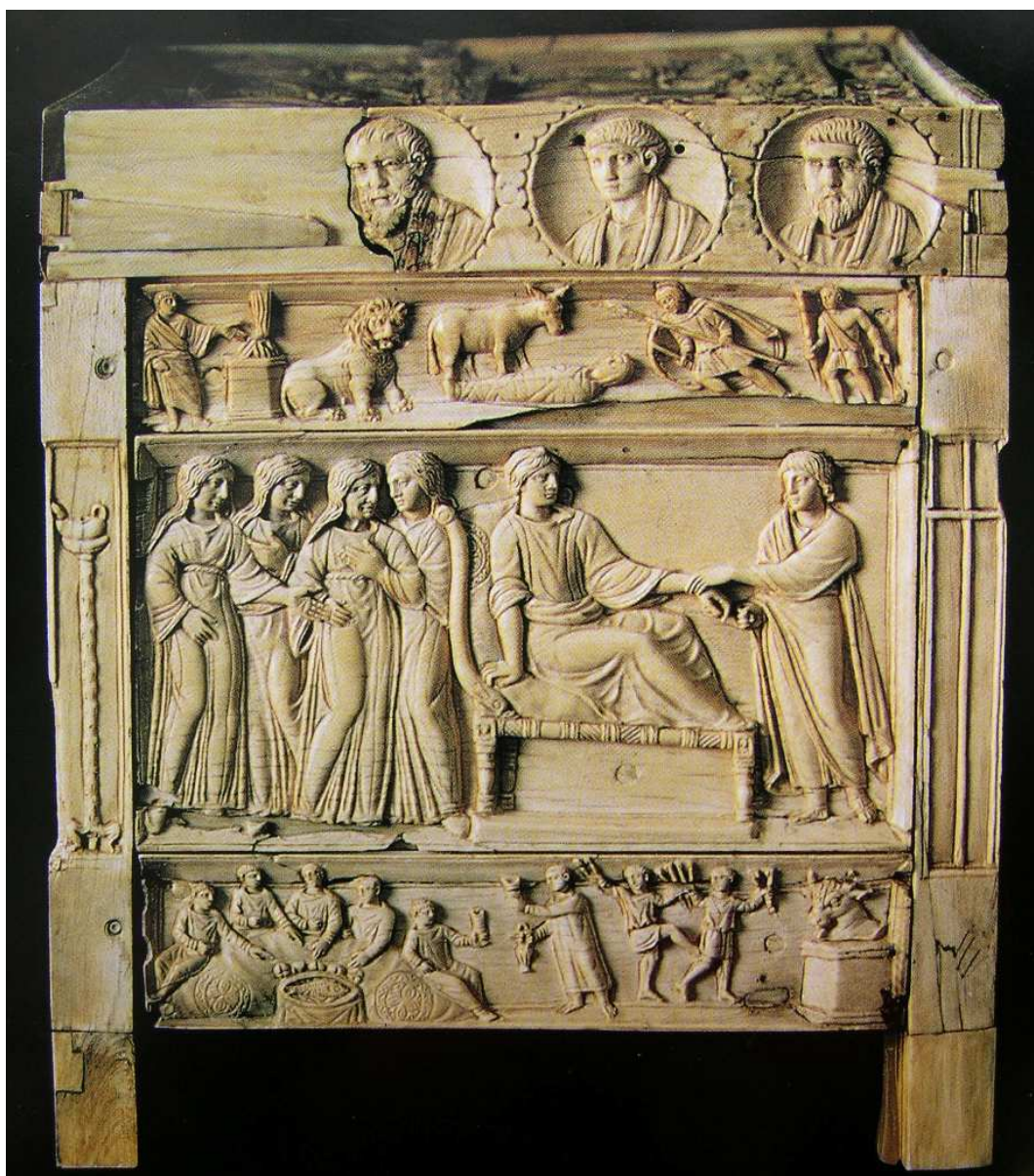


Fig. 36. North Italy (?), 360-370 A.D., ivory casket (Brescia, Civici Musei d' Arte e di Storia). Foto: Crippa 1998:169, fig. 57.

¹¹⁵ Crippa 1998:169, fig. 57 and Volbach 1976: 77, no 107, pl. 57.

On the left of the depiction five male figures sit on a sigma shaped couch (*stibadium*). In the front is placed the round table carrying the food, five loaves of bread and a dish with a fish. All the figures are wearing long tunics like the servant in the middle, who carries a jug probably for wine, and a drinking cup. On the right two dancing male musicians are playing forked cymbals in front of the statue of the calf. The musicians are wearing short tunics and are barefoot, while one of them raises his foot characteristically, indicating dancing.

The tendency of the artist to make the scene more vivid and up-to-date is clear from the beginning of his work. Although there is no reference to music in the text, he adds the figures of musicians accompanying the dining of the participants with their music. He also uses elements of his epoch, familiar to him, such as the *stibadium* couch, the chitons with the double line decoration of the sleeves and the dancing forked cymbal players. Cymbal players in pagan banquets are mentioned by Gaudentius of Brescia who lived exactly the same time. Therefore, the contemporary elements of the artist's epoch make the depiction look more real and relevant to the viewer. Of course it is easier to use them because he does not need to search for unknown elements from the Old Testament. The group of the male musicians is a rarity for this epoch, in contrast to Etruscan works where groups of male musicians do accompany banqueting (see for example figs. 18a and 27).

One more male musician, a syrinx player, is depicted among female forked cymbal players participating in a banquet scene found on a mosaic from Carthage of the same century. The floor mosaic is located in the reception room of a Roman house dated to the end of the fourth century in Carthage, Tunis (**fig. 37**)¹¹⁶. Around the edge of an oval pavement guests are seated on high-backed couches, three to a couch, with tables in front of them laden with food and drink. Servants carrying jugs of wine, bowls and trays of food are placed among them. The mosaic is almost destroyed in the centre, while the part which has survived represents the entertainers: two female forked cymbal players, an old male syrinx player and, apparently, a group of jugglers.

The women musicians are holding the forked cymbals with their hands raised. The male figure blows a syrinx with eight pipes with the shorter to the right-hand end. The musicians are wearing long tunics and long sleeved mantles that are girded under the breast and armbands. The female musicians have their hair tied with ribbon, while they do not wear any headgear (*palla*). They must be married because only the married women of late Antiquity leave their houses wearing tunic and mantle. Only the unmarried could leave the house

¹¹⁶ See Dunbabin 1978: 252, pl. 46 and *ibid.* 2003: 89-92.

without a mantel¹¹⁷. According to the tradition of late Antiquity for married women, they do not cover their heads, because they are participating in a banquet held indoors in a private house. According to Balty the mosaic may simply illustrate the sort of entertainments held in the room where it was laid¹¹⁸, thus of a private banquet. This use of decorating the dining room of a house with related subjects is very common in Roman North Africa.



Fig. 37. Carthage (North Africa), roman house, *triclinio*, end of fourth century A.D., floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Dunbabin 1978: 252, pl. 46.

The male syrinx player reminds us of the Etruscan banquet scene of Volterra (fig. 20) revealing Greek influence. The oft depictions of the syrinx in art works from Rome and Italy of the Roman Empire (the contemporary scenes from Egypt, Eastern Mediterranean and Constantinople are a minority) indicate artists that came from Rome to Carthage. In addition, the forked cymbals were already known to Rome because of the commercial affairs with Egypt as they are depicted on sarcophagi (fig. 50). The references by Clement of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Venantius Fortunatus about the syrinx used at banquet, as well as the depiction of the forked cymbals in the contemporaries banquet scene from Brescia (fig. 36) and the scene with the female musicians from Syria (fig. 38) may reflect a musical practice of the artist's epoch.

¹¹⁷ Gerstinger 1931: 119.

¹¹⁸ Dunbabin 1978: 124.

The floor mosaic with the female musicians was found in a house located in Mariamin, Syria (**fig. 38**)¹¹⁹ and it is dated to the end of the fourth century A.D. The mosaic originally occupied a rectangular space in front of the raised semi-circular part of the room. Now it is exhibited in the Museum of Hama in Syria. The scene is that of six women depicted playing music in a room. The musicians are positioned on a wooden podium used to increase the sound, and placed on a raised surface that has three arched openings. Luxurious long, green, purple and light grey, long sleeved mantles that are girded under the breast and are decorated with *clavus*, stones or golden coloured parts (e.g. *limbus*) are shown. The women wear white tunics under the mantles. Golden coloured armbands, earrings and red shoes complete their elegant appearance. They all have their hair tied back in the same way. The mosaic is characterized by the variety of colours and the intense aesthetic perception.



Fig. 38. Mariamin (Syria), roman house, *triclinio*, end of the fourth century A.D., floor mosaic (Hama, Museum of Hama). Foto: Museum of Hama.

On the left, the bellows organ is placed on a long table that is covered with a decorative textile. Behind it, the musician is standing with her hands placed on the keyboard of the instrument, while two small Erotes are moving the bellows of the organ with their feet. In the background, another musician is holding forked cymbals while watching the others. From the right to the left are depicted a cymbal player, a kithara player and a double aulos player. The

¹¹⁹ Balty 1977: 94-99.

cymbal player to the right is placed in a special position one level higher than the other musicians, on a wooden box placed on the wooden podium.

In the middle, a table is covered with a long, fine fabric, which lies in folds. The *oxyvaphi* are placed on it¹²⁰. Eight bowls in two rows of four bowls each are all the same size and yellow colour, as if they are made of bronze, or gold, or gilded gold bronze, or possibly brass. The musician is striking two of the bowls simultaneously, using two narrow dark coloured sticks. She strikes the bowls on the rim and she has both of her index fingers placed on the upper part of the sticks. The artist depicts all the other musicians holding their musical instruments and not playing them. Perhaps following this trend he depicts the player of the *oxyvaphi* holding the sticks with the indexes on the upper side, in a position that dulls the sound and makes it hollower.



Fig. 38. Detail.

The theme of the Mariamin mosaic is, according to Balty and Dareggi, that of women musicians playing in a theatre. Balty relates that the decoration at the back looks like projections and niches of the *scenae* wall of the contemporary Roman theatres¹²¹. Dareggi

¹²⁰ More about *oxyvaphi* see in Gavrieli 2004-2005: 49-63.

¹²¹ Balty 1977: 94.

only reports this statement without discussing it¹²². A second interpretation of the depicted background wall is mentioned by Böhm, who speaks about scenery or sliding walls¹²³.



Fig. 38. Detail.

The women depicted on the mosaic wear tunic and mantle according to the tradition for the married women of their epoch. Moreover, they do not wear headgear, like all married women depicted in late Antiquity¹²⁴ and the Jewish women of the Hellenistic and Roman period¹²⁵, perhaps because they are indoors and not outdoors. As far their clothes are concerned, they are luxurious, with gold decorated parts, while their red shoes, earrings and gold armbands enhance their rich and elegant appearance¹²⁶. If we assume that they are aristocratic, they must also be married because aristocratic women married early in the Roman Empire. Literary and epigraphic evidence indicates that 42 % of pagan women were first married between the ages of ten and fourteen. The unmarried woman was an anomaly in aristocratic society¹²⁷.

Moreover, during the first two centuries A.D., Syria and the Greek East in general were wealthy enough to encourage the participation of women in public positions and Syrian society, before its Christianisation, provided a relative degree of freedom and respect for its

¹²² Dareggi 1993: 20.

¹²³ Böhm 1998: 49.

¹²⁴ See, for example, Weitzmann 1977 and Williams 1999.

¹²⁵ Mayer 1987: 77.

¹²⁶ Bremen 1983: 233.

¹²⁷ Yarbrough 1976: 160.

upper-class women¹²⁸. An example of female public activity in christianized Syria is recorded from the end of the second century when Christian heretics, such as Bardaisan and Paul of Samosata, created women's choirs. Two centuries later, Saint Ephrem, in order to win over those who were charmed by this kind of music, wrote hymns that were sung at Edessa by girls' choirs. The Church Fathers, however, reacted against female chant and denied women all participation in chant and readings in church¹²⁹.

One more depiction that may reveal the powerful position of Syrian women is a mosaic contemporary with that of Mariamin, from a tomb in Antioch, Syria, dated to the second half of the fourth century A.D. (**fig. 39**)¹³⁰. The same number of women are now depicted in a banquet. The typical *stibadium* couch of the epoch accompanied by the round table in the middle is present, along with the reclining and seated position of the women. The lack of headgear, the style of the hair, the violet and white colours of the clothes, as well as the red of the shoes are in common with that of the Mariamin mosaic. A curtain at the back, as well as the lack of the headgear indicates an indoor location. The simple clothes of the tomb's mosaic are in contrast with the gold decorated clothes of the Mariamin mosaic, which give us the opportunity for one more assumption.



Fig. 39. Syria, Antioch, tomb of Mnemosyne, late fourth century A.D., mosaic (Worcester, Museum of art, 1936.26). Foto: Cimok 2000: 231.

¹²⁸ Ashbrook-Harvey 1983: 293.

¹²⁹ Hannick 1980: 368, for more see McKinnon 2001: 803-4.

¹³⁰ Dunbabin 2003: pl. 14 and Cimok 2000: 230-231.

In the Greek-speaking cities of late-antique Syria, the pagan cults, which were connected with Hellenism, coexisted with the newly appearing Christian mores¹³¹. These cults, and with them the theatrical performances and banquets, were condemned by the Church Fathers, who were trying to establish a new style of life. Two Church Fathers, Chrysostom and Clement of Alexandria, who lived in the area of Syria and Egypt, speak about the contemporary ‘women of the theater’ who ‘are dressed in gold clothes, make up their faces, prostitutes, who do not cover their heads, decorate their hair and sing pornic songs’¹³². These women are condemned for their public activity. In another of his speeches Chrysostom condemns everyone who ‘invites mimes and pantomimes and prostitutes in the banquets of his house, turning his house to a theater (*Expositio in Psalmum 41*)¹³³. In this passage Chrysostom not only condemns the pagan banquet but also connects it with the theatre where both mimes and pantomimes are performed.

Even if the physical traces of Greek culture, like the theatres, tend to disappear during late Antiquity in Syria, giving way to a concept of the city that is more distinctly Near Eastern than Greek¹³⁴, the two types of performers, the mimes and pantomimes, that dominate the theatrical life of the late Empire especially after the third century A.D.¹³⁵, are probably the dominant performers of theatrical life in Syria. The ‘women of the theater’ of the Church Fathers must participate in private banquets, dressed in gold.

Analysing the depiction of the mosaic we see the following elements: No masks are depicted indicating mimes or pantomimes. Pantomimes perform wearing a mask as mentioned in Lucianus of Samosata (*The dance 63*)¹³⁶. On the other hand mimes do not wear masks according to Chorikios (*Apologia mimorum*)¹³⁷. If we assume pantomimes, then the choir or the instrumentalists, referred to in the literary sources of the epoch, see for example Lucianus (*The dance 63 and 68*)¹³⁸ and Libanios (*Pro saltatoribus 87*)¹³⁹, accompanying the pantomimes’ dance are not depicted. In addition, no dancing figure is portrayed but instead all the women stand erect holding their musical instruments. If we assume mimes, the lack of movements indicating dancing or singing may exclude their performance from being a theatrical play, where a character is performed and parodied in order to cause laughter

¹³¹ For paganism in late-antique Syria, see Drijvers 1982: 35-43 and Kaegi 1966: 243-75.

¹³² Chrysostom *PG* 56: 266 and Clement *Paedagogus* III, chapt.II. 5.1-4, 10.3, 11.2, 13.1, 68.1-2 in *PG* 8.

¹³³ Chrysostom *PG* 55: 157-158. See the text in p. 44-45 of this study.

¹³⁴ Bowersock 1990: 40, Ashbrook-Harvey 1983: 288 and Levine 1998: 6-8, 180.

¹³⁵ Roueché 1993: 25 and Barnes 1996: 170.

¹³⁶ Lucian 2001: 264-265.

¹³⁷ Stefanos 1986.

¹³⁸ Lucian 2001: 264-265 and 270-271.

¹³⁹ Molloy 1996: 133, 166.

(Procopius from Caesarea, *Anecdota* ix. 12-13)¹⁴⁰. The only performers left are, possibly, those who play music between the scenes of a play.

The assumption that the scene depicts a musical contest is not particularly satisfactory because in all scenes showing competitions, not only between athletes, chariot racers and gladiators, but also between musicians and / or pantomimes, garlands and / or palm branches are always portrayed. The presence of the wooden podium where the musicians of Mariamin are placed is not present in the depictions of musical contests all dated between the second and the fourth century A.D. Greece (fig. 132), Cyprus (fig. 135) and Piazza Armerina (fig. 134) but instead the table with the wreaths and or the palm branches are always present¹⁴¹.

In addition, the hypothesis that the musicians are depicted within an odeum or on a theatrical stage where the three openings of the stage construction are represented in the background is also problematic. Little is known about the stage of the odea while there has been a great deal of research into theatrical construction from Antiquity until Roman times. The wooden podium where the musicians are placed could suggest the contemporary wooden stages of Antiquity backed with scenery with three openings for comedy and one for tragedy¹⁴². Nevertheless, the possibility of depicting such a stage is, though, diminished because the wooden theatres were not anymore used during the fourth century, because of the existence of permanent theatrical constructions from the first century B.C. on.

On the other hand, the possibility of depicting a permanent theatrical stage, either of a theatre or of the smaller odeum, also seems impossible because there is no need for a wooden podium in a permanent theatre because the stage is high enough to provide good view for all spectators and the acoustics good enough not only for the speaking or singing actors but even more so for such an orchestra of musicians. Moreover, even if the total height (ca. one meter) of the arched construction and the wooden addition of the Mariamin mosaic remind us of the low stage proper of the theatres of Syria, which is raised only about four feet above the level of the orchestra floor, during the time of the Roman Empire¹⁴³, the rectangular openings on the background wall, shown on the mosaic, bear no relation to the surviving *scaenae frons* with the columns, the niches, the pedestals and door openings detected in all the theaters during the whole Roman Empire¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴⁰ Procopius 1960: 104-107. More about mimes and pantomimes see the chapters concerning circus and theater.

¹⁴¹ More about musical contests see in the related chapter.

¹⁴² Beacham 1999: 26.

¹⁴³ Bieber 1939: 379.

¹⁴⁴ For more see Bieber 1939: 326-390.

If we suppose that the women musicians are not depicted on the stage proper but on the orchestra, this should be made of wood as Suida surmised: ‘before the scene and the paraskēnia is placed the orchestra with the wooden floor where the mimes are performing’:

...μετά την σκηνήν εὐθύς και τα παρασκήνια η ορχήστρα, αὐτή δε ἔστιν ὁ τόπος, οἱ ἐκ σανίδων ἔχων τὸ ἔδαφος. ἀφ’ οὗ θεατρίζουν οἱ μίμοι.(Suida 569)¹⁴⁵

If the statement of Suida corresponds to reality, not evidenced by the archaeological findings of the surviving Roman theatres orcheastrae with stone floors, and the openings on the background wall depicted resemble that of the front wall of the stage proper of the theatre of Aspendos¹⁴⁶, then the place where the women are depicted is too small to represent an orchestra even of an odeum, and the back wall too high (ca. three meters) to correspond to the wall between the stage and the orchestra.

Generally, a wooden podium is, even nowadays, used for a better view of the performers and not in order to amplify the sound. This is also proved by the supplementary podium for the cymbal player, which raises her higher than the rest of the orchestra, probably because of her leading role which should be seen not only by the spectators but also by the rest of the musicians who should follow her movements.

One more interesting element is the depiction of the two winged Erotes moving the bellows of the organ. Erotes are never present among theatrical scenes during the whole of Antiquity. Instead, the theme of the Erotes participating in a banquet found on an Attic crater dated to the fourth century B.C.¹⁴⁷ is also depicted on Pompeian frescos from the Casa della Suonatrice (fig. 30), where an Eros is playing the aulos among banqueters Erotes and in the House of M. Lucretius where an Eros is playing the kithara at a banquet with Erotes and Psyche (fig. 31). Later, during the third century, the favorite theme of the banqueting Eros and Psyche will be connected with music on a sarcophagus relief from Rome (fig. 35).

Analyzing the remaining elements of the Mariamin depiction, we detect that all the musical instruments depicted are related, in Roman depictions and contemporary philological sources, to banquets. For example, Chrysostom mentions the use of auloi and kithara at banquets (*Ad Colossenses, Homilia* 1 320)¹⁴⁸ while his contemporary Isidore of Pelusium from Alexandria speaks about the use of aulos and cymbals (*Epistulae*, Book I, *Palladio Diacono*, Eis to ‘*Mē kōmois kai methais*’)¹⁴⁹. During the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris mentions the

¹⁴⁵ *Suidae Lexicon* 1989, vol. 4: 375.23-376.2.

¹⁴⁶ See Bieber 1939: 378, fig. 497. In Asia Minor developed a different type of theatre.

¹⁴⁷ Archaeological Museum of Naples, no 2202 as cited in Maas 1989: 181.

¹⁴⁸ Chrysostom *PG* 62: 306.

¹⁴⁹ McKinnon 1987: 61, no 122.

hydrauleis (*Epistulae* 2.9)¹⁵⁰ and a century later Chorikios of Gaza refers to the mimes playing cymbals at banquets (*Apologia mimorum* 86)¹⁵¹. The oxyvaphi are associated with banquets only through the two depictions discussed in this chapter, while there is no literary reference that connects them with banquets.

The scene of Mariamin is now, perhaps, more clearly interpreted. The lack of elements indicating a theatre or a theatrical performance leads to another assumption: that of musicians performing in private. The reference of Chrysostom condemning mimes performing in private as well the reference of Chorikios of Gaza to the mimes playing cymbals in private banquets are not still proven¹⁵².

According to Dunbabin the construction of a room with a raised, semi-circular part indicates, during late Antiquity, a room used for *stibadium* (sigma shaped couch) banquet¹⁵³, a feature common in Roman houses of North Africa, while it is also found in Piazza Armerina and elsewhere. During late Antiquity the mosaics that occupy the room in front of the raised part have, as themes, the Muses, the poet and actor, or Orpheus charming the beasts. These rooms seem to have been intended as reception rooms for clients or guests, while the musical scene depicted is chosen to illustrate the cultural interest of the owner of the house. Part of their function will have been to house private entertainments, whether musical, dramatic, or literary in character¹⁵⁴.

The wooden podium shown on the Mariamin mosaic may indicate the contemporary wooden addition placed in order to raise the lowered level of the room where the musicians are placed next to the raised semi-circular part for the banquet. In addition, all the musical instruments depicted are regarded in literary sources as being used at banquets, while the height of the background wall corresponds to that of a room. In this way, an assumption can be made: that the subject of the Mariamin mosaic mirrors the exact use of the room where it is placed. The function of the room is emphasized, while the figures of the musicians will “accompany” the owner’s private activities such as feasts and banquets, even if real musicians should be absent.

In addition, the monumental character of the female musicians from the Mariamin mosaic, who are depicted all looking towards the viewer and holding their musical instruments as if demonstrating and not playing them, is in contrast with the more realistic movements of the musician that blows the syrinx in the mosaic of Carthage (fig. 37), the

¹⁵⁰ Apollinaris 1995: 46-47.

¹⁵¹ Stefanos 1986.

¹⁵² More about mimes and pantomimes see in the chapters for the circus and the theatre.

¹⁵³ Dunbabin 2003: 199.

¹⁵⁴ Dunbabin 1978: 134-135.

dancing forked cymbal players of the Brescia's ivory (fig. 36) and the two female musicians of the Vienna Genesis (fig. 40) who play their musical instruments facing the banqueters. This element, as Böhm also accepts¹⁵⁵, unveils the inclination of the craftsman towards an artistic creation and not a realistic depiction of a musical scene from daily life, even if elements familiar to the artist, such as the musical instruments, or the type of clothes or shoes, are used. Therefore, the powerful women of Syria are exhibiting their wealth, their musical capability and their social freedom. The contemporary Syrian mosaic with the group of banqueting women reveals a similar trend.

The banquet scenes disappear after the fifth century A.D. and only a few examples remain in the Christian environment. After the fourth century the banquet scenes with musical accompaniment disappear. Musicians and dancers that accompany banqueters with their activities will be shown later on Byzantine manuscripts of the ninth and eleventh centuries A.D. Until then a miniature from a manuscript with the text of Genesis from the Old Testament, dated to, possibly, the sixth century A.D., will be the only exception.

The banquet scene is represented in the miniature of the folio 17v of the so-called Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31). The codex is exhibited in the National Library of Vienna and probably originates from sixth century A.D. Syria (fig. 40)¹⁵⁶. Each folio is organized in two horizontal parts. The upper part contains the Greek translation of the Old Testament (Septuaginta), the lower part the illuminations based on the text. The text on fol. 17v refers to the banquet the Pharaoh Hērodēs Antypas gave for all of his slaves, celebrating, on his birthday, his decision to forgive his butler and release him from prison (Genesis 40: 20–2). The scene is described as taking place in the *triclinio* of the Pharaoh's palace. On the left, four men are reclining on the *stibadium* couch and slaves are bringing them drinks. On the left edge of the couch, in the place of honour as was usual in Antiquity¹⁵⁷, the crowned Pharaoh is seated, dressed in a purple mantle over his tunic. Beside him the butler, the baker and Joseph are dressed only in white tunics. On their heads are placed wreaths.

On the right two women are playing music. One wears a long blue tunic with long sleeves and yellow armbands, while the other wears a sleeveless rose-coloured tunic with a round neckline, blue *clavus* and yellow *limbus*. Both have their hair tied up with ribbons.

¹⁵⁵ See Böhm 1998: 66.

¹⁵⁶ As facsimile editions see *Wiener Genesis* 1931 and 1980. Some scholars believe that the codex combines influences of the fourth century and, maybe, that it is a copy of an earlier manuscript dating from the fourth century A.D. (see *The age of spirituality* 1979: 458-459). For a recent discussion of style and dating see Lowden 1997: 87-90 and Gastgeber 2003.

¹⁵⁷ Gerstinger 1931: 142

They are standing behind a narrow low wooden table and are playing double aulos and oxyvaphi, a row of four bowls that have been placed on the table. The bowls are gray in colour, as if made of silver. The musician strikes one of the bowls with a stick on the rim, with her index finger placed on the upper part of the stick. With the other hand she holds the second stick between index finger and thumb, over the second bowl. A small part of the depiction to the right is dedicated to the hanged baker in the *furca*. One of three young men is depicted throwing a stone at him, which indicates his death sentence¹⁵⁸.



Fig. 40. Syria (?), sixth century A.D., manuscript detail (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 17v) detail. Foto: Austrian National Library.

The miniatures are used in order to illustrate the codex Vienna Genesis, while their role is decorative and supplementary to the text. Only the most important details are depicted. In addition, the historical dimension of the text is underlined by elements from the past that are copied and combined with those of the artists' own epoch. For example, the Pharaoh and his guests depicted without shoes, the sleeveless tunic of one musician and the wreaths remind us of Greek Antiquity¹⁵⁹, while the musicians have their hair tied up according to the Hellenistic tradition. On the other hand, the butler's tunic decorated with *clavus* and round medallions resembles one from Egypt of the fourth to fifth century A.D. in the British Museum¹⁶⁰. In

¹⁵⁸ Gerstinger 1931: 105.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.: 125.

¹⁶⁰ See ibid.: 227, pl. xxi, fig. 115.

addition, the *sigma* couch (*stibadium*), more and more common during late Antique depictions for indoor and outdoor banqueting¹⁶¹, is present in the Pharaoh's banquet.

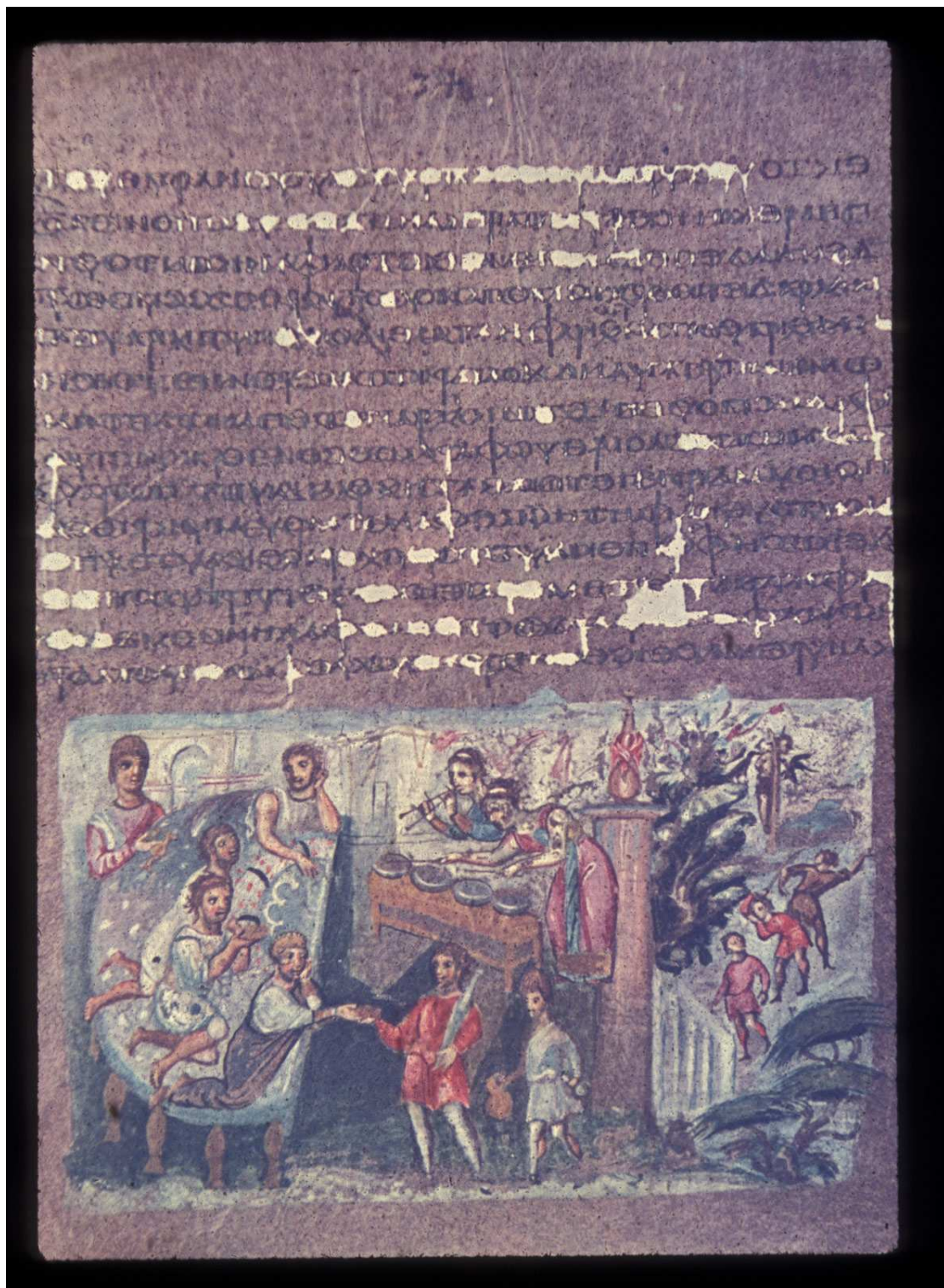


Fig. 40. Syria (?), sixth century A.D., manuscript (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 17v). Foto: Austrian National Library.

As far as the two musicians are concerned, they are simply dressed, only with tunics, without headgear or jewels. They are outside their houses, at the Pharaoh's palace, and their

¹⁶¹ Dunbabin 2003: 166, 169.

dress, according to the customs of the artist's epoch, is suitable for unmarried women, possibly prostitutes¹⁶². They may be rich because the yellow colour of the armbands, the *limbus* and the *oxyvaphi* table indicate the use of gold. Even though the Pharaohs had court musicians, the musical practice of Hērodēs' epoch could not have been familiar to the illuminator, while older illuminated manuscripts of the Old Testament, which he could have used as a prototype, were not available, because the Christian art of illuminating books was just beginning. So following his own imagination, he made the historical scene from the Old Testament's far-removed past look more real and up-to-date by adding contemporary musical elements to the composition.

The pagan custom of banquet, condemned so intensively by the contemporary Church Fathers, is illuminated without problems within the Christian book as long as it is connected with the pagan past of the Pharaoh referred to in the text and not with the Christian present of the artist and the owner. The immoral activities of the banquet with the 'awful prostitutes' and the 'instruments of demons' are, so, illuminated beside the holy text aiming to amuse, for a while, the moral, wealthy owner who seems capable of reading Christian texts in Greek and recognizing, famous among the Greeks, musical instruments like aulos and oxyvaphi. The blend of the two fighting morals, Christian and pagan, is carefully handled by the artist who hides the forbidden banqueting custom behind the veil of history connecting the immoral banqueting scene with the security of the Pharaoh's past.

Rich pagan women dressed in light-coloured clothes decorated with golden parts, are playing music and participating in private feasts outside their houses as shown in the mosaic from Mariamin and the manuscript of Vienna. The oxyvaphi are present in both depictions maybe because they are so highly prized for their sweet tone, as both Cassiodorus and Isidore report. Their origins still remain unknown, despite the existence of a Greek name and despite mention of Greek origins by both Hesychios and Boethius. Nevertheless, the fact that they are used by women musicians at private feasts may give us an answer to the question about the origins of the Vienna Genesis and locate its creation in the economically powerful Syria of late Antiquity.

Only after the ninth century A.D. will artists use widely pagan customs of the past in order to illustrate Christian manuscripts. Christianity is already established and Christians do not fear to remember the pagan past in a procession of revival and simultaneous continuity that will portray, perhaps, for a last time, the customs of Antiquity shown in a new way.

¹⁶² See Gerstinger 1931: 119.

Musical instruments will not escape this Renaissance and the tension of creating something new, which does not belong to the present.

1.5.2 The oxyvaphi / acetabula

The percussion musical instrument with the bowls is worth researching even if the two depictions, described above, are the only ones and the lack of sufficient comparable data, as well as the lack of the archaeological findings of the musical instrument itself, makes the questions that arise more difficult and the investigation of the musical elements more complicated. Nevertheless, the contemporary literary sources reveal information about its composition, its size, the method of playing and the quality of its sound.

The word *οξύβαφον* (*oxyvaphon*) or *οξύβάφιον* (*oxyvaphion*) appears in Greek texts from the fifth century B.C. to the tenth century A.D., having, among other meanings, that of ‘top for the vinegar’¹⁶³. In Latin texts the synonym is *acetabulum*¹⁶⁴. Apart from this meaning, the plural forms *οξύβαφοι* (*oxyvaphi*) or *οξύβαφα* (*oxyvapha*) appear in Greek texts between the fifth and seventh century A.D., and in Latin texts as *acetabula* or *acitabula*, between the sixth and fourteenth century A.D., in descriptions mentioning a percussion instrument consisting of bowls played with sticks.

In Bellermann’s Anonymous II the oxyvaphi are described together with two other categories of musical instruments, aerophones and chordophones, as a percussion instrument. ‘Of the musical instruments some are aerophones, others chordophones and others percussion instruments. Chordophones are the kithara, the lyre and like instruments, aerophones are the auloi, the hydraulis and the ptera, percussion instruments are mainly the human voice used for singing and the oxyvaphi, which when struck produce melody.’:

*Ἡ δε οργανική κατὰ την των οργάνων θεωρίαν, ων α μεν εστιν εμπνευστά, α δε εντατά, α δε ψιλά. Εντατά μεν εστιν όργανα κιθάρα τε και λύρα και τα παραπλήσια, εμπνευστά δε αυλοί τε και υδραύλεις και πτερά, ψιλόν δε όργανον κυρίως μεν το του ανθρώπου δι ου μελωδούμεν και οι οξύβαφοι δι ων κρούοντες τινες μελωδούσιν (Anonymous II, 17-18)*¹⁶⁵.

During the same period, the fifth century A.D., Hēsychios from Alexandria in his *Lexicon*, which is to be found in *Suida*, ascribes the invention of oxyvaphi to the antique comic writer Dioklēs. The oxyvaphi are referred to as bowls made of shell and played with a wooden stick. ‘Dioklēs the Athenian or Fliasian, the antique comic writer of the same period as Sanyrio and Filylio, wrote the dramas Thalatta, Melitte, Oniri, Bakche and Thyestēs. It is

¹⁶³ Athenaeus 1961/62: III, 88.24 and 89.1 and *Suidae Lexicon* 1967: III, 545.20.

¹⁶⁴ See “acetabulum” in Stephan 1900 and Du Cange 1937/38.

¹⁶⁵ Najock 1975: 5–6, section 17.

said that this man discovered the harmony of the oxyvaphi, which were bowls made of shell which he struck with a wooden stick’:

*Διοκλής, Αθηναίος ἢ Φλιάσιος, αρχαίος κωμικός, σύγχρονος Σαννυρίωνι και Φιλυλλίω. Δράματα αὐτοῦ Θάλαττα, Μέλιτται, Ονειροί, Βάκχαι, Θυέστης. Τούτων δε φασιν εὐρεῖν και την εν τοις οξυβάφοις αρμονίαν εν οστρακίνοις αγγείοις, ἀπερ ἔκρουεν εν ξυλιφίω (Suida 104)*¹⁶⁶.

At the same time, Joannēs Philoponus, who lived in Alexandria, points out the different kinds of sound that oxyvapha of different materials produce: ‘differently sounds copper and differently metal, molybdenum, silver and wood. So the oxyvapha are usually made of different materials in order to obtain harmony with the different sounds they produce’:

*ἀλλως γαρ χαλκός ηχει και ἀλλως σίδηρος και ο μόλυβδος και ἀργυρος και ξύλον. διο και τα οξύβαφα ειώθασιν εκ διαφόρου κατασκευάζειν ύλης, ίνα τη διαφορά των απηγήσεων την αρμονίαν αποτελέσωσιν (Suida 364)*¹⁶⁷.

The experiment carried out by Pythagoras on the oxyvaphi and the use of different sticks made of ore or iron, are described in the work of Boethius (480–524/526), *De institutione musica*. ‘Pythagoras often struck the *acetabula* with different sticks made of ore or iron and he was pleased to find that the sound was not different’:

*Saepe etiam pro mensurarum modo cyathos aequorum ponderum acetabulis immittens; saepe ipsa quoque acetabula diversis formata ponderibus virga vel aerea ferreave percutiens nihil sese diversum invenisse laetatus est (De institutione musica 198.17-21)*¹⁶⁸.

The material of which the bowls are made and the way they are played are described by Cassiodorus (490–583 A.D.) who also lived in Italy. ‘There are three kinds of musical instruments: percussion instruments, chordophones, aerophones. Percussion instruments are the metallic or the silver or other *acetabula* which, when they are struck with a hard metallic stick, produce a sweet tone.’¹⁶⁹:

*Instrumentorum musicorum genera sunt tria: percussionalia – tensibilia – inflatilia. Percussionalia sunt acitabula aenea et argentea, vel alia, quae metallico rigore percussa reddunt cum suavitate tinnitum (Institutiones 144.11-15)*¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁶ *Suidae Lexicon* 1967: II, 104.3–7.

¹⁶⁷ *Suidae Lexicon* 1967: I, 364.10–2.

¹⁶⁸ Boethius 1878: 198.17–21. This text is also found in later Latin writers such as Hieronymus de Moravia (1935) and Vincent of Beauvais’ *Speculum doctrinale* (Liber XVII; Göller 1959: 105). I thank Prof. Dr. Tilman Seebass (Innsbruck) and Prof. Dr. Wolfram Hörandner (Vienna) for the translation of this Latin text.

¹⁶⁹ Strunk 1998: 35. The text is also to be found in the works of Ps.-Odo (1853: 796) and Johannes Presbyter (1864: 406).

¹⁷⁰ Cassiodorus 1937: 144.11–5.

In another of his works Cassiodorus refers to the *mimus* and how he should not turn what he creates into an indecent spectacle but instead should offer proper entertainment. Interrupting his thoughts about the *mimus* he mentions the *acetabula* and the sweet sound they produce. ‘How do the *acetabula* sound? What a sweet tone they produce when they are struck in different ways. Man accepts their sound with such great gladness that he believes hearing to be the best sense.’¹⁷¹

*Quid acetabulorum tinnitus? quid dulcissimi soni referam varia percussione modulamen? Quod tanta gratia iucunditatis accipitur, ut inter reliquos sensus auditum sibi ad munus summum tunc homines aestiment fuisse collatum (Variae 139.12)*¹⁷².

Perhaps Cassiodorus’ sequence of thoughts is not accidental, and the connection between *mimus* and *acetabula* reveals their use during theatrical performances.

Isidore of Seville (560/564–636 A.D.), in his *Etymologiae* refers, during his discourse about the third division of music, to bronze and silver *acetabula*. ‘The third division is the rhythmic, having to do with strings and striking, to which are assigned the different species of *kithara*, also the *tympanum*, the *cymbalum*, the *sistrum*, the *acetabula* made of bronze and silver, others whose hard metal yields an agreeable clanging when struck, and other instruments of this nature.’¹⁷³:

*Tertia est divisio rhythmica pertinens ad nervos et pulsum, cui dantur species cithararum diversarum, tympanum, et cymbalum, sistrum, acetabula aenea, et argentea, vel alia, quae metallico rigore percussa reddunt cum suavitate tinnitum, et cetera hujusmodi (Etymologiarum xxii.1)*¹⁷⁴.

He also mentions the *cymbals* in the form of *acetabula* that are struck together while dancing. ‘*Cymbals*, with the shape of *acetabula*, are certain vessels which produce sound when struck together. They are called *cymbals* because they are struck together in time with dancing, since the Greeks call dancing *συμβαλεῖν*’¹⁷⁵.

*Cymbala acetabula quaedam sunt, quae percussa invicem se tangunt, et sonum faciunt. Dicta autem cymbala, quia cum ballematia simul percutiuntur. Ita enim Greci dicunt cymbala ballematica (Etymologiarum xxii.11)*¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷¹ I thank Prof. Seebass and Prof. Hörandner for the translation.

¹⁷² Cassiodorus 1970: 139.12.

¹⁷³ Strunk 1998: 43. The text is found also in Hrabanus Maurus (1852: 496), Hieronymus de Moravia (1935: 19) and Vincent of Beauvais (Göller 1959: 115).

¹⁷⁴ Isidorus Hispalensis *PL* 82: 167.

¹⁷⁵ Strunk 1998: 44. The text is also to be found in later Latin writers such as Hrabanus Maurus (1852: 499), Hieronymus de Moravia (1935: 21) and Vincent of Beauvais (Göller 1959: 116).

¹⁷⁶ Isidorus Hispalensis *PL* 82: 168.

Even though different sizes of cymbals are used by dancing figures in the depictions of late Antiquity, in one floor mosaic with Greek inscriptions placed in Jordan in the early sixth century A.D. (**fig. 41**)¹⁷⁷ the dancing Bakchē is striking two pairs of foot cymbals that resemble oxyvaphi, in shape and size.



Fig. 41. Jordan, House of Madaba, sixth century A.D., mosaic (Jordan, Archaeological Museum of Madaba).
Foto: Piccirillo 1993: 76, pl. 40.

An anonymous philosopher of the seventh century, in his work on music and chemistry categorises the oxyvapha, together with the hand and foot cymbals, as percussion instruments. ‘molten instruments we call the hand cymbals or the foot cymbals oxyvapha made of copper or glass.’:

¹⁷⁷ Piccirillo 1993: 76, pl. 40.

*Ναυστά δε καλούμεν ἢ κύμβαλα χειρῶν, ἢ ποδῶν, οἰζύβαφα τε χαλκά και υέλινα.
(On music and chemistry 7.13-14)¹⁷⁸.*

Here, for the first time, there is a reference to *oxyvapha* made of glass. If we accept that the part of the sentence relating to *oxyvapha* is explicative of the first part referring to the hand and foot cymbals, then we conclude that the hand or foot cymbals are made of glass or metal, such as copper, and have the shape of *oxyvapha*. Cymbals made of glass are unlikely, since they would have been too fragile. Furthermore, to date, there is no supporting archaeological or pictorial evidence. Therefore we can suppose that the *oxyvapha* referred to are a different musical instrument that may resemble hand or foot cymbals in shape, but are of a different construction, not only from metal or copper, like cymbals, but also from glass. Glass construction is more probable for bowls played with sticks on a table.

In descriptions where the *oxyvaphon* is not mentioned as a musical instrument but as a top for liquids (vinegar or wine) information is given about its shape and size. Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae* refers to the *oxyvaphon* as a kind of small ceramic wine cup (*kylix*)¹⁷⁹, while Hesychios in his *Lexicon* identifies the *oxyvaphon* with the *kymbē*, which means bowl¹⁸⁰. According to Hesychios (I, 123.36) another synonym for *oxyvaphon* is *alir*, while in the plural *oxyvapha* are identified as *oksides* (II, 210.40; *óksos* = vinegar). *Oxyvaphia* are also a synonym for *gavena*, while *gavena* are described as *tryvlia* (I, 409.Γ4). *Tryvlion* is a synonym for *gavathon*, which means bowl (I, 409.Γ3).

Saint Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus during the fourth century A.D., in his treatise on weights and measures, mentions that the *tryvlion* has the same shape as the *oxyvaphon* while its size is half that of a *ksestos*¹⁸¹. The same information is given in the lexicon *Etymologicum Gudianum*, dating from the eleventh century A.D.¹⁸² In *Suida* the *oxyvaphon* is said to be smaller in size than the *tryvlion*¹⁸³. Knowing that *ksestos* is the Byzantine name for the Alexandrian or Italian measure of weight *sectarius*, which is equal to 0.5 litres¹⁸⁴, we can suppose that the *oxyvaphon* has the shape of a bowl that would contain 0.25 litres or less.

Comparing the two depictions the sizes of the *oxyvaphi* differ because of the different artistic media. In the mosaic they appear in bigger dimensions because the depiction of a small figure is much more difficult, while the mosaic pieces easily create figures in more

¹⁷⁸ Berthelot / Ruelle 1888: 438.

¹⁷⁹ Athenaeus 1961/62: III, 89.9–10.

¹⁸⁰ Hesychios 1883: II, 552.40.

¹⁸¹ Sakkelion 1890: 131.30.

¹⁸² Sturz 1973: 536.37.

¹⁸³ *Suidae Lexicon* 1967: III, 545.20–21.

¹⁸⁴ Schielbach 1970: 110.

realistic dimensions. In the miniature oxyvaphi are portrayed with smaller dimensions because the whole painting is of a smaller size compared to the mosaic. As far as the bowls are all of the same size within each scene and the artists depict the real size of the bowls without simplification, the bowls must be tuned to different pitches by pouring water or another liquid inside. This kind of tuning is easier and more practicable than that applied directly to the bowls themselves. Different combinations of the amounts of water poured into each bowl allow for an endless variety of tunings.

The intervals to which the oxyvaphi are tuned might be approached through contemporary music theory, though this is not easy. The music theorists of late Antiquity reproduce those of Antiquity, while at the same time they give a philosophical dimension to their treatises, which are remote from the tradition¹⁸⁵. Thus, we cannot conclude if, and to what extent, music theory reflects the musical practices of the time. Nevertheless, the number of bowls (four and eight) remind us of the tetrachord and octave, often discussed by late antique music theorists¹⁸⁶, and may recall the “tetrachord of youth” and “perfect octave” of Aristides Quintilianus’ treatise on music. According to Quintilianus (late third or early fourth century A.D.) there are three kinds of tetrachords: the *meson* (e f g a) that reflects youth, the *diezeugmenon* (b c’ d’ e’) that reflects adulthood and virtue, and the *synemmenon* (a b^b c’ d’), which manifests the easy and sweet nature of evil. So the octave formed by the meson and diezeugmenon is perfect, while the seventh formed by the meson and synemmenon is imperfect¹⁸⁷.

Moreover, the tetrachord is the basic element for the construction of melody not only in the music theory of ancient Greece, but also in the treatises of late Antiquity, as well as in the musical traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean in the following years and up until the present.

¹⁸⁵ Mathiesen 1999: 607.

¹⁸⁶ For more on music theory of late Antiquity see Mathiesen 1999: 497-608.

¹⁸⁷ Mathiesen 1999: 567.

CHAPTER II

*Weddings***2.1 Introduction**

There are few depictions with wedding scenes accompanied by music that have survived from Antiquity on. Among these scenes, found on vase paintings and reliefs from archaic, classical and Roman Antiquity, many have a mythological character thus depicting the weddings between gods or other deities. A small number have abandoned mythological elements and may depict scenes of daily life. Moreover, many of the philological sources referring to wedding processions and the music played there are parts of poems or dramas written more probably under the inspiration of the poet and not with the aim of describing the musical customs of the poet's epoch.

Nevertheless, a number of literary references and a few depictions seem to contain elements connected with the bridal customs of their epoch. The aulos player, seen in classical Attica accompanying all the wedding scenes, alone or in combination with the kithara or lyre, continues to be present in the Etruscan scenes along with the phorminx and the local cornu and lituus. Claudius Claudianus from fourth century A.D. Rome will confirm the use of the tibia and lyre during wedding ceremonies, while Chrysostom will mention the auloi and cymbals suggesting possibly a local tradition of Constantinople or Eastern Mediterranean where he lived. The last bridal scene accompanied by the sounds of the aulos will be dated to the seventh century A.D. Constantinople.

2.2 Archaic and classical Attica

Among the bridal scenes from archaic and classical Greece and Southern Italy the musical instruments used are the aulos, lyre, kithara and harp. A female harp player is depicted on a lebes from the fifth century B.C. Attica (**fig. 42**)¹⁸⁸. The aulos is used in wedding scenes on Athenian vases as seen on a black-figured vase, made in the sixth century B.C., where an aulos and a kithara player are present (**fig. 43**)¹⁸⁹ and on a lutrophoros from the fifth century

¹⁸⁸ Wegner 1963: 102, no 65. More about music in wedding processions of archaic and classical period see in Maas 1989.

¹⁸⁹ Maas 1989: 33, 47, fig. 10.

B.C., where a female aulos player accompanies the wedding procession with her music (fig. 44)¹⁹⁰. In classical Athens aulos players accompanied the procession of transporting the presents to the bride's house. Music was present not only during the first day of the ceremony where the song of *hymenaios* was sung as the bride was brought in procession and with the accompaniment of torches to her new house, but also during the second day where the presents were brought to the bride's new house¹⁹¹. The combination of aulos and lyre accompanying the wedding processions can be seen on two lekythos dated to the sixth century B.C.¹⁹².



Fig. 42. Attica, fifth century B.C., lebes (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.35). Foto: Wegner 1963: 102, no 65.



Fig. 43. Athens, sixth century B.C., fragment (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 2203). Foto: Maas 1989: 47, fig. 10.

¹⁹⁰ Wegner 1963: 104, no 66.

¹⁹¹ Ritzer 1962: 14-17.

¹⁹² Black-figured lekythos of the Amasis Painter, 560-525 B.C., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase Walter C. Baker Gift, 1956 (56.11.1) in Mathiesen 1999: 127, 128, fig. 9. See also Fink 1974: 95, no 25.

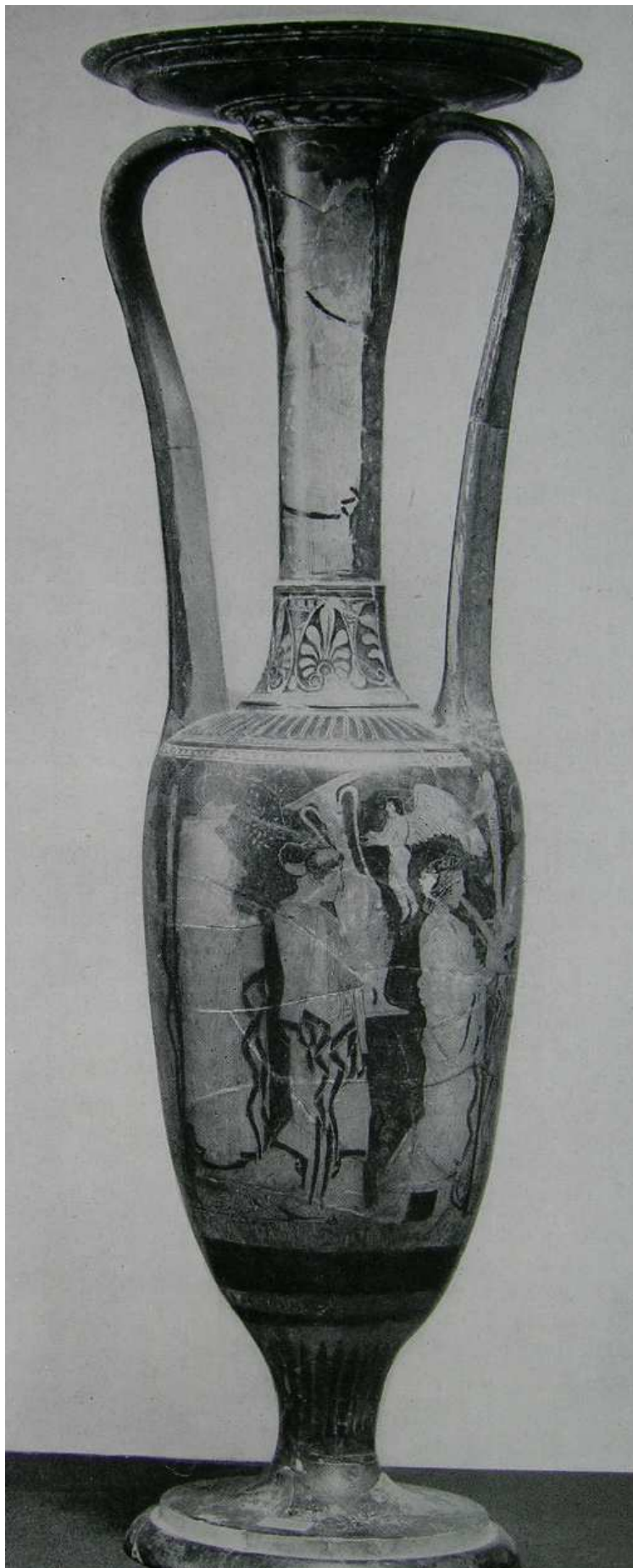


Fig. 44. Attica, fifth century B.C., loutrophoros (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1453 (CC 1225).
Foto: Wegner 1963: 104, no 66.

2.3 Etruscan scenes

The Etruscans will continue to depict the aulos on bridal scenes according to the Greek custom of classical Antiquity. A male double aulos player is present in a wedding procession depicted on an Etruscan ash urn dated to the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C. (**fig. 45**)¹⁹³. The depiction of more than two musicians accompanying an event with their music is usual among the Etruscans. Groups of musicians participating in wedding processions are portrayed on two Etruscan sarcophagi.



Fig. 45. Italy, end of the sixth – beginning of the fifth century B.C., ash urn fragment (Chiusi, Museo Civico, 2260). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 41, no 14.



Fig. 46. Italy, Caere, fifth century B.C., sarcophagus (Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, 59). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 41, no 15.

The first from Caere, Italy is dated to the fifth century B.C. (**fig. 46**)¹⁹⁴. The co-existence of musical instruments used by the Greeks, such as the aulos and phorminx along with the famous Etruscan cornu and lituus is depicted here. The aulos is portrayed in Greek wedding scenes from archaic and classical Attica, while the phorminx was imported from Greece at the earliest, during the sixth century B.C. and was known to the Etruscans as fig. 28 testifies. The cornu and the lituus are never depicted among Greek scenes but only among Italian ones. For this reason it is believed to be of Italian origin. Thus, local musical instruments are blended with Greek imported ones serving the musical requirements of the wedding celebrations of the Etruscans. The scene possibly reflects musical customs from the everyday life of the

¹⁹³ Fleischhauer 1964: 40, 41, no 14.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.: 40, 41, no 15.

Etruscans that seem not only to copy Greek scenes and musical customs, as in the theatre and the banquets, but they also seem to portray their own, local musical instruments and their own musical taste.

The second sarcophagus is dated to the fourth century B.C. (**fig. 47**)¹⁹⁵. A female phorminx player, a cornu and a female double aulos player are represented beside the bride and the groom seen in *dextrarum junction* position. This crossing of the right hands of the wedding couple will be the typical gesture indicating a wedding ceremony during late Roman and Byzantine times¹⁹⁶. The co-existence of the Greek phorminx and aulos with the Etruscan cornu for the feasts¹⁹⁷ is also represented here possibly indicating a local tradition and not only a simple copy of Greek models.



Fig. 47. Italy, Nenfro, fourth century B.C., sarcophagus (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts). Foto: Herbig 1952: pl. 40b.

2.4 Philological sources from the late Republic to the Roman Empire

Wedding ceremonies are already mentioned in the poems of Homer while Plautus (third – second century B.C.) in his poem *Casina* mentions the tibia player that accompanies the sweet wedding songs¹⁹⁸. Later, Cicero from Italy (second to first century B.C.) and Plutarch from Greece (first - second century A.D.) mention the singing and musical practice in wedding ceremonies.

The aulos music of the ancient Greek wedding ceremonies seems to continue up until the early Byzantine period. Claudius Claudianus from Rome (370- 410 A.D.) will speak in his *Epithalamium dictum Honorio Augusto et Mariae* about the wedding music of the tibia and

¹⁹⁵ Herbig 1952: 13-14, no 5, pl. 40b.

¹⁹⁶ The same position is, until nowadays, present in the wedding ceremony of the Greek Orthodox church.

¹⁹⁷ Wegner 1986b: 1600.

¹⁹⁸ Plautus, *Casina*, 798 as cited in Wille 1967: 133, note 305.

lyre in contrast to the military music of the lituus and tuba: ‘the tibia shall sound instead of the lituus, the soft strains of the happy lyre take the place of the tuba’s blare’:

*Tibia pro lituis et pro clangore tubarum, molle lyrae festumque canant. Epulentur ad ipsas, excubias. (Carmina 10. 195)*¹⁹⁹

In the same century John Chrysostom condemns the use of auloi, cymbals and dancing in the weddings of his time: ‘Did you hear about the devilish pompae (processions) that contaminate the sober character of the wedding? Were there auloi there? Were there cymbals, or diabolical dances (χορείαι σατανικαί)?’²⁰⁰:

*Ακούσατε τα περί τας σατανικάς πομπάς επτοημένοι, και εξ αυτών των προημίων τα σεμνά του γάμου καταισχύνοντες. Μη που αυλοί; μη που κύμβαλα; μη που χορείαι σατανικαί; (In Genesim, chapter 29, Homilia 56. 1)*²⁰¹

The same combination is also referred to in his epistle *ad Corinthios*. ‘It is not the marriage of which I speak but what accompanies it. There is much pomp of the devil here – cymbals, auloi and songs full of fornication and adultery.’²⁰²:

*Ούχ ο γάμος, λέγω, μη γένοιτο. αλλά τα περί τον γάμον. ... πολλή εκεί του διαβόλου η πομπή, κύμβαλα, αυλοί, και άσματα πορνείας γέμοντα και μοιχείας. (Homilia 12. 104)*²⁰³

In his epistle *ad Corinthios I* he characteristically states: ‘But when weddings are performed, there take place the sort of absurd practices of which you will now hear. For the majority are bound and misled by custom, since they do not discern the unnaturalness of these things, but instead require others to teach them. For then they introduce dancing, cymbals, auloi, shameful words and songs, drunkenness and *kwmoi*²⁰⁴, and much such rubbish of the devil’²⁰⁵:

*Αλλά γάμων τελουμένων, τσαύτα καταγέλαστα γίνεται πράγματα, όσα αντίκα ακούσεσθε. Υπό γαρ της συνηθείας οι πολλοί κατεχόμενοι και παραλογιζόμενοι, ουδέ διαγινώσκουσιν αυτών το άτοπον, αλλ’ ετέρων δέονται των διδασκόντων. Και γαρ χορείαι και κύμβαλα και αυλοί και ρήματα και άσματα αισχρά και μέθαι και κάμοι και πολύς ο του διαβόλου τότε επεισάγεται φορυτός. (Homilia 62. 5)*²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁹ Claudianus 1990: 256-257. The terms ‘flute’, the ‘trumpet’ and the ‘bugle’ of the translator are replaced with ‘tibia’, ‘tuba’ and ‘lituus’ of the original text.

²⁰⁰ The translation of McKinnon (1987: 83-84, no 176) was not used here because it isn’t close to the original text.

²⁰¹ Chrysostom *PG* 54: 486.

²⁰² McKinnon 1987: 85, no 182. The passage is cited wrongly by McKinnon as *Acta Apostolorum, Homilia* 62.3.

²⁰³ Chrysostom *PG* 60: 301.

²⁰⁴ The word ‘carousing’ of the translator is replaced with the ‘kwmoi’ (drinking) of the original text.

²⁰⁵ McKinnon 1987: 86, no 183.

²⁰⁶ Chrysostom *PG* 61: 103.

Once more the Church Father condemns any musical performance and dance inside the church. These disturb the religious procession of the wedding's great mystery: 'Neither the unmarried nor the married women dance, then who will? Nobody. Dances belong to the Greek mysteries, while to our mysteries silence and order. ... Because when you enter [in the church] no dance, no cymbals but much silence':

Αν τοίνυν, φησί, μήτε παρθένοι ορχώνται, μήτε γεγαμημένοι, τίς ορχήσεται; Μηδείς. ποία γαρ ορχήσεως ανάγκη; Εν τοις των Ελλήνων μωστηρίοις αι ορχήσεις, εν δε τοις ημετέροις σιγή και ευκοσμία, αιδώς και καταστολή. ... Δια τι, ότε μεν εισήει, ουκ όρχησις, ου κύμβαλα, αλλά πολλή σιγή. (Ad Colossenses, chapter 4, Homilia 12. 419)²⁰⁷

The references of Chrysostom to cymbals along with the aulos could possibly be reflecting his contemporary musical practice for wedding ceremonies, as cymbals as well as aulos are depicted on contemporary scenes from Constantinople and the Eastern Mediterranean, where Chrysostom lived.

2.4 Pictorial evidence from the Roman Empire

The use of auloi during a wedding ceremony is represented in a silver plate made in Constantinople in the seventh century A.D. (628 – 630). The plate portrays the wedding of David and Michal (**fig. 48**)²⁰⁸ and belongs to a group of seven plates showing scenes from the life of David. According to the Old Testament after his victory over the Philistines David claims the second daughter of Saul and Saul gave his daughter Michal to David for his bride (1 *Samuel* 18: 27).

In the centre Saul, dressed in imperial robes, suggesting a king, stands on a footstool. In front of him David and Michal are placed in the typical wedding rite of *dextrarum junctio*. Uncommonly Saul occupies the place of Christ who is usually shown blessing the couple in other wedding scenes of late Antiquity²⁰⁹. Halos round the heads of Saul and of the wedding couple reveal the trend of the artist to give the characterization of the 'saint' to uncanonised figures, by anachronistically adding Christian elements of the present to a scene from the far removed past of the Old Testament. In this way the scene looks more familiar and contemporary to the viewer and the figures of the past more important. In the background, an architectural composition, also shown in two other plates of the group, suggests the three-dimensionality of the setting. A basket and bags in the exergue indicate Michal's dowry.

²⁰⁷ Chrysostom *PG* 62: 387.

²⁰⁸ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 475, 483, no 432.

²⁰⁹ Compare the wedding scenes in *The age of spirituality* 1979: nos 261-263.

Two aulos players are added beside David and Michal respectively facing the wedding couple and Saul. They are dressed in short tunics, boots and shoes that resemble that of figures on the other plates and they accompany the imperial wedding with their music. The combination of the bride's wedding presents and the aulos music shown on this silver plate remind us of the wedding ritual of classical Athens and the custom where the bridal presents are transported to the new house of the couple.



Fig. 48. Constantinople, seventh century A.D., silver plate (Nicosia, Archaeological Museum, J452). Foto: *The age of spirituality* 1979: 482, no 432 (viii).

The symmetrical depiction of the figures, also shown in the other plates, reveals the silversmith's attempt to accommodate the narration on the circular field of the plate and achieve a central focus. The aim of the artist is clear: to make the scene more vivid, more up to date and familiar for the viewer. To fulfill his purpose he uses all his efforts. He adds the musicians although there is no reference to music in the text of the Old Testament, while he depicts them in an active pose with some of the fingers raised as if they are playing. On the contrary he is not interested in producing a realistic detailed depiction, either of the musical instruments, shown with a narrow upper tube, or of the style of the musicians' clothes, which is similar to that used for other figures. In addition, according to Kessler this group of plates

resembles earlier imperial silver. Figures, costume details and compositional principles are reminiscent of fourth century creations²¹⁰.

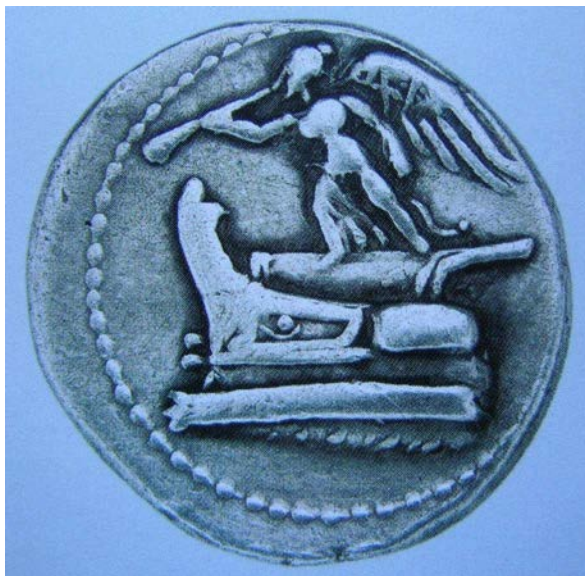


Fig. 49. Asia Minor, Tarsos, third century B.C., coin (Athens, Numismatic Museum 1163). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 149, no 43.

Even if the type of the mouthpiece is not visible in the wind instruments depicted with the short tube, comparison with a contemporary model and earlier ones is necessary. On a silver coin from the third century B.C. Tarsos, Asia Minor a Nike blows the same type of wind instrument (**fig. 49**)²¹¹, while a number of scenes from Rome of the first three centuries A.D. show a type of aulos with a short tube, a slight conical bore to the lower part, and a mouthpiece of the clarinet or recorder type. This type of tibia / aulos is connected with sacrifices (fig. 174), theatre (fig. 99), athletic competitions (figs. 169, 170) and banquets (figs. 30 and 34)²¹².

This instrumental type is to be distinguished from a longer one of the oboe type depicted during the Roman Empire with the holmos, the hypholmio and, sometimes, the addition of tuning rings (see for example **fig. 50**)²¹³. The co-existence of the two instrumental types can be seen on a sarcophagus dated to the third century A.D. (**fig. 51**)²¹⁴.

²¹⁰ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 475.

²¹¹ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 149, no 43.

²¹² See for example the sarcophagus from Rome, third century A.D., Maenad with aulos (Baratte / Metzger 1985: 138-142, no 67) and the mosaic from Santa Constanza, Rome fourth century A.D., angel with aulos (Volbach 1924: 319, no 32).

²¹³ Wegner 1966: 52, no 130, pl. 142c and 145a. See also Ulisse and Sirene with double aulos, Rome, Cimitero di Callisto, third century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Cimitero di Callisto) in Scortecchi 1993: 49, fig. 9 and Apollo with kithara and Marsya with double aulos, Rome, Via Aurelia, 290-300, sarcophagus (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1863) in Baratte / Metzger 1985: 90, no 33.

²¹⁴ Kraus 1967: 242, fig. 246a.

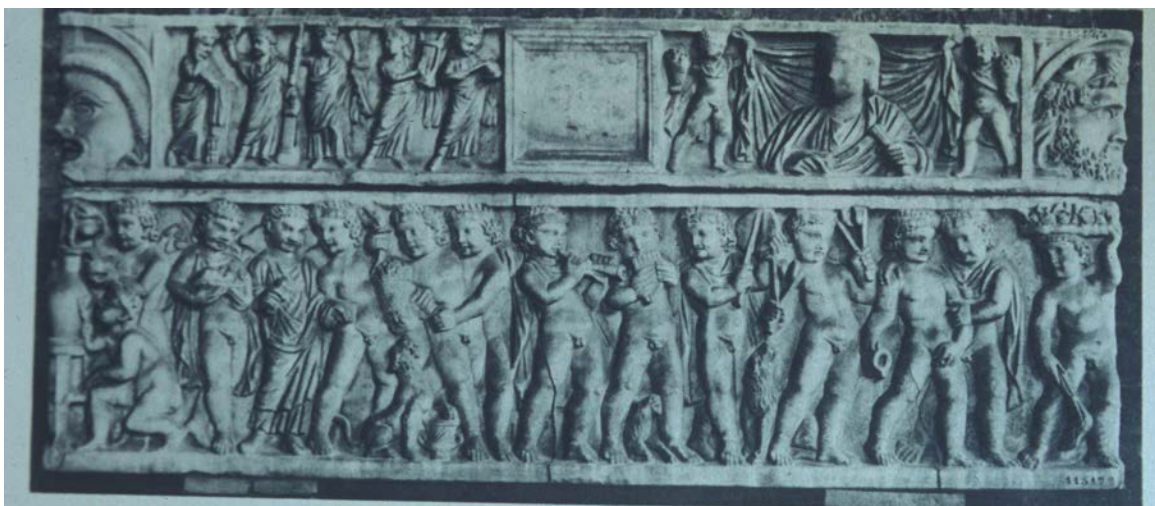


Fig. 50. Rome, end of the third century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 115 172.1934). Foto: Wegner 1966: pl. 145a.



Fig. 50. Detail.



Fig. 51. unknown, 230 A.D., sarcophagus (New York, Metropolitan Museum of art, 7 10 104). Foto: Kraus 1967: 242, fig. 246a.

The same type of aulos, like those depicted in fig. 48, is portrayed on a silver plate from sixth century A.D. Constantinople, where a satyr plays the aulos to a Silenus (**fig. 52**)²¹⁵. As the single auloi of figs. 48 and 52 are unique depictions of the sixth and the seventh centuries

²¹⁵ Ross 1962: 9, no 8.

A.D. Constantinople and elsewhere, an assumption can be made: the simplified depiction underlined by the difficulty of the artistic material in representing details and the lack of comparable data, may identify the portrayed single auloi as two instrumental types, that of the short clarinet or recorder with a slight conical bore, or the oboe type with a short tube. The latter is depicted, in its doubled form, in the mosaic from Syria of the fourth century A.D. (fig. 38). Both types are, according to the depictions, dated between the four first centuries A.D. and not later. Thus, the auloi depicted on the Constantinopolitan silver plate (fig. 48) possibly suggest a copy of an earlier instrumental model following the general trend of the artist, as Kessler admits.



Fig. 52. Constantinople, sixth century A.D., fragment of a silver plate (Washington, The Dumbarton Oaks collection 51.20). Foto: Ross 1962: 9, no 8.

The copying of fourth century models is also revealed by the musical elements found not only on the plate with the wedding of David, but also on another plate from this collection where David is shown to hold a kithara (**fig. 53**)²¹⁶. This type looks like a simpler copy of a kithara found in three works dated to the fourth century A.D. Sicily (**fig. 54**)²¹⁷, Cyprus²¹⁸ and Greece.²¹⁹ Although the possibility of depicting contemporary musical praxis cannot be rejected, because of the lack of sufficient data, the more extant depictions of both the auloi and the kithara, shown on the silver plates, in scenes dated up to the fourth century A.D., may

²¹⁶ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 475-477, no 426 (II).

²¹⁷ Laving 1963: 228-229, 264, 380, no 73.

²¹⁸ Apollo with kithara and Marsyas, Cyprus, Nea Pafos, House of Aion, triklinio, mosaic (in situ) in Michaelides 1992: 61, pl. 24, fig. 30.

²¹⁹ Orpheus with kithara among the animals, Greece, Cos, mosaic (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum) in Jesnick 1997: 248, fig. 113.

be assumed to be a copy of instrumental types of the past which follows the general copying process of the past, which the artist also applies to the rest of the portrayed elements.



Fig. 53. Constantinople, seventh century A.D., silver plate (Nicosia, Archaeological Museum, J454). Foto: *The age of spirituality* 1979: 477, no 426 (II).



Fig. 54. Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa Heracleia, end of the third or beginning of the fourth century A.D., mosaic (in situ). Foto: Laving 1963: no 73.

CHAPTER III

*Ludi circenses***3.1 Introduction**

One of the public spectacles of the Romans was a ceremonial procession followed by chariot races that took place in the Circus Maximus in Rome. The Roman circuses were used first and foremost for horse races. Additionally they hosted wild beast hunts (*venationes*), gladiatorial combats (*munera gladiatoria*) and theatrical performances (*ludi scaenici*). The circus was the oldest entertainment arena in Rome. The other permanent entertainment building types, such as the amphitheatre that later hosted the gladiatorial combats and the wild beast hunts, as well as the theatre that hosted the theatrical performances, were built later, during the first century B.C.²²⁰.

Among the great number of Roman depictions, found on different materials all over the Roman Empire, showing victorious charioteers or scenes from the chariot races²²¹, a small number survives which support the presence of musical practice that accompanies the races. The earliest of the depictions with musical elements date from the fourth century A.D., while there are some works of art dated between the fourth and the sixth century A.D. Constantinople that show interesting scenes from the Constantinopolitan circus.

Apart from the Constantinopolitan depictions that portray unique musical and theatrical celebrations and acclamations, probably as a part of the circus ceremonial and the acclamation for the Byzantine Emperor, the rest are characterized if not by a lack of interest in depicting the musical elements within the realistic depictions, by a symbolical and abbreviated form of depiction. The central worshipped figure is that of the victorious charioteer accompanied by the trophies of his victory. Of course, the artistic aim cannot be naturalistic and the realistically depicted details, among them that of musical practice, are omitted. The secondary character of a musical instrument used for signals may not be such an interesting detail for depiction as, for example, the important musical accompaniment for the celebrations for the Emperor who was participating in the ceremonies of the Constantinopolitan circus.

²²⁰ Humphrey 1986: 1.

²²¹For more depictions with chariot races or charioteers see in *The age of spirituality* 1979: 98-107 and in Humphrey 1986.

The depictions differ not only in style but also in the musical context, probably showing different moments of the circus games as well as artistic trends. According to the depictions, the use of the tuba is connected with the announcement of the victorious charioteer at the end of the race, while Tertulian connects the tuba with the circus in general. According to the scenes, aulos players accompanied with their music, the staff that raised the banner during the opening ceremony for the start of the race in the Constantinopolitan hippodrome, as well as the dropping of the banner during the process indicating the end of the race. Double aulos players, a group of musicians playing forked cymbals, hydraulis, syrinx and horn (?), as well as a choir, mimes, pantomimes, dancers and acrobats are present on depictions from Constantinople, suggesting a ceremonial within the busy circus there.

During the first century A.D. Dionysios Halicarnassus mentions detailed descriptions of the *pompa circensis* of the *ludi Romani* of Rome, which introduced the horse races held there. Pantomimes, aulos, lyre, barbitos and kithara players are said to participate in the pompa, while dances of Greek origin, such as sikinnis, complete the festivities. General literary information connects a number of musical instruments like forked cymbals, tympana, salpinx, bycane, aulos, as well as a choir, pantomimes and dancing with the celebrations in the circus of Rome. During the fourth century A.D. Claudianus from Rome will relate the mimes, pantomimes, tragedians, comedians, acrobats, tibia, lyre and hydraulis players with the circus.

As no pictorial evidence has survived representing the customs of the circus in Rome, while almost all the depictions are from Constantinople, only assumptions can be made. The similarities between the literary sources referring to the circus of Rome and the Constantinopolitan depictions may suggest an importing of the spectacle from Rome to Constantinople that followed the transference of the capital. The use of honouring the Emperor within the circus of Rome, testified by the writers, seems to be transported to the new capital of the Empire and with it, the musical practice accompanying the celebrations.

According to the philological sources the roots of the spectacle go back to the third century B.C., while as Dionysios of Halicarnassus says ‘Romans preserved this ancient Greek custom and they did not change it in the course of the time’ (*Roman antiquities* vii. 72.4)²²². Judging from the Greek musical instruments and the Greek dance *sikinnis* mentioned by Dionysios as accompanying the pompa, as well as the absence in the depictions of local Italian musical instruments like the cornu and lituus known to the Etruscans, we can assume that Dionysios is right and that the horse races were imported from Greece and with them a musical accompaniment based on musical instruments known to the Greeks.

²²² Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1986: 365.

On the other hand, the lack of sufficient pictorial and literary evidence makes the extraction of more information about the spectacle impossible. It will not be earlier than the first century B.C. that more evidence will come to the fore. The earliest depictions showing musical practice accompanying the moments of the spectacle will not be earlier than the first century A.D.

Even though the shape and the construction of the circus was created to serve the needs of the chariot races, literary and pictorial sources indicate a connection of the circus with theatrical performances, gladiatorial contests and wild beast hunting. At the secular festival celebrated by Augustus in 17 B.C. Greek scenic plays were held in the Circus Flaminius, along with Greek thymelic plays in the theatre of Pompeii. These were followed by seven days of circus races. Even if permanent amphitheatres and theatres started to host the related activities from the first century B.C. on, from the first century A.D., wooden stages were erected periodically in the circus for the annual scenic games²²³, while the circus was used more for extravagant presentations, because of its size. A relief from the basilica of the castle of Santo Elia near Rome, dated to the first century A.D., portrays, in the upper zone, a theatrical scene and in the lower, circus races, testifying to this connection (fig. 102).

During the fourth century, and after the tranference of the Empire's capital from Rome to Constantinople, the Roman custom of horse racing will become known in Constantinople and gain an important place in the everyday life there. The well-organized circus of the new capital is served by a great number of personnel²²⁴ who take care, for example, of the horses, the chariots, the charioteers, the musicians and the dancers, as well as the poets who write new texts for the acclamations, and the composers who create new melodies for them. Particular care was also taken of the two *hydrauleis* of the circus, their deconstruction after the race and the function of their bellows.

3.2 Philological sources from the Roman Empire

From the first century B.C. on, philological sources give more information about the spectacles held in the circus, the ceremonial of the *pompa circensis* and the kind of performers participating. The earliest literary source regarding musical information about the circus celebrations connected with the horse races of the *ludi Romani* of Rome is Dionysios Halicarnassus during the first century A.D.

²²³ Beacham 1999: 27.

²²⁴ Information about the organization, the personel and the activities in the Constantinopolitan Hippodrome we collect from the book of *De Cerimoniis* (see below the philological sources).

Dionysios observed religious ceremonies of the Romans similar to the Greeks (*The roman antiquities* vii. 71-72.13). He described the ceremony (*pompa circensis*) preceding the circus contests, including horse races each September of the *ludi Romani* hosted in the Circus Maximus, drawing upon the record of the ‘most ancient of all the Roman Historians’ Fabius Pictor (third century B.C.) but making clear in his account that much of what Fabius had described was still practised in his own day. Pantomimes, aulos, lyre, barbitos and kithara players are said to participate in the *pompa*, while dances of Greek origin like the *sikinnis* complete the festivities.

According to Dionysius the *bigae* or *quadrigae* that would participate in the games went first, while the athletes wearing only loincloths followed. Groups of pantomimes (*ορχησταις*) carrying swords and spears and accompanied by aulos, lyre and barbitos players followed the athletes. Each group had one who led the others in a ‘war dance’ consisting of a repeated rhythm of four short stamps of the feet. The armed pantomimes were followed by a dancing chorus of men dressed as satyrs or as Silenoi, the former costumed in goatskins and high hairy manes, the latter in shaggy tunics. They performed the lewd satyr dance *sikinnis*, parodying the dance of the pantomimes in front of them. The *pompa* continued with many more kithara and aulos players following the satyrs.

The text of Dionysius is very detailed: ‘The contestants were followed by numerous bands of dancers arranged in three divisions, the first consisting of men, the second of youths, and the third of boys. These were accompanied by aulos-players who used ancient auloi that were small and short, as is done even to this day, and by lyre-players, who plucked ivory lyres of seven strings and the instruments called *barbita*. The use of these has ceased in my time among the Greeks, though traditional with them, but is preserved by the Romans in all their ancient sacrificial ceremonies. The dancers were dressed in scarlet tunics girded with bronze cinctures, wore swords suspended at their sides, and carried spears of shorter than average length; the men also had bronze helmets adorned with conspicuous crests and plumes. Each group was led by one man who gave the figures of the dance to the rest, taking the lead in representing their war like and rapid movements, usually in the proceleusmatic²²⁵ rhythms. This also was in fact a very ancient Greek institution – I mean the armed dance called the *Pyrrhic*’:

Ηκολούθουν δε τοις αγωνισταις ορχηστών χοροί πολλοί τριχή νενεμημένοι, πρώτοι μεν ανδρών, δεύτεροι δ’ αγενείων, τελευταίοι δε παιδων, οις παρηκολούθουν αυληταί τε αρχαϊκοίς εμφυσώντες αυλίσκοις βραχέσιν, ως και εις τόδε χρόνου

²²⁵ The word proceleusmatic used by the translator is a transliteration of the word ‘προκελευσματικός’ of the Greek original text. Prokeleusmatikoi are characterized the rythms consisted of two beats as mentioned in the work of Aristeides Quintilianus *Περί μουσικής* (*De musica*) Mb 36 chapter.

γίνεται, και κιθαρισταί λύρας επταχόρδους ελεφαντίνας και τα καλούμενα βάρβιτα κρέκοντες. Ων παρά μεν Ἑλλησιν εκλέλοιπεν η χρήση επ' εμού πάτριος ούσα. παρά δε Ρωμαίοις εν πάσαις φυλάττεται ταις αρχαίαις θυηπολίαις. Σκευαί δε των ορχηστών ήσαν χιτώνες φοινίκεοι ζωστήραι χαλκείοι εσφιγμένοι, και ξίφη παρηρητημένα, και λόγχοι βραχύτεραι των μετρίων. τοις δ' ανδράσι και κράνη χαλκεα λόφοις επισήμοις κεκοσμημένα και περοίς. ηγείτο δε καθ' έκαστον χορόν εις ανήρ, ος ενεδίδου τοις άλλοις τα της ορχήσεως σχήματα, πρώτος ειδηφορών τας πολεμικάς και συντόνους κινήσεις εν τοις προκελευσματικοίς ως τα πολλά ρυθμοίς. Ελληνικόν δ' άρα και τούτο ην εν τοις πάνυ παλαιόν επιτήδευμα, ενόπλιος όρχησις η καλούμενη πυρρίχη. (*The roman antiquities* vii. 72. 5-7)²²⁶

And he continues describing the Satyrs and Silenoi: 'But it is not alone from the warlike and serious dance of these bands which the Romans employed in their sacrificial ceremonies and processions that one may observe their kinship to the Greeks, but also from that which is of a mocking and ribald nature. For after the armed dancers others marched in procession impersonating satyrs and portraying the Greek dance called *sicinnis*. Those who represented Silenoi were dressed in shaggy tunics, called by some *chortaioi*, and in mantles of flowers of every sort; and those who represented satyrs wore girdles and goatskins, and on their heads manes that stood upright, with other things of like nature. These mocked and mimicked the serious movements of the others, turning them into laughter-provoking performances':

Ου μόνον δ' εκ της εναγωνίου τε και κατεσπουδασμένης ορχήσεως των χορών, η παρά τας θυηπολίας τε και πομπάς εχρώντο Ρωμαίοι, το συγγενές αν τις αυτών το προς τους Έλληνας ίδοι, αλλά και εκ της κερτόμου και τωθαστικής. μετά γαρ τους ενοπλίους χορούς οι των σατυριστών επόμενον χοροί την Ελληνικήν ειδοφορούντες σίκιννιν. σκευαί δ' αυτοίς ήσαν τοις μεν εις Σιληνούς εικασθείσι μαλλωτοί χιτώνες, ους ένιοι χορταίους καλούσι, και περιβόλαια εκ παντός άνθους. τοις δ' εις Σατύρους περιζώματα και δοραί τράγων και ορθότριχες εί ταις κεφαλαίς φόβαι και όσα τούτοις όμοια. ούτοι κατέσκωπτον τε και κατεμιμούντο τας σπουδαίας κινήσεις επί τα γελοιότερα μεταφέροντες (*The roman antiquities* vii. 72.10)²²⁷.

Kithara and aulos players follow the dancers at the end of the *pompa*: 'After these bands of dancers came a throng of kithara-players and many aulos-players, and after them the persons who carried the censers in which perfumes and frankincense were burned along the whole route of the procession, and also the men who bore the show vessels made of silver and gold, both those that were sacred to the gods and those that belonged to the state. Last of all in the procession came the images of the gods':

Μετά δε τους χορούς τούτους κιθαρισταί τ' αθρόοι και αυληταί πολλοί παρεζήσαν. και μετ' αυτούς οι τε τα θυμιατήρια κομίζοντες, εφ' ων αρώματα και λιβανωτός

²²⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1986: 364-367. The term 'flute' of the translator is replaced with the 'aulos' of the original.

²²⁷ Ibid.: 368-371.

παρ' ὄλην ὁδὸν εθνμιάτο, και οι τα πομπεία παραφέροντες αργυρίου και χρυσίου πεποιημένα τα τε ιερά και τα δημόσια. τελευταία δε πάντων αι των θεών εικόνες ἐπόμπευον ὡμοις υπ' ανδρών φερόμεναι. (The roman antiquities vii. 72.13)²²⁸

A number of musical instruments like forked cymbals, tympana, tuba, salpinx, bycane and aulos, choir and pantomimes and dancers are mentioned in the literary sources of the first centuries A.D. as used within celebrations in the circus of Rome. Even if the references to this musical accompaniment are general and not connected with the horse races or the celebrating pompa of the ludi, they give us information about the types of musical instruments used in the circus of Rome, instruments that are depicted centuries later accompanying the celebrations honouring the Emperor and the horse races of the Constantinopolitan hippodrome. The practice of honouring the Emperor within the circus of Rome as well as the same musical instruments, such as the forked cymbals and aulos, the pantomimes and the choir seem to have been imported to Constantinople, the new capital of the Empire, together with the custom of the horse races and the celebrations in the circus.

During the first century, Petronius from Rome speaking about the circus refers to cymbala with krotala (he is probably referring to the forked cymbals) and tympana played with the hand: 'Liebling des Volkes, im großen Zirkus höchst bekannt, Quintia, gelehrt, den schwingenden Hintern zu bewegen, weiht Priap Zimbeln mit Crotala (*cymbala cum crotalis*), Waffen der Begierde (der sexuellen Erregung), und herbeigebrachte Handpauken (*tympana*), angeschlagen mit der Hand'²²⁹:

Deliciae populi, magno notissima circo, quintia, vibratas docta movere nates, cymbala cum crotalis, pruriginis arma, Priapo, ponit et adducta tympana pulsa manu. (Carmina Priapea 27. 1-4)²³⁰

During the second century A.D. the Greek Polybios refers to a big celebration within the circus of Rome, where many performers participate. According to his text, a huge stage was erected in the circus of Rome, during 167 A.D., for the celebrations of the triumph of Anicius Gallus over the Illyrians. Aulos players, pantomimes (*ορχηστῆς*), a chorus (whether of dancers or voices is not clear), salpinx players and horn players (*βυκανισταί*) participated: 'Er ließ aus Griechenland die berühmtesten Künstler kommen, im Circus eine große Bühne herrichten und zuerst alle Aulosspieler²³¹ [*αυλητάς*] mit einem Mal auftreten. ... Diese stellte er zusammen

²²⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1986: 372-373. The term 'lyre-players' of the translator is replaced with the 'kithara-players' of the original and the 'flute-players' with 'aulos players'.

²²⁹ I would like to thank Prof. Paul, Vienna, for the translation of this passage. Translation: 'Favorite to the audience, famous in the big circus, quintia, moving your swaying bottoms, inaugurate Priap cymbals with krotala, weapons of the desire, tympana, played with the hand.'

²³⁰ Petronius 1922: 155.

²³¹ The 'Flötenspieler' is replaced with the Aulosspieler as more close to the *αυλητάς* of the original.

mit dem Chor auf das Proscenium und hieß sie alle zugleich blasen. Als diese die Griffe auf dem Instrument mit den entsprechenden Bewegungen ausführten (?), ließ er ihnen sagen, sie spielten nicht richtig: sie sollten mehr miteinander kämpfen. ... Während jene sich noch eine Schlacht lieferten, traten zwei Tänzer mit Musikbegleitung in die Orchestra, und vier Faustkämpfer bestiegen mit Salpinx²³² –und Hornbläsern²³³ die Bühne, und alle diese kämpften nun miteinander.²³⁴:

... και σκηνήν κατασκευάσας μεγίστην εν τω κίρκω πρώτους εισήγεν αυλητάς άμα πάντας. ... τούτους ουν στήσας επί το προσκήνιον μετά του χορού αυλείν εκέλευσεν άμα πάντας. Των δε διαπορευομένων τας κρούσεις μετά της αρμοζούσης κινήσεως προσπέμψας ουκ έφη καλώς αυτούς αυλείν, αλλ' αγωνίζεσθαι μάλλον εκέλευσεν. ... Έτι δε τούτων εκ παρατάξεως αγωνιζομένων ορχησταί δύο εισήγοντο μετά συμφωνίας εις την ορχήστραν, και πύκται τέτταρες ανέβησαν επί την σκηνήν μετά σαλπικτών και βυκανιστών (*Historiae* xxx. 22.1-12)²³⁵.

The use of the tuba within the circus, seen to accompany the announcement of the victorious charioteer at the end of the games in the two surviving depictions (figs. 55, 57) is testified to, during the second century, by Tertulian, from Carthage who mentions: ‘... in the stadium with war and with tuba they imitate the circus’:

... *per tubam in stadio circum aemulantur.* (*De spectaculis* xi)²³⁶

Claudius Claudianus (370-410 A.D.) from Rome, speaking about the circus refers to clown and mime shows that make people laugh, to acrobat shows, to tragedian and comedian participation, as well as to tibia, lyre and hydraulis musicians: ‘Nor let gentle games lack the delights we bring: let the clown be there to move the people’s laughter with his happy wit, the mime whose language is in his nod and in the movements of his hands, the musician whose breath rouses the tibia and whose finger stirs the lyre, the slippered comedian to whose voice the theatre re-echoes, the tragedian towering on his loftier buskin; him too whose light touch can elicit loud music from those pipes of bronze that sound a thousand diverse notes beneath his wandering fingers and who by means of a lever stirs to song the labouring water. Let us see acrobats who hurl themselves through the air like birds and build pyramids’:

²³² The ‘Trompeten’ of the translator is replaced with the *salpinx* of the original.

²³³ The term ‘Posaunenbläsern’ is replaced with the Hornbläsern as more close to the *βυκανιστών* of the original.

²³⁴ Polybios 1963: 1191-1192. Translation: ‘... and after having constructed a big scene within the circus, at first, he placed aulos players on the proskenion to perform together with the chorus. After having performed with the appropriate movements he told them that they did not play well on the aulos and that they should proceed to a competition. ... As they were still competing each other, two members of the chorus enter the orchestra accompanied by music. Four pugilists went on the scene together with salpinx and bycane players and they were all fighting each other.’

²³⁵ Polybios 1961: 297-299. The passage of Polybios is referred also in Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14. 615a-e.

²³⁶ Tertullian 1984: 262-263.

*“Nec molles egeant nostra dulcedine ludi: qui laetis risum salibus movisse
 facetus, qui nutu manibusque loquax cui tibia flatu, cui plectro pulsanda chelys,
 qui pulpita socio personat aut alte graditur maiore cothurno, et qui magna levi
 detrudens murmura tactu innumeras voces segetis moderatus aenae intonet
 erranti digito penitusque trabali vecte laborantes in carmina concitet undas vel
 qui more avium sese iaculentur in auras corporaque avidificent celery crescentia
 nexu.” (Carmina xvii. 311-21)²³⁷*

As acrobats, aulos and hydraulis players are portrayed on contemporary and later reliefs and consular diptychs from Constantinople and its hippodrome, the musical references of Claudianus may hint at the Constantinopolitan celebrations. Nevertheless, an assumption can be made that the same musical instruments and of course the acrobats, the mimes, pantomimes, clowns, tragedians and comedians could have participated within the circus of Rome as all these musical elements were part of the musical life of Rome where Claudianus lived.

The use of the *bucinae* within the circus is mentioned during the fifth century A.D. by Sidonius Apollinaris who states that tuba players (*tubicen*) give the start of the chariot race playing loudly to the *bucinae*: ‘Enfin le tuba, au son de son instrument strident, appelle les équipages impatients et lance les chars rapides dans la carrière’:

*tandem murmure bucinae strepentis, suspensas tubicen vocans quadrigas, effundit
 celeres in arua currus. (Carmina xxiii. 339-41)²³⁸*

According to Humphrey, Sidonius’ reference is based on races at Olympia or other Greek games because in the Greek hippodrome, the tuba (salpinx) was used to signify the actual start, the moment when the gates were opened. We do not have evidence for such a use within the Roman circus²³⁹, while according to Roman depictions the tuba was used to announce the victorious charioteer.

The reference to the *bucinae* played by the tuba players is an interesting element. There is one more reference to *βυκανισταί* (*bucinae* players), four centuries earlier, in the Greek Polybios who connects them to the circus of Rome. The Roman name of the musical instrument, having a Greek root, indicates an animal’s horn known for its use by shepherds and of course a different instrumental type from the cornu and the tuba. The only depiction with a bycane is that of the Constantinopolitan hippodrome (fig. 58), while there are scenes

²³⁷ Claudian 1990, vol 1: 360-361. The term ‘flute’ of the translator is replaced with the ‘tibia’ of the original text.

²³⁸ Apollinaris 1960: 156. I replaced the ‘trompette’ of the translator with the ‘tuba’ of the original text. Translation: ‘Finally the vigorous *bucinae* suspend the tuba players to call the quadrigas, pouring out the crowd against the cart.’

²³⁹ Humphrey 1986: 156.

with shepherds playing a horn in works from third and fourth century A.D. Syria and sixth century Iran.

During the sixth century, Chorikios from Gaza speaks about the presence of mimes in the circus, while he connects them with the horse races: ‘the horse races drive crazy and do not amuse the spectators. In contrast mimes offer a peaceful amusement that is related with Dionysos’:

Ἴππων μὲν οὖν ἀγῶνες ἐκμαίνοσιν μάλλον ἢ τέρπουσιν τὰς τῶν θεωμένων ψυχὰς. Μίμοι δὲ τέρψιν ἀπράγμονα καὶ στάσεως ἐλευθέραν καὶ ταραχῆς ἐπιδείκνυνται καὶ μάλα συμβαίνουσαν τῷ Διονύσῳ. (Apoloogia mimorum 114)²⁴⁰

And he continues: ‘And for this reason I accept the decision of the cities that arranged mimes’ performances between the horse races so that the mimes calm down the violence of the spectators, diminishing the sorrow of the losers and the winners’ arrogance.’:

Τοιγαροῦν ἀποδέχομαι τῶν πόλεων τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αἰς νενόμισται μίμους ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἵππων ἀμίλλαις μεταξὺ παίζειν τῶν ἀθλῶν, ἵνα τοῖς θεωμένοις μαλάξωσι τὴν οργήν, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἠττημένων πραῶνοντες λύπην, τὴν δὲ τῶν νενικηκότων ἀναστέλλοντες ὕβριν. (Apoloogia mimorum 116)²⁴¹

During the same century Prokopios from Caesarea refers to the pantomime of ‘the Greens’ in the hippodrome, probably of Constantinople: *ο δε των Πρασίνων ορχηστής (Anecdota ix. 5)²⁴²* who, like all the pantomimes of the hippodrome, had the authority to remove individuals from their office and put others in their place.

As for the existence of *organa* used for the acclamation of the Emperor or the Empress and a unique organized ritual with music and acclamations of the audience, we learn about it from the two books of Constantinos VII Porphyrogenitos (tenth century A.D.) with the title *De Ciremoniis*. Even if the collected information written dates from different epochs, which extend until late Antiquity, authentic elements of the eight to the tenth centuries are included²⁴³.

Interesting information is the existence of two organs, that of the faction of the Greens and that of the faction of the Blues (*De Ciremoniis* ii. 15 and 55)²⁴⁴ the use of the organs for the acclamation of the Empress or the Emperor (e.g. i. 64 and i. 41)²⁴⁵ and the working of the

²⁴⁰ Stefanos 1986: 116-118.

²⁴¹ Ibid.: 118.

²⁴² Procopius 1960: 102-103. The term ‘Dancing Master’ of the translator is replaced with the ‘pantomime’ as more close to the *ορχηστής* of the original text.

²⁴³ For an extended discussion about the musical elements referred in the book of *De Ciremoniis* see Guiland 1965, Dölger 1961 and Handschin 1943.

²⁴⁴ Porphyrogenitus 1829: 571, 595 and 799.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.: 287 and 215.

bellows by slaves (i. 72)²⁴⁶. The use of the word *organon* instead of the hydra or hydraulis suggests the development of the hydraulis to *organon*, which works with bellows without the tank for the water, a change that is visible in the scenes related to the Constantinopolitan hippodrome from the fourth century A.D. onwards.

3.3 Pictorial evidence from the Roman Empire

The announcement of the victorious charioteer by the tuba player is the theme depicted on a floor mosaic from Piazza Armerina, Sicily. The depiction of the chariot race placed in the Circus Maximus of Rome decorates the narthex of the baths in the roman villa of Maxentius that is dated to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (**fig. 55**)²⁴⁷.



Fig. 55. Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, baths, 310-320 A.D., floor mosaic detail (in situ). Foto: Pace 1955: 85, fig. 32.

The mosaic represents the excitement and the dangers of the chariot race. The architectural environment with the temples, the triumphal arch of Vespasian, the statue of Magna Mater and the spina with the markers, the statues and the cult shrines, correspond, though not with all topographical indications, to the real ones of Rome. A green charioteer who has won the race approaches, in his chariot, the officials who are standing on the left; the tuba player announces his victory and a man holds out to him the palm and the wreath of victory.

²⁴⁶Porphrogenitus 1829: 363.

²⁴⁷*The age of spirituality* 1979: 100-101, no 91 and Pace 1955: 85, fig. 32.

The figure of the musician is distinctively different from the others. Dressed in a short Roman tunic with the clavus, he wears a red cloak over it, a wreath on his head and short boots. He is blowing a tuba consisting of a brown coloured, narrow, cylindrical tube which widens at the lower end to a conical bore. A single tuning key known from the aulos, though in plural form, as *kerata* is depicted here for the first time depicted along with the addition of a metallic cable on the upper part of the tube between the mouthpiece and the beginning of the bore.

This type of tuba is depicted again on the mosaic of the south cubiculum in the children's villa of Piazza Armerina, where a musical contest is portrayed (fig. 134)²⁴⁸. Even though the part of the mosaic where the bell of the tuba was represented is destroyed we recognize the same metallic addition and the same figure of the musician dressed in similar clothes and boots and with the same wreath on the head.

The tubae of Piazza Armerina can be compared with the yellow coloured tuba shown in an athletic competition on the floor mosaic from the Villa Daphne in Antioch, Syria dated between the third and the fourth century A.D. (fig. 56)²⁴⁹. The playing position downwards is a common feature between the depictions. The use of the tuba within a contest such as athletic or musical, or horse-racing, may indicate the common signalling needs of the contests, that is, announcement of the winner or the start and the end of competition. Thus, the musical instrument could also be used for the announcement of the end of the race and the signal for the victorious charioteer.



Fig. 56. Syria, Antioch, Villa Daphne, room 4, floor mosaic (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3444). Foto: Levi 1947: pl. LXIe.

An interesting element is the unique depiction of the metallic addition instead of the rope or chain as shown in the mosaic of Antioch. After examining all the figures of the musicians depicted on the mosaics of Piazza Armerina the artist seems to be unaware of the

²⁴⁸ Kähler 1973: pl. 40.

²⁴⁹ Levi 1947: 226-256 (room 4), pl. LXIe.

exact organological details as long as he depicts, unrealistically, something that looks like an abbreviated hydraulis placed on the head of the musician and a bad depiction of a lyre besides. The type of tuba shown in the mosaics of Piazza Armerina could be an artistic invention in its details.

One more depiction with a victorious charioteer accompanied by a tuba player is shown on a mould for a central design for a rectangular lamp (**fig. 57**)²⁵⁰. The mould, formerly exhibited in the British Museum, is now lost, and the place of origin and the date is unknown. Nevertheless, Humphrey dates the mould, with probability, to the fourth century A.D. In the centre is depicted a victorious charioteer in the foreground, with a palm-branch in his left hand. His right hand is raised to his head to support a prize-crown of spherical form, made of thin metal and ornamented with three bands of pattern in relief. Behind him to the right is a woman in long drapery while to the left there is a man in long chiton and boots, blowing a tuba, the end of which rests on the ground. On the left a quadriga advances with its driver holding a palm-branch. On the right another advances with his driver holding a palm-branch and a wreath. In front of the quadriga stands a small child with its right hand raised to its head. On the right edge is a bearded man in a long chiton and himation looking to the left. In the background, two statues on columns, each holding some attribute, indicate the circus. At either end is a polygonal building with a domed roof and panelled walls. In the middle, behind the central figure is, perhaps, an obelisk.



Fig. 57. unknown origin, probably fourth century A.D., mould (London, British Museum, lost). Foto: Humphrey 1986: 250, fig. 125.

The tendency of the artist to focus on the central worshipped figure of the victorious charioteer is served by the symmetrical placement of the two quadrigae to the left and to the

²⁵⁰ *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman lamps* 1914: 211-212, no 1398 and Humphrey 1986: 250, fig. 125.

right. The glorious atmosphere is underlined by the prizes for the race, the palm-branches and the wreaths that all charioteers are depicted to have. Even if elements of the circus are placed as architectural background, the scene is not at all realistic, but an artistic composition in praise of the victor. The musician playing the tuba is also unrealistically depicted beside the central charioteer to indicate the moment when the sounds of the tuba announce the winner at the end of the race. In addition, the playing position, with the two hands of the musician placed near the mouthpiece and the bore of the instrument resting on the ground, is unique.



Fig. 57. Sketch.

Three monuments, two bases and a 'Kugelspiel', from the spina of the Constantinopolitan hippodrome survive, showing scenes from musical performances as part of the circus ceremonial²⁵¹.

The earliest monument is dated to the fourth century and is a relief from the base of the obelisk of Theodosius portraying dancers and musicians acclaiming the emperor (**fig. 58**)²⁵². The base is divided into two parts. The lower part shows, on opposite sides, the erection of the obelisk and a chariot race in the circus. The other two sides are covered with Greek and Latin inscriptions. The upper part of the base consists of four panels that represent Theodosius at court, Theodosius receiving an embassy of barbarians, Theodosius in state and Theodosius at the hippodrome.

This last panel is divided into two zones, which correspond to distinctions of office and status. The upper part in the centre represents the imperial box filled with officials and a guard of soldiers. Some of the officials are in consular dress and hold mappae, indicating the

²⁵¹For a recent discussion about these monuments of the Constantinopolitan hippodrome see the article of Bachmann 2004/2005.

²⁵²Bruns 1935: 61-68, figs. 77, 84, 85 and *The age of spirituality* 1979: 107-108, no 99.

start of the race. The worshipped, central figure of Theodosius is placed among them holding a wreath. Below, the spectators are depicted in two rows of frontal heads. Beneath them musicians and dancers, depicted in smaller dimensions, complete the scene.



Fig. 58. Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina, base of the obelisk of Theodosius, fourth century A.D., (in situ).
Foto: Bruns 1935: pl. 35.

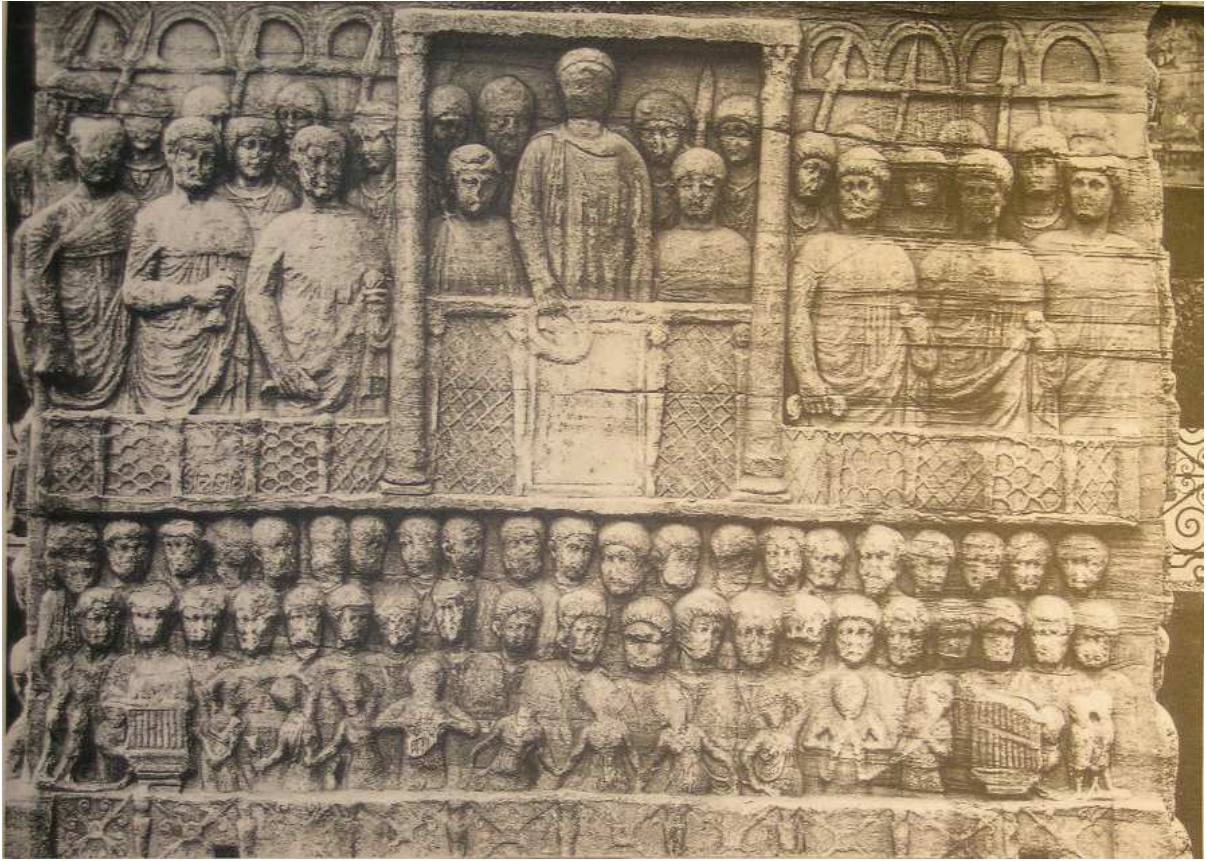


Fig. 58. Detail. Dancers and musicians acclaiming the Emperor. Foto: Bruns 1935: pl. 77.



Fig. 58. Detail left. Foto: Bruns 1935: fig. 84.

Two organs are placed symmetrically to the right and left edge with their players protruding from behind and two pairs of boys using the bellows. The organ to the left consists

of eight auloi of equal length, while the one to the right of eleven auloi descending from left to right. Both organs have no base, but they both have bellows and fastened auloi. From left to right, beside the organ player, three female dancers playing forked cymbals are followed by a male syrinx player. A group of four female dancers with the fourth playing forked cymbals follow²⁵³. A double aulos player and a salpinx or horn player are placed beside the organ on the right. The figure of the salpinx or horn is not clear enough for a precise decision about the kind of musical instrument he is playing, while it is often taken by scholars to be a transverse flute or flute, or even completely omitted in their descriptions²⁵⁴. All musicians are frontally depicted except for the boys working the bellows, who are facing the organs accordingly.



Fig. 58. Detail right. Foto: Bruns 1935: fig. 85.

A long discussion has been held among colleagues about the crown that the Emperor is depicted holding. Most convincing is the opinion of Cameron who claims that the emperor is not holding the crown in order to give it to a victorious charioteer²⁵⁵, who is not even depicted, but because he is crowned himself²⁵⁶. The emperor often celebrated real victories by holding circus games²⁵⁷.

The relief can be compared with one from a tomb in Chieti, Italy dated to the first century A.D. (fig. 76) where the central worshipped figure of the deceased is depicted in the center as organizer of the gladiatorial games and encircled by his helpers. The important

²⁵³ The forked cymbal players are misunderstood from Cameron as waving banners (Cameron 1973: 34).

²⁵⁴ See the related references in Bachmann 2004/2005: 205.

²⁵⁵ Brilliant's opinion in *The age of Spirituality* 1979: 108.

²⁵⁶ Cameron 1973: 51, 57.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: 250.

musicians are added to the edges of the frieze, while the figures of the gladiators are minimized on the lower part to indentify the scene. Having in mind that gladiatorial games were given as funerary offerings to the honoured deceased *editor* or *lictor*, an element can be assumed: that the gladiators are not only indentifying the scene but they are also worshipping the praised man.

The dancers and the musicians of the Theodosius obelisk not only indentify the scene but they are also praising Theodosius. The artist uses the depicted officials holding the mappae, together with the architectural elements, in order to place the scene within the circus. The victorius emperor honoured with the wreath is the goal of the depiction, not just a scene of the emperor in the hippodrome. For this reason the central figure of the honoured king is emphasized by the praising musicians and not only localised by the presence of horses or quadrigas that could be depicted serving this purpose. Moreover, the base dedicated to Porphyrius the victorious charioteer, discussed below which stood not far from Theodosius obelisk within the Constantinopolitan hippodrome has the same acclamatory and monumental character.

A piece of marble from the late fifth century A.D., and known as ‘Kugelspiel’, apparently used for some sort of ball game within the hippodrome is decorated with circus scenes in relief on the four sides (**fig. 59**)²⁵⁸. On the upper register of the right face two figures are holding each end of a banner, while beneath the arch formed, stand two smaller figures playing auloi. The scene represents here the raising of the awning, thus the first event of the day of chariot races. Below it the lot-casting machine is portrayed. After lots have been cast for position, the race begins. In the bottom relief a quadriga is depicted, racing to the right. The race continues through the bottom of the front side where two racing quadrigae are depicted. The race ends on the bottom register of the left side, where the fourth charioteer has just won. With his hands raised up showing victory and triumph, he is being greeted by a man carrying the palm of victory. Above, the charioteer does his triumphal lap holding his palm-branch and being watched by a spectator who is looking through a window. On the upper register the lowering of the awning closes the day’s proceedings. Again two figures hold the banner, while one more is added to the left edge. Under the banner two small figures play auloi²⁵⁹. The reverse side of the Kugelspiel has the form of a hippodrome’s arched-door. On the upper part are depicted crowns for the winners and figures indentified as the hippodrome’s personnel.

²⁵⁸ Effenberger 1990: 108-109, 122, fig. 10a-d and Cameron 1973: 33, pls. 15-18.

²⁵⁹ Bachmann (2004/2005: 211-212) is referred wrongly to double auloi for all the four figures, while Cameron 1973: 33 indentifies aulos players.



Fig. 59. Constantinople, hippodrome, spina, late fifth century A.D., marble 'Kugelspiel', front side (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für byzantinische Kunst, 1895). Foto: Cameron 1973: fig. 18.

A base, known as the 'new', dedicated this time to Porphyrius the victorius charioteer, is dated to the sixth century A.D. and represents Porphyrius acclaimed by musicians (**fig. 60**)²⁶⁰. Two bases of Porphyrius, from a great number in total, were found in the city of Istanbul with a difference of years and so they are called the 'old' and the 'new' one, even if the new one is thought to be older, ca. a year. Both stood in the spina of the hippodrome of Constantinople and every detail of the first base was known to the craftsmen that created the other and both craftsmen would have been aware of the base of the Theodosius obelisk²⁶¹.

²⁶⁰ Cameron 1973: 249-251, figs. 2-9 and figs. 12-14.

²⁶¹ Ibid.: 12.



Fig. 59. Back side. Foto: Cameron 1973: fig. 17.



Fig. 59. Left side. Foto: Cameron 1973: fig. 16.

Every face of the base is divided into two registers. On all four faces of the new base the central figure in the top register is Porphyrius standing full face in his quadriga, always in the same costume and with the same stance. He holds a palm branch and crown in the upraised right hand, except for the front side where he holds a whip and the right face where he holds both a whip and a crown.

On the lower registers are depicted: on the front side spectators with their hands raised acclaiming Porphyrius, on the back side the imperial box and charioteers, and on the right and left sides pairs of figures raising banners. The right-hand figure on the right side is holding an object (now mostly broken away) in his hands at chest level, and bending forwards as if playing an aulos. The same applies to the figure on the left of this face, and also to the diminutive figure in the middle²⁶².

The musical instruments are too damaged to be precisely indentified, while every parallelism used by the scholars, comparing the aulos players depicted on the Kugelspiel, the new base of Porphyrius and the base of Theodosius, is misleading. The existence of a double aulos player on the Theodosius base does not exclude the existence of aulos players. In addition, as there is no existing philological evidence describing the exact moment, one assumption can be made. Claudianus' reference to the tibia player among the musicians of the

²⁶² Cameron 1973: 33.

circus and not to the tibiae player, the plural form indicating the double aulos, could suggest the use of the single aulos within the circus.



Fig. 60a. Constantinople, 500 A.D., new marble base of Porphyrius (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 5560 T) front and back sides. Foto: Cameron 1973: figs. 2-3.

The only parallelism is, perhaps, that in both the Theodosius obelisk and in the new base of Porphyrius, the small figures depicted on the lower register, thus below the Emperor holding the crown and the victorious charioteer also holding his crown, seem to acclaim the honoured figures placed above. The inscriptions on the new base of Porphyrius indicate an acclamation that is also underlined by the acclaiming dancing partisans²⁶³. Thus, musicians and dancers were used to praise, in acclamations both to charioteers and to the emperor. Moreover, the victory of a charioteer would give rise to acclamations in honour of the Emperor as well as the charioteer²⁶⁴ and this is affirmed by the bases.

In addition, the conclusion of Cameron²⁶⁵, that in scenes from the obelisk of Theodosius, the Kugelspiel and the new base of Porphyrius, all the banner-wavers are dancing and all those not dancing are playing the aulos, is misleading because in the Theodosius

²⁶³ Cameron 1973: 31.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.: 26.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.: 34.

obelisk the musicians play, apart from the two organs, a syrinx and horn. In addition, on the obelisk's relief the dancing figures are not waving any banner, but instead they are playing forked cymbals.



Fig. 60b. Constantinople, 500 A.D., new marble base of Porphyrus (Istanbul: Archaeological Museum, 5560 T) right and left sides. Foto: Cameron 1973: figs. 4-5.



a. Dancing partisans, with two prose acclamations (left side)

Fig. 60a and b. Details.

A number of consular diptychs made of ivory and all from 517 A.D. Constantinople, represent consuls together with scenes probably from the Constantinopolitan hippodrome. The diptychs were given as gifts to celebrate the holding of the office from the first of January. The official is identified as the consul Anastasius and he is depicted as the central figure, accompanied on a lower register with scenes from the festivities celebrating his accession to office.

The main part of the first diptych is taken up by the figure of the official throned before the tribunal (**fig. 61**)²⁶⁶. Dressed in the triumphal *trabea* and shell halo, he sits on a lion-legged throne. With his right hand he holds the *mappa* and in his left a sceptre topped by a wreathed eagle and three busts. Beside him two 'victories' are raising shields. Above the throne and

²⁶⁶ Volbach 1976: 36, no 20, pl. 9, Fleischhauer 1964: 126, 127, fig. 73 and Delbrueck 1929: 126, no 19, pl. 19.

among victories holding garlands, three medallions are carved. A portrait of Anastasius is placed in the central medallion, of Ariadne to the left and of consul to the right.



Fig.61. Constantinople, choir, hydraulis player and ball player, 517 A.D., consular diptych of Anastasius (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 19 688). Foto: Volbach 1976: pl. 9, no 20.



Fig. 61. Detail. Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 127, fig. 73.

The lower part is divided into two horizontal registers with scenes from the festivities celebrating the official's accession to office. On the upper register two figures, each holding a horse, are walking towards the centre carrying standards in the left hand. The architectural background is placed symmetrically to the edges suggesting the buildings of the hippodrome.

On the lower line a ball player is depicted, almost in the centre, accompanied by a choir and a hydraulis player. A choir placed to the left consists of four smaller figures in the front and three bigger at the back. In the middle of the back row stands what could be the *mesochorus* the first singer and leader of the choir. To his right stands a syrinx player. The four figures of the front row cannot be identified as young boys because the size of the figures could be a practical matter of organizing them on the relief. The symmetry is achieved by means of the architectural building to the left and the hydraulis, in the same dimensions, to the right. The hydraulis is shown with all its characteristic parts: the pumps for the air, the tank for the water and the fastened pipes increasing in length from left to right. The musician stands behind the instrument with his hand placed at the same height as the upper edge of the pipes. The slave operating the bellows, which are omitted, bends beside the instrument.

Fleischhauer identifies the architectural background as that of a theatre. The arched openings depicted so close together are of course, not typical of a theatrical scene of the Roman era. Formerly the openings were rectangular like doors and they were placed with a distance between them and not so close together. In addition, the brick tower depicted to the left is also not at all a typical element of Roman theatres, but rather of Roman circuses and amphitheatres. Contrasting the musicians and dancers depicted on the base of Theodosius and the new base of Porphyrios, it is clear that they are depicted lower on the stand of the emperor

and the factions, as they are to be thought of performing on the ground²⁶⁷. The chorus, the hydraulis and the ball player depicted on the consular diptych of Anastasius are placed against the brick wall of the hippodrome's arena as if performing on the ground. The same brick construction is depicted in the scene with the acrobats of fig. 63 and the scene with the farce of fig. 62 all accompanied by scenes with horses. Perhaps these depictions are in accordance with the description of Claudianus referring to the circus where acrobats forming pyramids, tragedians and comedians, as well as musicians, and among them a hydraulis player, are amusing the audience and arousing laughter.



Fig. 62. Sketch of the undestroyed lower register. Foto: Bieber 1939: 251, fig. 836.

The next diptych is now lost (**fig. 62**)²⁶⁸. Again the consul is depicted throned before the tribunal, while according to the whole inscription, now partly destroyed, the diptych is dedicated to the consul Anastasius. The consul in triumphal trabea and shell halo sits on a lion-legged throne and holds a mappa and a sceptre topped by an eagle in a wreath and three busts. The throne is decorated with medallions with personifications of Rome and Constantinople and gorgoneia. To his sides are placed victories with wings, standing on globes and raising shields. Above the consul in the three medallions formed are depicted, in the middle, surrounded by Victories with garlands, the emperor Anastasius, to the right the empress Ariadne and to the left Pompeius, a relative of the consul or the incumbent co-consul.

²⁶⁷ Cameron 1973: 42.

²⁶⁸ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 97-98, no 88, Volbach 1976: 36, no 18, pl. 8, Bieber 1939: 251, fig. 836 and Delbrueck 1929: 127, no 20, pl. 20.



Fig. 62. Constantinople, 517 A.D., consular diptych of Anastasius (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 368-1871, now lost). Foto: Volbach 1976: pl. 8, no 18.

The lower register is organized into two horizontal parts. On the upper part two female figures lead horses, suggesting a circus race, and carry cross-inscribed standards. Behind them

the architectural background consists of the hippodrome's buildings. On the lower part in the centre a young man seems to deal out compensation and punishment. He lays his hand on the head of a youth who has his hands outstretched. A man behind him lifts his left hand. On the right side, two slaves, with hands behind their backs, are punished by having crabs hung from their noses. The one on the right tries to get rid of the pincers on a table. The figures depicted are probably mimes, like that referred to by Claudianus, with the task of raising the audience's laughter. The movements of their hands, the lack of costumes and their expressive faces are the elements that the artist was interested in portraying.

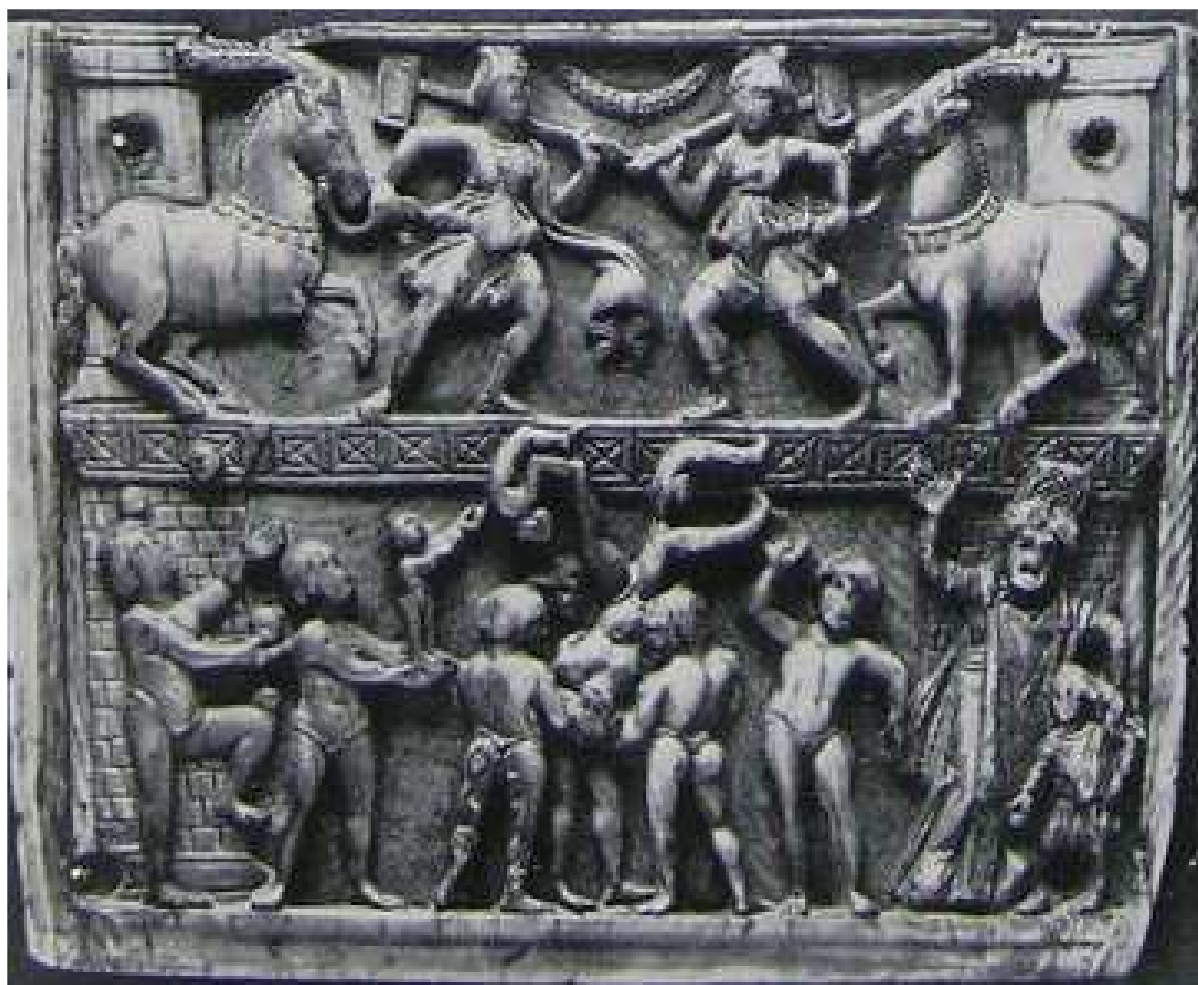


Fig. 63. Constantinople, 517 A.D., consular diptych of Anastasius (St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Byz. 925/16, upper register lost). Foto: Bieber 1939: 251, fig. 835.

The upper register of this diptych is lost, while on the lower one survive scenes with ball player, acrobats and pantomime (**fig. 63**)²⁶⁹. The lower register is divided, as usual, into two parts. On the upper part are depicted female figures carrying standards and leading horses. The horses are decorated with neck-garlands and feathers on the head. Behind, two columns are placed symmetrically, as all the figures within this part, to the edges.

²⁶⁹ Volbach 1976: 36, no 19, pl. 9, Bieber 1939: 251, fig. 835 and Delbrueck 1929: 125, no 18, pl. 18.



Fig. 64. Constantinople, 517 A.D., consular diptych of Anastasius (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 40). Foto : Volbach 1976: pl. 9, no 21.

The lower part is a composition of three different events. To the left is carved a ball player. In the middle a group of acrobats performing complex combinations remind us of the description of Claudianus about the acrobats in the circus forming pyramids. To the right a

pantomime in costume wears a type of hat on the head and lifts the right hand. In the front, there is a young boy. In the background, two brick towers are placed symmetrically to the edges.

The last diptych represents both leaves where the main part is occupied by the figures of the consul before the tribunal (**fig. 64**)²⁷⁰. The main part, which represents the throned figure of the consul is copied in both leaves. The elements that are different are the inscriptions on the upper edge and the lower registers portraying scenes with actors to the left and wild animal hunting to the right.

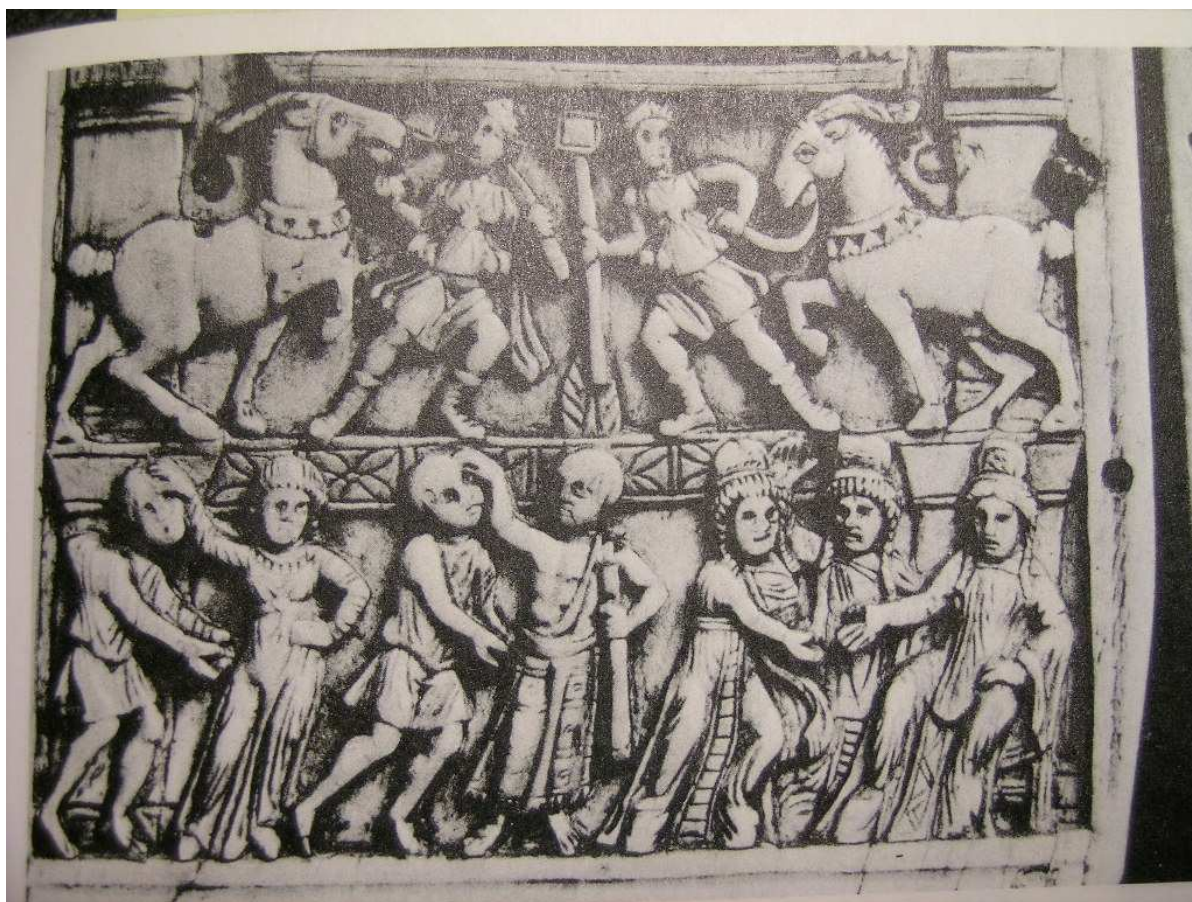


Fig. 64. Detail. Foto: Bieber 1939: 251, fig. 834.

The consul is dressed as in the other diptychs. He holds the mappa and the sceptre and he sits on a throne with personifications of Rome and Constantinople. Two Victories who carry wreaths that encircle his bust are placed to his sides. Above him, in the three medallions, are represented the emperor Anastasius, in the middle, the empress Ariadne or the consul's mother Anastasia, to the right, and to the left Pompeius. An element that appears for a first time among the group of the diptychs is, on the upper part, the winged erotes, in armless short tunics, carrying garlands.

²⁷⁰ Volbach 1976: 36-37, no 21, pl. 9, Bieber 1939: 251, fig. 834 and Delbrueck 1929: 131, no 21.

On the lower register of the right leaf lion hunting within the arena is depicted. The lower register of the left leaf is divided into two zones. On the upper zone are placed, once again, the female figures leading decorated horses and carrying standards. On the upper zone, groups of actors are represented. To the right, a group of three female figures, one seated and two standing has been indentified by the scholars as a tragic scene. All three figures wear long tunics with long sleeves, except the one to the left, who is sleeveless. All have their hair tied up forming an ongos, while two curls fall to the left and right of their face.

The group to the left shows a man holding a sword and a woman with a crown, both in long dresses, laying their right hands on the foreheads of two baldheaded men in short dress. The man with the sword is dressed in a tunic that leaves the right part of his breast uncovered. The tunic of the woman is fastened under the breast. The two baldheaded men are kneeling and outstretching their hands as if begging for something. According to Bieber this could be a scene with magicians and charlatans healing blind men²⁷¹.

No more depictions with scenes from the hippodrome accompanied by musical practice will survive until the eleventh century A.D. when workmen from Constantinople execute frescoes with scenes from the hippodrome on the walls of the staircase in the north tower of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia in Kiev (**fig. 65**)²⁷². Grabar indentified the scenes as belonging to the Constantinopolitan hippodrome.

The tower of the covered hydraulis or organon is here depicted along with a group of musicians playing transverse flute, cymbals, double aulos and syrinx, two dancers and an acrobat that supports on his shoulders, a stick with a small acrobat on it²⁷³. A tower where the hydraulis or organon was covered was probably created in order to protect the musical instrument as long as it maintained its position in the hippodrome and so did not need to be constructed and deconstructed before and after the race. The same type of hydraulis or organon is depicted in a manuscript dated to the eleventh century A.D. (Rome, Bilbioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barb. Graec. 333, Septuaginta, fol. 45v)²⁷⁴.

All the musical instruments portrayed, except for the transverse flute, are the same as those surviving in the depictions connected with the Constantinopolitan circus of late Antiquity possibly because the scene is a copy of earlier art work which has not survived or it is based on earlier artistic models from late Antique Constantinople. As the last depiction of

²⁷¹ Bieber 1939: 251.

²⁷² Grabar 1935: 103-117.

²⁷³ According to Cameron (1973: 34-35) the tiny aulos player in the center on the left side of the base of Porphyrius appears to be wearing a pointed hat. The right hand tiny aulos player on the left face of the Kugelspiel seems to have a similar hat. On the Kiev fresco there are two more small aulos players wearing pointed hats.

²⁷⁴ Lassus 1973: fig. 85.

the transverse flute is dated to the third century A.D., while this type of aulos is never depicted among the surviving scenes connected with the Constantinopolitan hippodrome or with the circus of Rome, two assumptions can be made. The figure of the transverse flute player is a copy of earlier models not surviving or it is a copy of models contemporary to the artist, known to him from the musical practice of everyday life or from artistic models used as prototypes by the artists of a workshop. A number of depictions of the transverse flute in the hands of shepherds and female musicians in an ivory pyxis and illuminations in manuscripts all dated between the tenth and twelfth century A.D. from Constantinopolitan workshops, reveal a local artistic tendency or a local musical practice, as the Constantinopolitan hippodrome remained active until the twelfth century²⁷⁵.



Fig. 65. Kiev, Santa Sophia cathedral, north tower, staircases, eleventh century A.D. (in situ). Foto: Bachmann 2004/2005: 217, fig. 16.

The old Greek custom of chariot racing changed and developed in character during Roman times serving not only the needs of the Byzantine court but also the social status of *Demoi* who participated in the spectacle with their charioteers and musicians. The Roman custom of the performance of mimes, pantomimes and dancers causing laughter in the audience, as referred to by Dionysios Halicarnassus will be kept unchanged in the Constantinopolitan works of the sixth century revealing a continuation of the custom in the new capital of the empire.

In contrast, some of the musical instruments referred to in the philological sources of the first century A.D., such as the lyre and the barbitos, are omitted and replaced by new ones,

²⁷⁵ Cameron 1973: 255.

such as the hydraulis and forked cymbals, in texts as well as depictions after the third century. It may be probable that some types of musical instruments disappear over the centuries, while new ones come to the fore in order to serve the needs of everyday life and, of course, that of the circus. Horse races will remain in the imperial ceremonial until the twelfth century before its decline and the resulting disappearance of the related depictions.



Fig. 65. Detail.

CHAPTER IV

*Munera gladiatorial and venationes***4.1 Introduction**

According to sources, a type of bloody spectacle appears in the wider district of Pompeii during the fourth century B.C. Contests between pairs of men, called ‘gladiatorial offers’ (*munera gladiatorial*) as well as fights between animals called ‘wild beast hunts’ (*venationes*) have a common impressive rather than enjoyable character. Among the depictions with gladiatorial scenes many portray musical practice, while among the scenes with animal hunting only one could be found. In addition, literary sources give information about the types and the role of the musical instruments used during the gladiatorial spectacles but no musical information has been written in relation to the wild beast hunts. The tuba, the cornu and the hydraulis are present in the depictions as well as in the descriptions of the writers relating to the gladiators.

If the surviving depictions showing *venationes* are not fragmentary and the number of scenes reflect reality, then the reason for the lack of musical accompaniment must be simply practical. There is no need for signalling music between fighting animals that are controlled by the staff of the arena. On the other hand, the contest between sword keepers (*gladio*=sword) is more complicated and for this reason signals of music are needed to organize and specify the beginning of the contest, for example, simultaneously for all the pairs of gladiators, the moment of judgment for the dispatch, or the murder of the wounded gladiator and the final announcement of the names of the winners.

The most ancient depictions with gladiators have been dated to the fourth century B.C. and were discovered in Capua and Paestum near Pompeii²⁷⁶. The number of depictions in the following centuries, as well as the construction of the amphitheatre in Pompeii during the first century B.C., reveal an intense interest in this kind of spectacle within this area.

In the beginning gladiatorial combats were held in the circus and the Forum, but later, as the spectacle gained in popularity, the purpose-built *amphitheatre* hosted the shows. Therefore, during the first century A.D., the circus was less commonly used by gladiators²⁷⁷.

²⁷⁶ Jacobelli 2003: 5.

²⁷⁷ Beacham 1999: 23.

In the cities where no amphitheatre was built, the theatre was the place that hosted the gladiatorial shows²⁷⁸.

The gladiatorial combats were connected with funeral activities (*munera gladiatorial*), while, according to Wiedemann, this occurred for the first time in Campania and not in Etruria²⁷⁹. Later they also become known in Rome. The spectacle was a type of offering, honouring the death of a prominent upper class citizen. Until the third century A.D., the Romans used different words to distinguish the public display of power of the ‘games’ (*ludi*) including horse races or theatrical performances (*ludi scaenici*) organized and sponsored by the state, and the obligatory offerings at the death of important public men (*munera*).

4.2 Philological sources from the Roman Empire

According to Festus, second century A.D. the gladiators sang before the contest: ‘Für einen gegen einen Murmillo kämpfenden Netzkämpfer wird gesungen: Nicht dich verlange ich, den Fisch verlange ich. Warum fliehst du vor mir, Gallier’²⁸⁰:

*Retiario pugnanti adversus murmillonem, cantatur: Non te peto, piscem peto. Quid me fugis, Galle? (De verborum significatu, Fragm. E Cod. Farnesinus l.xviii. 7-9)*²⁸¹

Tibia players (*tibicinis*) gave the signal for the beginning of the fight, according to a Latin inscription: ‘Indem ich mit dem Spiel des Tibiabläusers anstimmend abwechselnd aufrief, habe ich durch Intonation die kampfbereiten (=dem Mars ergebenen) Gladiatoren anfeuernd zu den Waffen gerufen.’²⁸²:

*tibicinis cantu modulans alterna vocando, Martios ancantu stimulans gladiantes in arma vocavi. (CIL x. 4915.7)*²⁸³

The same is generally hinted at during the first century by Seneca (from Spain) who declares: ‘how foolish it is to practise strokes after you have heard the signal for the fight [*ventilare*: the sound from a wind instrument].’:

²⁷⁸ See for example the theatres in Athens, Ephesos, Aphrodisias, Assos, Hierapolis and Pompeii as referred to in the *Gladiatoren in Ephesos* 2002: 9.

²⁷⁹ Wiedemann 1995: 31. More information about gladiators see in Friedlaender 1921, Robert 1971, Grant 1967, Cameron 1976 and Salmon 1996: 69-112.

²⁸⁰ I would like to thank Prof. Paul, Vienna for the translation of the passage. Translation: ‘For a retiario (type of gladiator equipped with net, trident and dagger) fighting against a murmillo (a gladiator with a fish as a decorative element on his helmet) it will be sang: I do not demand you, I demand the fish. Why do you abandon me Gaul?’

²⁸¹ Festus 1997: 358.

²⁸² I would like to thank Prof. Paul, Vienna for the translation of the inscription. Translation: ‘With the music of the tibia players, I encourage the ready to fight gladiators, dedicated to Mars, to take the arms.’

²⁸³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 1883, vol. x,1: 489. See also Schneider 1918: 781.

*Tot quaestiones fortuna tibi posuit, nondum illas solvisti; iam cavillaris? Quam stultum est, cum signum pugnae acceperis, ventilare. (Epistulae Morales 117. 25)*²⁸⁴

The presence of the hydraulis during gladiatorial contests is attested to by Petronius, a courtier of Nero. Petronius speaks, in his *Dinner at Trimalchio's*, about an *essedarius* (type of charioteer gladiator) fighting while accompanied by the music of the hydraulis. 'At once the carver came forward, and with extravagant motions in time to the music, cut up the meat in such a way that you would have thought he was a charioteer gladiator engaging to the music of a water-organist (*hydraule*).':

*haec ut dixit, ad symphoniam quattuor tripudiantes procurrerunt superioremque partem repositorii abstulerunt. processit statim scissator et ad symphoniam gesticulatus ita laceravit obsonium, ut putares essedarium hydraule cantante pugnare. (Satyricon 36.6)*²⁸⁵

The use of the tuba for signals within the amphitheatre is mentioned, during the first century, by Seneca who says that 'for the reward is not a garland or a palm or a tuba player who calls for silence at the proclamation of our names':

*Nos quoque evincamus omnia, quorum praemium non corona nec palma est nec tubicen praedicationi nominis nostri silentium faciens. (Epistulae Morales 78. 16)*²⁸⁶

The use of the tuba within the arena is referred to, during the same century, by Juvenalis who speaks about women participating in gladiatorial shows: 'Why need I tell of the purple wraps and the wrestling-oils used by women? Who has not seen one of them smiting a stump, piercing it through and through with a foil, lunging at it with a shield, and going through all the proper motions? -a matron truly qualified to blow a tuba²⁸⁷ at the Floralia':

*Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma /quis nescit, vel quis non vidit vulnera pali,/ quem cavat adsiduis rudibus scutoque lacessit / atque omnes implet numeros dignissima prorsus / Florali matrona tuba. (Satire vi. 246-250)*²⁸⁸

The presence of cornu players at the moment of judgment for the dispatch or the murder of the wounded gladiator is referred to by Juvenalis who speaks about the characteristic puffed-out cheeks of the musicians, while blowing: 'These men once were horn-blowers, who went the round of every provincial show, and whose puffed-out cheeks were known in every

²⁸⁴ Seneca 1962, vol. III: 354-355.

²⁸⁵ Petronius 1996: 27.

²⁸⁶ Seneca 1962, vol. 2: 190-191.

²⁸⁷ The word 'trumpet' of the translator is replaced by that of the original text.

²⁸⁸ Juvenalis 1999: 102-103.

village; today they hold shows of their own, and win applause by slaying whomsoever the mob with a turn of the thumb bids them slay; from that they go back to contract for cesspools, and why not for any kind of thing, seeing that they are of the kind that Fortune raises from the gutter to the mighty places of earth whenever she wishes to enjoy a laugh?':

*quondam hi cornicines et municipalis harenae perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae munera nunc edunt et, verso pollice vulgus quem iubet, occidunt populariter; inde reversi conducunt foricas, et cur non omnia, cum sint quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum extollit quotiens voluit Fortuna iocari? (Satire iii. 34)*²⁸⁹

4.3 Pictorial evidence from the Roman Empire

The earliest representations with gladiatorial scenes accompanied by musical practice were found within an area extending from Pompeii to Rome and are dated to the first century B.C. Most scenes show moments of the fights, the main contest and the last moment of judgment between the winner and the loser, while there is one scene representing the opening procession. Musicians, who serve, with their music, the different purposes of each moment, accompany all scenes.

The program of the amphitheatre included different kinds of spectacles during the day, as dozens of advertisements from Pompeii inviting the public to wild beast shows and gladiatorial combats testify²⁹⁰. In the morning animal fights were followed by the wild animal 'hunts' (*venationes*), where Roman criminals or foreign slaves were executed. The main event occurred in the afternoon: the gladiatorial combats²⁹¹. The afternoon spectacle opened with a *pompa*, a ceremonial procession of the arena participants, as is confirmed during the first century A.D. by Fabius Quintilianus (*Declamationes maioree* ix. 6)²⁹². A relief from a funerary monument at the Stabian Gate in Pompeii dated to the same century represents such a procession (**fig. 66**)²⁹³. Musicians are depicted among the members of the parade.

The relief is divided into three zones: the upper zone, which represents the *pompa*, the zone in the middle that depicts fighting gladiators, and the lower level with the *venationes*. In the upper zone to the right the *pompa* starts with two *lictors*, servants of the organizer of the spectacle who are dressed in *togas* and carry *fasces*, bundles of sticks showing their power. Behind them follow two tuba players and a tibia player dressed in short chitons. The musicians are followed by four men carrying a litter with two blacksmiths on it suggesting

²⁸⁹ Juvenalis 1999: 35.

²⁹⁰ Wiedemann 1995: 56.

²⁹¹ Meijer 2005: 136.

²⁹² Quintilianus 1905: 172.

²⁹³ Meijer 2005: 159 and Jacobelli 2003: 94-95, fig. 77.

that the gladiators' weapons are in order. As for the next two men, one carries a *tabella*, where information about the fights is written, and the other an olive branch for the winner. Behind them, comes the organizer of the spectacle (*editor*) dressed in a *toga* and followed by six figures (servants or gladiators) holding the gladiators' shields and helmets. A man blowing a lituus follows. At the end of the procession there are two men each holding a horse that will be used by a mounted gladiator.

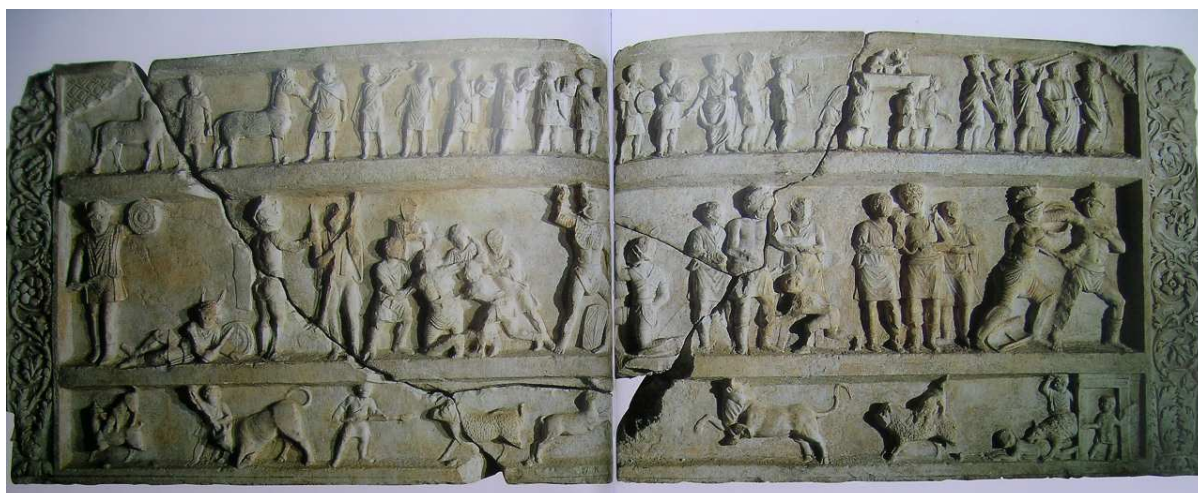


Fig. 66. Pompeii, Stabian gate, first century A.D., relief from a funerary monument (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6704). Foto: Jacobelli 2003: 94-95, fig. 77.

Even if the succession of the spectacles was *venationes* in the morning and gladiatorial combats in the afternoon the artist would choose to depict, in the middle zone, the most important aspect that attracted him and not the actual sequence of the events. The musicians, shown in other works next to the fighting gladiators are omitted here but are shown in the parade of the arena. Their depiction in the beginning and at the end of the parade may suggest a combination that serves the musical compositions heard during the parade. The same sequence is mentioned by Dionysios Halicarnassus describing a *ludi parade*²⁹⁴. On the other hand, as contributors to the spectacle they should be depicted all together forming one more group beside those of the lictors, the blacksmiths, the gladiators and the men with the horses.

The literary sources referring to gladiatorial moments seem not to be so narrative, while the musical information they contain appears almost accidental without the interest of the writer in describing the important role or impressive character of the music, perhaps, because music was just serving the signalling moments of the spectacle and this was not so impressive as the spectacle itself. On the other hand, the depictions with gladiatorial scenes are more vivid and include more musical elements. Such an example is the participation of musicians in the opening procession of the gladiatorial games, depicted here, an element that is not

²⁹⁴ See the philological sources of chapter iii.

attested to by any literary source. Nevertheless, a number of elements indicate the realistic character of the scene.



Fig. 66. Detail of the right part: tuba players.



Fig. 66. Detail of the left part: lituus player.

Firstly, the reference, by Fabius Quintilianus, to the opening procession of the important afternoon gladiatorial spectacle, secondly, the depiction, within the parade, of musical instruments such as the lituus, used only within the Roman processions, and tuba, used during gladiatorial combats and thirdly the depiction of the musicians at the beginning and at the end of the procession possibly serving its musical needs and not as a single group beside the groups of the rest of the participants.

As far as the musical instruments are concerned, the combination of lituus, tibia and tuba shown among the parade seems unique. The musical instruments that are depicted accompanying the fighting gladiators are the tuba, the cornu and the hydraulis or organon and

in no case the lituus or tibia. Instead the lituus is used by the Romans during processions, such as military or funerary, while the tibia seems to be connected with sacrifices. Thus, different combinations of musical instruments are used during the opening parade and during the bloody spectacles serving the different musical needs of each occasion. As there aren't depictions showing the use of the lituus and / or tibia during gladiatorial fights or venationes, it seems more likely that the timbres of lituus and tibia are not relevant to the impressive character of these spectacles.

The type of tuba shown on the relief of fig. 44 is also depicted on a terracotta vase portraying animal hunting and musical accompaniment. This is the only scene connecting music and venationes and it is dated to the second century A.D. (**fig. 67**)²⁹⁵. The main part of the scene is occupied by wild animals that are attacking the two male fighters in the centre. Two lions and two tigers are distinguishable on first sight, while there are also smaller animals: a fox, an eagle and an unidentified one. In the lower right-hand corner, three tibia players are placed in an attempt at three-dimensionality. They are playing with their musical instruments pointing upwards and they are wearing short chitons.



Fig. 67. Tossenbergr (Luxemburg), second century A.D., vase (Luxemburg, Musée de l'Etat). Foto: Pécché / Vendries 2001: 82.

²⁹⁵ Pécché / Vendries 2001: 82.

As there is no surviving literary evidence regarding music information about the musical accompaniment during venationes, and the depiction of the vase cannot be detailed due to artistic medium, the presence of tibiae remains an assumption. Even if two artworks dated to the same century, a mosaic from Antioch²⁹⁶, and a sarcophagus with unknown origin²⁹⁷, show musicians playing upwards pairs of tibiae, the identification of the instruments is uncertain not only because of the common playing position of the tibia and tuba but also because of the unrealistic and undetailed portrayal of the ceramic vase.

The main purpose of the artist of fig. 67 was to focus on the event of the venations, which was apparently most important for him and the society of his epoch. The role of music could only have been signalling to indicate the start or the end of the spectacle, as no other moments during the spectacle need a musical accompaniment, in contrast to gladiatorial fights where music plays an organizing role. The importance of the musical presence during the spectacle is represented by the depiction of the musicians who, on this occasion, are not so important as the impressive and bloody sight of the animals fighting men. Therefore, the artist represents the fighting animals with extremely big dimensions and the musicians and their instruments with unrealistically small ones. Thus, a scene inspired by an event of daily life, like the animal hunting, is abbreviated, tending to become more symbolic, possibly reminding the viewer of an event or a victory and not portraying a scene from the artist's daily life with realism. On such an occasion the depicted musical instruments cannot provide detailed and correct organological information but they should be treated as artistic inspirations, so much abbreviated that even if they are often copies of real examples they have little to do with the contemporary musical practice.

The earliest representation showing musicians beside the fighting gladiators is that from the entrance hall of the House of the Sacerdos Amandus in Pompeii dated to the first century B.C. (**fig. 68**)²⁹⁸. Two pairs of gladiators fighting to the sounds of a tuba player are depicted. The tuba player seems to wear a helmet or hat and he plays the tuba standing beside the gladiators. He may also be a gladiator wearing his helmet, like the one depicted playing a cornu on a relief from Isernia, Italy dated between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. (**fig. 69**)²⁹⁹. The relief is fragmentary and only the busts of two gladiators, identified by their helmets, are visible.

²⁹⁶ Antioch, House of Iphigeneia, entrance to triclinio 23e i, room 3 (Antakya Museum, 962) in Campbell 1988: 55, pl. 166 and Levi 1947: 119-126, pl. Xxib.

²⁹⁷ Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 374 (Huskinson 1996: 34, no 3.23, pl. 9,3).

²⁹⁸ Jacobelli 2003: 73-74, fig. 62.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.: 22, fig. 19 and Junkelmann 2000: 60-61, fig. 82.



Fig. 68. Pompeii, House of the Sacerdos Amandus, entrance hall, first century B.C., fresco (in situ, I 7,7). Foto: Jacobelli 2003: 73-74, fig. 62.



Fig. 69. Italy, Isernia, Taverna della Croce, first century B.C. – first century A.D., relief (Isernia, Antiquarium comunale (Deutsch Archaeologisches Institut Rome, 1934.958). Foto: Jacobelli: 22, fig. 19.

One more gladiator playing a cornu was depicted on a fresco placed on the podium wall of the amphitheatre in Pompeii dated between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. (**fig. 70**)³⁰⁰. The scene represents two standing gladiators, one beside the other, and behind them a figure, dressed in a tunic, who is holding a long rod, and is probably a referee. Two victories are placed symmetrically to the right and left edge and two spectators are seated to the left watching them. Even though the depiction of the victories and the two spectators make the scene look more like an artistic synthesis, the use of realistic elements cannot be excluded.

³⁰⁰ Jacobelli 2003: 58-60, fig. 49. The fresco was destroyed after the excavation but the sketches of the excavating archaeologist remained.

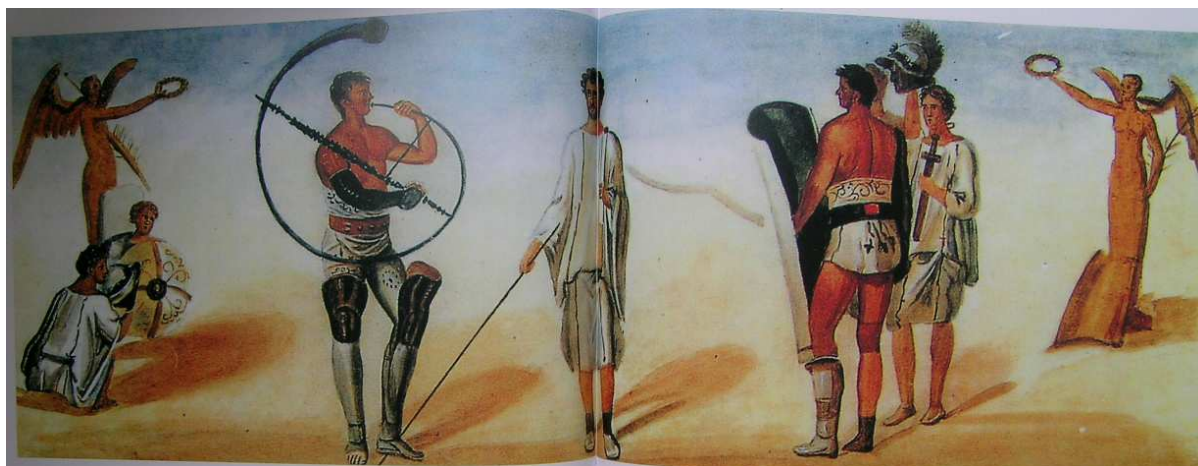


Fig. 70. Pompeii, amphitheatre, podium wall, first century B.C.- first century A.D., sketch survived because the fresco was destroyed after the excavation (Archivio Disegni della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli, 79).

Foto: Jacobelli 2003: 58-59, fig. 49.

We can assume that the victorious moment of the announcement of the winner is depicted and underlined here by the cornu music and the presence of the victories holding the wreath for the winner. The referee is the central figure pointing to the musician with his rod, possibly indicating the start of music. He looks more important than the two gladiators because of his ability to control the spectacle, while they seem to serve it. They could be slaves or criminals used to impress the spectators and they do not deserve to be treated as real winners occupying a central position.

The depicted gladiators who are playing the tuba or cornu are an interesting detail. All the depictions have, if not a Pompeian origin, an Italian one, while the musical instruments used also have an Italian origin. The cornu is found only in Italian depictions, and this particular way of playing the tuba also only in Italian ones. So, if the gladiators were slaves imported from the provinces they could not be aware of these musical instruments unless they were taught in the gladiatorial school where they were also taught to fight so that they could be used as musicians for the demands of the spectacles. The depicted gladiators could be Roman citizens who know how to play the tuba and cornu and they are also used for the needs of the games. This is a solution for the arena officials who do not always need to pay musicians and expose them to the dangers of the arena.

The sketch on a tomb from the necropolis at the Nuceria Gate in Pompeii (**fig. 71**)³⁰¹ represents one more scene with gladiators fighting to musical accompaniment. Three figures are playing a wind instrument, each consisting of a tube that is slightly conical to the lower end and is played horizontally. A rope or chain is joined to the middle of the lower surface of the tube. A kind of aulos / tibia is known during this epoch in Rome. Being short and opening slightly at the lower edge, it is frequently depicted among sacrificial scenes. The chain

³⁰¹ Jacobelli 2003: 50-51, fig. 43.

portrayed under the tube in the sketch does not resemble the tuba chain of figs. 55 and 56, while its short length may suggest a type of tibia testified to by the contemporary literary sources, as giving the signal for the beginning of the fight.

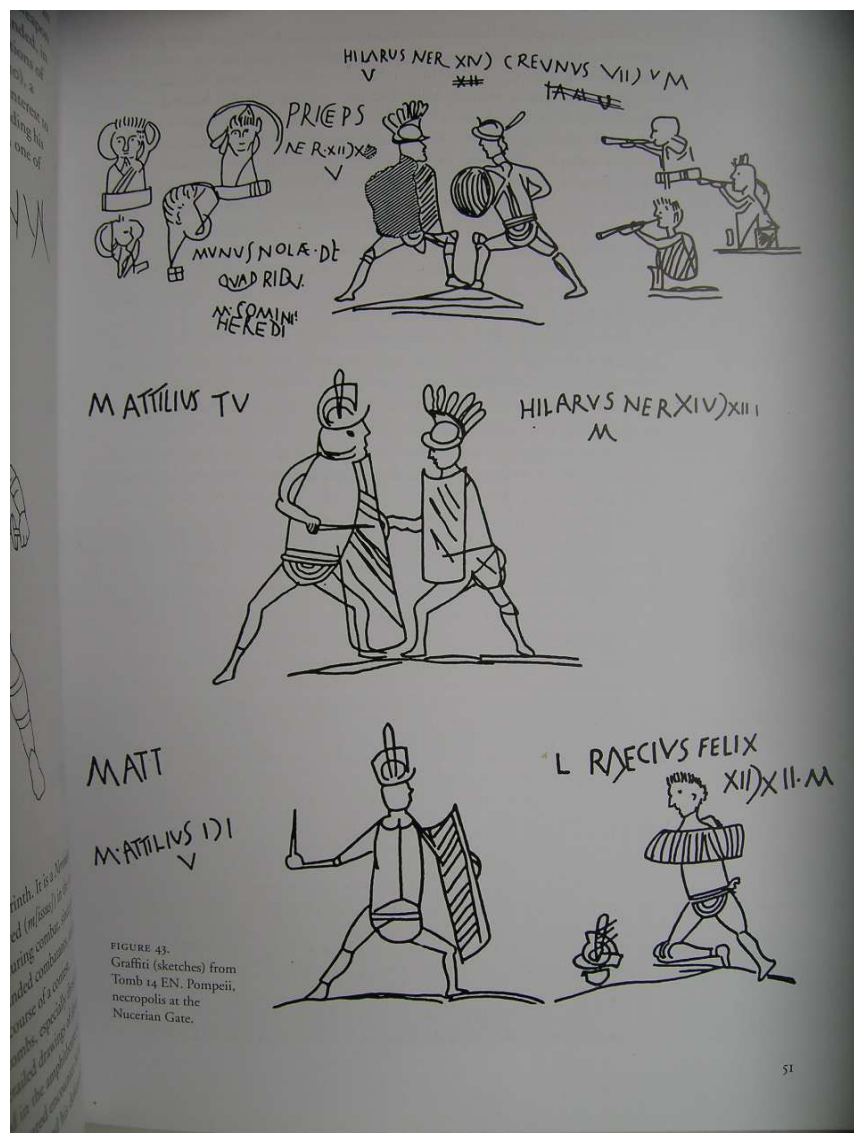


Fig. 71. Pompeii, necropolis at the Nucerian gate, tomb 14 EN, sketch (in situ). Foto: Jacobelli 2003: 51, fig. 43.

Gladiators fighting to musical accompaniment are depicted in the floor mosaic of the villa at Dar Buk Ammera in Zliten, Libya of the first century A.D. (**fig. 72**)³⁰². A frieze with scenes from the amphitheatre representing geometrical patterns and fishes surrounds the central part of the mosaic. The frieze represents symmetrically gladiatorial combats (left and right sides) and *venationes* (top and bottom sides). Both sides depict five pairs of fighting gladiators on the right and an ensemble of two sitting cornu players, a tuba player and a hydraulis player on the left. The figures are depicted against a white background, in an attempt to suggest three-dimensionality. The coexistence of both spectacles within the same

³⁰² Aurigemma 1926: 149, pl. 86, 87 and Jacobelli 2003: 23, fig. 20.

mosaic suggests their presence in the daily program, which combines, according to literary sources, both events.

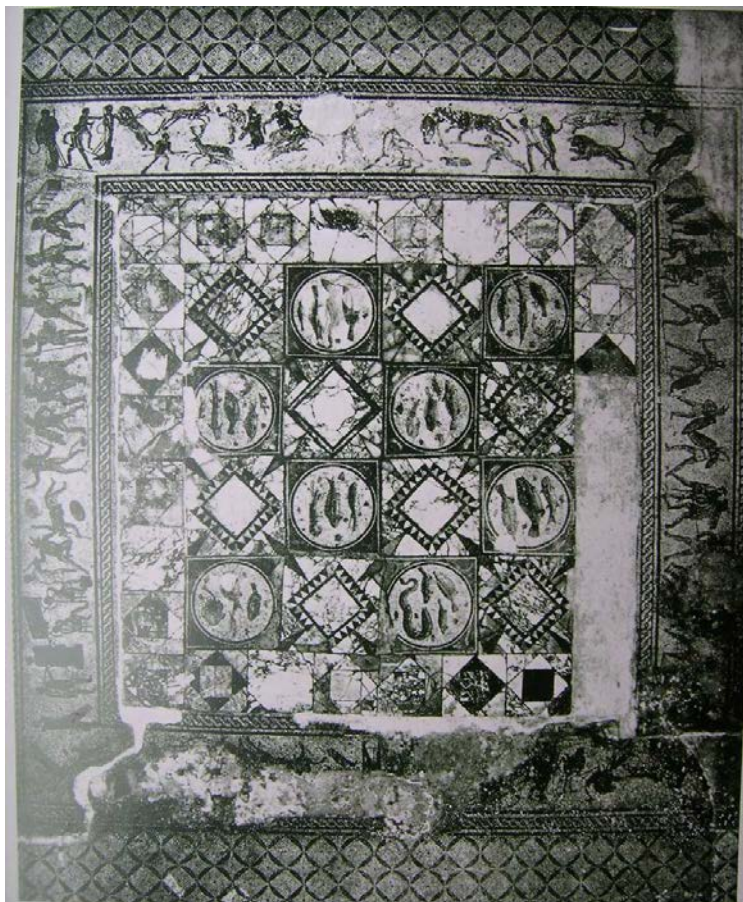


Fig. 72. Libya, Zliten, villa at Dar Buk Ammera, first century A.D., floor mosaic (Tripoli, Archaeological Museum). Foto: Junkelmann: 100, fig. 141.



Fig. 72a. Detail of the left side. Foto: Jacobelli 2003: 23, fig. 20.

The musicians are all men except for the hydraulis player on the left side, who seems to be a woman with her hair tied back. The men wear short and short-sleeved tunics decorated with clavus and sandals. The hydraulis player wears a dark coloured chiton as shown by the upper part of her body, which protrudes from behind the big musical instrument. The musicians play the musical instruments in the typical positions known for the tuba, the cornu and the hydraulis, while they are simultaneously looking at the fighting gladiators. This group of wind instruments, made of metal, had to produce a very loud sound able to cover the sounds of the fighting swords and which could be heard by all the spectators in the big arena.



Fig. 72b. Detail of the right side. Foto: Aurigemma 1926: 163, fig. 98.

A detail on the left side of the mosaic is interesting. The loser of the fighting pair depicted beside the musicians, is lying on the ground and the winner raises his sword ready to deliver the death blow. The referee, with both hands, is holding the strong winner's wrist in order to stop him, and turns to the left, waiting for the decision of the crowd for life or death, and for the musicians to play the announcement, as is testified to by the contemporary Juvenalis.

This moment of judgment for the life or death of the losing gladiator accompanied by the presence of musicians is more clearly depicted on a relief from the area of Rome dated to the first century B.C. (**fig. 73**)³⁰³. The winning gladiator looks forward, with his sword raised

³⁰³ Weickert 1925 and Junkelmann 2000: 32, fig. 42.

over the seated opponent, ready to execute the order of the referee towards whom he is looking. Beside the gladiators two tuba players, dressed in tunics, are signalling what is the decision for the execution. Simultaneously, one of them gestures with his left hand towards the winner, to indicate the execution of the defeated gladiator. The characteristic upright playing position of the tuba, often seen in contemporary and later works from Rome (see the chapter for the sacrifices) is depicted here.



Fig. 73. Rome or around, first century B.C., relief (München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek).
Foto: Junkelmann 2000: 32, fig. 42.

The double signal of the music and the gesturing hand of the tuba player may have a practical reason. The gesture, well shown by the executer cannot be seen by all the spectators of the big arena who need another signal to indicate the start of the execution. For this reason metallic, wind instruments, like the depicted tubae, or in some cases the whole or part of the orchestra, as in the Zliten mosaic, could be used to announce the result to the waiting spectators. The loud sound of both the tuba and the cornu, their ability to play signals and their triumphal, metallic timbre exactly suit not only the huge amphitheatre but also the fighting character of the spectacle.

The presence of a hydraulis player beside a gladiatorial pair fighting to the death is depicted on a bronze vase from Reims, France dated between the second and third century

(**fig. 74**)³⁰⁴. The vase represents two pairs of fighting gladiators between a hydraulis player and two figures carrying a *tabella*, on which is written 'perseverate'. To the right of the hydraulis there are some traces of figures that are too damaged to be identified. Even though the hydraulis is depicted with the most important features such as the pumps for the air, the tank for the water and the male player that protrudes behind it. An awkward handling of the artist represents the tubes much shorter than the real ones, in unrealistic proportions to the main body of the instrument shown in full size. This awkwardness is not due to the lack of space, because the artist has left some space below the instrument in order to give the sense of three-dimensionality, but because of the lack of interest in a correct depiction of the musical instrument, which seems, nevertheless, important to him as a decorative element.

A hydraulis and a cornu player occupy one of the octagonal panels in the floor mosaic of a Roman villa in Nenning (Trier), Germany (**fig. 75**)³⁰⁵. The mosaic is dated to the third century and represents, within octagons, fighting gladiators or gladiators fighting with animals. In a separate octagon the two male musicians are depicted in short and short-sleeved chitons decorated with clavus and sandals on the feet. They are placed, as are the other figures of the mosaic, against a white background both looking to the right.

The connection of the *munera gladiatoria* with an important, public man's death is revealed by the depiction of the *munera* carved on the funerary monument of the honoured deceased. One such example is a tomb relief from Chieti, Italy (**fig. 76**)³⁰⁶ dated to the first century. The main theme is that of gladiatorial combats but the artist depicts them in a way that serves the desired purpose. Therefore, the figure of the dead is depicted enthroned in the centre, higher than the other figures, according to the use for the *editor* (organizer) of the games. Around him, arranged in two rows, are Roman citizens, both seated and standing, dressed in *togas*, which identify them as *lictors*, helpers of the organizer of the gladiatorial games. To the left and to the right side musicians are placed, five tuba players on the left and four cornu players to the right. The typical upright playing position of the tubae is also depicted here. The pairs of fighting gladiators are depicted on the lower part of the relief.

In this creation the figures of the spectators occupy almost the whole depiction underlining the identity of their honoured colleague. The musicians are placed symmetrically on both sides of the frieze, farther from the fighting gladiators than they are usually depicted, as an important decoration indicating their essential contribution to the spectacle. The figures of the gladiators are minimized to the lower part of the relief and seem not so important but

³⁰⁴ Junkelmann 2000: 14-15, figs. 10-13.

³⁰⁵ Fleischhauer 1964: 126, 127, fig. 72.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*: 106, 107, fig. 59.

placed to identify the scene. The connection between the gladiatorial contests and the funerary offering to the honoured *editor* or *lictor* is clearly represented here not only within the depiction but also by carving the scene on the frieze of his grave. This may be, for the relatives of the dead, the simplest way to declare, once again, the honour paid to the deceased, on a monument that will last more than the memory of the public spectacle.



Fig. 74. France, Reims, second – third centuries A.D., bronze vase (Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, phototèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris). Foto: Junkelmann 2000: 14-15, figs. 10-13.



Fig. 75. Germany, Neuenhofen (Trier), roman villa, 230-240 A.D., floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Vendries 2001: cover.



Fig. 75. General view. Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 127, fig. 72.



Fig. 76. Italy, Chieti, Abruzzo, monument from the tomb of C. Lusius Storax, first century A.D., relief (Chieti, Museo Nazionale). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 107, fig. 59.

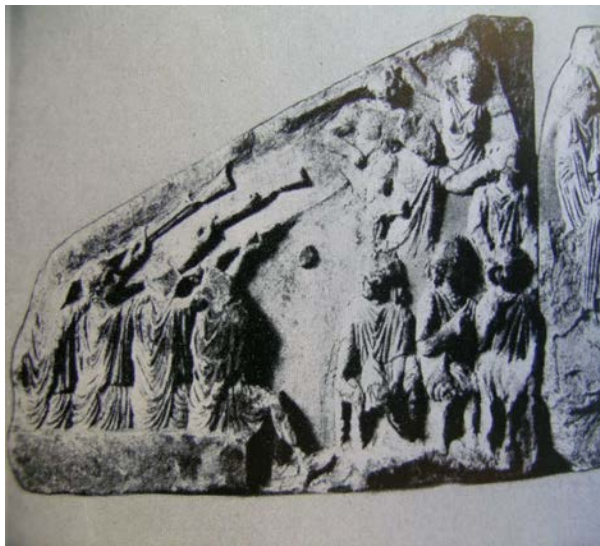


Fig. 76. Detail of the left side.



Detail of the right side.

The figures of three gladiators decorate a stele from Tatarevo, Bulgaria dated between the second and third century (**fig. 77**)³⁰⁷. The gladiators are placed above the base, on which is written, *Epiptas pulsato* ('Epiptas the fighter'). Above the gladiators is carved the image of an organ, the development of the hydraulis to the *organon pneumaticon*, which functions with bellows. No player is depicted but two figures resembling Erotes are seated symmetrically to the left and to the right beside the pipes of the instrument. The organ is treated here as a symbol that reminds the viewer of the existence of musical activity during the spectacle. Thus, the number of the pipes is reduced to nine and the small figures, suggesting the workers of the bellows, are placed unrealistically, but symmetrically, beside the pipes and not next to the base of the musical instrument.

³⁰⁷ Junkelmann 2000: 46-47, fig. 61.



Fig. 77. Bulgaria, Tatarevo, second – third centuries A.D., statue (Sofia, Museum). Foto: Junkelmann 2000: 47, fig. 61.

The same motif of the organon placed beside gladiators is depicted on two more works of minor art, a terra-cotta relief found at Trier and a ceramic vase. On the relief (**fig. 78**)³⁰⁸ the hydraulis occupies the centre of the scene, while to its left and right side two gladiators are placed. The one on the right side is clearly distinguished by his typical helmet and shield.



Fig. 77. Detail.

The musical instrument is depicted in an abbreviatory manner, with only seven tubes with the longest placed to the right edge and with its base decorated unrealistically with circles and cuts, easily made in the clay used as working material. No musician is depicted

³⁰⁸ Weidner 2009: 279-280, Nr. 77, fig. 85.

because of the lack of space, while the height of the musical instrument seems bigger than that of the gladiator. No bellows or air pumps are portrayed because of the abbreviated form.



Fig. 78. Trier, Pacelliufer, second half of the third-first half of the fourth century A.D., terra-cotta relief (Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, EV 1983.35). Foto: P  ch   / Vendries 2001: 76.

One more abbreviated depiction of the beloved organon among gladiatorial scenes can be seen on a ceramic vase (**fig. 79**)³⁰⁹. Encircled by plastic decorative elements, the figure of the musician is placed behind the symbolically represented organon with its tubes ascending from left to right. The base, represented by a rectangular shape, is decorated, according to the inspiration of the artist, with lines that meet each other in the centre. No bellows are depicted.



Fig. 79. unknown, Roman Empire, ceramic vase (Spier, Musee de Spier). Foto: P  ch   / Vendries 2001: 76.

³⁰⁹P  ch   / Vendries 2001: 76.

4.3.1 Gladiators and the theatre

An interesting group of objects belonging to the gladiators' armature was excavated in a colonnaded square area behind the stage of the big theatre in Pompeii. The finely decorated shields, helmets and greaves are dated to the first century A.D. Among them some are decorated with reliefs representing Dionysian scenes, muses, musical instruments and theatrical masks, thus with motifs that connect them to the theatre, where they were found.

The first helmet (**fig. 80**)³¹⁰ portrays five of the nine muses, among them Terpsichore, with her kithara, and Euterpe, with a tibia. Above, a figure holding a syrinx and a pedom can be identified as Pan. The upper left and right side are decorated with the same duplicated scene: in the middle, between theatrical masks, a composition of musical instruments, a lyre, a double aulos and a syrinx for the left side, and a lyre and a double aulos for the right side, is shown on a wooden casket.



Fig. 80a. Pompeii, square place behind the theatre, Gladiators barrack (1766/67), first century A.D., bronze helmet (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 5671) front side. Foto: Junkelmann 2000: 170-171, figs. 288-290.

³¹⁰ Junkelmann 2000: 170-171, figs. 288-290.



Fig. 80a. Detail of the front side.



Fig. 80b. Detail of the left side.

The musical instruments depicted have no relationship with those used within the amphitheatre during the gladiatorial shows but are clearly related with the theatre. Of course, the theater is connected with Dionysus, as protector of the actors, and his followers, here Pan, who holds his characteristic musical instrument. The use of the lyre and the double aulos in the theatre is referred to by Cicero (*De legibus* ii.38) during the first century B.C. The depiction of the syrinx among theatrical masks or in the hands of a scene's musician on works from first century A.D. Rome or Pompeii confirms the use of this musical instrument within the theatrical games. The syrinx will later be connected with pantomimes and their shows in the hippodrome of Constantinople as depictions show.

Theatrical masks are carved on another helmet³¹¹ which portrays figures of male and female Gods and young men and women with barbarian costumes and shields. Masks are also represented among the carvings of three pairs of greaves. The first (**fig. 81**)³¹² depicts Gorgonia and theatrical masks placed on a casket. The second pair (**fig. 82**)³¹³ shows, in the front, masks of Silenus placed on a casket, two more Dionysian masks on a casket on the sides and a bird feeding its babies. The third (**fig. 83**)³¹⁴ depicts, floral motifs and among them three theatrical masks on a table, an eagle fighting a snake and five more Dionysian masks, three of them on a casket.



Fig. 80c. Detail of the right side.

³¹¹ Junkelmann 2000: 171, figs. 291, 292.

³¹² Ibid.: 180, 181, fig. 322.

³¹³ Ibid.: 181, 182, fig. 323.

³¹⁴ Ibid.: 182, fig. 324.

Gladiatorial combats were related to the theatre in two ways. Both gladiatorial shows and theatrical games were sometimes part of the same festival, while in some cities the gladiatorial spectacles were hosted in the orchestra of the theatre, which was properly prepared³¹⁵. In addition, the specific area of Pompeii's amphitheatre was given to gladiators who were allowed to participate in gladiatorial spectacles alongside the theatrical activities³¹⁶. These must be the reasons why elements related to the theatre are depicted on the gladiators' armature, representing cultural activities which have nothing to do with bloody games.



Fig. 81. Pompeii, Gladiators barrack, first century A.D., bronze greave (Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale). Foto: Junkelmann 2000: 180, fig. 322.

According to literary sources and pictorial evidence, wind, brass or metallic musical instruments such as the tuba, the cornu and the hydraulis, were used in the gladiatorial spectacles. These instruments, characterized for their loud sound, are ideal for the large, noisy arena with the fighting warriors and screaming spectators because they can be heard over both. The variety of instrumental combinations shown in the depictions, e.g. hydraulis, cornu and tuba in Zliten or hydraulis and cornu in Nennig or group of tubae in the relief from Rome and tibiae in the sketch from Pompeii, are also capable of playing impressive musical compositions intended to underline the impressive, rather than enjoyable³¹⁷, character of the spectacle, with gladiators fighting to the death.

³¹⁵ Schneider 1918: 780.

³¹⁶ Bieber 1939: 179.

³¹⁷ Wiedemann 1995: 13.



Fig. 82. Pompeii, Gladiators barrack, first century A.D., bronze greave (Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale). Foto: Junkelmann 2000: 181, fig. 323.

After the third century A.D. the shows in the amphitheatres are diminished because of the lack of money and the wars in the west part of the Empire. Even though the Eastern provinces did not have such economic problems, the number of shows declines markedly³¹⁸. The inscriptions for victors found in the theatres, dating from the middle of the third century A.D., start to decrease dramatically throughout the whole Roman Empire³¹⁹ and with them the scenes of gladiatorial combats³²⁰. Late antique philological sources give the impression that the range of entertainments is diminished (e.g. gladiatorial combats) and that the theatres are dominated by the performances of two kinds of actors, the mimes and pantomimes³²¹. During the fourth century, the Emperor Constantine the Great will be the first to forbid gladiatorial shows, while the *venationes* will remain until the sixth century. Of course the new Christian way of living is one more reason for the decline of this kind of entertainment, but the main reason seems to be the changes in taste of the Roman citizens, who will establish the beloved pantomimes' shows not only in the Constantinopolitan hippodrome but also in the theatres of the eastern and western provinces.

³¹⁸ Meijer 2005: 200.

³¹⁹ Roueché 1993: 5.

³²⁰ See the scenes with gladiatorial combats in *The age of spirituality* 1979: 92-97.

³²¹ Roueché 1993: 25.



Fig. 83. Pompeii, Gladiators barrack, first century A.D., bronze greave (Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale). Foto: Junkelmann 2000: 182, fig. 324.

The impressive character of the bloody gladiatorial fights is represented in the artistic creations that have as their main subject, the fighting men. Music has a useful signalling role, as mentioned in the literary sources and depicted in the scenes. The same musical instruments: tibia, tuba and cornu, are mentioned by the writers and depicted by the artists accompanying the impressive spectacle and organizing its specific moments. According to the texts, the tibia was used for the signalling of the start of the combats, the tuba for the announcement of the winners' names and the cornu for the signalling for the dispatch or the murder of the loser. Only the hydraulis is mentioned as accompanying, with its music, the fighting moments. On the other hand, the depictions seem quite abbreviated, with the depicted musical elements used only to remind the viewer of the existence of music during the spectacle. Only a few of the depictions are realistically portraying the fighting men accompanied by music, the opening parade with musical accompaniment and the signalling music for the judgment of the loser. In these scenes the signalling role of music as well as the musical accompaniment during fighting is depicted. The depicted musical instruments are the same as those mentioned in the texts. Their timbre, and loud sound and their musical capacity to play harmonics are suitable for the large, noisy amphitheatre. Where needed, for example during the opening pompa and during the actual fighting, musical instruments such as the tibia and hydraulis, capable of playing not only harmonics but also melodies, are used.

CHAPTER V

*Ludi scaenici***5.1 Introduction**

A lot has been written about Greek classical antique and Roman theatre, while a fair amount has been published about mimes and pantomimes. Recent studies focus on the clothes and the types of masks that distinguish mimes, pantomimes, tragic and comic actors³²², but it seems that the scholars have no interest in the music used within the theatre, the types of musical instruments, the names of the musicians and generally about the role and function of music, musicians and musical instruments within a theatrical performance.

It is true that, from Antiquity on, only a few depictions of theatrical moments accompanied by musicians have survived, in contrast with the many Roman archaeological findings of theatres, tragic masks, reliefs, small statuettes of masked actors and a number of scenes representing different types of masks or actors playing parts in tragedies but without musical accompaniment though. In addition, studies of the surviving Roman theatrical texts only supply us with information about the meter of the text, while vocal or instrumental accompaniment to a scene is never discussed.

The interest of the artists in depicting the main performers of the spectacle, isolated from the architectural and musical environment of the theatre, but with their characteristic gestures in their richly decorated costumes or simple clothes and masks, is marked, not only in Roman depictions but also in the Greek classical and South Italian ones. There are rare Roman examples where the whole stage of the theatre with the actors is represented and even fewer where musicians are present.

Studying the few theatrical scenes on vases and reliefs from classical Athens and contemporary South Italy we detect some similarities in the use of the musical instruments depicted. For example, musical instruments like the double aulos, the tympanon or the cymbals are detected not only in works related to the theatre of classical Greece but also on later works from South Italy as well as to the era of Rome and Pompeii, where the classical Greek dramas were imported and performed. As far as the Italian peninsula is concerned, no local musical instruments like the lituus or cornu are ever depicted in the theatrical scenes.

³²² See for example Slater 1996 and Roueché 1993.

Instead, the depiction of musical instruments known for their use within the Dionysian mysteries, like the lyre, the syrinx, the cymbals and the tympanon testifies to the connection of the Dionysian cult with the theatrical games and the actors, called *technitai of Dionysos* (artists of Dionysos), with the famous god. The depiction of *elymos*, known as Phrygian double aulos, beside theatrical masks on a vase from first century A.D. Gallia (fig. 108) may testify to a connection between the cult of Cybele, Dionysos and the theatre, while the connection between the Dionysian cult and that of Cybele imported, during the late Republic, to Italy is affirmed by contemporary and later depictions showing hung Dionysian musical instruments³²³.

All spectacles ended in Rome in 568 after the coming of the Lombards and continued in Constantinople³²⁴. In the new city of Constantinople no pagan festivals were held but games in celebration of triumphs and imperial anniversaries³²⁵.

The acting of the tragedy, comedy and satiric plays, beloved of the Greeks, which were performed in classical Athens from at least the sixth century B.C., also became known, one century later, in South Italy and Sicily³²⁶. During the fourth century B.C., in both classical Greece and Magna Graecia acting reached its peak. During the third century B.C., Roman translations of the Greek classical plays as well as new Latin plays were performed during the annual scenic games on contemporary wooden stages placed in the Forum or in the circus³²⁷. In 200 B.C. the construction of the big permanent theatre at Pompeii will testify to the great theatrical interest of the Romans, who remodelled not only the theatre as a building but also the classical plays, by omitting the chorus of the Old Tragedy and replacing it with actors' cantica as interludes between the scenes³²⁸.

At the end of the Republic both comedy (*fabulae palliatae*, or plays in Greek dress) and tragedy (*fabulae crepidatae*, buskin-plays) which had been based on Greek models held first place, while during the Empire they were pushed more and more to the background. During the third century B.C. a third type, the new Latin play (*fabulae praetextae*) drew directly on Roman themes and subjects. There existed also a domestic variety of "situation comedy" with Italian subject matter: the *fabulae togatae* (plays in Roman dress)³²⁹. During the second century B.C. two new types of performers are added to the tragic and comic actors (*tragwdoi* and *comwdoi*) known from Greek classical Antiquity. The pantomime (Greek: *orchēstēs*,

³²³ See the chapter for the hanged musical instruments.

³²⁴ Bieber 1939: 250.

³²⁵ Barnes 1996: 174.

³²⁶ Bieber 1961: 80.

³²⁷ Beacham 1999: 27.

³²⁸ The change was made by Livius Andronicus during the third century B.C. in Rome (Erasmus 2004: 11).

³²⁹ Beacham 1999: 5.

pantomimos, Latin: *histrion* or *pantomimus*) as heir of tragedy and the mime (Greek: *mimos*) as heir of comedy were introduced, probably from Greece, into the Italian territory and gained more and more popularity³³⁰.

The import of the Greek classical plays to South Italy and later to Pompeii and Rome was followed by the import of the double aulos used within the Old Tragedy during a short instrumental interlude between the mele called in Greek *mesaulion*³³¹ and mentioned, during the first century A.D., by Aristides Quintilianus in his work *De musica*:

*Και τα εν ταις ωδαίς μεσαυλικά ή ψιλά κρούματα ... (De musica I 11.37)*³³².

The use of the double aulos player within the theatre is depicted on an Apulian vase, known as the Pronomos vase that is dated to the fourth century B.C. and in later scenes from Pompeii and Rome. The use of the aulos player within a theatrical play, known from classical writers, is seen in almost all the Roman scenes representing a part of a play or a rehearsal of the actors or a scene within the theatre, dated until the first century A.D. and also described by Roman philological sources dated until the third century A.D.

The use of tympana and cymbals shown in two works from classical Athens and Piraeus should be studied in comparison with later depictions from Pompeii and Rome, which testify to the use of these instruments within the theatre.

As opposed to the depictions, no reference about the use of the tympanon within the theatre is cited by the classical writers or by the Roman ones, while the use of the cymbals, not referred to by the classical writers, is testified to not only in the Roman depictions but also in the contemporary literary sources.

5.2 Philological sources from the late Republic to the end of late Antiquity

Attempts to study the surviving Roman theatrical texts give us only clues about the meter of the text and the important rhythm which emphasized the metre. The references, like those in the *Casina* of Plautus (573 and 761-2) to an aulete who will entertain the spectators during the absence of the actors³³³ are rare, while hints about vocal or instrumental accompaniment to a scene are never mentioned within the texts. The presence of musicians during theatrical performances is dependent not only on the available instrumentalists but also on the money offered for their payment. The musical passages were well known to the artists or they were fairly simple, or they were based on improvisation and they did not need to be written down.

³³⁰ Jory 1996: 2.

³³¹ Mathiesen 1999: 102-103.

³³² Winnington-Ingram 1963: 23.

³³³ As cited in Beare 1955: 218. See also the chapter 26 'music and metre'.

Even if papyri of the theatrical plays written by Menander are dated from the third century B.C. until the seventh century A.D., while some surviving folios from parchment codexes prove that plays of Menander were copied between the third and the fourth century A.D. from cylindrical papyri to parchment codexes³³⁴, tragedy –at least that intended for staging- apparently died out soon after Accius, whose last known play, *Tereus*, dates from 104 A.D.³³⁵.

During the first century B.C. Cicero, from Italy, separates the public games to those of the circus and those of the theatre. Singing and the use of the *fides* (kithara or lyre) and the tibia within the theatre are testified to from this epoch on: ‘Next, since the public games are divided between theatre and circus, in the circus there shall be contest of body with body, consisting of running, boxing, and wrestling; and also horse-races, which shall last until a decisive victory is won; on the other hand, the theatre shall be filled with song to the music of kithara / lyre and tibia’:

*Iam ludi publici quoniam sunt cavea circoque divisi, sint corporum certationes cursu et pugillatu et luctatione curriculisque equorum usque ad certam victoriam circo constituta, cavea cantu vigeat fidibus et tibiis... (De legibus ii.38)*³³⁶

5.2.1 Pantomimes (Gr: *ορχηστής* (*orxestes*), lat: *histrion*)

During the second century A.D. important information about the pantomimes survives in the treatise of the Syrian Lucianus of Samosata *Περί ορχήσεως* (*The dance*). Lucianus compares the pantomimes of his epoch, as he says (*The dance* 34)³³⁷, with the tragic and comic actors of the past saying that in the past the dancers also sang, but now their movements disturb the singing and for this reason others accompany them with their song (*The dance* 30)³³⁸. The themes of tragedy and the dance of the pantomime are common to both, while the only difference is that the themes of the pantomimes are more varied and less unhackneyed, and they contain countless vicissitudes (*The dance* 31)³³⁹. The pantomime is imitative and undertakes the presentation, by means of movements, of all that is being sung. It is essential for him, as it is for orators, to cultivate clarity, so that everything which he presents will be intelligible, requiring no interpreter (*The dance* 62)³⁴⁰.

Lucianus condemns the negative criticism of the pantomimes and everyone who believes that ‘the dancer was a mere adjunct to the aulos and the syrinx and the stamping [of

³³⁴ Pöhlmann 2000: 139.

³³⁵ Beacham 1999: 255.

³³⁶ Cicero 2000: 416-417.

³³⁷ Lucian 2001: 244-245.

³³⁸ Ibid.: 240-241.

³³⁹ Ibid.: 242-243.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.: 264-265. For a recent discussion about pantomimes see Jory 1996: 1-27.

the scabellum], himself making absolutely meaningless, idle movements with no sense in them at all;’ And he continues: ‘but that people were duped by the accessories of the business –the silk vestments, the beautiful mask, the aulos, the *teretismata* and the sweet voices of the singers, by all of which the dancer’s business, itself amounting to nothing at all, was embellished.’:

... του αυλού και των συρίγγων και των κτύπων πάρεργόν τι τον ορχηστήν είναι, μηδέν αυτόν προς το δράμα συντελούντα, κινούμενον δε άλογον άλλως κίνησιν και μάταιον, ουδενός αυτή νου προσόντος, των δε ανθρώπων τοις περί το πράγμα γοητευομένων, εσθήτι σηρική και προσωπειώ ευπρεπεί, αυλώ τε και τερετίσμασι και τη των αδόντων ευφωνία, οισ κοσμείσθαι μηδέν ον το του ορχηστού πράγμα. (*The dance* 63)³⁴¹

The performance of the pantomime is superior to the others ‘that appeal to eye and ear contain, each of them, the display of a single activity; there is either aulos or kithara or vocal music or tragedy’s mummery or comedy’s buffoonery. The dancer, however, has everything at once, and that equipment of his, we may see, is varied and comprehensive –the aulos, the syrinx, the tapping of feet [the scabellum], the clash of cymbals, the melodious voice of the actor, the concord of the singers.’

Τα μεν ουν άλλα θεάματα και ακούσματα ενός εκάστου έργου την επίδειξιν έχει. Η γαρ αυλός εστιν ή κιθάρα ή δια φωνής μελωδία ή τραγική δραματουργία ή κωμική γελωτοποιία. Ο δε ορχηστής τα πάντα έχει συλλαβών, και ένεστιν ποικίλην και παμμιγή την παρασκευήν αυτού ιδείν, αυλόν, σύριγγα, ποδών κτύπον, κυμβάλου ψόφον, υποκριτού ευφωνίαν, αδόντων ομοφωνίαν. (*The dance* 68)³⁴²

Information about the aulos and kithara connected with pantomimes survives in Lucianos. Comparing the dance of the pantomime with the three types of dances, the *emmeleia*, the *kordax* and the *sikkinēs* related to the tragedy and comedy, he also compares the cyclic aulos players and the *kitharōdeia* (singing to the accompaniment of the kithara) used within the tragedy and comedy with the aulos and kithara ‘since they are parts of the pantomime’s paraphernalia’:

Καίτοι τον μεν αυλόν, ει δοκεί, και την κιθάραν παρώμεν. Μέρη γαρ της του ορχηστού υπηρεσίας και ταύτα. (*The dance* 26)³⁴³

During the third century Novatian from Rome, in his work *De spectaculis*, speaking against the theatre also refers to the playing of the tibia, probably, to pantomimic dancing accompanied by singing: ‘One person tries to imitate the harsh war cry of the tuba. A second

³⁴¹ Lucian 2001: 264-265. The term ‘flute’ and ‘pipes’ are replaced everywhere with the *aulos* and *syrinx* of the original. The term ‘lyre’ is replaced with the *kithara* of the original.

³⁴² Ibid.: 270-271.

³⁴³ Ibid.: 238-239.

person by blowing with his breath into the tibia modulates their lugubrious sounds. A third, accompanied with dancing and a man's melodious voice, strains with his breath –laboriously drawn from the viscera to the upper parts of his body- to play upon the small openings of the tibia. At times he represses the breath and bottles it up inside; and at other times he releases and forces it into the air by means of fixed apertures. He even labors actually to speak with his fingers by breaking down the sound into definite rhythmic patterns. He is ungrateful to his Maker who gave him a tongue.³⁴⁴:

Clangores tubae bellicos alter imitatur raucos, alter lugubres sonos spiritu tibias inflante moderatur, alter cum choris et cum hominis canora uoce contendens spiritu suo quem de uisceribus suis in superiora corporis nitens hauserat tibiaram foramina modulans, [effuso et] nunc intus recluso ac represso, nunc certis foraminibus emisso atque in aerem profuso, item in articulos sonum frangens, loqui digitis elaborat, ingratus artifici qui linguam dedit. (De spectaculis 7. 2)³⁴⁵

During the fourth century A.D. Libanios from Antiocheia of Syria wrote a treatise called *Προς Αριστείδην υπέρ των ορχηστών (Pro saltatoribus)*. Interesting information survives related to pantomimes, of his era. According to Libanios a choir accompanies the pantomime. The pantomime ‘attacks the songs and the choir, on the grounds that the latter is not assembled from worthwhile men and women and the former are too soft and harmful to masculinity’:

Των γαρ ασμάτων επιλαμβάνεται και του χορού, του μεν ως ουκ από σπουδαίων ούτ’ ανδρών ούτε γυναικών ηθροισμένου, των δε ως μαλθακώτερον εχόντων και βλαπόντων εις ανδρείαν. (Pro saltatoribus 87)³⁴⁶

John Chrysostom, speaking against the theatre of his epoch, refers to the kithara and the lyre, the auloi together with the syrinx, as well as the gold decorated clothes of the performers dancing on the part of the theatre called the orchestra. ‘This theatre does not belong, my favourite, to the kithara players that simultaneously accompany their playing with their songs, nor to the tragic actors’:

Ουκ έστι το θέατρον τούτο, αγαπητέ, κιθαρωδών ουδέ τραγωδών. (Acta apostolorum. Homilia 10)³⁴⁷

Theocharides is grouping the *kitharwdoi* referred to by Chrysostom with the tragic and comic actors as being one more type of performers³⁴⁸. The other types of musicians, like the

³⁴⁴ Novatianus 1981: 130. The ‘salpinx’ of the translator is replaced by the *tuba* of the original and the term ‘pipes’ with the *tibia* of the original text.

³⁴⁵ Novatianus 1972: 175-176.

³⁴⁶ Molloy 1996: 133, 166.

³⁴⁷ Chrysostom PG 60: 90.

scabillarius, the choir, or the cymbal and aulos players are missing, while their roles are also important in the accompaniment of the tragic actors and the pantomimes.

In the text of Chrysostom, Christ is compared with the pantomime of the theatre which is in detail described: ‘Christ is not acting drama, he does not wear a mask covering His head, he does not step on the tribune, and he does not dance on the part of the theatre called orchestra. He is not dressed in gold decorated clothes and he does not need the accompaniment of musical instruments, such as kithara, lyre or any other of this kind, in order to narrate his texts’:

Ο Χριστός ου δράμα υποκρινόμενος, ουδέ προσωπίον κρύπτων την κεφαλήν, ουδέ επ’ οκρίβαντος αναβαίνων, ουδ’ ορχήστραν τω πόδι κατακρούων, ουδέ εσθήτι κεκοσμημένος χρυσή... ουκ οργάνων προς την απαγγελίαν δεόμενος, οίον κιθάρας ή λύρας, ή τινός των τοιούτων ετέρου. (In Joannem, Homilia 1)³⁴⁹

According to Chrysostom the pantomime uses the kithara, lyre or any other musical instrument of this organological group (thus stringed musical instruments) as accompaniment to his ‘narration’. The phrase ‘ή τινός των τοιούτων ετέρου’ (‘or any other of this kind’) is used additionally to the two instruments (kithara, lyre) just mentioned before because this third organological type is different (*ετέρου*) but still belongs to the group of the stringed musical instruments (*των τοιούτων*) to which the kithara and lyre belong. The additional type of stringed instrument hinted at could be a *psalterion*, thus a type of harp using no *plektron*, an element that distinguishes it from the kithara and lyre which often use a *plektron*. Of course a musical instrument of the lute family could be also implied.

The use of a psalterion seems more possible as the term *psaltes* (*ψάλτης*), *psaltria* (*ψάλτρια*), which is used to describe the male and female musician playing a stringed musical instrument without using a *plektron*, is found in inscriptions with participants in musical contests, dated from the third century B.C. (see the chapter for the musical contests) till the sixth century A.D. when Procopios from Caesarea will refer to a female *psaltria* connected with actors and participating in the theatre (see below).

Contemporary to Chrysostom, in the Codex Theodosianus, in the chapter referring to the men and women of the stage (*De scaenicis*), there is a reference to female kithara or lyre players (*fidicinam*) used at banquets and spectacles, probably, of the theatre. ‘No man shall be permitted to buy, teach or sell a female kithara or lyre player or to use her services for

³⁴⁸ Theocharides 1940: 62-64. See an interesting discussion about the work of Theocharides in Wust 1943: 212-215.

³⁴⁹ Chrysostom *PG* 59: 25.

banquets or spectacles. Nor shall anyone be permitted to have for the purpose of his own delectation female slaves educated in the study of musical art.’³⁵⁰:

*Fidicinam nulli liceat vel emero vel docere vel vendere vel conviviis aut spectaculis adhibere. Nec cuiquam ad delectationis desiderium erudita feminea musicae artis studio liceat habere mancipia. (De scaenicis 15.7.10)*³⁵¹

In another of his homilies Chrysostom mentions the syrinx and the auloi together with the immoral words and movements of the pantomimes of his epoch: ‘ And there (in the theatre) there are immoral words and movements more immoral and (improper) hair styles, and way of walking, and costumes and voices and movements of the body and the eyes and syringes and auloi and dramas’:

*Και γαρ και ρήματα αισχρά αυτόθι, και σχήματα αισχρότερα, και κουρά τοιαύτη, και βάνις, και στολή, και φωνή, και μελών διάκλασις, και οφθαλμών εκτροφαί, και σύριγγες, και αυλοί, και δράματα. (In Matthaëum, Homilia 38)*³⁵²

According to Lucian the pantomime should follow with his movements what is being sung: ‘One of the barbarians from Pontus, a man of royal blood, came to Nero on some business or other, and among other entertainments saw that dancer perform so vividly that although he could not follow what was being sung, he was but half Hellenised, as it happened, he understood everything.’:

*Επί δε κατά τον Νέρωνα εσμέν τω λόγω, βούλομαι και βαρβάρου ανδρός το επί του αυτού ορχηστού γενόμενον ειπείν, όπερ μέγιστος έπαινος ορχηστικής γένοιτ’ αν, των γαρ εκ του Πόντου βαρβάρων βασιλικός τις άνθρωπος κατά τι χρέος ήκων ως τον Νέρωνα εθεάτο μετά των άλλων τον ορχηστήν εκείνον ούτω σαφώς ορχούμενον ως καίτοι μη επακούοντα των αδομένων –ημιέλλην γαρ τις ων ετύγχανεν- συνείναι απάντων. (The dance 64)*³⁵³

While, according to Libanios, some times the pantomime stops the choir in order to perform alone: ‘Concerning that his art (the art of the pantomime) should alert the souls, he often stops the voice of the chorus and through gestures instructs the spectator to grasp what is happening’:

*Φροντίζουσα δε η τέχνη του τας ψυχάς εγρηγορέναι παύσασα πολλάκις την φωνήν του χορού δια των σχημάτων παιδεύει τον θεατήν αιρείν το πράγμα. (Pro saltatoribus 113)*³⁵⁴

³⁵⁰ *The Theodosian code* 1952: 434. The term ‘harp players’ of the English translation referred to *fidicinam* is replaced with the ‘kithara or lyre players’.

³⁵¹ Theodosius 1905: 823.

³⁵² Chrysostom *PG* 57: 426.

³⁵³ Lucian 2001: 266-267.

³⁵⁴ Molly 1996: 139, 174.

5.2.2 *Scabellum*, κρουπέζα (*kroupeza*), βάταλον (*batalon*)

According to the Athenian Aeschinus of the fourth century B.C. the *batalon* is a double underfoot (shoe) worn on the right foot of the aulos player and tapped, while playing music, according to the rythm:

και νυν δε οι αυληταί υποπόδιον διπλούν υπό τον δεξιόν πόδα έχοντες, όταν αλώσι, κατακρούουσιν άμα τω πόδι το υποπόδιον, τον ρυθμόν τον αυτών συναποδιδόντες, ο καλούσι βάταλον. (*Scholia in Aeschinem Oratio 1. scholion 126, line 21-24*)³⁵⁵.

They are also called *kroupezae* and they are described by Pausanias (second century A.D.) as wooden shoes used for the pressing of the olives, being played like *krotala* by the aulos players:

κρουπέζαι> Βοιώτια υποδήματα ζύλινα, εν οισ τας ελαίας πατούσιν. οι δε κρόταλον, ω επιφοφούσιν οι αυληταί [τω βάταλον] (*Αττικών ονομάτων συναγωγή 48.2*)³⁵⁶.

It is mentioned in Athenaeus as used within the threatre:

όθεν και Ασωπόδωρος ο Φλιάσιος κροταλιζομένου ποτέ τινός των αυλητών διατρίβων αυτός έτι εν τω υποσκηνώ.. (*Deipnosophistae book xiv 31.9-11*)³⁵⁷

Libanios refers to it in detail: ‘The dancers need the pulse³⁵⁸, my fine friend, a louder pulse, which will control the role of the choir as required, and which will contribute to the rhythmical movement of the dancers. But from the foot itself this wouldn’t be enough. In fact, there must be a strip of iron, projecting from the sandal, to make enough sound’:

Κτύπου δει τοις ορχησταίς, ω δαιμόνιε, μείζονος, ος τα τε του χορού διοικήσεται προς την χρείαν και συμβαλεί τοις ορχησταίς εις ευρυθμίαν. Ούτος δ’ από ψιλού του ποδός ουκ αν αποχρών είη. δει δη τινα κανόνα σιδηρούν από της βλαύτης ορμώμενον αρκούσαν ηχήν εργάσασθαι. (*Pro saltatoribus 97*)³⁵⁹

Stamping or beating of the foot is mentioned a number of times by Lucian (*The dance 2, 10, 63, 68, 83*). Although it is not until *The dance 83* that the expression is made clear: ‘one of those stamping with the iron sole under the foot’ (*ενός των τω σιδηρώ υποδήματι κτυπώντων*).

³⁵⁵ Schultz 1973: 253-283.

³⁵⁶ Erbse 1950: 152-221.

³⁵⁷ Athenaeus 1962: vol. III, book xiv 31.9-11.

³⁵⁸ The term ‘noise’ of the translator is replaced by the ‘pulse’ that is more close to the Greek *κτύπος* of the original text. Because noise does not permit us hear something we want. For this reason, the rhythmical accompaniment of the scabellum cannot be characterized as noise.

³⁵⁹ Molloy 1996: 136, 169.

The described idiophone is to be found in some scenes relating it not only to theatrical life (fig. 102) but also to the pressing of the grapes and the female dancing accompanied by double aulos music within a scene connected with wine drinking (fig. 85). The first scene comes from a relief dated to the first century B.C. showing satyrs pressing the grapes accompanied by the sounds of a nude satyr playing double aulos and scabellum (**fig. 84**)³⁶⁰.



Fig. 84. Rome, first century B.C., relief (Rome, Villa Albani, 979). Foto: *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1989, vol. I: pl. 174.

The presence of an aulete accompanying the pressing of the grapes survives on a papyrus from Egypt dated, many centuries later than the scene, to the fourth century A.D., but describing the same custom which probably survived for a long time: ‘Aurelios [Psenimis K]ollouthou having a mother with the name Melitine, being a[ulet]e from the city Ermou [...] has served perfectly the men pressing the grapes and the others with his aulos playing’:

... *Αυρήλιος [Ψενόμις Κ]ολλούθου μητρός Μελιτίνης α[υλητ]ή[ς] από Ερμού πόλεως χείρειν. [...] και αμέμπτως υ[πηρετήσ]ασθαι τοις ληνοβάταις και τοις άλλοις εν τη αυλήσει (SB 5810)*³⁶¹.

The second scene is also from Italy and it is dated to the end of the third century A.D. (**fig. 85**)³⁶². Double aulos players are portrayed encircling two female dancing figures playing krotala, while two scabillarii each close to a dancer are accompanying them by playing double aulos and scabellum. A table and a wine vessel are portrayed in the centre under an arch construction, indicating an indoor or outdoor location, while a small figure, possibly a diner, holds a jug bringing wine to the participants.

A sarcophagus relief from second century A.D. Rome connects the scabellum with Dionysos and his thiasos (fig. 118). Among the followers of the God a Silenus is playing a Phrygian double aulos and scabellum, a Maenad tympanon and a pair of cymbals lie on the floor. The presence of the scabellum within a mythological scene shown to accompany a phrygian double aulos could well be an artistic inspiration influenced by contemporary

³⁶⁰ *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1989, vol. I: 300-303, no 95, pl. 174.

³⁶¹ Stefanos 1986: 463, entry 2642 and Vandoni 1964: 27.

³⁶² Fleischhauer 1964: 124, 125, fig. 71.

musical practice and the fact that the theatre and its musical entourage are connected with Dionysos not only through their name 'technitae of Dionysos' dedicated to their protector God, but also because the Dionysian subjects are favoured by Roman actors.



Fig. 85. Italy, Aventin, Temple of Diana, end of the third century A.D., floor mosaic (Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cabinetto dell' Ermes). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 125, fig. 71.

In addition, there are two things in common in all the depictions with the scabellum: it is almost always combined with the playing of the double aulos and the scenes connect it with Dionysos or his followers, the theatre and wine, which are all related to each other. Nevertheless, the scabellum is not connected with the cult of Dionysos, considering that no other scenes have survived, neither with the banqueting musical customs as far as the Roman sources testify. Its use seems obvious as referred to in the sources, that of keeping the rhythm for the aulete and the dancers, while it could also be used to keep the rhythm for the pressing of the grapes.



Fig. 85. Detail.

5.2.3 Mimes

The latest treatise, directly related to the theatre, is, perhaps, that of Chorikios of Gaza who lived during the sixth century. Chorikios dedicates his work *Συνηγορία μίμων* (*Apologia mimorum*) to the mimes, probably of his epoch. Speaking about the advantages of the mimes' spectacle he distinguishes four types of performers: the mimes, the pantomimes, the acrobats or puppet showmen (*θαυματοποιούς*) and the tragic actors. The only reference concerned with music is that of the use of the lyre, mentioned after the reference to the tragic actors: 'The mime's spectacle is superior to the horse racing and the pantomimes' performances because it does not arouse revolutionary tendencies. On the other hand it is superior to the acrobats, to the tragic actors and to the lyre players because the mime's performance does not cause satiety. Since the people are so familiar with these spectacles they are rarely performed during public feasts':

Ιπποδρομίας μεν ουν και ορχησιν υπεραίρει το πράγμα τω μηδέν στασιώδες τοις δήμοις εμβάλλειν, θαυματοποιούς δε και τραγωδίας υπόκρισιν μετιόντας και λύρα χρωμένους τω μη κόρον διδόναι. Εκείνων γαρ ούτως ενεπλήσθησαν άνθρωποι των θεαμάτων ως μόλις δημοσιεύειν. (Apologia mimorum 118)³⁶³

Mimes sang and danced according to Chorikios (*Apologia mimorum* 124), while they generally performed without masks and wore characteristic costumes like the *centunculus* (a dress made of different coloured patches)³⁶⁴.

During the same century, and two centuries later than the epoch of Chrysostom and the writing of the Codex Theodosianus, the presence of a *psaltria* (*ψάλτρια*) is testified to by Procopius from Caesarea. Procopius speaks about a young prostitute called Theodora, who, even though, she does not know how to play the aulos or the strings with the fingers or to perform on the tribune, she later performed in the theatre together with the mimes: 'For she was neither an aulos player nor a female player of a stringed instrument using no plectron [*ψάλτρια*], and she did not know to perform on the tribune, but she sold her youthful beauty to those who chanced to come along, plying her trade with practically her whole body. Later on she was associated with the actors in all the work of the theatre, and she shared their performances with them, playing up to their buffoonish acts intended to raise a laugh':

Ου γαρ αυλήτρια ουδέ ψάλτρια ην, ου μην ουδέ τα ες την ορχήστραν αυτή ήσκητο, αλλά την ώραν τοις αεί περιπίπτουσιν απεδίδοτο μόνον ουκ εκ παντός εργαζομένη του σώματος. Είτα τοις μίμοις τα ες το θέατρον πάντα ωμίλει και των ενταύθα

³⁶³ Stefanos 1986: 118-120.

³⁶⁴ Molloy 1996: 82. More about mimes see in Tinnefeld 1974.

επιτηδευμάτων μετείχεν αυτοίς, γελωτοποιοίς τισι βωμολοχίαις υπηρετούσα.
(*Anecdota* ix. 12-13)³⁶⁵

Late antique philological sources give us the impression that the range of entertainments is diminished and that the theatres are dominated, from the second century on, by the performances of two kinds of actors, the mimes and pantomimes³⁶⁶, who will gain enormous popularity during the fifth and sixth century, not only in Constantinople, where statues of female pantomimes were erected³⁶⁷, but also in sixth century Rome where monthly payments were made by the city prefect to the pantomimes³⁶⁸, and in Syria, where the Christian Jacob of Sarug condemned their popularity in the theatres³⁶⁹.

5.3 Pictorial evidence of the Roman Republic

A relief that is dated to fifth century B.C. Piraeus, Greece (**fig. 86**)³⁷⁰ portrays four actors in long and long-sleeved chitons, while two of them hold theatrical masks and two carry tympanons in front of the reclining semi-nude Dionysos. The scene is interpreted by Bieber as representing an Attic tragedy, maybe *Bacchae* of Euripēdēs. This is an ambitious assumption. An interesting element is the tympanon to the right, which shows a ribbon tied from the middle of the upper part falling both to the left and right side. It resembles that of a painting on a ceramic vase from South Italy of the fourth century B.C. (**fig. 89**) also representing a theatrical scene, while it will be present, many centuries later, together with theatrical masks, on a Pompeian relief of the first century A.D. (**fig. 103**) giving evidence of the same tradition through the centuries. The three depictions could be part of the iconography of the winged tympanon shown within artworks from the Italian peninsula and connected mainly with the theatre³⁷¹.

One more similarity is found between a statuette from fifth century B.C. Athens (**fig. 87**)³⁷² and a mosaic of the villa of Cicero in second century B.C. Pompeii (**fig. 92**). The statuette portrays an actor playing cymbals, dressed in a long, short-sleeved chiton and mantle knotted in front. The actor is dressed in the same way as the ones depicted on the mosaic from

³⁶⁵ Procopius 1960: 104-107. The phrase of the translator 'she had not even acquired skill in the dance' is replaced with the more general and more suitable 'she did not know to perform on the tribune' because on the orchestra was performed not only dance but also mimicry and the text of Procopius is too general for such a specific translation.

³⁶⁶ Roueché 1993: 25 and Barnes 1996: 170. See also Karpozilos / Kachdan 1991.

³⁶⁷ Cameron 1973: 247-248.

³⁶⁸ Cassiodorus 1970: 32, 33.

³⁶⁹ Roueché 1993: 26

³⁷⁰ Bieber 1961: 32, fig. 113.

³⁷¹ See also the chapter for the winged tympano.

³⁷² Bieber 1961: 94, fig. 342.

the villa of Cicero and has the same band around his head. The playing of cymbals is one more common element.



Fig. 86. Greece, Pireaus, fifth century B.C., relief (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 610). Foto: Bieber 1961: 32, fig. 113.



Fig. 87. Athens, fifth century B.C., statuette (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 5060). Foto: Bieber 1961: 94, fig. 342.

Interesting theatrical scenes are depicted on vases from the fifth until the fourth century B.C. South Italy. The first shows a male double aulos player named *Pronomos*, a Silenus playing double aulos and male lyre players along with actors in finely decorated costumes, chorus and Dionysos (**fig. 88**)³⁷³. The figures are paratactically depicted and only the theatrical masks held by the costumed actors relate the scene to the theatre. The double aulos player, dressed in a richly decorated costume, is seated on an impressive chair in the middle of the lower line. In the upper line to the right an actor is dressed in a goatskin.



Fig. 88. South Italy, fifth to fourth century B.C., Pronomos vase (Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, foto Alinari BEN-F-000180). Foto: Bieber 1961: 10, fig. 31.



Fig. 88. Sketch. Foto: Bieber 1961: 10, fig. 32.

³⁷³ Bieber 1961: 10-11, fig. 31, 32.



Fig. 88. Sketch. Foto: Bieber 1961: 11, fig. 33.



Fig. 89. South Italy, 330 B.C., vase (Bari, Archaeological Museum). Foto: Bieber 1961: 132, fig. 483.

The second vase represents a theatrical performance of the so-called Phlyakes (**fig. 89**)³⁷⁴ narrating the visit of travellers to Zeus Ammon in the Libyan oasis. The Libyan Zeus sits beside a palm tree indicating the place of the event, holding his eagle around the neck and

³⁷⁴ Bieber 1961: 132, fig. 483.

he observes the visitors. One ascends the stage for the purpose of consulting the oracle. The other, heavily loaded with a sack and basket, is looking at the sacrificial gifts in the basket he carries. Behind the actors a tympanon is hanging on the wall. The membrane of the tympanon, as well the rim, are decorated, while a kind of ribbon hangs from the middle of the lower part towards both sides. The wooden stage of the permanent type of theatre that is represented here is characteristically portrayed with the columns used as a base, the staircase, and the decorative textile hung in order to hide the empty space below the stage.

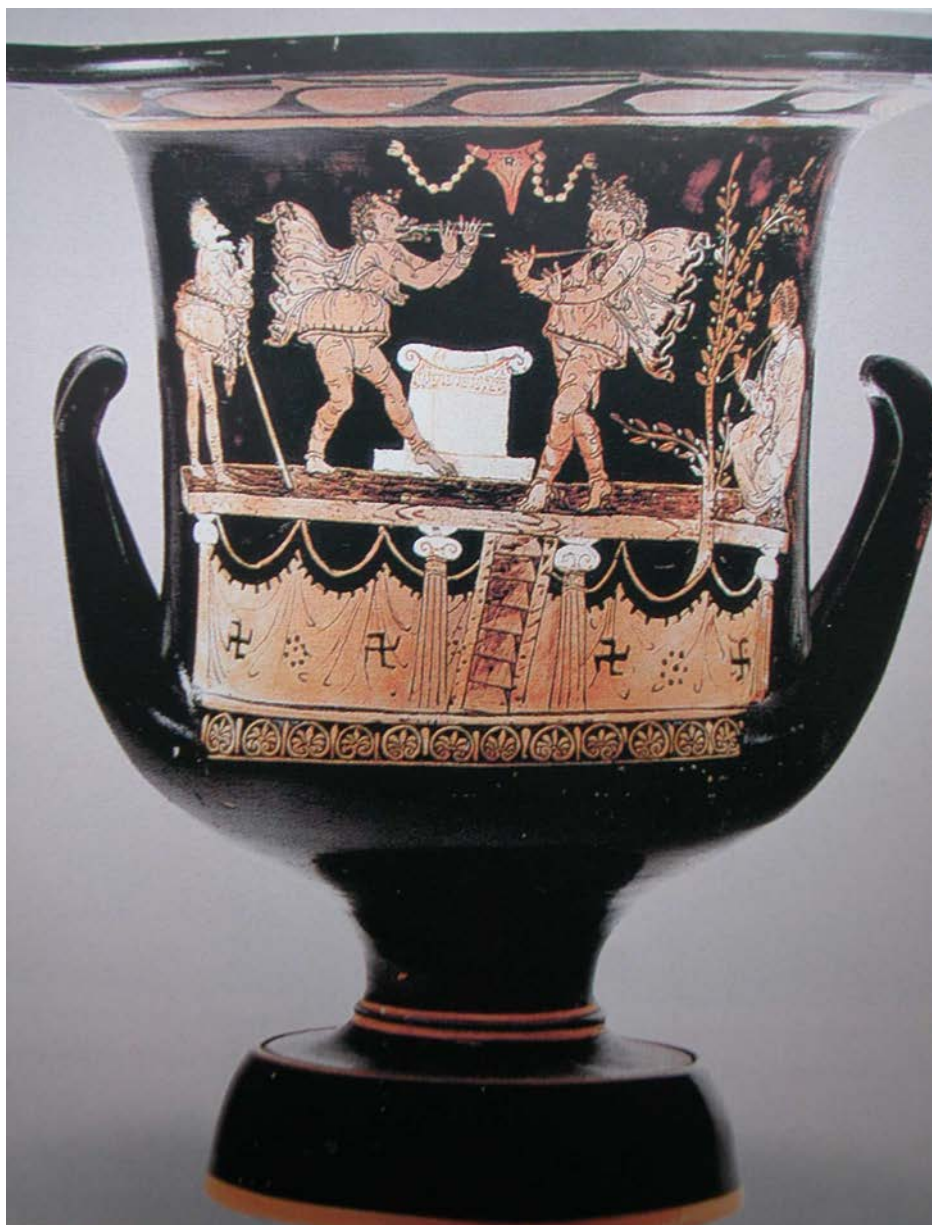


Fig. 90. Italy, Apoulia, 360 B.C., crater (Rome, Collection Malaguzzi Valeri). Foto: Giannou end others 1998: 75, fig. 74.

Two male musicians playing double auloi in front of a thymele are portrayed on an Apulian crater also dated to the fourth century B.C. (**fig. 90**)³⁷⁵. Dressed in short chitons and

³⁷⁵ Giannou end others 1998: 75, fig. 74.

trousers they wear masks and wreaths on their heads. To the right another male actor is dressed as an old man, while to the right edge a female double aulos player sits playing her musical instrument, wearing the typical phorbeia. All the performers are placed on the wooden stage, which is clearly distinguished with the staircases in the centre, the columns and the decorative textiles. A small tree is used to decorate the stage, while decorative elements are hung from the wall.

The comic gestures of the two main performers, as well as the presence of the third actor, may indicate part of a comic play with the theme of a musical contest, which is parodied here in order to cause the laughter of the audience. The fact that the female double aulos player sits aside may indicate that she is waiting to play her part between the scenes and amuse the audience with her music. The wreathed double aulos players are similar to the ones depicted on mosaics with actors from second century B.C. and first century A.D. Pompeii discussed below. The type of short chiton and trousers they wear are similar to the ones portrayed as worn by the actors on a contemporary South Italian vase discussed below, but they differ from the long chitons of the actors seen on the theatrical Greek artworks and the later Italian ones. *Chiton malwtos*, which tightly covers the whole body, similar to that depicted here, is portrayed on an Italian sarcophagus of the third century A.D discussed below.



Fig. 91. South Italy, middle of the fourth century B.C., phlyakes vase (St. Petersburg, Hermitage). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 93, fig. 51.

One more scene of comedy can be seen on a South Italian vase dated to the middle of the fourth century B.C. (**fig. 91**)³⁷⁶. Two male masked actors with short chitons exomis, phallus and trousers represent slaves carrying a piece of meat and a bucket, probably containing wine. The old, bald one goes first while the young bearded one follows. They both follow the female musician with the double aulos moving to the right. The musician is dressed in a long chiton and himation over it and she has her hair tied up.

According to Fleischhauer this scene can be connected with part of a theatrical play written two centuries later by Plautus. He refers to two slaves, Stichus and Sangarinus, acting on a stage together with a tibia player (Plautus, Stich. 715, 724, 758):

Tene, tibicen, primum; postidea loci/ si hoc eduxeris, proinde ut consuetu's antehac, celeriter / lepidam et suavem cantionem aliquam occupito cinaedicam,/ ubi perpruriscamus usque ex unguiculis. (Plautus, Stich. 758)

According to Fleischhauer, during the fourth century the introduced classical theatrical plays are partly parodied by the actors. Myths and various Gods are parodied in this way, together with scenes from everyday life. These improvisations may have been the start of what would later follow, during the third century B.C., when Roman translations of the Greek classical plays (*fabulae palliatae*) as well as new Latin plays (*fabula praetextae*) would be performed, during the annual scenic games in contemporary wooden stages placed in the Forum or in the circus.



Fig. 92. Pompeii, Villa of Cicero, second century B.C., mosaic (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9985).
Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 97, fig. 53.

³⁷⁶Fleischhauer 1964: 92, 93, fig. 51.

The two following depictions are from second century B.C. South Italy: a mosaic from the villa of Cicero in Pompeii (**fig. 92**)³⁷⁷ and a fresco from Stabiae, Italy (**fig. 93**)³⁷⁸, while they represent an interesting group of actors playing musical instruments. These two examples, together with a third one, a mosaic from Pompeii, are the only complete and multi-coloured theatrical scenes.



Fig. 93. Italy, Stabiae, second century B.C., fresco (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9034). Foto: *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1986: 157, fig. 246.

Both scenes depict a group of masked actors playing cymbals, tympanon and double aulos, in such a way that we can easily assume that the fresco could well be a copy of the mosaic. Two of the three actors are male, dressed in tunics and mantle knotted in the front in order to allow them to move easily and play the musical instruments they are holding: a pair of cymbals and a tympanon. Their feet are raised as if dancing. They are looking towards the spectator, in contrast to the female double aulos player, who has turned towards them, as if accompanying them with her music. She is wearing a long chiton to the feet, and a mantle and she has her hair tied back. Behind her a barefoot little boy in a short chiton is watching the performing actors.

The idiophones used by the pair of male actors are not capable of playing a melody but the rhythm. They seem to accompany the actors' simultaneous singing or the melodies played

³⁷⁷ Fleischhauer 1964: 96, 97, fig. 53.

³⁷⁸ *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1986: 156, 157, no 246, fig. 246.

by the double aulos and give the rhythm to the actors' dance. According to Bieber the scene belongs to the New Comedy, developed from the fourth century B.C. on, and represents the group of musicians who play the interlude that replaced the chorus of the Old Tragedy³⁷⁹. We do not have enough evidence to support such a statement. Because of the uniqueness of the scene any assumption appears problematic.

As far as the musical instruments depicted are concerned, together with the Greek theatrical plays imported to South Italy from classical Athens, a number of melodies that accompanied the plays were also imported and with them the related musical instruments. The tympanon shown on the relief from Piraeus, Greece (fig. 86) is later depicted on a South Italian Phlyakes vase (fig. 89) of the fourth century B.C. and later on a Pompeian mosaic and a Stabian fresco of the second century B.C. (figs. 92 and 93), while the cymbals of the classical Athenian statue (fig. 87) are present, three centuries later, in the Pompeian mosaic (fig. 92) and the fresco from Stabia (fig. 93).

5.4 Pictorial sources from the Roman Empire to the end of late Antiquity

The tympanon will continue to be present in theatrical scenes, as, for example, on the relief from the Subterranean basilica before the Porta Maggiore, Rome of the first to second century A.D. (fig. 94)³⁸⁰. The use of the double aulos was possibly also imported from Greece to South Italy as the *Pronomos* vase (fig. 88) indicates. A statuette from Athens (fig. 87) representing the same type of masked actor, as those depicted in the villa of Cicero and the fresco from Stabiae, playing cymbals and wearing his mantle knotted in front, testify to the same Greek influence.



Fig. 94. Rome, basilica before the Porta Maggiore, end of the first begin of the second century A.D., relief (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 119, fig 65.

³⁷⁹ Bieber 1961: 87, 92.

³⁸⁰ Fleischhauer 1964: 118-119, no 65.

Three scenes that clearly depict a theatrical environment with the architectural background settings as well as the actors with their masks, the musicians and the chorus are dated to first century A.D. Rome and Pompeii. The first scene is a mosaic from the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii (**fig. 95**)³⁸¹. Against the background with the columns, the garlands, the statuettes and the vases used in the Roman theatres as decorative elements, a group of actors, together with their teacher are awaiting the performance. One of the actors is in costume while the actors' masks are placed on the table in front of him and on a wooden casket in front of the teacher's feet. A male double aulos player, dressed in a white, slightly decorated, long-sleeved floor length chiton, seems to be preparing himself for the performance. He wears a wreath on his head and no mantle and is looking somewhere to the right.

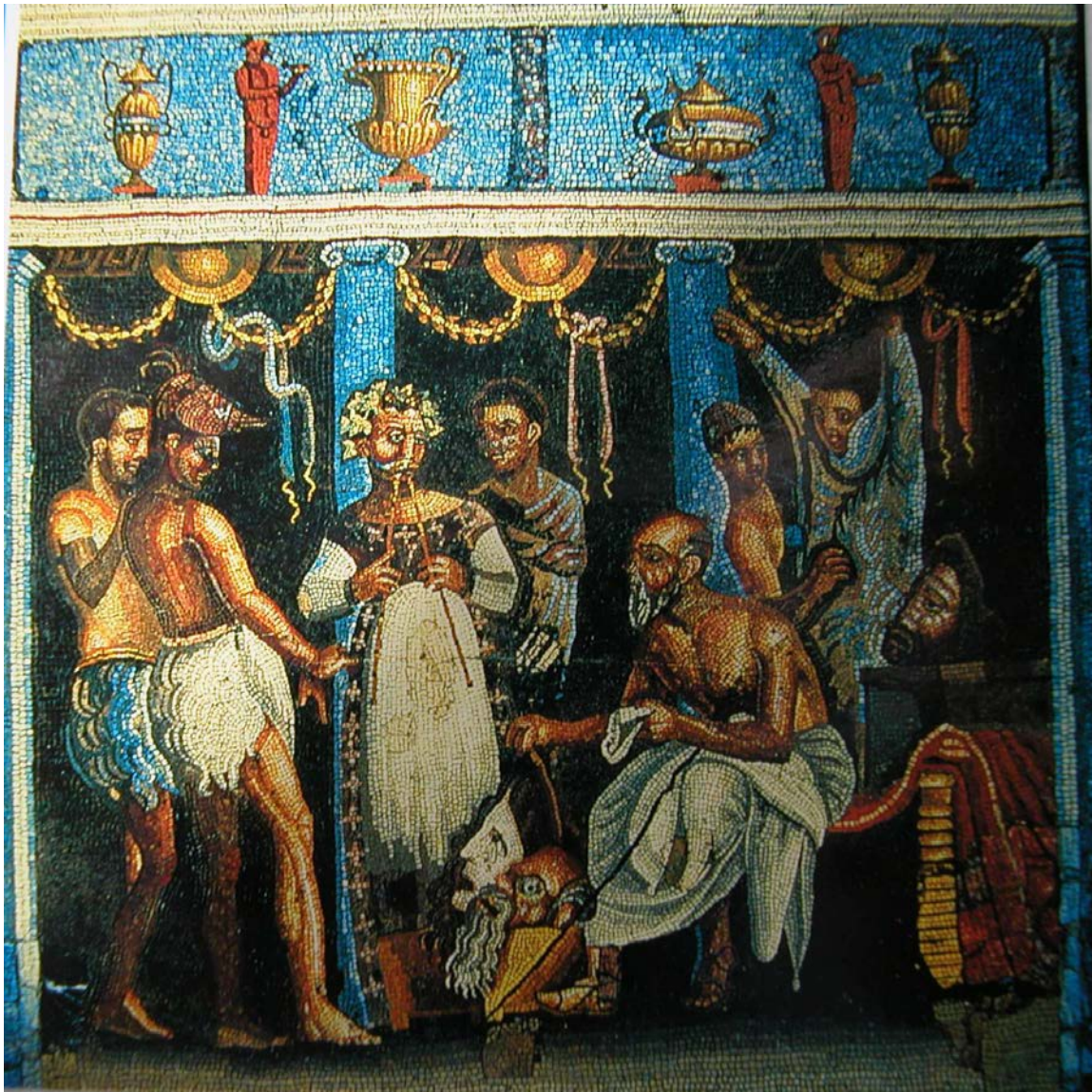


Fig. 95. Pompeii, House of the tragic poet, tablinum, 62-79 A.D., mosaic (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9986). Foto: Kraus 1973: 50, no 49.

³⁸¹ Kraus 1973: 50, no 49.

The archaeological remains of this type of double aulos / tibiae with the long tubes and the fingerholes without the addition of the tuning rings, called *kerata* in Greek, were found during an excavation in the villa of Gaius Vibius at Pompeii and they are dated to the first century A.D. (figs. 96a and 96b)³⁸². The musical instrument is constructed from ivory, silver and bronze while its length is 53cm and 49,60cm and its diameter 2cm. An earlier depiction of this musical instrument is from first century B.C. Pompeii (fig. 133), while its detailed depiction in one more Italian mosaic dated to the second century A.D. (fig. 106) is in complete accordance with the surviving characteristics of the archaeological find, revealing a musical instrument from the contemporary Italian musical life. This type of long aulos seems to co-exist with another short one seen, for example, in banqueting and wedding scenes from classical Greece and Etruscans (see for example figs. 2, 14, 45) until the second century A.D. in sacrificial scenes from Rome (fig. 174).

According to the depictions, tuning rings combined with round additions, called, in Greek, *kerata*, were added to the double aulos with the long tubes improving its playing techniques and sound. The earliest depiction showing this change is dated to first until second century A.D. Rome (fig. 151). The tibia with the long tubes seems to change through the centuries in contrast to the short aulos, which is characterized by Dionysios Halicarnassus as the ancient one³⁸³, and remains unchanged in depictions until the fourth century A.D. (fig. 38).



Fig. 96a. Pompeii, villa of Gaius Vibius, vii, 2, 18, first century A.D., musical instrument (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 76892). Foto: P  ch   / Vendries 2001: 28.



Fig. 96b. Pompeii, villa of Gaius Vibius, first century A.D., musical instrument (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 76893). Foto: P  ch   / Vendries 2001: 28.

³⁸² P  ch   / Vendries 2001: 28.

³⁸³ See the text in p. 92.

One more male double aulos player is depicted among actors on a relief from first century A.D. Villa della Farnesina, Rome (**fig. 97**)³⁸⁴. The musician wears a long chiton and mantle knotted in the front, in the same way as the mantle of the musicians from the villa of Cicero and Stabiae. He turns slightly towards the actors as if accompanying their acting with his music. The left tube of the musical instrument is probably omitted while the pumped cheeks of the player indicate the double reed of the tibiae.

The short chiton and the *chiton malwtos* that is worn under it, covering the whole body of the actor, remind us of the slaves depicted on the South Italian vases of figs. 89, 90 and 91.



Fig. 97. Rome, Villa della Farnesina, first century A.D., relief (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6687).
Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 95, fig. 52.

A cameo of unknown origin dated between 140 and 180 A.D. seems to be a copy of the Villa Farnesina's relief (**fig. 98**)³⁸⁵. The reduced space here caused simplifications in the copy, in contrast to the more detailed prototype. Thus, the background decoration is omitted, while the depiction of the stage is used in order to connect the scene with the theatre. The right hand of the double aulos player is partly destroyed, and with it, the lower part of the double aulos.

³⁸⁴ Kraus 1973: 47, no 44 and Fleischhauer 1964: 94-95, fig. 52 with wrong place of origin and date.

³⁸⁵ Pécché / Vendries 2001: 36 (photo Université de Genève).



Fig. 98. unknown origin, second century A.D., cameo (Geneva, Musee d' art et d' histoire). Foto: P  ch   / Vendries 2001: 36.

A fragmentary sarcophagus relief of unknown origin, dated to the third century A.D. (**fig. 99**)³⁸⁶, portrays a young boy playing a short double aulos that ends in a bore, beside the bust of a masked actor and the surviving part of a second one to his right. The actor wears a type of goatskin chiton under the mantle, shown also in the mosaic from Pompeii (fig. 95) and on a sarcophagus from late Roman Italy depicting the Muses among theatrical masks, double aulos and a lyre (**fig. 100**)³⁸⁷. One of the Muses is wearing the same goatskin chiton together with the mantle.



Fig. 99. unknown origin, third century A.D., sarcophagus relief (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 9059). Foto: *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1995: 53, fig. 32.

³⁸⁶ *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1995: 51-54, no 32.

³⁸⁷ Fleischhauer 1964: 134, 135, fig. 79.



Fig. 100. Italy, late Roman, sarcophagus (Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 135, fig. 79.

One more element which localizes the sarcophagus fragment of fig. 99 to Rome or Italy is the kind of double aulos depicted. The single form of this instrument survives on a number of statues and reliefs dated between the first and the early third century A.D. Rome (figs. 168-175). The statues represent the centaur or satyr element that connects the musical instrument with Dionysos, who is closely related to the theatre and actors. The scenes portrayed on the reliefs represent scenes from daily life, thus the aulos music accompanying the victories of athletes, banquets or sacrificial moments. The organological characteristics are clearly depicted with the use of sculpture. The tube, having fingerholes, is not very long, the mouthpiece seems to be of the clarinet or recorder type and a slight conical bore empowers the produced sound. In addition, its doubled form is again portrayed, in the hands of a satyr depicted with a statue from second century A.D. Rome. All these may indicate a local musical instrument contemporary to the epoch of the artworks, used in the daily musical life of Rome and well known to the artists.

As the literary sources mention the use of the aulos, not only within the theatre but also during a sacrifice, this kind of short wind instrument with the bore could be called a double aulos. This name could be used generally for different types of wind instruments having a double or single tongue or no tongue at all, like the recorder type. The same practice is still in use in Greece where the local clarinet type is called *εϑύαυλος* (straight aulos), the oboe type *οξύαυλος* (high pitched aulos) and a type of recorder is called an aulos.

A tomb stone relief, found in via Appia in Rome and dated to the same century, is dedicated, according to the inscription, to Myropnus the choraulēs (**fig. 101**)³⁸⁸. A dwarf with an enormous head in contrast to his crippled short legs is depicted holding a double aulos. The musician is dressed in a long tunic and mantle that fastens under the breast and wears shoes. The type of double aulos is that with the *kerata*, the rings used for a multiple tuning of the instrument. This improvement is depicted from the first century A.D. on. The inscription reads ΜΥΡΟΠΝΟΥΙ ΝΑΝΩ ΧΟΡΑΥΛΗ ('to dwarf Myropnus the choraulē'). The etymology of the word choraulēs describes the aulos player who accompanies the chorus, thus the dancing chorus in the Greek classical tragedy. There is no literary reference to chorauleis in the contemporary texts even if an aulos player is referred to by Novatianus as accompanying the dance in the theatre and the related depictions that show a double aulos player beside the actors.



Fig. 101. Rome, via Appia, third century A.D., tomb stone relief (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi). Foto: Bieber 1961: 412, fig. 544.

In the time of the Emperor Augustus the calendar (*fasti*) tells us that secular festivals were celebrated over 60 days, during the year. They always began with scenic plays and were

³⁸⁸ Dütschke 1878: 166-167, no 335 and Bieber 1961: 412, fig. 544 (photo German archaeological institute, Rome, no 4674).

followed by circus performances. For example, in 17 B.C., Greek scenic plays were held in the Circus Flaminius, along with Greek thymelic plays in the theatre of Pompeii. These were followed by seven days of circus races. The common word used for both the horse races and the theatrical shows (*ludi*: games) until the third century A.D. distinguish their public display of power as events organized and sponsored by the state in contrast to the *munera*, thus the obligatory offerings on the death of important men, in the form of gladiatorial contests organized and paid for privately. Cicero recorded this in 52 B.C. (*De legibus* ii.38).

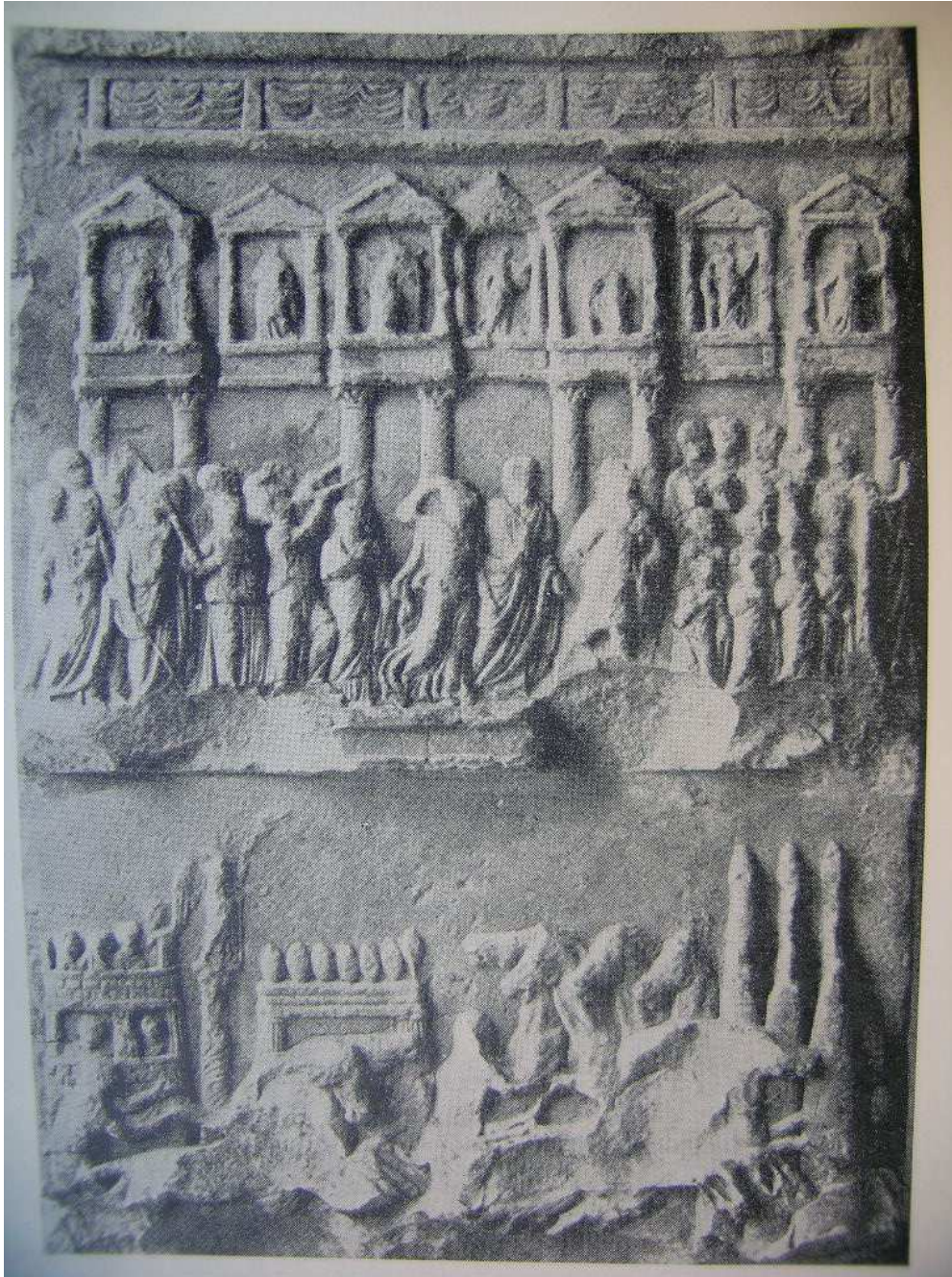


Fig. 102. Italy, basilica of the Castle of S. Elia near Rome, first century A.D., marble relief, (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 109, fig. 60.

A relief from the basilica of the castle of Santo Elia near Rome dated to the same century (**fig. 102**)³⁸⁹ portrays, in the upper zone, a theatrical scene and, in the lower one, circus races. This connection between the games is clearly depicted in this relief. The upper zone portrays interesting elements.

The participants of the theatrical games gather in front of an architectural setting with columns and niches decorated with statuettes. To the right, is depicted a chorus of twelve members, wearing long chitons, organized in three rows. According to Fleischhauer the two front rows consist of female singers while at the back, the male ones accompany them. The relief is too damaged for such conclusions. Beside them, to the left, is depicted an actor with a mask, two male figures dressed in togas, and among them, a female dancing figure, while a double aulos player and a syrinx player follow in front of a group of figures, two of which hold *fascēs*. According to Bieber this could be a scene of *praetexta*, a play given in the Roman *toga*³⁹⁰.

As far as the musicians are concerned, the double aulos player seems to use a *scabellum* with his left foot (*scabillarius*). This musical instrument, known among the Greeks as *kroupeza*, was used to keep the rhythm during dancing, while from the first century B.C. it became known in Italy, as the philological and pictorial sources testify³⁹¹.



Fig. 102. Detail of the double aulos player with scabellum and the syrinx player.

³⁸⁹ Fleischhauer 1964: 108, 109, fig. 60 and Bieber 1961: 180, 235, fig. 629.

³⁹⁰ Bieber 1961: 235.

³⁹¹ See the chapter for the scabellum.

5.4.1 Depictions with theatrical masks and musical instruments

A number of depictions representing theatrical masks and musical instruments may give us information about the musical instruments used within the theatre. The lyre and the double aulos referred to by Cicero are seen beside theatrical masks on a gladiatorial helmet (fig. 80) found in the colonnaded square area behind the stage of the big theatre in Pompeii that hosted gladiatorial contests. The helmet represents the Muses and a Pan with his syrinx, while the upper left and right-hand sides are decorated with a composition of musical instruments: a lyre, a double aulos and a syrinx for the left side, and a lyre and a double aulos placed on a wooden casket for the right side.

Theatrical masks placed on caskets and accompanied musical instruments are also portrayed on two marble reliefs found in the perystil of the Casa Degli Amorini Dorati in Pompeii and dated to the first century A.D. (**figs. 103 and 104**)³⁹². On the first relief three masks are placed on caskets and one is placed on the floor. Beside the last mask a tympanon with a kind of ribbon (?) is depicted. The ribbon is hanging from the upper part of the frame and reaches to the middle of both sides of the frame. On the second relief four masks are shown on caskets decorated with textiles, while a fifth is placed on the floor. Beside the last mask a lyre is portrayed lying on its left side, probably because of the lack of space. In the background, in the middle of the four masks a syrinx hangs from a crook giving a Dionysian dimension to the scene.



Fig. 103. Pompeii, Casa degli amorini dorati, VI 16,7 peristyle, first century A.D., marble relief (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 20462). Foto: *Riscoprire Pompei* 1993: 311, no 234.

³⁹² *Riscoprire Pompei* 1993: 311, no 234.



Fig. 104. Pompeii, Casa degli amorini dorati, VI 16,7 peristyle, first century A.D., marble relief (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 20463). Foto: *Riscoprire Pompei* 1993: 311, no 234.

A contemporary fresco from the villa della Farnesina in Rome portrays theatrical masks together with a winged tympanon and other theatrical attributes (**fig. 105**)³⁹³. The mask of the old man is placed on a base against which rests a blue coloured winged tympanon. Two more Silenus masks are depicted on the background together with a bull's head, a vase and a pedum to the left. The winged tympanon is connected with the theatrical scenes from the time of the early Republic, as far as the area of South Italy is concerned, while it could be connected with funeral theatrical plays as is testified to by later depictions discussed below.



Fig. 105. Rome, Villa della Farnesina, first century B.C.-first century A.D., fresco (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1231). Foto: *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1982: 339, pl. 231.

³⁹³ *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1982: 339, pl. 231.



Fig. 106. Rome, Aventine Hill, Villa Andriana, baths of Decious, second century A.D., mosaic (Rome, Musei Capitolini, 392). Foto: Wikimedia Commons.

An impressive mosaic dated to the second century A.D. Rome portrays two theatrical masks and a pair of tibiae that stand against the background wall (**fig. 106**)³⁹⁴. The mask to the left represents a young female figure, while the one to the right, an old wreathed male figure. Both masks have an open mouth and very expressive characteristics, and they are placed on a base (maybe a box) higher than the floor. The most interesting element is the depiction of the tibiae, which are so realistically portrayed with details found the same on the archaeological finds of a pair of the same type of tibia from first century A.D. Pompeii (figs. 96 and 97).

5.4.2 Hung musical instruments: The cult of Dionysos and Cybele

The syrinx hanging from the crook, as well as the simultaneous depiction of a lyre and / or tympanon of figs. 103 and 104 resembles that depicted on three silver cups related to Dionysian imagery and all dated to the first century A.D. The places of origin of the cups are uncertain.

The first cup is to be found in Asia Minor (**fig. 107**)³⁹⁵. The cup depicts four theatrical masks on a landscape, along with wine vessels and musical instruments: a lyre, a syrinx and cymbals. Two wine vessels are placed, each on a base, while the theatrical masks are placed

³⁹⁴ Péché / Vendries 2001: 28.

³⁹⁵ Kondoleon 2000: 186, no 69, Stern 1995: 85, fig. 57 and Stefanelli 1991: 10-11, figs. 9-12, 254, no 14.

on caskets (?) or on the floor. A pair of cymbals and a leopard skin are hung from a tree. Under the tree a lyre is placed beside a theatrical mask and a corb with fruit hanging from a pedum. The wine vessels, as well as the masks that represent satyrs, Silenus, Pan and a wild haired man, connect the cup with the theatre and the festivities related to Dionysus.



Fig. 107a. Asia Minor, 10-50 A.D., silver cup (Toledo, The Toledo Museum of arts, 1961.9). Foto: Kondoleon 2000: 186, fig. 69.



Fig. 107b. Foto: Stern 1995: 85, fig. 57.



Fig. 107c. Foto: Stern 1995: 85, fig. 57.

Two silver cups from the Hildesheim treasure (**fig. 108**)³⁹⁶ and (**fig. 109**)³⁹⁷, with place of origin possibly Gallia, show theatrical masks, musical instruments and symbols that connect the depictions with Dionysus and the theatre.

The first cup shows theatrical masks on wooden caskets or tables with three legs (*tripoda*) placed under trees where musical instruments such as a syrinx, a pair of cymbals and a Phrygian double aulos are hung. Between the three masks surrounded by the trees with the hanging Phrygian aulos and pedum is placed a statue of a man on a base. The remaining space is occupied by a type of low wall divided with columns and decorated with garlands, musical instruments such as an elymos, a lituus or horn (?) and a winged tympanon, while masks are placed at each end and in the middle. A lyre is depicted beside a theatrical mask under the tree with the hanging cymbals while attributes of the Dionysian cult, such as a thyrsos, a pedum, a kantharos, a basket of fruit and a panther fill in the remaining space. The lower part of the cup is decorated with leaves.

³⁹⁶ *Hildesheimer Silberfund* 1997: 46-47, no 13; Kraus 1967: 277, fig. 369a and Bruns 1946: 38-40, fig. 32.

³⁹⁷ *Hildesheimer Silberfund* 1997: 48, no 14.



Fig. 108a. Gallia (?), beginning of the first century A.D., silver cup with gold (Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779, 13) side a. Foto: Kraus 1967: 277, fig. 369a.



Fig. 108b, side b. Foto: *Hildesheimer Silberfund* 1997: 47, fig. 13.



Fig. 108c, side c. Foto: Bruns 1946: 40, fig. 32.



Fig. 109. Gallia (?), beginning of the first century A.D., silver cup with gold (Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779.14). Foto: *Hildesheimer Silberfund* 1997: 48, fig 14.

The second cup of the treasure resembles the first, forming a pair. The elements are depicted in basically the same way with the difference being that instead of the hanging elymos there is a hanging winged tympanon, while a goat is added in front of the low wall. The rest of the musical instruments represented are: a hanging pair of cymbala and a syrinx and one more winged tympanon placed at one edge of the wall. The Dionysian attributes, for example the thyrsos, rhyta, basket of fruit and the tripod are presented as on the first cup.

Some elements depicted on the cups are interesting. The type of low wall reminds us of the brick wall under the scenae of Greek Hellenistic theatres³⁹⁸. This is the only reason why this decorative element is used along with the theatrical masks indicating the theatre.

The earliest representation showing a musical instrument hanging on a tree is that on a glass kamee from the triclinium of the House of Fabius Rufus, in Pompeii dated from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. (**fig. 110**)³⁹⁹. The scene portrays Dionysus holding a thyrsos, Bacchae with tympana, a hanging syrinx on the tree, a Silenus, a wine vessel, and a winged eros placing a piece of textile on the tree.

A syrinx hanging from a pedum is depicted on the relief of one side of the hexagonal altar, showing Dionysian attributes, from the first century A.D. Skythopolis (Beth-Shean), Israel (**fig. 111**)⁴⁰⁰. During the same century, a winged tympanon hanging on a tree is represented on a mosaic from Italy showing a scene of comedy with a masked actor finding a baby (**fig. 112**)⁴⁰¹. The mosaic is too fragmentary for more details.

During the second century A.D. a syrinx will be represented hung on a tree that is used as a base supporting the statue of a centaur. The statue was found in the villa Hadriana of Tivoli, Rome (**fig. 113**)⁴⁰². A relief with unknown origin, now lost, is dated to the same century, showing a satyr and a sleeping Maenad under a tree where a tympanon is hung (**fig. 114**)⁴⁰³. The Maenad is seminude, according to Hellenistic prototypes.

A syrinx hung on a tree is depicted among putti collecting grapes and the figure of the Good Shepherd in the middle of a sarcophagus dated to the third century A.D. and found in the catacombe of Praetextatus, Rome (**fig. 189**). This work may reveal the transitional phase during which the Dionysian motif of the hanging syrinx is combined with the bucolic motif of the shepherd that, here, also functions as a symbol of Christ (The Good Shepherd).

³⁹⁸ See for example in Bieber 1961: 112, fig. 427.

³⁹⁹ *Unter dem Vulkan* 1995: 166, fig. 56.

⁴⁰⁰ Braun 1991: 109, 110, fig. 1 (with bibliography).

⁴⁰¹ Andrae 2003: 245, fig. 245 and Bieber 1961: 104, fig. 401.

⁴⁰² Kraus 1967: 247, fig. 269.

⁴⁰³ *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1986: 283-285, no ix,5.



Fig. 110. Pompeii, House of Fabius Rufus vii, 16, 22, triclinium, first century B.C. – first century A.D., glass kamee (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, I 53651 / I 53652). Foto: *Unter dem Vulkan* 1995: 166, fig. 56.

Two centuries later, a syrinx hung on a tree will be represented for the last time, among shepherds and their flock on a sarcophagus from fifth century A.D. Arles, France (fig. 191). The Dionysian connection to the musical instrument has vanished and the hanging syrinx is, from the third century on, firmly related to shepherds and bucolic life⁴⁰⁴. Thus, the syrinx, not hanging, which was connected with shepherds in Hellenistic works⁴⁰⁵ is now, through a new motif, again connected with them.

⁴⁰⁴ For more see the chapter of bucolics.

⁴⁰⁵ See for example the statue of the sleeping shepherd among his goats fig. 185.



Fig. 111. Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean), first century A.D., altar (Jerusalem, Hebraic University). Foto: Braun 1991: 110, fig. 1



Fig. 112. Italy, second half of the first century A.D., mosaic fragment (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4146, from the collection Santangelo). Foto: Andreae 2003: 245, fig. 245.



Fig. 113. Rome, Villa Hadriana of Tivoli, statue, second century A.D., (Rome, Musei Capitolini, 656). Foto: Kraus 1967: 247, fig. 269.

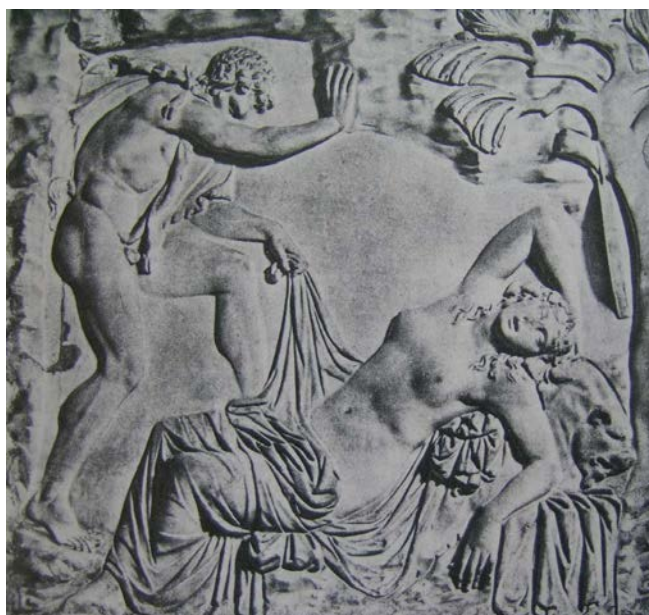


Fig. 114. unknown origin, second century A.D., relief (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, lost). Foto: *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1986: 284, fig. ix,5.

The hanging syrinx and tympanon are connected with the Dionysian cult, not only throughout the area of Italy but also of Syria, where the Dionysian mysteries were intensively cultivated. Only the hanging syrinx is also connected with shepherds in a motif that tends to replace the Dionysian one.

Of course, the lyre, the syrinx and the cymbals are connected, at least from the first century B.C. on, with the Dionysian mysteries, as shown on the fresco from the villa of the

Mysteries, Pompeii dated during this century (fig. 144), while the Phrygian auloi, the tympanon and the cymbals are related to the cult of Cybele, which came to Rome during 205 B.C. through Minor Asia. A relief dated to the second century A.D. Rome, testifies to this connection, showing a priest of Cybele along with a Phrygian double aulos and a tympanon and a pair of cymbals hanging on the background wall (fig. 115)⁴⁰⁶.



Fig. 115. Rome, second century A.D., relief (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 85, fig. 47.

One century later, an altar dedicated, according to the inscription, to Magna Mater (Cybele) and Attis will testify to the connection of the hanging attributes, and among them the hanging musical instruments, with the cult of the Asian Cybele. The altar was found at San Sebastiano of via Appian in Rome and it is dated to 295 A.D. (fig. 116)⁴⁰⁷. On one side Cybele sits on a chariot drawn by two lions and Attis leans against the holy pine tree. They each hold a tympanon. The second side shows the holy tree decorated with the attributes of Cybele's cult. Below the tree are placed the decorated ram and bull ready for the bloody sacrifices that took place during the festivities. Among the hanged attributes a pair of cymbals and a syrinx are placed on the tree. The syrinx is connected with the cult of Cybele on the

⁴⁰⁶ Fleischhauer 1964: 84, 85, fig. 47.

⁴⁰⁷ *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1992: 234-236, no 337, pl. 152, 153.

monument of Modius Maximus of Ostia, a high priest of Cybele, where a tambourine, an elymos and a syrinx are portrayed⁴⁰⁸.

The presence of the Attis figure beside Cybele's indicates a combination of both cults⁴⁰⁹, while a statue of Attis from second century B.C. Amphipolis, Greece (fig. 117)⁴¹⁰ which represents him holding a syrinx, connects him with this musical instrument. Nevertheless, the syrinx could be a borrowed musical instrument from the Dionysian cult with which Cybele's cult was connected.



Fig. 116a. Rome, Via Appia, San Sebastiano, 295 A.D., altar (Rome, Villa Albani, 208/215). Foto: *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1992: pl. 152.

⁴⁰⁸ Dölger 1927: vol. iv, pl. 168.

⁴⁰⁹ A contemporary relief exhibited in Louvre testifies to the same connection by representing the holy pine tree of Attis with the hung musical instruments of Cybele's cult in Rohden / Winnefeld 1911: pl. cxxii 1.

⁴¹⁰ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 217, no 101.



Fig. 116b. Foto: *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1992: pl. 153.

This last element is clearly revealed by the motif of the hanging musical instruments portrayed among Dionysian scenes not earlier than the first century B.C. and in works from the area of Italy where the cult of Cybele became known. It will not be earlier than the third century A.D. that the use of the hung attributes will be clearly connected with the cult of Cybele as is shown on the altar relief from Rome. The depiction of the hanging musical instruments within Dionysian scenes will be a borrowed element from the cult of the Magna Mater, as a result of the two popular cults being mixed together. The motif will travel through the Empire, especially through the east part of Syria and Cyprus, where the Dionysian cult was especially cultivated.

The blend of the two cults can also be seen on an altar relief found under the Palazzo dei Convertendi near St. Peter's square in Rome where the holy pine tree of Cybele is decorated with Dionysian musical instruments: a tambourine and a five-reed syrinx. A double aulos

leans against the trunk. On the left side the pine tree is decorated with cymbals, a Phrygian medal and a four-reeded syrinx⁴¹¹.

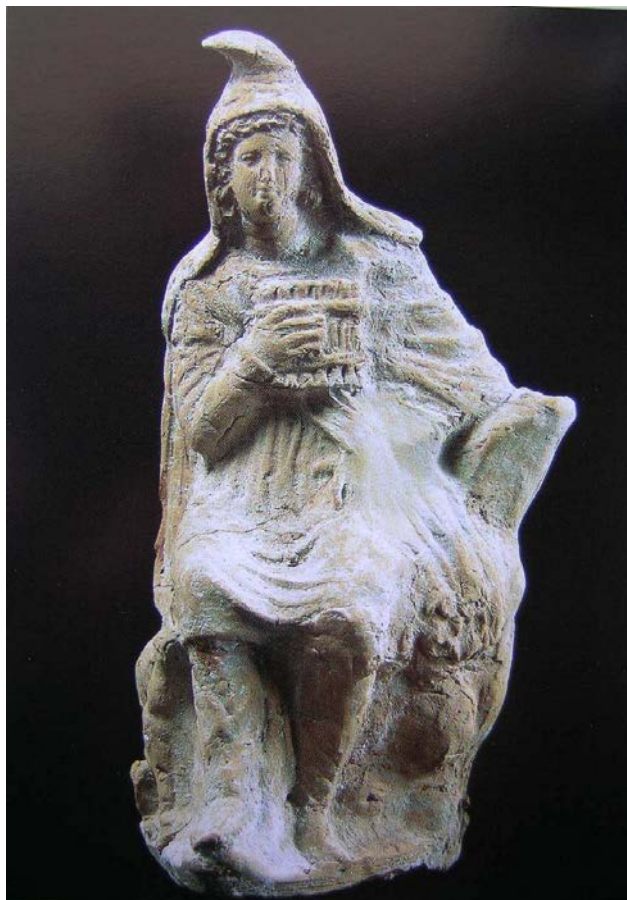


Fig. 117. Greece, Amphipolis, second century B.C., statue (Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum, 2748). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 217, no 101.

All the musical instruments shown on the cups: the syrinx, the lyre, the Phrygian double aulos, the cymbals and the tympanon are related, in scenes found on Roman sarcophagi, to the Dionysian cult; for example, on the sarcophagus from second century A.D. Rome showing Dionysos in procession along with a Silenus playing the Phrygian double aulos and scabellum, a Maenad playing tympanon and a pair of cymbals lying on the floor below Silenus (**fig. 118**)⁴¹². The same musical instruments are related, in scenes dated from the second century B.C. on, to theatrical scenes. The only difference is that on the cup of the Hildesheim treasure the hanging double aulos is Phrygian, an element that is for the first time connected with masks. There is one more example with a Phrygian double aulos connected with masks but the aulos is tied to a pedum and not hung from a tree, accompanied by a syrinx and portrayed in a Dionysian environment with masks of satyrs, a goat, a panther a

⁴¹¹ Rome, altar (Rome, Lateran Museum, hall 5, no 342) in Marucchi 1921: pl. iii 2-3.

⁴¹² Fleischhauer 1964: 78, 79, fig. 40.

snake and a mystic cyst on a basis relief from the Villa Albani in Rome dated with uncertainty between the first and second century A.D. (**fig. 119**)⁴¹³.

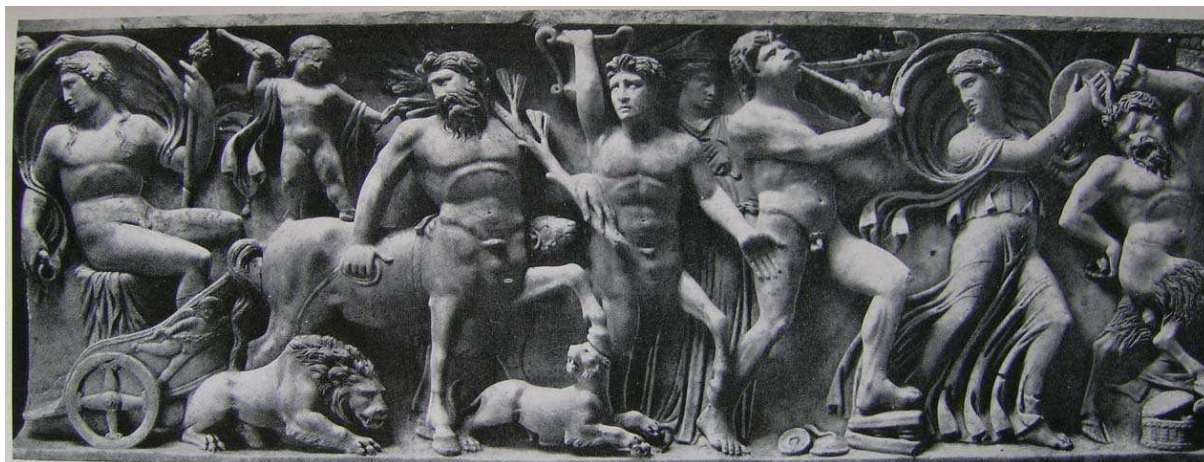


Fig. 118. Rome, second century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 79, fig. 40.

The Dionysian environment of the scene, in combination with the theatrical masks and the presence of the hanging Phrygian double aulos may reveal not only the mixed cults of Dionysus and Cybele, an element revealed by the use of the Phrygian aulos, the cymbals and the tympanon in Roman scenes with Dionysian subject matter, but also give us a hint about the connection of the festivals dedicated to Cybele with the theatre, element known from the second century B.C. on, when the *ludi Megalenses* (Magna Mater) were accompanied by scenic plays.



Fig. 119. Rome, first – second century A.D., basis relief (Rome, Villa Albani, 370). Foto: *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1998, vol. 5: pl. 96,1.

⁴¹³ *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1998, vol. 5: 247-251, no 733, pl. 96-97.

Not only the musical instruments shown on the cups but also the presence of the goat may indicate the cult of Cybele as during the festivities, that began and ended during Spring, a bull or a goat were possibly offered⁴¹⁴. Later, Cybele was celebrated through the whole year.

Now an assumption can be made: the use of the hanging musical instruments could have been brought to Italy together with the cult of Cybele. Later, the celebrations for Dionysos and Cybele are blended and both connected with theatre. The festivals for Cybele were accompanied by scenic plays, while the Dionysian subject matter was favorite among the actors.

5.4.3 Winged tympanon

The connection of the winged tympanon with theatrical performances is testified to, for the area of Italy, from the fourth century B.C. when a winged tympanon is painted on the background wall, behind the actors, in a scene on a vase from South Italy, dated after 330 B.C. (fig. 89). Its presence within theatrical scenes will continue till the first century A.D. in art works from Pompeii (fig. 92), Stabiae (fig. 93) and Rome (fig. 105). Its earliest depiction in a Dionysian scene on an Attic crater dated between the fifth and the fourth century B.C.⁴¹⁵ will testify a Greek influence applied not only to contemporary and later Dionysian sacrificial scenes from Apulia (fig. 143) and Rome (fig. 154) but also to the theatrical ones.

Even though the winged tympanon is portrayed in scenes found in other places such as Attica, Tunis⁴¹⁶, Antioch⁴¹⁷, Iran⁴¹⁸, Thessalonike⁴¹⁹ and Piazza Armerina⁴²⁰, it will not be anywhere other than Italy that it will be depicted within scenes from everyday life. Outside Italy it will be present only within scenes of Dionysian imagery, while in the scenes from Rome the winged tympanon will be connected, especially, with the funeral theatrical plays. This practice seems to have been imported from Greece into South Italy as shows an Apulian

⁴¹⁴ More about Cybele see in Takacs 1999: 952-956.

⁴¹⁵ Bacchae with winged tympana, neo-Attic crater, fifth to fourth century B.C. (Paris: Musée du Louvre) in Alinari ACA-F-23690.

⁴¹⁶ Maenad with winged tympanon in Dionysiac scene, Tunis, El-Djem (Thysdrus), roman house, middle of the second century A.D., floor mosaic (Tunis, Musée National du Bardo) in Krau 1967: 269, fig. 345 / Dionysos with winged tympanon among his followers, Tunis, Sousse (Hadrumetum), floor mosaic in Bandinelli 1971: 233, fig. 215.

⁴¹⁷ Maenad with winged tympanon in a Dionysiac panel among the boat of Psyche and masks, Antioch, House of the boat of Psyche, triclinio, second to third century A.D., floor mosaic (Antakya: Museum of Antakya) in Cimok 2000: 156-164 and Levi 1947: 167.

⁴¹⁸ Antiope with winged tympanon and satyr, Seleucia (Zeugma), House of Poseidon, third century A.D., floor mosaic (Istanbul: Gaziantep Museum) in Önal 2002: 42-43.

⁴¹⁹ Maenad with winged tympano, Greece, Thessalonike, Gregoriou Palama street, third century A.D., floor mosaic (in situ) in *Dons des Muses* 2003: 188, no 78.

⁴²⁰ Winged tympanon and syrinx as decorative elements beside hunting young figures, Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Roman villa, third to fourth century A.D., floor mosaic (in situ) in Kähler 1973: pl. 41.

amphora dated to the fourth century B.C.⁴²¹ portraying a scene with the funeral of Patrocles . Later, after Etruscans captured Rome, the custom started to be depicted on art works from the powerful city.



Fig. 120. Rome, Funeral plays for Flavius Valerianus, third century A.D., tomb stone relief (Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili). Foto: Bieber 1961: 239, fig. 788.

After the fragmentary mosaic of the first century A.D. showing a masked actor below a hanging winged tympanon (fig. 112) the next representation of the musical instrument within a funeral theatrical environment will be a tombstone relief from third century A.D. Rome (**fig. 120**)⁴²² now in the villa Doria Pamphili, Rome, where the funeral plays for Flavius Valerianus are represented. Behind the bust of Flavius Valerianus is a small shrine with primitive figures of his ancestors as they were kept in the atria of patrician houses and exhibited on the occasion of a funeral. A kithara player is depicted next to a reciter holding a scroll. In the middle to the left, the main tragic hero is dressed in a long-sleeved robe that girds under the breast. He wears a mask with long twisted locks and he holds a club in his left hand. A young actor follows to the left holding a torch. Between them a young boy holds a winged tympanon placed on a wooden casket⁴²³. On the background, to the left, a female mask is depicted and to the right a male figure indentified by Bieber as a singer.

The same winged tympanon is represented on a contemporary sarcophagus relief from Italy that depicts a scene of tragedy (**fig. 121**)⁴²⁴. Four actors are shown. Two are placed to the right edge in front of a door and a curtain. They are dressed in a high girded chiton and mantle and masks with wide openings for the mouth, high onkos and a broad fillet over their curly hair. Beside them a young boy in a short tunic, probably a slave, brings a casket

⁴²¹ See the female figure holding a winged tympanon in a scene portraying the funeral of Patrocles, Apulia, South Italy, fourth century B.C., amphora (Naples: Museo Archaeologico Nazionale) in Alinari: AGC-F-496.

⁴²² Bieber 1961: 239, fig. 788.

⁴²³ The tympanon is misunderstood by Bieber who is referring to a hydraulis.

⁴²⁴ Bieber 1961: 250, fig. 832a-b.

stopping under its weight. To the left two more figures are represented. One is kneeling and he holds something like a *pedum*, while the other stands beside him holding a mantle with his right hand. They both wear fur chitons (*chiton malōtos*) under their mantles like the actors of figs. 89, 90 and 91. The kneeling man and the man to his right are wearing tights from the same fur. Between them a winged tympanon is placed.



Fig. 832a-b. Tragic scene. Fragments from marble sarcophagus, Louvre

Fig. 121. Italy, third century A.D., sarcophagus relief (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3192-3, Collection Campana). Foto: Bieber 1961: 250, fig. 832a-b.

According to Bieber the scene is possibly taken from funeral plays, during which some scene from tragedy was performed. The presence of the winged tympanon supports Bieber's assumption, even if she interprets, wrongly, in both cases (see fig. 120), the winged tympanon as a hydraulis. As the winged tympanon is depicted within the theatrical scene the sarcophagus fragments could be originated to Rome.

A group of so-called contorniate medallions (because of a narrow circular depression around the rim) all from between late fourth and the mid fifth century A.D. Rome portray on one side heads of contemporary emperors, a divinity, or a famous literary figure and on the reverse side scenes taken from the amphitheatre, the circus or the theatre. The most that can be said about them is that they must have a connection with the games. One of these medallions, dated to the fifth century A.D. (425-55), shows the head of Valentinianus III on the one side along with the figure of a winged tympanon and the inscription D N PLA VALENTINIANUS D F AUG and on the reverse side, probably the figure of a pantomime⁴²⁵ holding a victory crown or garland accompanied by a small winged figure symbolizing

⁴²⁵ As proved by Jory 1996: 7, fig. 1.

victory and the inscription MARGARITA VINCAS ('victory to Margarites') which confirms that the scene represents a competitive performance (**fig. 122**)⁴²⁶.



Fig. 122. Rome, Valentinianus iii, 425-55 A.D., contorniate medallion (private collection). Foto: Alföldi / Alföldi 1976: pl. 189.6.

The presence of the winged tympanon together with the head of the emperor and not together with the figure of the pantomime may suggest funeral theatrical games in honour of the dead emperor as the figure of the winged tympanon is connected with funeral plays in the works discussed above. The musical instrument is used as a symbol beside the head of the emperor and not as an attribute of the actor.

The presence of the hydraulis or of the organon within a theatrical competitive context is testified to by a medallion from Orange, Lyon dated to the late second to early third century A.D. that represents a hydraulis or an organ between a pantomime and a prayer for victory (**fig. 123**)⁴²⁷. The pantomime to the right wears a long tunic and pallium and carries a double thyrus in the left hand and a female mask with a closed mouth in the right hand. On the left a small figure holds a scroll (?) in his left hand and, in his right hand, a long palm. The inscription reads NICA PARTHENOPAEI ('victory to Parthenopaeus'). The hydraulis or organon depicted between them is represented only with the upper part consisting of seven auloi descending to the right and joined together with a horizontal stripe, part of the keyboard and a small base underneath.

The combination of the thyrus, as one of the characteristic symbols of the Dionysiac mysteries, along with the theatrical mask is interpreted by Jory as one more indication

⁴²⁶ Alföldi / Alföldi 1976: 152, no 466, pl. 189.6.

⁴²⁷ Jory 1996: 9, fig. 4.

showing that the story of Dionysus was a favorite theme among pantomimes. In addition, the co-existence of the palm and the victorious inscription suggest that the medallion is connected with a stage production where the hydraulis or the organon could play an important role in accompanying the pantomimic dance, and is for this reason depicted here.



Fig. 123. Orange, Lyon, late second to early third century A.D., medallion (St.-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 31673). Foto: Jory 1996: 9, fig. 4.

The presence of a syrinx, a tibia, a cornu and a tympanon are shown on another medallion, this time from Geneva, dated ca. to the third century A.D. (**fig. 124**)⁴²⁸. A semi-nude male dancer facing left, wearing a bonnet (or Phrygian cap?) and an animal skin holds a female theatrical mask with a diadem and a closed mouth in his right hand. In the left hand he holds a thyrus. On the left in the foreground is a syrinx and in the centre a container full of grapes and around them a tibia, a cornu and a tympanon.

The Dionysian elements of the scene are combined with musical instruments depicted in Dionysian scenes such as the syrinx, tibia and tympanon, while cornu is for the first time included not only within a theatrical environment but also within a Dionysian one. This

⁴²⁸ Jory 1996: 10-11, fig. 6.

should be an artistic inspiration as no other sources testify its use in the theatrical competitions and performances or during Dionysian mysteries.



Fig. 124. Geneva, ca. third century A.D., medallion (Geneva, Musée d' art et d' histoire, MAHC 1551). Foto: Jory 1996: 11, fig. 6.

The latest depiction showing a pantomime has its probable origin in Egypt and it is dated to the early sixth century A.D. (**fig. 125**)⁴²⁹. The ivory plaque depicts a female figure wearing a high-girt chiton and mantle. On her head she wears a cap decorated with ribbons. She carries a sword and she holds three masks in her right hand and a lyre in her left. The three masks are probably used for the different roles that a pantomime played within a performance. The lyre is depicted with seven strings, the middle three of which are longer. The resonator has two circular openings to both sides, an element that could be an artistic invention of the craftsman. An acanthus border encircles the carved figure.

Even though neither pantomimes nor mimes of the epoch played a musical instrument because of their task of dancing and presenting the narration with their body, the artist puts a lyre in the hand of the portrayed pantomime, probably, in order to manifest the important role of music and of the musical instrument during the performance along with the other attributes of the actor depicted, the masks and the sword. Even if men usually performed the roles of pantomime, after the fourth century A.D. when pantomimes became especially popular, women pantomimes gained fame, resulting in a great number of statues being left behind.

⁴²⁹ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 262, no 245.

This ivory carving was probably created with the same essence of monumentality rather than a need for reality.



Fig. 125. Egypt (?), early sixth century A.D., ivory plaque (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, 2497). Foto: *The age of spirituality* 1979: 262, no 245.

CHAPTER VI

*Musical contests***6.1 Introduction**

The earliest evidence of a contest including a prize is dated to the Geometrical period when a Greek enochoe inscribed as an award for a dancing competition is dated⁴³⁰. The earliest archives referring to a musical contest are dated a century later to seventh century B.C. Sparta, Greece⁴³¹. The musical contests were, during classical Antiquity, part of a festival including a procession, sacrifice, dramatical, musical and poetical contests. From the Hellenistic epoch on the number of festivals increased throughout the whole East Mediterranean, while the musical contests, inherited from the past, were varied with new ones, sometimes using musical instruments well known from the classical past, and sometimes including new inventions. One more innovation would be the addition of athletic contests as the texts and the depictions attest.

According to the literary information, the competitions in drama, poetry, dance, double aulos and kithara maintained during Roman times carried on from the classical past to the present. In addition, new types of competitions incorporating the salpinx, a well-known instrument from classical times on, as well as on the newly-invented hydraulis take place together with competitions on the two new types of performers: the upcoming mimes and pantomimes who are competing beside the inherited tragic and comic actors.

The widened program of the Roman competitions, mentioned in the literary sources, cannot be clearly distinguished through the surviving scenes on the archaeological finds because of their fragmentary character. On one hand, the archaeological material, dated to the classical period, consists of a small number of painted vases where a focus on the competition-winner, kithara or double aulos player surrounded by the judges, the Nike and the trophies of his victory (wreaths and / or vessels) characterises all the scenes.

On the other hand, the Roman depictions include three mosaics, while among them one is destroyed and only its sketch is known to us, where the new types of competitions on salpinx, hydraulis, in pantomimes and athletics can be identified among the inherited theatrical and instrumental competitions placed together, as referred to in the texts, as being part of the same festival. Therefore, the character of the festivals did not change but varied

⁴³⁰ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 236-237, no 11412.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*: 53.

from classical epoch till Roman times though the difference in the collected artistic material representing each epoch, with its limitations and capabilities in depicting a wider crowded scene or a focused one, is what underlines the type of scene depicted. This does not happen with the literary sources that contain more detailed and realistic musical information which does not find always a counterpart among the depictions.

For example, Roman literary references to competing puppet showmen (*θαυματοποιός*) and winner *psaltes* (*ψάλτες*), an adjective connected with the playing of a stringed musical instrument without a *plektron* such as a *psalterion* (type of harp) or *trigwnon* (type of harp), are not depicted among the scenes.

6.2 From Archaic to classical Greece

The term *mousicos agon* (musical contest) was not connected only with the musical and poetical competitions but had a more general meaning which also included the dancing performances and of course the dramatical ones. Information about competitions and awards survive from the Geometrical period onwards⁴³². The earliest archaeological evidence of an award for a dancing competition is a ceramic oinochoe from eight century B.C. Dipylo, Greece⁴³³ on which an epigram awards the vase to the best dancer.

The results of the competitions were so important that they were kept in the archives of the organizer city. The earliest archives of musical competitions are from Sparta, Greece where the festival called Karnea began in 676- 673 B.C.⁴³⁴. During this century musical competitions were also taking place in other parts of Greece such as Argos, Arkadia, Delos, Mesene and Paros. During 586 B.C. the festival called Pythia started at Delfi. The program included important musical contests. During the same century two more festivals including musical contests were introduced, the Isthmia (582 B.C.) and the Nemea (572 B.C.).

During 586 B.C. the aulos player Sakadas introduced the double aulos (*auletike*) to the competition⁴³⁵, while during 558 B.C. the competition for the kithara (*kitharistike*) was introduced in imitation to the double aulos contest. There were two types of musical competitions: the *stefanites*, which were characterised as holy (*ieroi*) and has wreaths (*stefani*= wreath) as prizes and the *chrematites* or *thematikoi* during which the winners were awarded money or precious objects.

⁴³² *Odyssey* θ 259-381.

⁴³³ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 192 in *Dons des Muses* 2003: 236-237, no 11412.

⁴³⁴ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 53.

⁴³⁵ See Stefanos 1988: 387, entry 2207 *Sakadas* and in Plutarch, *On music*, chapter 8, 1134a and 12, 1135c.

The two important festivals of Athens including musical contests, the Great Panathenaia and the Great Dionysia also started during this century⁴³⁶. Competitions on *kitharwdeia* (kithara playing and simultaneous singing), *kitharistike* (kithara playing), *aulwdeia* (aulos playing and simultaneous singing) and *auletike* (aulos playing) together with competitions in dancing (choral dancing in the dance called Pyrriche) were taking place.

Information about the competitions during the sixth century B.C. between kithara players (*kitharistae*) is found in Pausanias who mentions the *kithariste Agelao* who won during the Pythia in 558 B.C. when for the first time was a musical contest organized between kitharistae who ‘were playing the strings with the *plektron* (*κρουμάτων*) and without the vocal accompaniment’ (*αφώνων*):

*Ογδόη δε πυθιάδι προσενομοθέτησαν κιθαριστάς τους επι των κρουμάτων των αφώνων. (x 7,7)*⁴³⁷

Thus, the *kitharistike* is ‘the playing of the strings without vocal accompaniment’ (*επί των κρουμάτων των αφώνων*) as distinguished from the *kitharwdeia* where a singer called a *kitharwdos* accompanies the kithara playing with his song.

An element that empowers our assumption is that in the literary sources when an *aulwdeia* is cited both performers, *auletes* and *aulwdos*, are mentioned. For example on an epigram from Boiotia, Greece dated to the third century B.C. during a musical contest the auletes ‘*Ermaiwndao* playing the aulos’ (*αυλίοντος Ερμαϊώνδαο*) is referred to first, followed by the name of ‘Aglaos who was singing’ (*αἰδοντος Ἄγλαο*):

*Δαϊκρατίδας Απολλωνίδαο[μ] Μνασικράτεις Θιοδώρω άνδρεςσι χοραγείσαντες νικάσαντες Διωνούσου ανέθεικαν άρχοντος Θυνάρχω αυλίοντος Ερμαϊώνδαο αἰδοντος Ἄγλαο.*⁴³⁸

Pausanias gives information on the musical character of *aulwdeia* saying that: ‘*aulwdeia* does not sound joyful but its pieces are the most sorrowful, while *elegeia* and mourning hymns (*threnoi*) are played on the auloi’:

*αι αυλωδίαν τε κατέλυσαν, καταγόντες ουκ είναι το άκουσμα εύφημον. η γαρ αυλωδία μέλη τε ην αυλών τα σκυθρωπότατα, και ελεγεία [και θρήνοι] προσαδόμενα τοις αυλοίς. (x 7.4)*⁴³⁹

Some of the musical contests were separated into two categories: for men and for youths. According to the epigrams the least valuable prizes were for the aulos players, while

⁴³⁶ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 53.

⁴³⁷ Stefanos 1988: 22, entry 35.

⁴³⁸ *BCH* 98 (1974): 195, no 11 referred in Stefanos 1988: 23, entry 43. See also the contemporary entry for *aulwdos Xarinos* in Stefanos 1988: 458, entry 2615.

⁴³⁹ Stefanos 1988: 187, entry 1011.

the male kithara players and singers (*kitharwdoi*) were given the greatest awards, wreath and money for the first winner and money for the next four winners.



Fig. 126. Athens, Greece, ca. 510 B.C., crater (Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 103). Foto: Giannou and others 1998: 38, fig. 28.

A male double aulos player ascending to the podium in order to compete in *auletike* before three judges is depicted on a crater from the sixth century B.C. (**fig. 126**)⁴⁴⁰. The musician is wreathed and he wears a long chiton, which he raises with his right hand in order to ascend the podium. In his left hand he holds the double aulos, which is depicted in detail with the cholmos and ypholmio. The seated judges wear chitons that leave the upper part of their body free and they are holding the typical crooks. The painter is probably depicting this scene with the aim of capturing the triumphal moment of the winning competitor ascending the podium in order to be acclaimed. His purpose for a realistic depiction can be recognised from the detail of the picked up chiton that eases the ascending to the high podium to the organological details of the double aulos.

Two competitors instead of one are depicted placed on a podium on a red-figured crater dated to the fifth century B.C. (**fig. 127**)⁴⁴¹. They are male, young and wreathed. The double aulos player to the left wears a long chiton exomis. The one to the right is wrapped in his chiton and with his back turned to the aulos player he is facing the judge who is standing in front of him. The wreathed judge wears a chiton that leaves the upper part of his body free

⁴⁴⁰ Giannou and others 1998: 38, fig. 28.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.: 41, fig. 30.

and he is holding his crook. A wreath is hung on the background wall as a decorative element, while a winged Nike carries a branch in her left hand and in her right possibly a sash, not shown, in order to award the winner. The scene may represent the competition *aulwdeia*, aulos playing and simultaneous singing.



Fig. 127. Athens, Greece, Kadmos painter, ca. 430 B.C., crater (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1960.1220). Foto: Giannou and others 1998: 41, fig. 30.

The competition *kitharistike* is depicted on a contemporary red-figured crater (**fig. 128**)⁴⁴² where a man is seen ascending a podium holding his kithara in his left hand and the plektro in his right. The wreathed competitor wears a long chiton and *ependite* and he has fastened the kithara to his left hand, vertical to his body, so he is able to touch the strings with the fingers of his left hand. In front of him a winged Nike is possibly holding the sash, not survived, in order to honour him, while behind her the wreathed seated male figure (possibly the judge) is watching him. Another Nike, flying this time, depicted at the upper left corner of

⁴⁴² Giannou and others 1998: 42, fig. 31.

the scene brings a vessel, possibly the *epathlon*, thus the award for the victor. A seated female figure to the left edge could be the next competitor awaiting her turn.



Fig. 128. Athens, Pelea painter, ca. 430 B.C., crater (London, British Museum, E 460). Foto: Giannou and others 1998: 42, fig. 31.

A young male *kitharistike* competitor is depicted on a pelike from fifth century B.C. Athens (**fig. 129**)⁴⁴³. The wreathed young man is dressed in a chiton and decorated mantle and he has fastened his kithara, its resonator hidden behind the mantle, with the depicted ribbon to his left hand, vertical to his body leaving the fingers of his left hand free to touch the strings. He is playing the musical instrument with his right hand, which holds the plectron. The organological incompatibilities of the upper part of the depicted musical instrument, the strange arms resembling pieces of branches and the thin cross bar, which do not correspond exactly to a kithara of Thamyris but they are trying to imitate it, suggest an artist with no musical knowledge who is cleverly hiding the resonator behind the mantle in order to overcome the difficulty of depicting a musical instrument unknown to him.

A winged Nike to the right is holding a sash in order to award it to the winner, while a vase is placed next to her on a stele, probably being the victor's prize together with the sash carried by the Nike. Another Nike to the left is carrying two more vases the prizes for the

⁴⁴³ Giannou and others 1998: 43, fig. 32.

other victors. The wreathed judge next to her is wearing a chiton exomis and he is leaning on his crook, while they both face each other as if speaking.



Fig. 129. Athens, the painter of Athens, fifth century B.C., pelike (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 01183). Foto: Giannou and others 1998: 43, fig. 32.

Two double aulos players are depicted placed on a podium on a red-figured pelike of fifth century B.C. Athens (**fig. 130**)⁴⁴⁴. The musicians wear long chitons and decorated mantles and they are wreathed. One stands on the top of the podium, while the other is ascending it. They both wear the *phorbeia*, the leather addition that holds the cheeks and helps playing. Two Nikae are added symmetrically to the edges, one is holding the sash and the other two vessels for the victors.

⁴⁴⁴ Giannou and others 1998: 44, fig. 35.

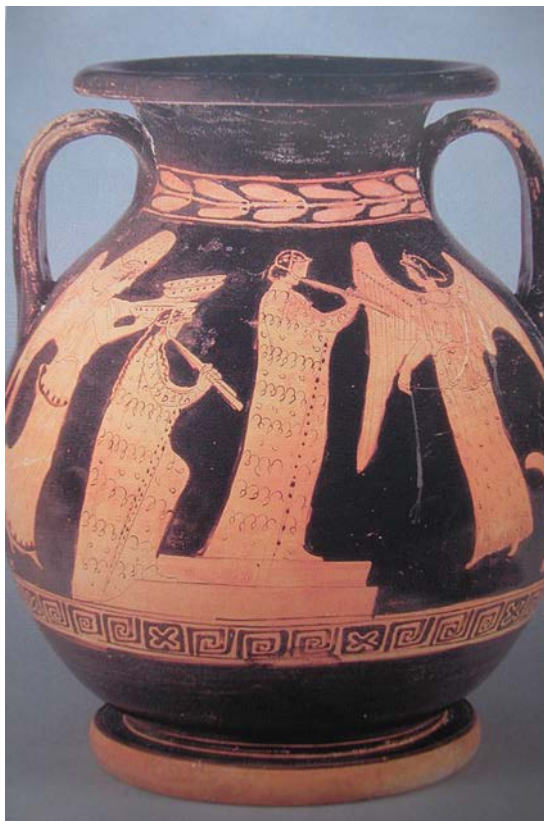


Fig. 130. Athens, the painter of Athens, 425-420 B.C., pelike (London, British Museum, 1910.6-15.1). Foto: Giannou and others 1998: 44, fig. 35.

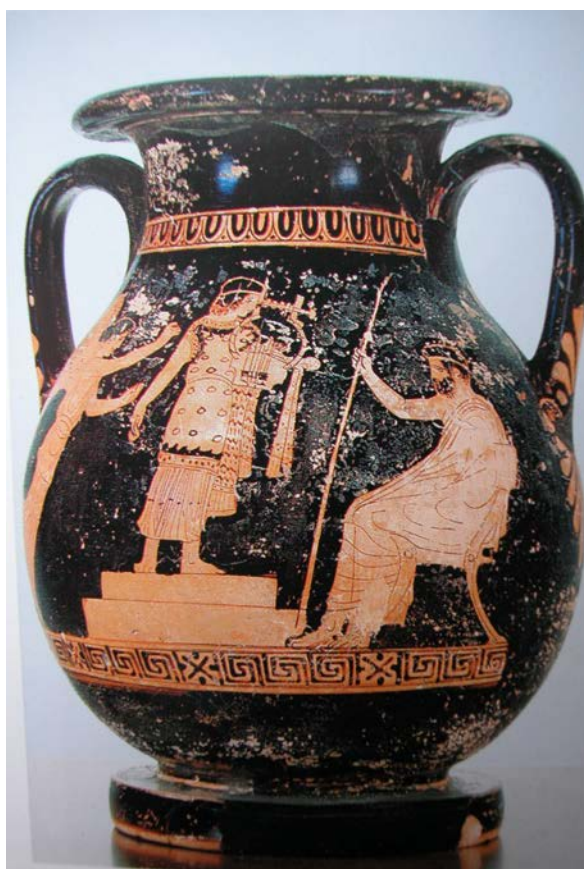


Fig. 131. Attica, painter of Kassel, 440-430 B.C., pelike (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 01469). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 240, no 119.

A ceramic attic red-figured pelyke dated to the fifth century B.C. shows a young kithara player, winner of a musical competition (**fig. 131**)⁴⁴⁵. Placed on a podium he is dressed in a chiton and ependyte, decorated with circles, which fastens round the waist. He is wreathed and he holds his kithara in his left hand and its plektron in his right hand. He stands in front of the seated judge while behind him stands a winged Nike holding possibly a ribbon, not saved, in order to praise him. On the other side, a youth, wrapped in his imatio, is depicted between two other youths gesturing at each other. The kithara shown here has seven strings and two symmetrical openings in both corners of the lower part of the soundbox as well as a piece of decorative textile hung from one of the arms. This type is called the kithara of Thamyris while is often depicted in connection with this epic singer.

6.3 Philological sources from Roman Republic to Roman Empire

A great number of literary texts and epigrams related to musical contests have been collected by Stefanos. A multitude of poets, musicians, mimes, pantomimes, dancers, tragic and comic actors and other ‘artists of Dionysos’ are included in the catalogue, along, in many cases, with their original text of origin, giving precious information between the fifth century B.C. and the fifth century A.D.

According to the epigrams, festivals, including all types of contests, increased almost all over Greece during the Hellenistic period⁴⁴⁶. From the beginning of the third century B.C. on, groups of professional musicians, poets and actors, called *Technites of Dionysos*, were organised together and participate in festivals and competitions.

An increased number of competitions are revealed through Roman epigrams and the literary texts⁴⁴⁷. Contestants like the hydraulis player (*ύδραυλος*), salpinx player (*σαλπιστής*), pantomimes (*ορχηστές*) and mimes (*μίμοι*), as well as a puppet showman and a puppet show-woman (*θαυματοποιός*) are mentioned as winners, along with contestants, well known from the classical period, such as different kinds of double aulos players like choraules (*χοραύλης*= aulos player accompanying a chorus) and pythauls (*πυθαύλης*= aulos player of the festival called Pytheia), the tragic and comic actors (*τραγωδοί, κωμωδοί*), kitharwdous (*κιθαρωδοί*), kitharistes (*κιθαριστές*), aulwdous (*αυλωδοί*), auletes (*αυλητές*), different kinds of dancers (*χορευτές*) and poets (*ποιητές, εγκωμιογράφοι*).

In addition, a type of musician playing a stringed instrument using no plektron is referred to in the sources by the name psaltes (*ψάλτης*) suggesting a type of harp player who,

⁴⁴⁵ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 240-241, no 119.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 55.

⁴⁴⁷ See Stefanos 1988.

as other musicians, gains his name from the name of his musical instrument, thus *psalterion* (*ψαλτήριον*), which is a type of harp. Although this type of musical instrument is also mentioned elsewhere in the Roman sources we do not have, up until now, a depiction or precise literary descriptions.

According to an inscription dated to the first century B.C. a player of the hydraulis (*ύδραυλος*) named *Antipatros Breukou* competed for two days and was eventually awarded all the honours:

επει Αντίπατρος Βρεύκου [Ελευθερν]αίος, ύδραυλος, αποστειλάσας ποτ' αυτόν τας πόλιος πρεσβεί[αν παραγ]ενηθείς εν Δελφούς και παρακληθείς υπό των αρχόντων και τας [πόλιος] αγωνίζατο αμέρας δύο και ευδοκίμησε μεγαλομερώς και αξίως (SIG 737)⁴⁴⁸.

A number of salpinx players (*σαλπιστής*) are mentioned in literary sources as winners during contests which took place at cities around Egypt like Naukrate⁴⁴⁹, Panopole and Antioch⁴⁵⁰ as well as some cities in Greece like Athens⁴⁵¹, Boiotia, Oropos and Kos. The sources are dated between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.⁴⁵².

A female puppet show-woman (*θαυματοποιός*) by the name of Kleopatra is said to have participated in contests on the island of Delos, Greece according to a Greek inscription dated to the third century B.C. (*IG xi 110 line 34, 112 line 22 and 113 line 28*)⁴⁵³. A puppet showman (*θαυματοποιός*) with the name Apo]llo[nios is referred to in an inscription from the second century B.C. as having participated in a contest on the same island (*IG xi 133 lines 78-79*)⁴⁵⁴.

A psalter (*ψάλτης*) is mentioned as having participated in a contest on the island of Delos, Greece on a Greek inscription dated to the third century B.C. (*IG xi 120 line 49*)⁴⁵⁵. A century later there is a reference to a winner of *psalmos*, thus winner psalter, in documents from a gymnasium on Chios island, Greece (*SIG 959 line 10*)⁴⁵⁶. Many centuries later, during the sixth century A.D., a papyrus from Antinoopolis, Egypt uses the same term of psalter

⁴⁴⁸ Stefanos 1988: 58, entry 218.

⁴⁴⁹ Winner salpinx player named *Ερμόφιλος Ερμοφίλου του Σαραπίωνος* referred in a papyrus from Oxyrynchos dated to the third century A.D. (*P. Oxy. 2338. 20*) in Stefanos 1988 : 171, entry 909.

⁴⁵⁰ Information dated to the fourth century A.D. mentioning an Antiochian salpinx player named *Γναίος Δότιος Μάγνος* winner in the competition of his country in *JRS 3 (1913) 288, no 14* in Stefanos 1988: 290, entry 1593.

⁴⁵¹ Athenian salpinx player named [*Αριστοκρ*]άτης *Αρίστων* is referred as winner during *Theseia* of Athens in an inscription from the second century B.C. (*IG II 957.42*) in Stefanos 1988: 80, entry 348.

⁴⁵² See Stefanos 1988.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.: 264, entry 1451.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.: 66, entries 262 and 1031.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.: 264, entry 1453.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.: 341, entry 1924.

(*Palatine Anthology* 109, line 16)⁴⁵⁷, while the contemporary Procopius of Caesarea mentions a female psaltria connected with actors and the theatre as mentioned above.

A new type of contest, but with the kind of double aulos player known as choraules, used during classical epoch to accompany the chorus of the Greek tragedy, is mentioned in epigrams that place the contests in second to third century A.D. Boiotia⁴⁵⁸ and Delphoi⁴⁵⁹. No more literary information gives details about the character of the contest, the presence or not of chorus or the kind of music played.

Novatianus from third century A.D. Rome, speaking about his contemporary spectacles refers to the Greek contests that should be rejected as devilish. Among the other types of contests he mentions he speaks about a contest on a stringed musical instrument (*fidibus*, *fid*=string) possibly the kithara or lyre of his epoch: ‘The celebrated Grecian contests –whether they deal with poetry, or kithara or lyre playing, or speech, or feasts of strength- have diverse demons as their patrons.’⁴⁶⁰:

*Graeca illa certamina vel in cantibus vel in fidibus vel in vocibus vel in viribus
pracsides suos habent varia daemonia (De spectaculis 4. 5)*⁴⁶¹.

The paratactical reference of all these types of contests, poetic, musical and athletic, suggests the presence of all these contests within a festival or celebration as the mosaic from Patra, Greece depicts (discussed below) and a slab from second century A.D. Oenoanda, Asia Minor, testifies.

According to the slab found in the Lycian city of Oenoanda, Gaius Julius Demosthenes, during 124 A.D., founded a *mousikos agon*, a festival that was held in July and lasted for three weeks, which included a procession, sacrifices, contests involving solo performers: *choraules*, *kitharwdoi*, tragic and comic actors as well as an open competition for everyone. Athletic competitions were held during the last day. The winners received money for prizes⁴⁶². The term *choraules* may suggest the presence of a chorus that sang or danced while the term *kitharwdoi* suggests simultaneous singing and kithara playing.

A great number of inscriptions refer to contests between tragic and comic actors, mimes and pantomimes, but with no more musical information apart from the name, the type, the

⁴⁵⁷ Stefanos 1988: 210 entry 1156.

⁴⁵⁸ Winner choraules in festival *Mouseia Thespiwn* (*SEG* 3 (1927) 334.50) referred in Stefanos 1988: 90, entry 411.

⁴⁵⁹ Inscription from a base found in Delphoi (*FD* III 4, 476) in Stefanos 1988: 103, entry 480.

⁴⁶⁰ Novatianus 1981: 127. The term ‘musical instrumentation’ of the translator is replaced with the most precise kithara or lyre playing.

⁴⁶¹ Novatianus 1972: 172.

⁴⁶² Gebhard 1996: 123-124. The slab published and discussed in Wörrle 1988: 4-16, 227-58 and Mitchell 1990.

place and the time of contests⁴⁶³. The references to the same type of contest located to different places of the East Mediterranean testify to the same interest for the same musical competitions throughout this huge territory with the travelling ‘Technitae of Dionysos’. No local musical instruments, like the *lituus* and *cornu* for the area of Italy are mentioned or depicted, perhaps because of their simplicity in playing. All the musical instruments referred to seem to be complicated in use and playing and, for this reason, competitive.

6.4 Pictorial evidence from the Roman Empire

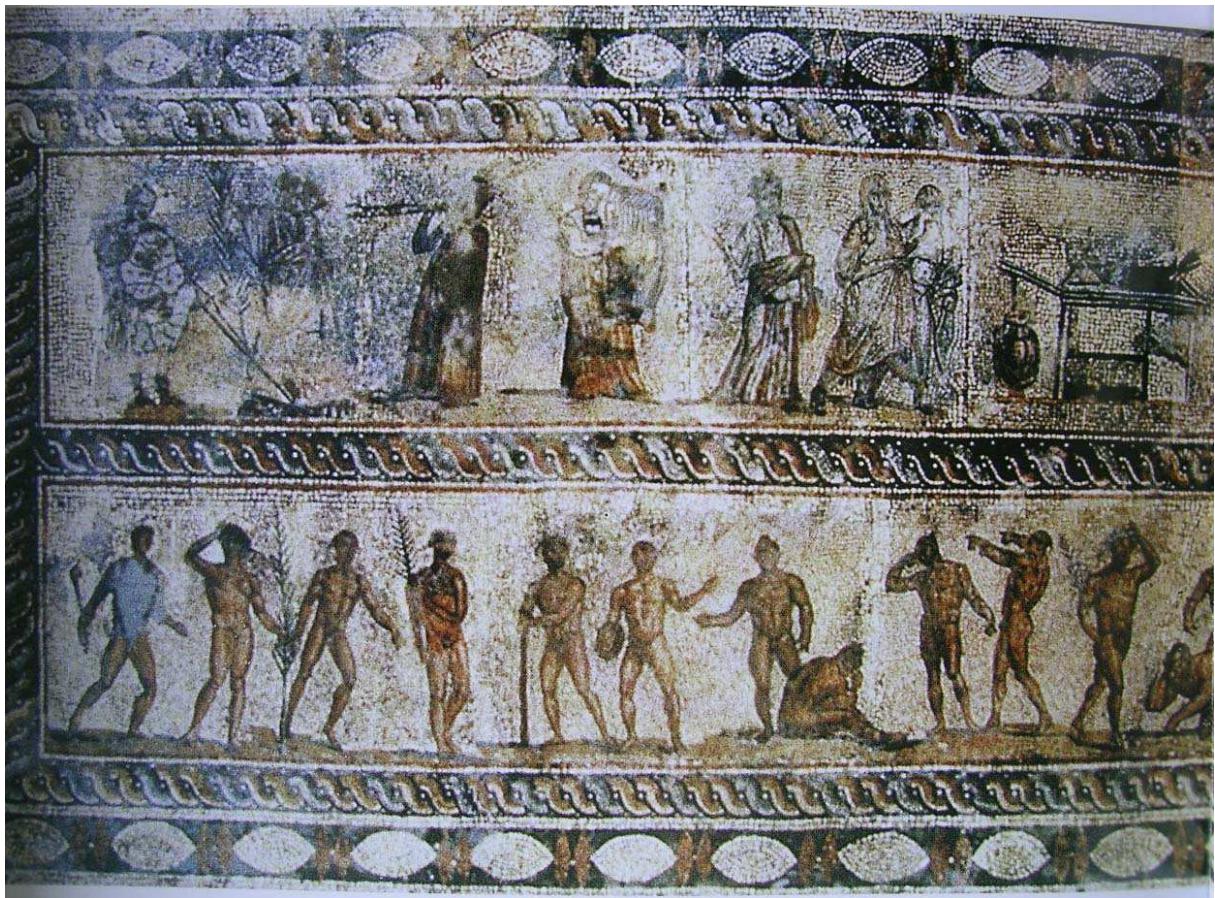


Fig. 132. Patra, Ypsila Alōnia, second to third century A.D., mosaic (Patra, Archaeological Museum, Psi. Pi. 1).
Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 97, no 1.

Even though the two Roman depictions portraying musical contests are in bad condition, interesting elements can be recognized. The first scene is from a mosaic in a Roman house in Patra, Greece of the second to third centuries A.D. (**fig. 132**)⁴⁶⁴. The scene consists of two rows of figures in contests. On the upper line, from left to right are depicted: a judge in a short chiton and half boots holding his crook, an indistinct figure holding a palm branch and, next to him to the right, a double aulos player in a long chiton facing to the left as

⁴⁶³ For the inscriptions see in Stefanos 1988.

⁴⁶⁴ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 97, no 1.

if these first three figures comprise a group. It could be possibly a contest for singing and / or aulos playing (*auletike* or *aulwdeia*) known in Greece from the classical epoch on.



Fig. 132. Detail of the right part of the mosaic.

The following group consists of a kithara player dressed in a long chiton and three actors in long chitons and masks with open mouths reaching the table with the prizes for the victors. The upper part of the table is too damaged for the prizes to be recognized, but a vase placed next to the leg of the table could be one of the prizes. This group may represent a dramatical contest, possibly between pantomimes, accompanied by kithara playing.

Symmetrically to the right of the table follow tragic actors with *ongkos* and *kothornoi* and next to them, in the background, a group of five members of a chorus, partially destroyed. The edge to the right is occupied by a male kithara player dressed in a long decorated chiton and mantle. The combination of the chorus and the kithara player may recall the *kitharwdeia* used within tragedy. This type of kithara, with the back part of the sound box forming an

angle, is also found on Greek coins of the fourth to third century B.C. (fig. 21) and later on a Pompeiian fresco (fig. 133)⁴⁶⁵.



Fig. 133. Pompeii, Herculaneum, 25 B.C., fresco (Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, 9021). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 103, fig. 57.

The lower line portrays athletic competitions. Some of the figures, probably the winners, hold palm branches. The location of the athletic scenes in the lower register of the scene may suggest the sequence of the events during the festival. According to the inscription of Oenoanda, athletic contests were held during the last day of the festival.

Moreover, the presence of the double aulos player, the judge, the group of the tragic actors accompanied by the kithara player, the prizes for the winners and the athletic competitions depicted on the lower register, represent the combination of the musical, dramatical and athletic competitions referred to on this slab. Even though the places of origin of the two matching sources are far apart, similar events took place as part of the social life of the two cities. In addition the same types of musical instruments and performers used remind

⁴⁶⁵ Fleischhauer 1964: 102, 103, fig. 57.

us of the travelling *technites of Dionysos*, who gave performances all over the Roman Empire.

The second scene shown is more abbreviated and not so detailed. The scene is from a mosaic excavated at the children villa of Maxentius in Piazza Armerina, Sicily and dated to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (**fig. 134**)⁴⁶⁶. Mosaics that show children at different activities occupy the whole building and, among them, this part represents a musical contest between children. The location of the scene is before the arched part of the room also occupied by a mosaic portraying children in bucolic scenes.



Fig. 134. Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, south cubiculum in the children villa, 310-320 A.D., floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Kähler 1973: pl. 40.

Five male figures are placed on a podium, one beside the other, while all, except for the one at the left edge, play musical instruments. From left to right are depicted: a kithara player, a youth with his hydraulis or organon placed on his head, a double aulos player and a salpinx player. The figure at the left edge is holding a palm branch suggesting, together with the podium, a musical contest.

The attempt of the artist to depict the kithara was unsuccessful because even though he managed to successfully portray some of the organological characteristics like the keys, the

⁴⁶⁶ Kähler 1973: pl. 39b and 40.

cross bar and the table where the kithara was placed, he did not manage to form the sound box and the arms realistically. Next to this, the musical instrument, an abbreviation of the upper part of a hydraulis or an organon, is placed unrealistically on top of the player's head with a strong artistic inspiration, which if not awkward, would tend to cause laughter in the viewer. The next figure with the double aulos is destroyed at the head and the lower part of the foot, while the musical instrument is correctly depicted with the *kerata* played horizontally. The next figure plays a salpinx resembling that depicted in the contemporary villa Herakleia, also at Piazza Armerina (fig. 55). Even though the lower part of the tube has not survived, the playing position and the metallic or rope chain added to the upper part of the tube are exactly the similar. Moreover, the musician wears the same wreath as the musician shown on the mosaic of the villa Herakleia. The abbreviated character of the depiction cannot connect the scene with a realistic depiction of musical practice of everyday life, but with an artistically inspired composition in a wider synthesis with unrelated scenes between them.



Fig. 134. Detail. Foto: Kähler 1973: pl. 39b.

The only thing left from a destroyed wall painting with musical competitions found in a grave of the necropolis of Cyrene, Cyprus is a sketch (**fig. 135**)⁴⁶⁷. From left to right a male figure is depicted beside a decorated door leaning his hand towards a young boy to the left, as if speaking to him. This could be the representation of a dramatical or comic play with the door to remind us of the theatre. Next to the door to the right two young boys are arranging something on a table. The next figure to the right is possibly holding a kithara (the lower part of the musical instrument is not depicted) and a plectron. Between him and the next musician to the right, who holds a frame with strings, maybe a psalterion, is placed a youth. The

⁴⁶⁷ Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787.

musician does not hold a plektron. A group of five wreathed youths accompanies a double aulos player, possibly a choraules, placed in the centre next to a tiny figure and a youth wrapped in his imatio.

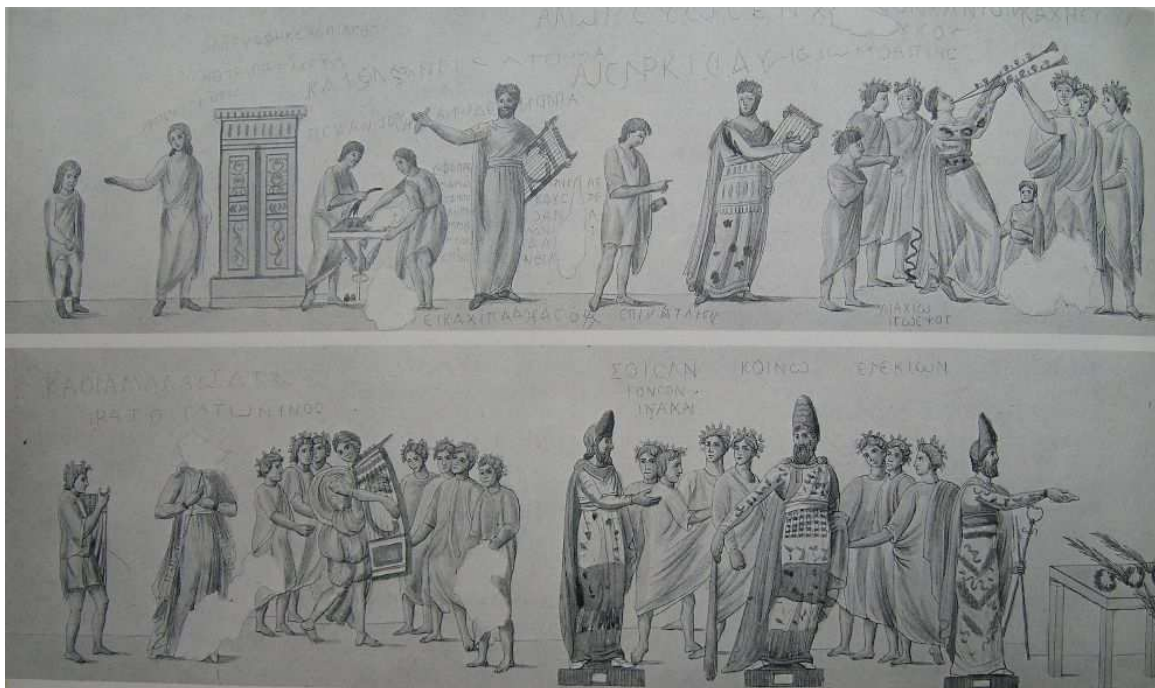


Fig. 135. Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave, Roman Empire, sketch of the destroyed wall painting. Foto: Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787.



Fig. 135. Detail.

Two more instrumentalists are depicted to the right, one with a kithara or psalterion (the musical instrument is partly depicted) and the other with a double aulos. The next group to

the right consists of seven members of a chorus accompanying the kithara player in the center according to the competition of kitharwdeia.

The last group to the right represents the competition of tragedy. Three tragic actors in richly patterned, sleeved robes and masks with an onkos are placed on podia. The one in the centre holds the club of Heracles, while the one to the right has a herald's staff. Behind, a chorus of seven youths remind us of the chorus of the Old Tragedy. According to Bieber the actors are incorrectly sketched by the copist standing on podia, while she assumes that the original painting showed them wearing crepidae. Both podia and crepidae are possible as the scene belongs to a dramatical contest. A table where wreaths and palm branches are placed identifies the scene as that of a contest.



Fig. 135. Detail.

CHAPTER VII

*Sacrifices***7.1 Introduction**

Three groups can be distinguished among the surviving offering scenes: sacrifices of the Dionysian ritual, the cult of Isis, and the Suovetaurilia, during which a bull, a sheep and a pig are immolated. Despite the common elements depicted, the altar, the musical accompaniment, the assistants and the offered goods, differences in the figure executing the offering and in the types of musical instruments used to accompany the important moment can be identified. The female figures that always execute the Dionysian offering are in contrast with the male figures always executing the Suovetaurilia, while the offers to Isis are executed by both sexes.

As far as the musical instruments are concerned, the Dionysian ritual is characterised by the use of the double aulos, cymbals, syrinx and tympanon, while the cult of Isis seems to import the sistra and a long narrow pipe or aulos (kalamos ?) joined by the existing tympanon and cymbals. During Suovetaurilia a double or single aulos player is almost always depicted as accompanying the moment standing close to the altar, while in two scenes the double aulos player is accompanied by a kithara or lyre player. In some scenes the pompa leading to the sacrifice is also portrayed and musicians such as cornu and tuba players participate, enhancing the procession with their triumphal and impressive music. Cornu and tuba, as well as the aulos, shown in a scene to join the pompa are, according to the contemporary depictions, also used during other Roman spectacles, for instance gladiatorial combats, the crowning of the victorious athletes and military scenes.

A different type of aulos from the one known to have long or short tubes with olmoi and tongues of the oboe type, is portrayed in a sacrificial scene of Suovetaurilia and contemporary ones of a Dionysian subject. The short tube has a mouthpiece that resembles the clarinet or recorder type and forms a slight conical bore at the lower edge. As the depictions are all located in first until early third century A.D. Rome, while this type of aulos is also present in a banqueting scene, a scene with actors and athletic ones, it could be a local variation that bears the same general name aulos used by the Roman writers for all the aerophones of the oboe, clarinet or recorder type.

The Dionysian cult became known in the East Mediterranean during Hellenistic times, while the culture of Dionysus grew in importance during the Roman period all over the Eastern Roman Empire as the great number of depictions testify. The Roman Dionysian sacrificial scenes seem to have changed over the centuries as the personification of the god is usually missing and the types of musical instruments depicted are different. As mythological personifications, like Silenus, satyrs and Maenads are present in the scenes and no literary sources confirm musical Dionysian customs, we can not conclude whether the scenes represent actual musical religious events or whether they are just copies of earlier mythological prototypes re-worked in order to look more up to date by adding a contemporary instrumentarium of the artist's epoch. A comparison with other musical, contemporary scenes is needed. As far as the musical instruments are concerned, they seem to be well known to the artist as part of daily musical life.

The import of the Isis culture from Egypt to Italy, during the late Republic, signified the import of musical instruments like the sistra and a type of long narrow pipe or aulos (*kalamos*?). Moreover, cymbals and tympanon, known for centuries, are also used by both male and female members of the cultic event. Dancing seems to have, as in the Dionysian sacrificial ritual, an important place during the ceremony.

No dancing but a 'pompa' leading to the sacrifice of the three animals and the offering of libations or incense, characterizes the Suovetaurilia. Local Italian musical instruments like the cornu, tuba and the single aulos, muted with one hand, are added to the procession leading to the sacrifice, where music from the double or single ancient aulos with the holmos and no bore always accompany the important moment, according to the ancient custom that is depicted in the earliest sacrificial scene on the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada, Greece dated to the Bronze age.

This type of short aulos of the oboe type is distinct from the double aulos with the long tubes seen on the depictions from the first century B.C. onwards. A third type of aulos, that of the clarinet type, with short tube and a slight conical bore seems to be also in use, at least from the first century A.D. on, and for three centuries, in banquets, athletic contests and sacrifices in the district of Rome, where all its depictions are located.

From a practical point of view, the bellowing of the sacrificial animal could be louder than any music, while according to the sources, music played an important role not only during bloody sacrifices but also during libations and incense offerings. According to Quasten, the real reason for the use of music during sacrifice must be sought in the belief of the ancients in the magical power of music and of noise to drive away demons, which could

not endure noise. The magical power of music drives away the chthonic demons that love tranquility and quiet, not allowing them to negate the sacred action⁴⁶⁸.

All types of musical instruments, aerophones, chordophones and percussion are referred to in the literary sources, from the Hellenistic time on, as accompanying the sacrificial rituals of different areas. A number of Roman passages relate the music of aulos, syrinx and kithara, as well as dance and singing used by the Greeks during sacrifices to their Gods, while the sacrifices to the chthonic Gods, like the Graces, are completed in silence⁴⁶⁹. Two writers from Rome talk about the same combination of stringed musical instruments (kithara or lyre) with the tibiae and singing as used during the sacrifices. Percussion instruments like the tympanon, cymbals and krotala are mentioned as used during sacrifices, perhaps, together with the Phrygian aulos, on a Hellenistic Egyptian papyrus, while the Roman writer Lucian, speaking about the citizens of Hierapolis, Syria refers to the use of the aulos and krotala during their sacrifice to Hera, the Greek goddess. Lucian also describes the ceremony honouring Isis, where, outside the nave, her priests (Galloi) and other holy men are accompanied by songs and auloi and tympana music from many players. The description matches the two contemporary Pompeiian depictions where the ceremony includes an offering to the goddess accompanied by the music of the sistra, a kind of aulos (kalamos ?), tympanon and cymbals.

7.2 From the Greek Bronze Age to classical Greece

The earliest scene with a sacrificial procession survives on a painted sarcophagus found in a grave located at the necropole of Agia Triada, Crete dated to 1420-1380 B.C. (**fig. 136**)⁴⁷⁰. On the first side is depicted a sacrifice of a bull placed on a wooden table, and next to it, to the right, a libation by a female figure before an altar. Behind the table two goats are placed, possibly waiting to be immolated. From left to right, three figures approach the table with the bull. Two of them are too damaged to be identified, while the third, placed close to the table, is a female wearing the same long decorated chiton as the other two. Their long chitons differ from the shorter one of the female, possibly, a servant, executing the offering before the altar to the right.

A musician playing the elymos (Gr.: *ἐλυμος*), known as the Phrygian double aulos, is almost hidden behind the bull so that only his head and musical instrument can be seen. The presence of the elymos in this scene is the earliest we have and proves that the Minoans knew it many centuries earlier than the appearance of the Isis culture in Asia Minor during the

⁴⁶⁸ Quasten 1983: 15-16.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.: 2-3.

⁴⁷⁰ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 115, no 13.

beginning of the first millennium B.C. The curved tube is held to the left of the player, while the curved part is marked with a different, darker colour suggesting an addition, possibly metallic or horn. The dark reddish colour used for the musician is in sharp contrast to the white of the remaining figures on this side and may be related to the red-coloured figures of the second side: the musician with the stringed musical instrument, the deceased and the three male figures carrying offerings (?).

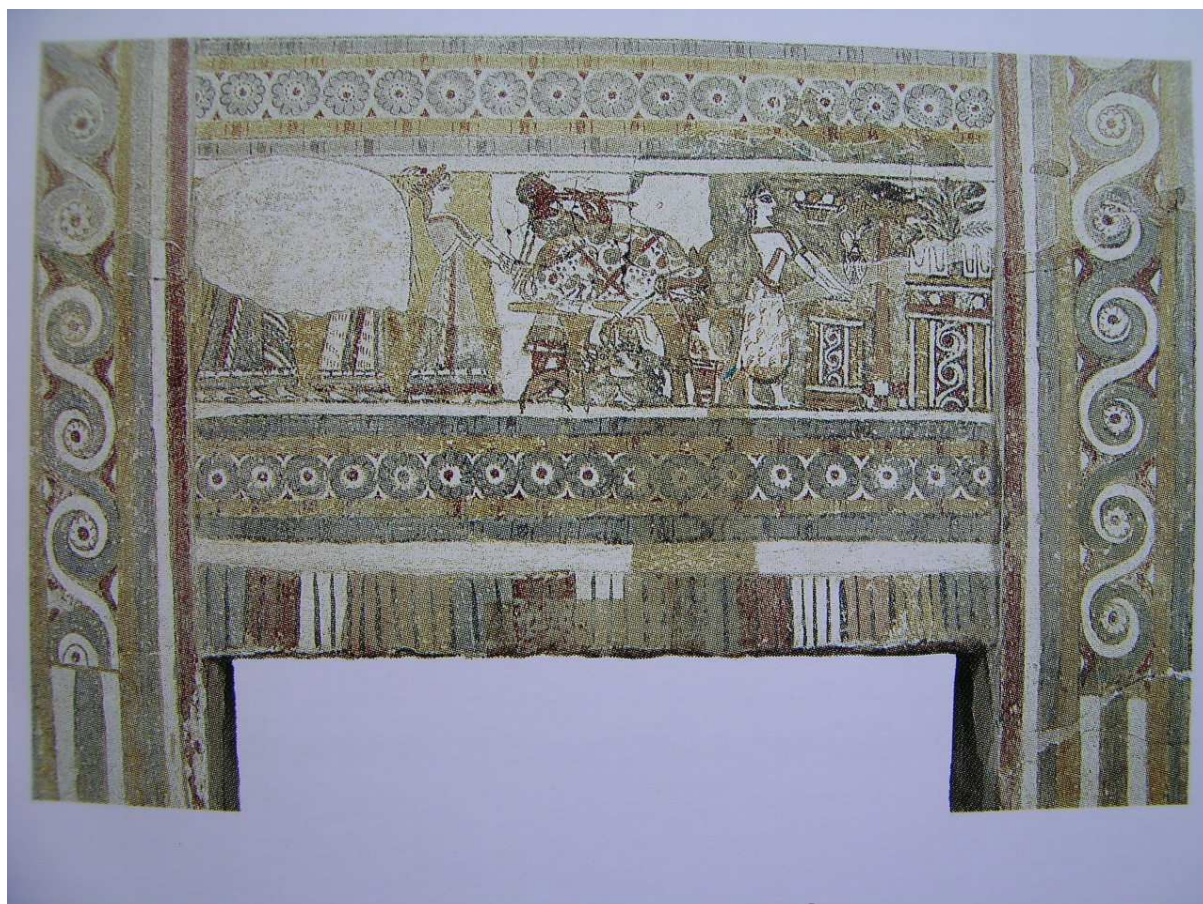


Fig. 136a. Greece, Crete, Agia Triada, necropole, grave 4, 1420-1380 B.C., sarcophagus (Herakleio, Archaeological Museum, M.H. 396) side A. Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 115, no 13.



Fig. 136a. Detail.

The second side portrays two female figures carrying the blood of the bull in buckets and pouring it into a big crater placed between two *pelekis* (axes). The action is accompanied by the music of a male player who follows them holding a stringed instrument, possibly of the family of the harp. The right part of the scene is occupied by three red-coloured male figures carrying two more animals and a semicircular object, possibly a vessel or a basket. These elements could be offerings to the deceased, who is shown in front of the door of his grave standing looking at the participants. The three male figures wear only a long skirt, while the deceased is portrayed without the hands painted in the same red colour as the skin.

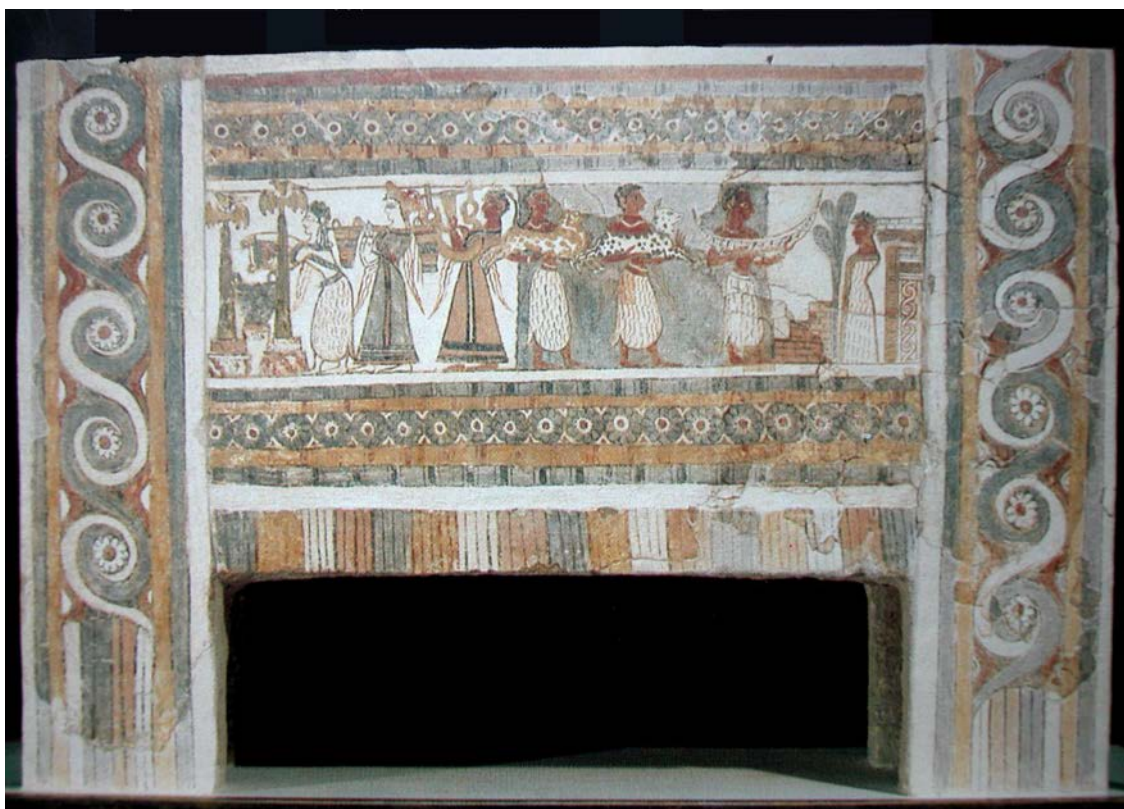


Fig. 136b. Side B. Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 114, no 13.



Fig. 136b. Detail.

The uniqueness of the scene and its early date does not allow us to make comparisons and draw conclusions. Nevertheless, the musical elements depicted provide interesting

information. The type of the stringed instrument depicted here is the same shown on a fresco from 1300 B.C. Pylos, Greece (**fig. 137**)⁴⁷¹. The male musician participates in a scene composed by two couples of male figures seated in front of two tables, each with three legs. Even though the scholars have not identified the exact subject matter of the scene, common elements can be recognised in both scenes: the reddish colour of the musicians, who are both male, and the decoration of the waterbirds, as parts of the arms near the crossbar where the strings are tied.

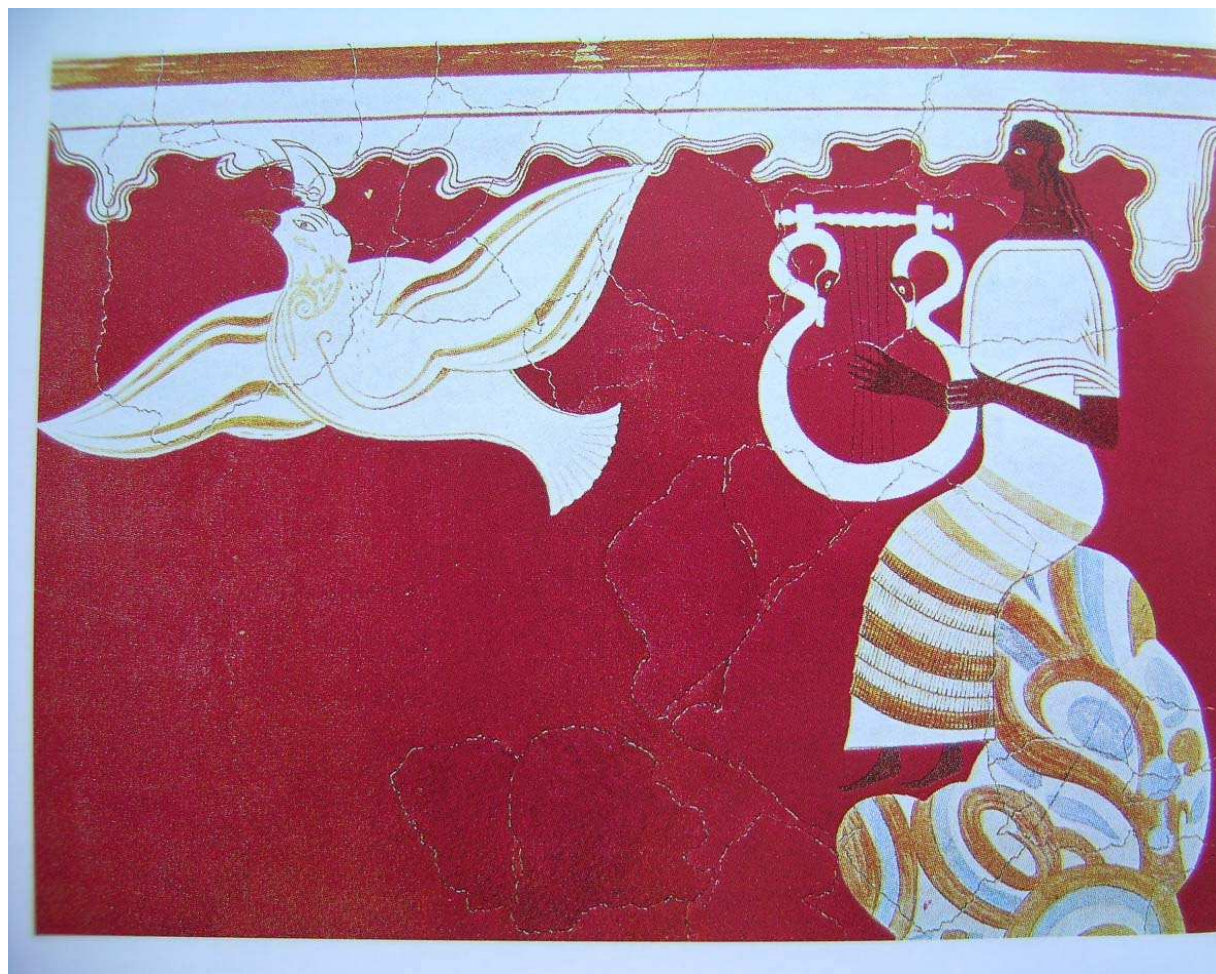


Fig. 137. Greece, Pylos, palace of Nestor, throne saal (northeast wall), 1300 B.C. fresco (Messenia, Archaeological Museum, 43H6). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 120, no 18.

The round form of the resonator not distinguished from the arms separates this musical instrument from the other types of the phorminx, lyre and kithara we know from later depictions. Although, its two depictions are the only ones and its name will remain unknown until further research, the phenomenon of water bird embellishment found in lyres, kitharas and harps from the Aegean area of the 2800-2300 B.C., Greek mainland, Egypt, Anatolia and Hellenistic Italy seems to connect this type of decoration with funerary symbolism. Moreover, according to its frequent representation in funerary contexts the water bird is

⁴⁷¹ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 120, no 18.

supposed to symbolise rebirth and victory over death⁴⁷². The motif seems to disappear during the Roman Empire, while the representation of animal heads on instruments often depicted in medieval manuscripts is, according to van Schaik, related to this ancient motif that was transported within a new Christian symbolism.



Fig. 138. Greece, Corinth, Pitsa, 540 B.C., wooden panel (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 16464).
Foto: Giannou and others 1998: 27, fig. 15.

One more depiction from the Greek mainland, a wooden panel representing a sacrificial procession dated to 540 B.C., was found near Corinth, Greece (**fig. 138**)⁴⁷³. Before the table for the sacrifice shown to the right, a female figure is carrying in one hand, an oinochoe for the liquids that will be poured, and in the other hand, a tray with more vessels for the fluids. Behind her a youth is leading the sheep for the immolation and behind, two musicians follow, one with a lyre and the other with the double auloi. The two male musicians wear chitons exomis, like the youth leading the sheep, in contrast to the other three female figures, one before the altar and the other two who follow them, who are wearing long chitons coloured blue, and long-sleeved, red coloured mantles. All are wreathed. The stringed musical instrument has seven strings, the left hand of the musician is touching the strings and with the right one he holds the plectron. The lower part of the musical instrument is hidden behind the player's chiton. The double aulos player uses the phorbeia.

In this scene, as in the two discussed above, both musicians are coloured with a darker pink colour, the same used for the possible youth slave leading the sheep for the sacrifice. Despite the chronological difference between the scenes, extending to a thousand years, a common element is impressive. All male figures are coloured darker than the female ones,

⁴⁷² Schaik 2001/2: 16, 21, 22-24 and 29. In Anatolia the aquatic bird embellishment is found on sistra.

⁴⁷³ Giannou and others 1998: 27, fig. 15.

whose faces are almost white. It can be assumed that if this contrast does not suggest imported slaves, possibly from Egypt or elsewhere, used as musicians and assistants to the sacrifices led by women, then a whitening of the female's faces by means of a substance used during the sacrificial procession is also possible.

The north side of the Parthenon's frieze in Athens, which is dated to the fifth century B.C. depicts a sacrificial procession along with a contest among charioteers, both being parts of the great feast of Panathenaea celebrated at Athens (**fig. 139**)⁴⁷⁴. From left to right are depicted four bulls and four rams, led by their drivers to sacrifice. Four water carriers *hydriaphoroi* (*υδριαφόροι*) bring the vessels with the water, while four aulos and four kithara players follow them. Sixteen elders follow with their olive branches and then comes the apobates race, the oldest contest of Panathenaea, where charioteers and hoplites participate. The musicians are incomplete but the musical instruments can be identified from the remaining parts. The fact that all participants of the scene are male is in contrast to the previous Greek scenes where the women seem to have a leading role.



Fig. 139. Athens, Parthenon frieze, north side, fifth century B.C. (Athens, New Museum of Acropole). Foto: Museum digital collection.

The absence of contemporary literary sources referring to the Greek sacrificial customs means that these depictions are the only ones that inform us about the customs of the epoch. Later, Roman writers of the second century A.D. will mention the use of the kithara, auloi and syrinx during sacrifices to the deities of the Greek area. The same combination that of the auloi and kithara or lyre, with the absence of the syrinx, seem to represent all the scenes discussed above.

⁴⁷⁴ Quasten 1983: 4.

7.3 Philological sources of the late Republic

In the letter from an Egyptian papyrus dated ca. To 245 B.C. (P. Hib. I 54, line 4) the sender asks the recipient to send him, apart from an aulete, the Phrygian auloi and the other type of auloi (perhaps suggesting the straight double auloi), Zenobion, a man having the tympanon, cymbals and krotala that will be needed for the sacrifice executed by women: ‘Send us the aulete Petwyn having the Phrygian auloi and the others. Send us and Zenobion the happy having tympanon and cymbals and krotala . The women will need them for the sacrifice’:

ἀπό[σ]τειλον ἡμῖν ἐκ παντός τρόπου τον αὐλητὴν Πετωὺν ἔχοντ[α] τους τε Φρυγίους αὐλ[ο]ύς και τους λοιπούς, κ[αι] εἴν τι δέηι ἀηλώσαι δοσ, παρά δε ἡμ[ώ]ν κομειί. ἀπόστειλον δε ἡ[μ]ῖν και Ζηνόβιον τον μαλακόν ἔχοντα τύμπανον και κύμβαλα και κρόταλα. Χρεία γαρ εστι ταις γυναιξίν προς την θυσίαν.⁴⁷⁵

The use of the tympanon, the cymbals and the krotala during sacrifice is clearly mentioned in this passage, while the need of an aulete carrying Phrygian and other types of auloi could also be connected with the needs of the sacrifice in question. Actually there is no depiction portraying a sacrificial scene accompanied by such a big ensemble of musical instruments (auloi, phrygian auloi, tympanon, cymbals, krotala). Furthermore, all the musical instruments referred to in the Egyptian papyrus are portrayed within Dionysian scenes, an element that may support an assumption: their use within Dionysian sacrifices.

7.3.1 The case of krotala

The absence of the krotala , not only from sacrificial scenes but also generally from scenes with Dionysian subject matter seems impressive. Nevertheless, the instrument is present on a Greek vase from the fifth century B.C. (**fig. 140**)⁴⁷⁶ showing Dionysos with a barbiton and a dancing satyr playing krotala , as well as in two Roman scenes with Dionysian thiasoi from the second to fourth centuries A.D. Gaza, Israel (**fig. 141**)⁴⁷⁷ and fifth until seventh century A.D. Egypt (**fig. 142**)⁴⁷⁸. The Greek inscriptions of the Gaza mosaic in combination with the reference to the use of the krotala together with the aulos during the sacrifice to the Greek goddess Hera at Hierapolis of Syria (Lucian, second century A.D., see below) may reveal a Greek custom known in the Eastern Mediterranean area from the Hellenistic epoch on when the cult of Dionysos was imported together with the hellenisation of Syria and Egypt.

According to the depictions, the type of krotala shown on the Greek vase of the fifth century B.C. (fig. 140) was never depicted in any Hellenistic and Roman scene with only one

⁴⁷⁵ Stefanos 1988: 362, entry 2059.

⁴⁷⁶ Mathiesen 1999, vol. 2: 165, fig. 12.

⁴⁷⁷ Ovadiah 1987: 51-53, no 69, pl. 40.

⁴⁷⁸ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 144, no 123.

exception, a mosaic from the Temple of Diana in Aventin, Italy of the end of the third century A.D. (fig. 85) with a probable Dionysian connection with wine drinking and musical accompaniment.

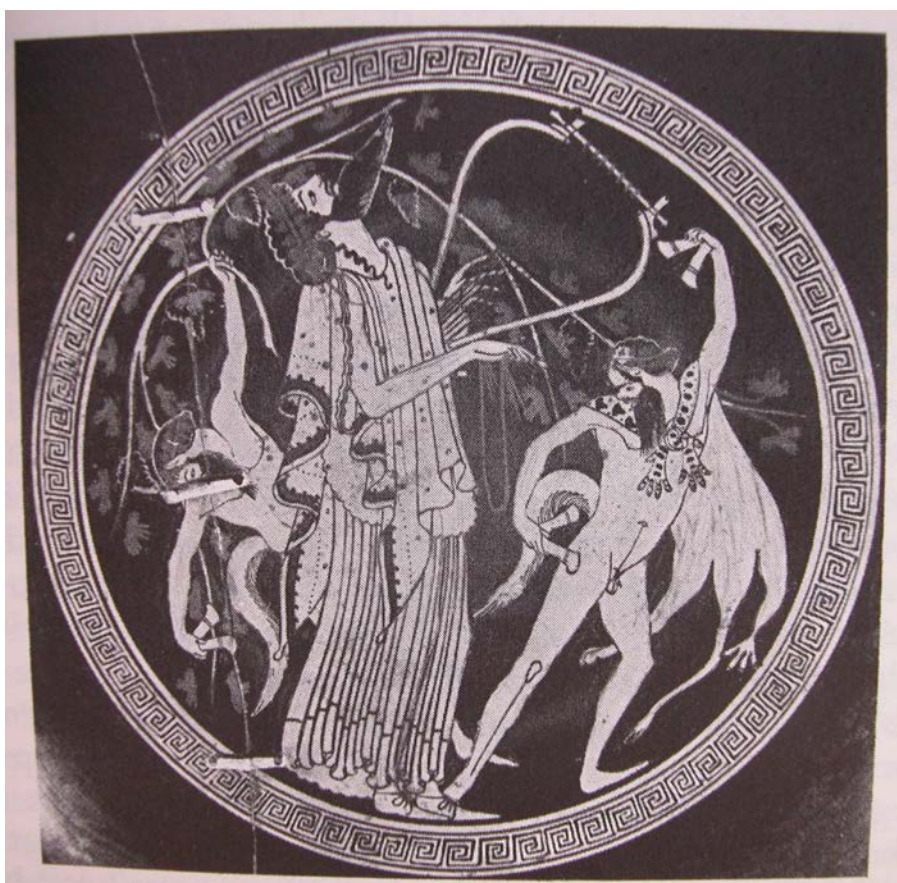


Fig. 140. Greece, ca. 500-490 B.C., red-figure kylix by Brygos painter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 576). Foto: Mathiesen 1999, vol. 2: 165, fig. 12.



Fig. 141. Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, Triclinium, second- fourth centuries A.D., floor mosaic (Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia). Foto: Ovadiah 1987: no 69, pl. 40.



Fig. 142. Africa north, Egypt, fifth to seventh centuries A.D., wool (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Charles Potter Kling Fund, 53.18). Foto: *The age of spirituality* 1979: 144, no 123.

Instead, another type, that of the so-called forked cymbals, which are basically crotales with an addition of small cymbals at the two ends striking each other, is depicted. All the scenes are dated between the second and fourth centuries A.D. Most depictions are located in Syria (fig. 38), Israel (fig. 141), Egypt (fig. 142)⁴⁷⁹ and Carthage (fig. 37)⁴⁸⁰, while one scene is from the Constantinopolitan Hippodrome (fig. 58) and two from Italy (figs. 36 and 50)⁴⁸¹. The musical instrument is depicted as part of the ensemble accompanying banqueting moments (Syria, Carthage, Italy ?), the hippodrome's events (Constantinople) and Dionysian imagery (Egypt, Israel). It may have been a musical instrument used in the musical life of the Roman Empire at different times and in different territories separated by a great distance but of the same 'Ecoumene'.

The exclusive use of stringed and wind musical instruments along with singing during sacrifices are declared by two writers that lived in Italy. For example Cicero (second to first century B.C.) reports that the 'law of the Twelve Tables required that the veneration of the gods be accompanied by singing, stringed musical instruments (*fidibus*) and tibiae':

⁴⁷⁹ See also dancing female figure with forked cymbals: Egypt, fourth century A.D., textile (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Byzantinische Sammlung, 9243) in Fleischhauer 1964: 82, 83, fig. 46.

⁴⁸⁰ See also female figure of April with forked cymbals, Carthage, fourth century A.D., mosaic (London, British Museum) in Salzman 1990: fig. 72.

⁴⁸¹ See also young Erotes playing aulos, syrinx, tympanon and forked cymbals, end of the third century A.D. (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano) in Wegner 1966: 52, no 130, pl. 142c and 145a.

Loedis publicis, quod sine curriculo et sine certatione corporum fiat, popularem laetiam in cantu et fidibus et tibiis moderanto eamque cum divum honore iungunto. (De legibus ii.9.22)⁴⁸²

The term *fidibus* used by Cicero may imply the kithara or lyre as no lutes are depicted among the sacrificial scenes or referred to elsewhere in the contemporary literary sources but instead the kithara and lyre are the only stringed musical instruments not only mentioned in the literature but also portrayed among all the types of sacrifices.

Horatius from first century B.C. Rome, speaking about incense sacrifices, uses the same term *fidibus*. ‘Mit Weihrauch, Saitenspiel und wohlverdientem Kalbsblut wollen wir die Götter ehren, die den Numida beschützten’⁴⁸³:

Et ture et fidibus iuvat placare et vituli sanguine debito custodes Numidae deos (Carmina book i, 36)⁴⁸⁴.

7.4 Philological sources from the Roman Empire

7.4.1 The sacrifices of the Greek area

The musical instruments used during sacrifices in the Greek area are mentioned in a number of texts. Aulos, syrinx and kithara are present, but during sacrifices to chthonic Gods no music is used and the sacrifice is completed in silence.

Pseudo-Plutarch, during the second century A.D., in his work *On music* mentions the use of the auloi, syrinx and kithara in the cult of Hyperboreans, who keep temples on the island of Delos, Greece:

και τα εξ Υπερβορέων δ'ιερά μετ' αυλών και συρίγγων και κιθάρας εις την Δήλον φασι το παλαιόν στέλλεσθαι (De Musica b.1-3)⁴⁸⁵.

while dancing and aulos music are connected with the sacrifices to God:

δήλον δ' εκ των χορών και των θυσιών, ας προσήγον μετ' αυλών τω θεώ (De Musica f. 7-8)⁴⁸⁶.

The same combination of musical instruments aulos, syrinx and kithara is also mentioned in a Greek inscription from Magnesia on the river Maeander, where instructions

⁴⁸² Quasten 1983: 4. 22, footnote 25. The Quasten's translation of the term *fidibus* as 'lutes' is replaced with the more general 'stringed musical instruments'.

⁴⁸³ Translation: 'With the aim of incense, the playing of stringed musical instruments and the blood of the calf, we praise Gods who protect Numida.'

⁴⁸⁴ Horatius 1964: 54, 55.

⁴⁸⁵ Quasten 1983: 21, footnote 14. The term 'lyra' used from Quasten is replaced with the 'kithara' of the original.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.: 21, footnote 15.

are given for preparing a *lectisternium* on the agora where: ‘akroamata (performances) given by aulos, syrinx and kithara players are available’:

*παρεχέτω δε και ακροάματα αυλητήν συριστήν κεθαριστήν.*⁴⁸⁷

Lucian of Samosata during the second century A.D. mentions the simultaneous presence of dancing and music represented by singing and the use of aulos and kithara at sacrifices on Delos: ‘At Delos, indeed, even the sacrifices were not without dancing, but were performed with that and with music. Choirs of boys came together, and while they moved and sang to the accompaniment of aulos and kithara, those who had been selected from among them as the best performed an interpretative dance. Indeed, the songs that were written for these choirs were called Hyporchemas (interpretative dances) and lyric poetry is full of them’:

*Εν Δήλω δε γε ουδέ αι θυσίαι άνευ ορχήσεως αλλά συν ταύτη και μετά μουσικής εγίνοντο. παίδων χοροί συνελθόντες υπ’ αυλώ και κιθάρα οι μεν εχόρευον, υπωχρούντο δε οι άριστοι προκριθέντες εξ αυτών. τα γουν τοις χοροίς γραφόμενα τούτοις άσματα υπορχήματα εκαλείτο και εμπέπληστο των τοιούτων η λύρα (The dance 16)*⁴⁸⁸.

A text titled as *Bibliotheca* and which has been falsly identified as composed by Apollodoros, is dated by the scholars between the first and second centuries A.D. The text, although composed in Roman times, contains important elements from earlier periods such as the archaic and classical. From the mythological context a reference is cited about Greek sacrifices on the island of Paros during which aulos music was absent. ‘But when the tidings of his death were brought to Minos, as he was sacrificing to the Graces in Paros, he threw away the garland from his head and stopped the music of the aulos, but nevertheless completed the sacrifice; hence down to this day they sacrifice to the Graces in Paros without auloi and garlands.’:

*Μινώς δε αγγελθέντος αυτώ του θανάτου θύων εν Πάρω τοις Χάρισιν τον μεν στέφανον από της κεφαλής έρριψε, και τον αυλόν κατέσχε, την δε θυσίαν ουδέν ήττον επετέλεσεν. όθεν έτι και δεύρο χωρίς αυλών και στεφάνων εν Πάρω θύουσι ταις Χάρισιν. (Bibliotheca book 3. 15,7)*⁴⁸⁹

According to Quasten the ritual on Paros island was connected with a chthonic deity, while according to Pausanias (8, 38, 7) and Sophocles (*Oidipus* 489) the sacrifices in honor of Zeus

⁴⁸⁷ Quasten 1983: 3. The inscription was first published in Kern 1900: 83.

⁴⁸⁸ Lucian 2001: 228-231. The ‘flute’ and ‘lyra’ of the translator is replaced with aulos and kithara of the original.

⁴⁸⁹ Apollodoros 1921, vol. 2: 116-117, see also Quasten 1983: 21, footnote 10. The term ‘flute’ of the translator is replaced with ‘aulos’ of the original.

Lykaios or the Furies show that music was frequently lacking at sacrifices to chthonic deities⁴⁹⁰.

7.4.2 Other writers

Similarly, Lucian reports that the inhabitants of Hierapolis, Syria sacrificed to Zeus, whose cult evokes the ritual of chthonic deities in silence, without singing and aulos playing. On the contrary when they sacrificed to Hera they played auloi and krotala : ‘They sacrifice to Zeus in silence, without singing and without the playing of auloi, but when they begin [the sacrifice] to Hera, they sing, blow the auloi and make a racket with their krotala ’:

*Δί μιν ὡν κατ’ ἡσυχίην θύουσιν οὔτε αεῖδοντες οὔτε αὐλέοντες. εὐτ’ ἂν δε τη Ἥρη κατὰ χρωμάτων αεῖδουσι τε καὶ αὐλέουσι καὶ κρόταλα επικροτέουσι (De Syria Dea 44)*⁴⁹¹.

In the same work Lucian describes, some lines later, the ‘orgies’ honouring Isis. There, the Galloi, the priests of Isis, together with other religious men execute the ceremonies. There are also tympana and aulos players and singers: ‘And on set days the multitude assembles in the sanctuary, and many Galloi and the religious men that I spoke of perform their ceremonies; and they cut their own arms and beat one another on the back. And many stand there playing auloi and beating tympana, and others sing inspired and holy songs. This is done outside the temple, and they who perform it do not come into the temple’:

*Ἐν ρητήσι δε ἡμέρησι το μιν πλήθος ες το ἱρόν ἀγείρονται, Γάλλοι δε πολλοί καὶ τοὺς ἐλέξα, οἱ ἱροὶ ἀνθρώποι, τελέουσι τα ὄργια, τάμνονταί τε τοὺς πήχεας καὶ τοῖσι νώτοισι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τύπτονται. πολλοὶ δε σφίσι παρεστεώτες ἐπαυλέουσι, πολλοὶ δε τύμπανα παταγέουσι, ἄλλοι δε αεῖδουσιν ἔνθεα καὶ ἱρά ἄσματα. το δε ἔργον ἐκτός του νηοῦ τόδε γίνεταί, οὐδέ εσέρχονται ες τον νηόν οκόσοι τόδε ποιέουσιν. (De Syria Dea 50)*⁴⁹²

A work compiled by Jews and Christians between the second and the fifth centuries A.D. in imitation of the pagan *Sibylline Oracles* contains a passage where the writers speak about *Hades*, the underworld, and its inhabitants who: ‘They pour no blood on altars in sacrificial libations, the tympanum sounds not nor does the cymbal, nor does the much pierced aulos with its frenzied voice, nor the syrinx, bearing the likeness of a crooked serpent, nor the trumpet, barbarous sounding herald of wars; neither are there drunkards in lawless carousals or in dances, nor the sound of the kithara, nor a wicked contrivance; nor is there

⁴⁹⁰ Quasten 1983: 2, 3, 21 footnote 12.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.: 3, 21 footnote 13. The term ‘flutes’ and ‘cymbals’ used by Quasten for the translation of the passage is replaced with the terms auloi and krotala of the original.

⁴⁹² Lucian 1961. The term ‘flute’ of the translator is replaced with the auloi which is closer to the *epauleousi* of the original and the ‘timbrels’ with tympana.

strife, nor manifold wrath, nor a sword among the dead, but a new era for all' (*Sibylline Oracles*, book viii, 113-121)⁴⁹³.

The actual connection of all the mentioned musical instruments with the ritual of the sacrifice seems unclear as many different things referred to throughout this passage are unrelated to one another. Nevertheless, all the mentioned instruments are, according to the sources, connected with the sacrifices.

The opposition of the Christian writers to the practice of the contemporary pagan sacrifices is, of course, part of a general polemic against the pagan customs, usually including musical practice. According to their writings, the bloody and incense sacrifices should be replaced by the 'spiritual sacrifice' consisting of prayers and psalms to God. The material, earthly smoke of the incense and the blood of the sacrificed animals offered on the altar should be replaced by the spiritual hymns and prayers that praise God as, for example, Tertullian (c.170-c.225 A.D.) mentions: 'we must bring amid psalms and hymns to the altar of God, and it will obtain from God all that we ask' (*De oratione* xxviii, 4)⁴⁹⁴. And Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-c.215 A.D.): 'His entire life is a sacred festival. His sacrifices are prayers and praise, converse with the Scriptures before the banquet, psalms and hymns at the banquet and before bed, and prayers again during the night' (*Stromata* 7, vii, 49)⁴⁹⁵.

Hardly any extensive or detailed descriptions concerning the musical practice during sacrifices are to be found among the Christian polemic texts. An interesting exception is a passage from Tertullian, well known for his polemic against the pagan musical instruments, who mentions the use of tibiae and tubae along with the bloody and 'incense sacrifice': 'The path to the theatre is from the temples and the altars, from that miserable mess of incense and blood, to the tune of tibias and tubas; and the masters of the ceremonies are those two all-polluted adjuncts of funeral and sacrifice, the undertaker and the soothsayer':

*Apparatus etiam ex ea parte consortes, qua ad scaenam a temples et aris et illa infelicitate turis et sanguinis inter tibias et tubas itur duobus inquinatissimis arbitris funerum et sacrorum, dissignatore et haruspice. (De spectaculis x)*⁴⁹⁶

It is not clear in this passage if both tibiae and tubae are connected only with sacrifices or with funerals as well. In the event that the tuba is connected with sacrificial ritual in the sayings of Tertullian, this will be the second time, since there is one more such reference, clear this time, in the contemporary *Sibillyne Oracles*. Roman Italian scenes will connect tubae

⁴⁹³ McKinnon 1987: 26, no 39.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.: 44, no 79. For the Latine original text see in *PL* 1: 1194-5.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.: 36, no 61. For the Greek original see in *PG* 9: 469.

⁴⁹⁶ Tertullian 1984: 256-257. The terms 'flute and trumpet' of the translator are replaced with tibias and tuba of the original.

with the sacrificial ritual of Suovetaurilia, while no tubae are never connected with funerary environment in the Roman scenes.

As the tubae are depicted on Roman Italian scenes with ceremonies leading to a sacrifice, for example to Suovetaurilia, the mentioned tubae could be connected with the leading parade and not with the action of sacrifice itself. The combination of the sacrificial moment and preceding procession can be seen in fig. 180 where the two separate actions are composed in one scene. Of course no certain information can be gained until more comparable data is available.

7.5 Roman pictorial evidence

7.5.1 The sacrifices of the Dionysian ritual

Dionysos was imported from Asia Minor to North Thrace, Greece⁴⁹⁷, while the Dionysian depictions start from the archaic period and grew in importance during Roman times⁴⁹⁸. The Dionysian mysteries became known to the Hellenised cities of the Eastern Mediterranean during Hellenistic times and in the area of Egypt. In these Dionysian mysteries, consisting of processions and offerings, music had an important role. In archaic vases Dionysos is depicted playing the lyre⁴⁹⁹, while in the art of classical Antiquity Dionysos is sometimes represented playing or holding a barbiton or tympanon. For example, two Attic vases from classical Athens showing Dionysos and a satyr dancing to the drum music of a maenad⁵⁰⁰ as well as Dionysos playing the barbiton and a dancing satyr playing the krotala⁵⁰¹. A floor mosaic from Delos, Greece of the second century B.C. represents Dionysos riding on a leopard while he holds a tympanon⁵⁰². As far as the aulos (single or double) is concerned, it is the instrument of his followers, but in Greek art and literature the god is never depicted or mentioned playing it⁵⁰³. Moreover, the so-called Phrygian double aulos, the Greek *elymos* (ἐλύμος), which was, until recently, believed to have come from Asia Minor was known to the island of Crete at least one thousand years before the importing of the Asiatic cult to the Greek area, as the sacrificial scene on the sarcophagus found at Agia Triada, Crete testifies (fig. 136).

⁴⁹⁷ Wegner 1986a: 506.

⁴⁹⁸ Kazhdan / Cutler / Talbot 1991, vol. 1: 631.

⁴⁹⁹ Wegner 1986a: 506. The lyre is associated with Apollo and for this reason later the artists will decide to replace it with the barbiton in order to differentiate the Apollonian from the Dionysian.

⁵⁰⁰ München, Staatliche Antikensammlung, 2361 (J. 776).

⁵⁰¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 576.

⁵⁰² In situ. Dunbabin 1999: 37, fig. 38. For more Dionysian depictions see Hunger 1988: 133-135 and Senff / Ley 2000: 662-664. For a bibliography about Dionysos see Hunger 1988: 137-139. For more Roman Dionysian works with musical elements see Wille 1967: 530-533.

⁵⁰³ Anderson 1980: 483.

From the depictions with Dionysian subject matter related to the chronological limits of this study, a part is dedicated to the Dionysian sacrificial ritual where the followers of Dionysos, Maenads, satyrs and Silenus participate in a sacrifice or offering. The musical accompaniment seems to be an important element as it is always present in the scenes and the male or female musicians are placed close to the female figure executing the offering. Apart from two scenes, the god is not present, in contrast to the ancient classical depictions where the god plays music and is always present.

The musical instruments portrayed differ between the classical and the later depictions. For example, the *krotala* and the *barbitos* depicted in classical scenes are never present in any later Dionysian scene. The later scenes can be divided into sacrificial ones and those with a general Dionysiac subject matter. Between them common elements, but also differences in the portrayed musical instruments are recognized. For example, cymbals, tympanon, syrinx, double aulos and lyre are represented in both groups. The *elymos*, forked cymbals and *salpinx* are never depicted among the sacrificial scenes even if they are present in the other contemporary Dionysian ones. Apart from the *elymos*, the forked cymbals and the *salpinx* are also present in other contemporary scenes revealing musical instruments used in the musical life of the epoch. The winged tympanon, present in the contemporary Italian theatrical scenes, is present in a sacrificial scene but never in the rest. The syrinx with the pipes of equal length is present in a sacrificial scene from first century B.C. Pompeii while it is also present on a gladiator's helmet from first century A.D. Pompeii (fig. 80) which connects the musical instruments depicted with the theatre. As the syrinx with the equal pipes is located to Pompeian works, while the syrinx with the pipes of unequal length is more usually depicted in the other scenes, it could be an artistic copy of earlier models that characterises the Pompeian creations.

The earliest scene showing a Dionysian sacrificial ritual is found on a Greek vase from Ruvo, Italy, where a tympanon and cymbals are accompanying the important moment (**fig. 143**)⁵⁰⁴. The scene is presented in two rows. The upper one to the left shows a seated Silenus and next to him, in the centre, the nude Dionysos is seated beside a seated Maenad playing a winged tympanon and looking at him. The membrane of the tympanon is decorated with a picture of a wreath and has ribbons around the rim. Another Maenad to the right holds a thyrsos and a plate (?) over the crater placed to her feet, as if pouring a libation. In the lower line one more Maenad, to the right, is playing cymbals facing to the right, where an altar and a wreathed female figure sacrificing a goat are placed. Before the altar, which is decorated

⁵⁰⁴ Quasten 1983: 3, pl. 1.

with the drawing of a bull's head, a small male figure is depicted holding a thyrsus, while to the right a Maenad brings a tray with elements for the sacrifice.



Fig. 143. Italy, Ruvo, fourth century B.C., vase (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Alinari BGA-F-5750). Foto: Quasten 1983: 3, pl. 1.

The use of the tympanon and the cymbals during the Dionysian cult is confirmed by a great number of depictions from classical to Roman times. Hellenistic depictions will connect the use of the cymbals, the syrinx and the lyre, the tympanon and the double aulos with Dionysian sacrificial rituals. All these musical instruments are also present in many combinations not only within the contemporary scenes with Dionysian subject matter but also in the great number of scenes dated through the Roman times until the end of late Antiquity. No literary sources will confirm the depicted musical customs related with sacrifices honouring Dionysos.

The most detailed depiction of a Dionysian sacrificial ritual must be the fresco located in the Pompeian villa of the Mysteries dated to the first century B.C. (**fig. 144**)⁵⁰⁵. The musical instruments shown on the fresco, that covers the walls of a large room, are the lyre, the syrinx and the cymbals. From left to right a group of four female figures is depicted. In front of the table for the sacrifice, a wreathed seated married woman distinguishable from the others, because of her chiton, mantle and headgear, is executing the libation, while three maidens are helping her. Two of them are wreathed and the third carries the tray with the

⁵⁰⁵ Mazzoleni / Pappalardo 2005: 112-113 (102-120).

offerings while the other pours the liquid for the libation from a small vessel. The third is not wreathed, thus may not participating, and could be a slave.



Fig. 144. Pompeii, Villa of mysteries, Megalographie in room b, first century B.C., fresco (in situ). Foto: Mazzoleni / Pappalardo 2005: 106.

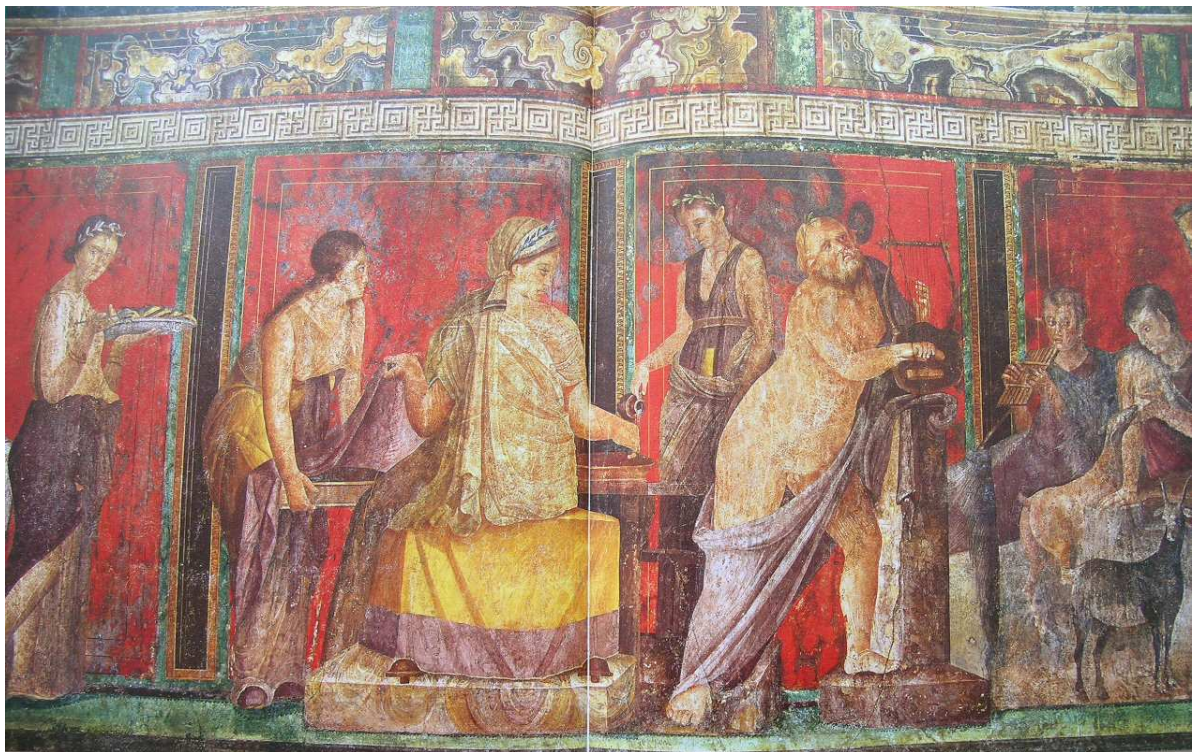


Fig. 144. Detail. Foto: Mazzoleni / Pappalardo 2005: 112-113.

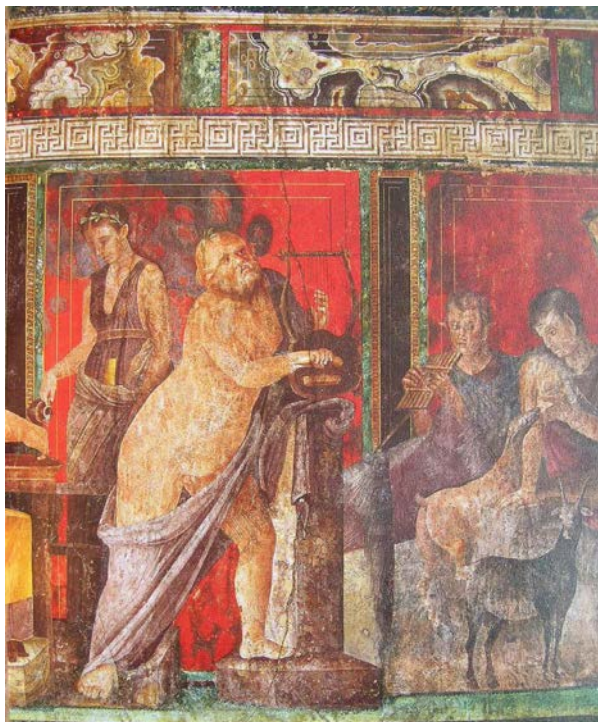


Fig. 144. Detail.

The Greek writer Diodorus Siculus who lived in Sicily (first century B.C.), writing about Dionysos refers to the Dionysian mysteries where ‘virgins are to brandish the thyrsos exult before the god while the married women offer the sacrifice’:

και ταις παρθένοις νόμιμον είναι θυρσοφορεῖν και συνενθουσιάζειν εναζούσαις και τιμώνσαις τον θεόν, τας δε γυναίκας κατά συστήματα θυσιάζειν των θεώ και βακχεύειν και καθόλου την παρουσίαν υμνεῖν του Διονύσου. (Bibliotheca historica book 4, chapter 3, line 3)⁵⁰⁶



Fig. 145. Greece, Pella, grave of the east Nekropole, middle of the second century B.C., clay (Pella, Archaeological Museum, B.E. 1977.230). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 163, no 52.

⁵⁰⁶ Quasten 1983: 4, 21, footnote 21.

A semi-nude wreathed old man (Silenus) is shown to the right playing a lyre with seven strings with the fingers of his left hand touching the strings and the right hand holding the plektron. Even though he is so closely placed to the table for the sacrifice as if accompanying the procession with his music, he is looking and turned to the right perhaps because the artist is interested in depicting the whole musical instrument in detail and he may be copying a statue with a kithara player leaning on a column replacing the kithara with the lyre suitable to his scene. For example, a statue from second century B.C. Greece portrays such a position with the kithara depicted resting on a column (**fig. 145**)⁵⁰⁷.

This type of lyre depicted here is unique among its contemporary scenes and also among those from Pompeii. It could be a copy of a Greek prototype as this type of lyre is often depicted in Greek art works of the fifth century B.C.⁵⁰⁸ and on a coin from Ko, Greece dated to the second century B.C. which connects it with Apollo⁵⁰⁹. Later, the lyre will frequently be depicted on works all from first century A.D. Pompeii e.g. frescoes⁵¹⁰ a glass amphora⁵¹¹, a marble relief (fig. 104) and a gladiator's helmet (fig. 80) connected with Dionysos and his followers.



Fig. 146. Greece, fourth century B.C., coin (Athens, Numismatic Museum, 1892/3 KΘ no 720). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 147, no 41.

⁵⁰⁷ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 162, no 52.

⁵⁰⁸ See the vase paintings for example in *Dons des Muses* 2003: 250, no 126 and 251, no 127 and the funeral stele with Nikoboule and Firkia holding a lyre, Athens, Kallithea, fifth century B.C., marble (Pireaus: Archaeological museum, MII 3499) in *Dons des Muses* 2003: 249, no 125.

⁵⁰⁹ Apollo, lyre (Athens, Numismatical museum, 1891/2ΚΣΤ 590 in *Dons des Muses* 2003: 137, no 31.

⁵¹⁰ Hermaphrodite, Silenus with lyre, Maenad, House of Vettii, triclinio, east wall (in situ) in Mazzoleni 2005: 334 and Grimal 1993: no 56 / Silenus with double aulos, Maenad with lyre, House of Bracciale d' Oro, Garden, Predella (in situ) in Mazzoleni / Pappalardo 2005: 263 / Nymphé with lyre, Casa di Iasone, IX 5,18 (Naples, Museo Archeologico, 111473) in Kraus 1973: 210, no 300.

⁵¹¹ Banqueting erotes and eros playing lyre, Pompeii, from a tomb, first century A.D. (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 13521) in Kraus 1973: 165, no 208, Kraus 1967: 278, fig. 373a and Fleischauer 1964: 74, 75, fig. 38.

Next to Silenus two young male figures (satyrs) are seated on the rocks, one holding a syrinx with seven pipes of the same length in front of his mouth and the second one looking at one of the two goats approaching him. This type of syrinx with the same number of pipes all in the same length is found on a coin of Arkades, Greece dated to the fourth century B.C. (**fig. 146**)⁵¹² where the head of Pan, born in Arkadia, is connected with the syrinx. A satyr is depicted playing a similar syrinx, maybe with more pipes, in a statuette from third century B.C. Samothrake, Greece (**fig. 147**)⁵¹³, while Attis is holding a syrinx with seven pipes of equal length in a statue from Amphipolis, Greece of the second century B.C. (fig. 117). This type of syrinx was tuned with the aim of wax that was placed inside the lower part of the pipes. Different amounts of wax were used to close the openings and obtain tubes of varying lengths producing multiple tunings.



Fig. 147. Greece, Samothrake, north nekropole, third century B.C., clay (Komotene, ATK 11940). Foto: *Dons des Muses* 2003: 201, no 89.

The cult of Attis is mixed with that of Cybele on Roman depictions⁵¹⁴ and both with Dionysian imagery. This interchange is oft depicted in scenes from the first century to third century A.D., while contemporary art works show a hanging syrinx or tympanon in a clearly Dionysian context. The earliest one is to be found on a glass kamee from first century B.C. to first century A.D. Pompeii (fig. 110). As the hanging syrinx from Pompeii's kamee belongs to the type with the equal pipes' lengths and as an Etruscan depiction of the third century B.C.

⁵¹² *Dons des Muses* 2003: 147, no 41.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*: 200, no 89.

⁵¹⁴ See the chapter with the hanged musical instruments.

(fig. 20) shows the syrinx with unequal pipes' lengths as well as the later Dionysian depictions with hanging syrinx, while the type with equal lengths seems to disappear, the kamee and the fresco from Pompeii seem to copy a Greek organological prototype.

A scene with Dionysos and his followers is next in the huge scene of fig. 144 while the winged female figure seen near the figure of Dionysos is also to be found on a gold diadem with a Dionysiac thiasos of the end of the fourth century B.C. Amphipolis, Greece (fig. 148)⁵¹⁵. This is one more element supporting the assumption of copied Greek models.



Fig. 148. Dionysiac thiasos, Amphipolis, Greece, end of the fourth century B.C., gold diadem (Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum, 2909). *Dons des Muses* 2003: 275, no 145.

The following scene shows a group of four female figures. To the left a semi-nude woman is resting her head on the legs of the seated one, who is wearing a long chiton and shoes. She could be the one joining the Dionysian ritual, the initiate, the new member of the sacred community. One more woman (Maenad) holding a thyrsos is watching the action while a nude female figure (Maenad) is playing the cymbals over her head.

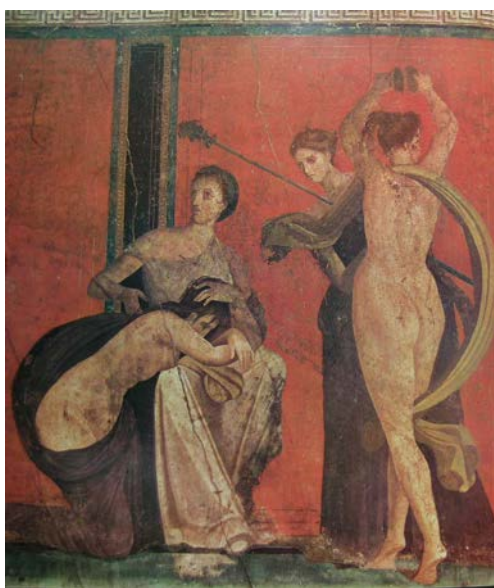


Fig. 144. Detail. Foto: Mazzoleni / Pappalardo 2005: 114.

⁵¹⁵ *Dons des Muses* 2003: 274-275, no 145.

As there are only three depictions with this type of cymbals all from Italy of the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. and the archaeological finds of cymbals from Pompeii are without date (**fig. 149**)⁵¹⁶ only assumptions can be made about the use of the cymbals in the musical life of the fresco's epoch.



Fig. 149. Pair of cymbals, Pompeii, II, 4, 3, unknown date, bronze (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 10159).
Foto: *Riscoprire Pompeii* 1993: 164, no 7.

The first depiction is the Pompeiian mosaic of the second century B.C. Cicero's villa (fig. 92) where the cymbals are played by the theatrical performer, in front of his chest, probably revealing a musical instrument of the epoch imported to Italy from Greece together with the theatrical plays. Cymbals played in the same playing position survive in a statuette from classical Athens showing an actor (fig. 87). The same playing position is also shown on the fresco with a Maenad playing cymbals from the Casa dei Vetti, Pompeii of the first century A.D. (**fig. 150**)⁵¹⁷.

The playing position over the head is depicted on a relief from the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century A.D. Rome (**fig. 151**)⁵¹⁸ representing a Dionysian scene where a Maenad is playing the type of cymbals shown in the villa of Mysteries. As a mosaic from third century A.D. Aventin, Italy shows female krotala players playing with their hands raised over their heads in a scene related with wine drinking and possibly Dionysos (fig. 85) and no other Roman scene contains such a playing position, it seems that it could be a local custom.

⁵¹⁶ *Riscoprire Pompeii* 1993: 163, no 7.

⁵¹⁷ Mazzoleni / Pappalardo 2005: 338-353.

⁵¹⁸ Fleischhauer 1964: 76, 77, fig. 39.

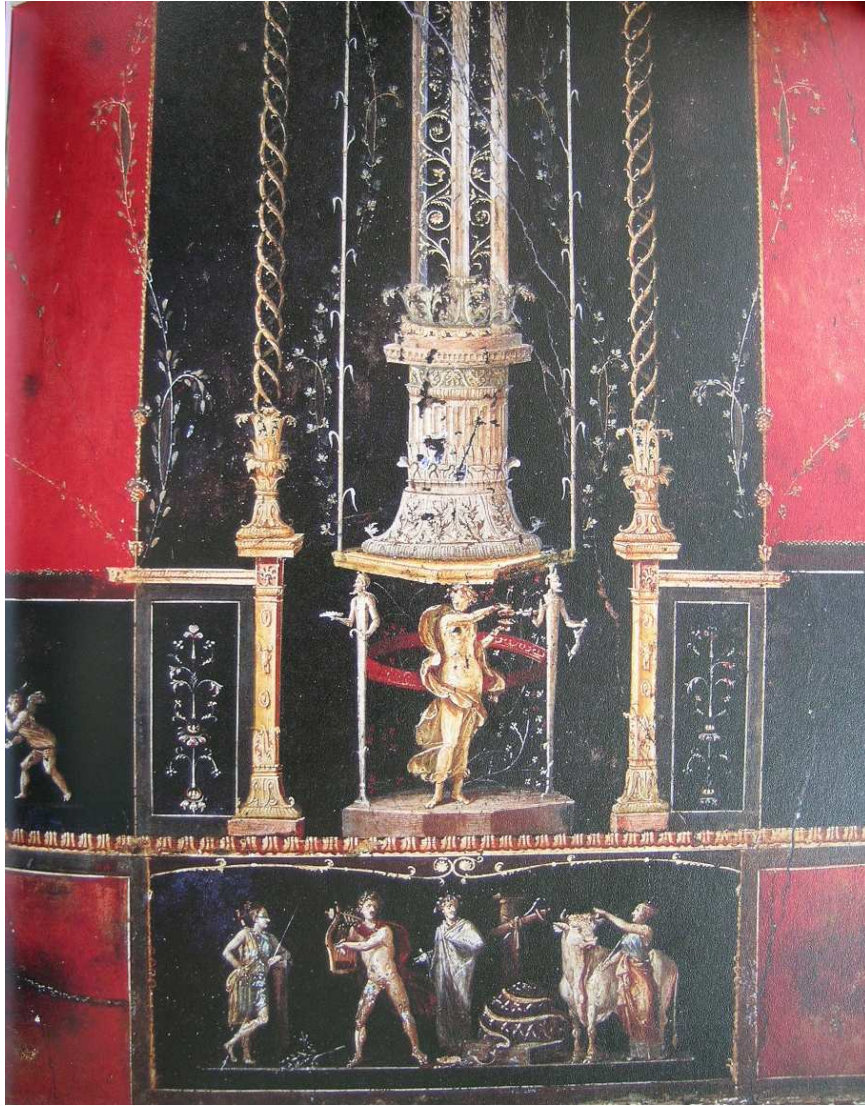


Fig. 150. Pompeii, Casa dei Vettii, triclinio (c), first century A.D., fresco (in situ). Foto: Mazzoleni / Pappalardo 2005: 345.



Fig. 150. Detail.



Fig. 151. Rome, end of the first to beginning of the second century A.D., marble relief (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 06684). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 77, fig. 39.

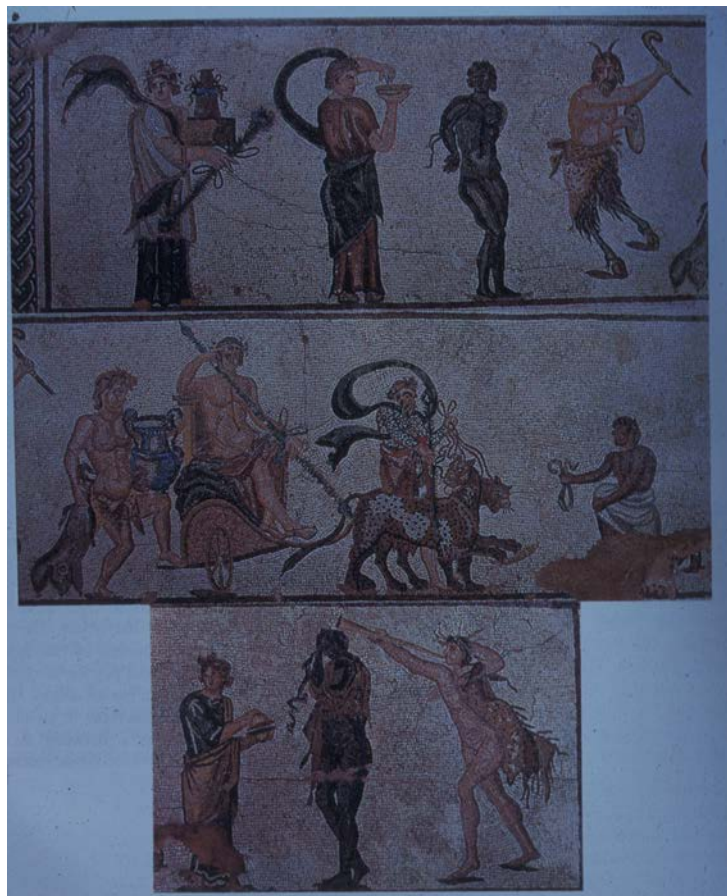


Fig. 152. Cyprus, Nea Pafos, House of Dionysos, end of the second century A.D. to beginning of the third century A.D., floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Daszewski / Michaelides 1988: 25.



Fig. 153. Syria, Antioch, House of Dionysos and Ariadne, third century A.D., mosaic (in situ). Foto: ¹ Levi 1947: 151, pl. xxixb.

As later Roman depictions, for example, from Cyprus (**fig. 152**)⁵¹⁹, Israel (fig. 141), Rome (fig. 118) and Antioch (**fig. 153**)⁵²⁰ show this type of cymbals among Dionysian scenes but not among musical scenes of daily life where the forked cymbals are portrayed, it can be assumed that their use could have been abandoned and replaced by the so oft-depicted forked cymbals. The mosaic of Hama (fig. 38) is of course the only exception, not enough to support another assumption.

The presence of cymbals and not of an aerophone or a chordophone must be connected with the rite of initiation to the Dionysian mysteries for the new member, seen covering her head with her hands. This procession was intended to purify the inner man from sin and guilt and place him in a state of enlightenment⁵²¹. The important noisy music that was believed to drive away demons that stained the soul and disturbed the holy process is used here together with dancing. Plato, speaking about the initiation rites of the Corybantes, mentions that ‘those who were already members would dance about those being initiated’:

*ποιείτον δε ταυτόν, ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν θρόνωσιν ποιῶσι περὶ τούνον, ὅτ’ ἀν μέλλωσι τελείν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τις ἐστὶ καὶ παιδιά, εἰ ἄρα καὶ τετέλεσαι καὶ νῦν τούτῳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χορεύετο περὶ σε καὶ οἶον ὀρχεῖσθον παίζοντε, ὡς μετὰ τοῦτο τελούντε. (Euthydemos 7. 277)*⁵²²

Some centuries later, Lucian in his book *Περὶ ὀρχήσεως* (*The dance*) states: ‘I forbear to say that not a single ancient mystery-cult can be found that is without dancing, since they were established, of course, by Orpheus and Musaeus, the best dancers of that time, who

⁵¹⁹ Michaelides 1992: 23-29, no 10.

⁵²⁰ Levi 1947: 141-155, pl. xxixb.

⁵²¹ Quasten 1983: 33.

⁵²² Ibid.: 33, 44, footnote 4.

included it in their prescriptions as something exceptionally beautiful to be initiated with rhythm and dancing. To prove that this is so, although it behoves me to observe silence about the rites on account of the uninitiated, nevertheless there is one thing that everybody has heard; namely, that those who let out the mysteries in conversation are commonly said to ‘dance them out’:

Εὖ λέγειν, ὅτι τελετὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀρχαίαν ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν ἀνεὺ ὀρχήσεως, Ὀρφέως δηλαδὴ καὶ Μουσαίου, τῶν τότε ἀρίστων ὀρχηστῶν καταστησαμένων αὐτάς, ὡς τι κάλλιστον καὶ τοῦτο νομοθετησάντων, σὺν ρυθμῷ καὶ ὀρχήσει μνεῖσθαι. ὅτι δ' οὕτως ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὄργια σιωπᾶν ἄξιον τῶν ἀμυήτων ἔνεκα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντες ἀκούουσι, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξαγορεύοντας τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχεῖσθαι λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοί. (The dance 15)⁵²³

The covering of the head of the newly-initiated member and the presence of a female carrying a tympanon is depicted on the stucco from the Villa della Farnesina, Rome dated between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. (**fig. 154**)⁵²⁴. Before the altar a Silenus brings the liknon, the sacred basket containing fruit, covered with a cloth, while the initiate stands on the other side of the altar with the head covered with a cloak and holding a thyrsos in his right hand. Behind him a female figure in a long dress looks at the second one to the right carrying the tympanon. A column and a tree where textiles hang complete the background decoration.

The winged tympanon depicted here is connected with theatrical scenes from Italy, as early as the fourth century B.C. It should be imported from Greece in order to fulfil the musical needs of the Greeks that immigrated South Italy (see the chapter on the winged tympanon).

A different moment of the sacrificial ceremony is depicted on another stucco relief from the same villa (**fig. 155**)⁵²⁵. A Maenad is lighting the sacrificial fire on the altar with two torches, while a semi-nude satyr standing behind her accompanies the action on a double aulos with long pipes and no bore. This type of long tibiae must be a local variation used within the theatre and sacrifices as testified to by the archaeological finds of the musical instrument (fig. 96) and the contemporary depictions from Pompeii (figs. 95, 133 and 106). To the left a nude Silenus is portrayed with a thyrsos in his left hand and his right arm resting upon a pedestal. Behind the pedestal a veiled woman can be seen attending the whole process. On the background a column decorated with garlands is depicted.

⁵²³ Lucian 2001: 228, 229.

⁵²⁴ *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1982: 138-139, 183, no 1072, pl. 78.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*: 193, 225, no 1037, fig. 113.



Fig. 154. Rome, Villa della Farnesina, first century B.C.-first century A.D., stucco relief (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1072). Foto: *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1982: 183, pl. 78.



Fig. 155. Rome, Villa della Farnesina, first century B.C.-first century A.D., stucco relief (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1037). Foto: *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1982: 225, fig. 113.

A player of the shorter type of double aulos is present in a pateragriff from the end of first century A.D. Tunis showing an offering to Dionysos (**fig. 156**)⁵²⁶. A semi-nude Silenus is playing the double aulos in front of the standing god, who faces him, and a small altar where fruit is placed. Dionysos holds a pineapple. To the right a satyr is holding a thyrsos,

⁵²⁶ Kraus 1967: 277, fig. 370a.

while another one on the left edge is carrying an animal possibly to be immolated. On the lower line baskets of fruit and rabbits are depicted as well as a pair of cymbals connected with a chain in the centre of the scene under the figure of Dionysos.



Fig. 156. Tunis, Hippo Diarrhytos (Bizerta), end of the first century A.D., silver (Tunis, Musee national du Bardo, E3). Foto: Kraus 1967: 277, fig. 370a.

The artist presents some characteristic elements of the Dionysian cult placed one beside the other without movement or mood, to present something real but in symbols. The figures are standing doing nothing towards the procedure of the sacrifice. Only the musician is blowing the double aulos suggesting the important role of music. As this type of double aulos, with the short tube and the olmoi, is present in contemporary Italian theatrical scenes (figs. 97, 102) and sacrificial scenes from Rome (fig. 182) it could be an instrument from the musical life of the artist's epoch, familiar to him.

The exchange of elements between the cult of Dionysos and Cybele can be seen in a Dionysian offering scene on a clay relief from first century B.C. Italy (**fig. 157**)⁵²⁷. Before the altar, where a female figure is executing a fruit offering, a Maenad to the left is carrying a thyrsos and a tympanon. Behind her, Pan is playing a double aulos with no bore.

The right part of the scene is occupied by the holy tree under which the altar is placed. A pair of cymbals and a syrinx with seven or eight tubes of different length hang from the branches. All the musical instruments seem to be of the artist's epoch as they are present in contemporary scenes showing musical moments of Roman everyday life. So, despite the

⁵²⁷ Quasten 1983: 38, pl. 22 and Paribeni 1928: 293, no 972. See more about the hanging musical instruments in the related chapter.

divine character of the scene the musical elements used attempt to make the scene more relevant to the viewer, more up to date and more vivid.



Fig. 157. Italy, first century B.C., relief in clay (Rome, Museo delle Terme, Alinari ADA-F-2022). Foto: Quasten 1983: 38, pl. 22.

This is the first time that the holy tree of Isis with her hanging attributes is depicted within a Dionysian offering scene where the symbols of Cybele are replaced by Dionysian ones. As Quasten cites it is not clear if the musical instruments hung on the holy tree signify a ceremonial consecration of the tree or they are votive offerings to the honoured goddess or god.

A number of scenes blending attributes and elements of the two favourite cults connect the hanging musical instruments with theatrical masks (see in the chapter of the theatre: the hanging musical instruments) while the two cults are also blended in scenes involving the two gods and the offering processions. As the sacrifices were part of the games including theatrical, athletic and music competitions and as the *ludi Megalensis* were dedicated to the *Magna Mater*, the exchange of the musical instruments used within the cults of Dionysos, represented within the games by the theatrical performances following the sacrifices dedicated to Cybele, seems obvious.

7.5.2 The sacrifices to Isis

The culture of Isis came to Italy during the late Republic from Egypt⁵²⁸, while musical instruments of Egyptian origin like the sistra and a type of long narrow reed pipe (possibly *kalamos*) resembling ney were also imported. The tympanon and the cymbals that are mentioned in the literary sources and depicted in the related scenes of the sacrificial ritual of Isis, were known to Italy at least from the fourth century B.C. on, when a Dionysian sacrifice is depicted (fig. 143).

Two frescoes, both attributed to first century A.D. Herculaneum, Pompeii show scenes related to the cult of Isis while part of scene is dedicated to the sacrificial procession. Musical instruments such as the sistra, tympanon, a kind of long narrow pipe or aulos and cymbals played by both male and female participants in the ritual are depicted. The difference with the Dionysian ritual is that the offering is executed by male or female members, while dancing seems to have, as in the Dionysian sacrificial ritual, an important role in the ceremony.



Fig. 158. Pompeii, Herculaneum, second half of the first century A.D., wall painting (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 8924). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 91, fig. 50.

In the first scene an altar decorated with a garland is depicted in the lower part of the painting, before which a bald male figure wrapped in a textile fastened under his nude chest is

⁵²⁸ Wille 1967: 63.

executing the offering (**fig. 158**)⁵²⁹. To the right a seated, black man is playing a long narrow aulos or pipe.

The altar is placed in front of the steps leading to the Temple of Isis, while the space to the right and left of the steps is filled with worshippers of Isis. Some of them are rattling sistra, while others are raising their right hands. Behind the altar and in front of the staircases, a black man is holding something in his right hand, while he turns to his right as if leading the procession. At the top of the steps and in front of the portal of the temple stands a priest who holds the sacred urn in his covered hands. To the left there is a female figure, possibly a priestess, shaking a sistrum with her right hand and carrying a pitcher in her left. To the right, a black male figure is shaking a sistrum.



Fig. 158. Detail.

The same covering as the hands of the priest carrying the holy urn can be seen on a marble relief from second century A.D. Rome where a procession of Isis is depicted (**fig. 159**)⁵³⁰. Here, also, a female figure holding a sistrum in her right hand follows close behind the priest carrying a ladle in her left hand. In front of the priest a male figure holding a scroll is depicted and in front of him, the female priest of Isis with the lotus blossom, the pitcher and the Uraios snake wound around her forearm.

The second fresco from Herculaneum represents an altar in front of the ascending steps at the entrance to the Temple of Isis (**fig. 160**)⁵³¹. Behind the altar, to the right a priest holds a

⁵²⁹ *Die letzten Stunden von Herculaneum* 2005: 300, Quasten 1983: 41, pl. 23, Wille 1967: 64 and Fleischhauer 1964: 90, 91, fig. 50.

⁵³⁰ Quasten 1983: 43, pl. 27, Fleischhauer 1964: 88, 89, fig. 49.

⁵³¹ Quasten 1983: 41-42, pl. 24 and Wille 1967: 64.

sistrum in his right hand, while an aulos or pipe player is accompanying the scene with his music. To the left of the altar, a female figure holds a libation vessel, while another kneeling female figure turns towards the altar, rattling a sistrum.



Fig. 159. Rome, second century A.D., marble relief (Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere, Alinari ACA-F-026981). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 89, fig. 49.



Fig. 160. Pompeii, Herculaneum, first century A.D., fresco (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale). Foto: Quasten 1983: pl. 24.

In the background, in front of the temple portal, a black male figure is dancing. To the left, a female figure plays the cymbals and in front of her a black male figure shakes a sistrum in his raised right hand. To the right of the dancer a female figure is playing a tympanon.

The sistrum is the typical musical instrument present in most scenes concerning the Isis, while other musical instruments, such as the long narrow pipe or aulos, the cymbals, the tympanon and the harp⁵³² are also connected with the Egyptian goddess in the depictions. Quasten states that the cult of Isis brought both the sistrum and the Egyptian harp to Rome. As far as the harp is concerned this is not confirmed by the contemporary pictorial sources, where the harp is not depicted within musical scenes of daily life. The only example of an Italian scene portraying a harp is that of a banqueting scene involving Dionysos (fig. 29) dated between the second and the first century B.C. As the harp is also present in scenes from classical Athens involving banquet and wedding ceremonies, the journey of the imported musical instrument seems more complicated.

As far as the sistrum is concerned, it is present in three depictions related to Isis from first and the second century A.D. Pompeii and Rome, while this musical instrument seems to be completely absent from the other musical scenes collected in this study. The archaeological finds of sistrums at Pompeii⁵³³ indicate their use within the cult of Isis imported to Rome from Egypt, where sistra are present for the first time on monuments dating from the time of the middle Kingdom (beginning of the second millennium B.C.)⁵³⁴.

As far as the long narrow pipe seen in the Pompeiian scenes is concerned it is still not identified but referred to by the scholars as the aulos. The second depiction of the same musical instrument (figs. 196, 197) is found in a scene illustrating the Virgil's passage of *Eclogues* referring to a kalamos player. The miniaturist painted a shepherd playing a long, narrow light-coloured reed pipe in the same playing position. In addition, this type of musical instrument is still played in Greece by shepherds and it is called by the same name: calamos (Gr.: κάλαμος= reed, cane). The same musical instrument also survives in the area of Egypt and is called ney.

The term 'kalamos' is connected, in a passage from Achilles Tatius from the second century A.D. Alexandria, with the pipes of the syrinx, which are still made from reed nowadays. Tatius, describing the syrinx, refers to the auloi from which the syrinx is composed and explains that the auloi are of the kalamos' type: 'the auloi of syrinx are many and each of them are made from kalamos. All the kalamoi play music like the one aulos. They are placed the one next to the other in a line':

⁵³² A Roman base relief from the temple of Isis-Serapis in Rome (Florence: Uffizi Gallery, Alinari 29 347) portrays an Isis procession where behind the priest carrying the idol of a god follows a male triangular harp player and a male tympanon player, in Quasten 1983: 49, footnote 63, pl. 25 and Wille 1967: 64.

⁵³³ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, in Quasten 1983: 50, footnote 66, pl. 26.

⁵³⁴ Quasten 1983: 42.

ἡ σύριγξ αὐλοὶ μὲν εἰσι πολλοί, κάλαμος δὲ τῶν αὐλῶν ἕκαστος. αὐλοῦσι δὲ οἱ κάλαμοι πάντες ὥσπερ αὐλός εἰς. σύγκεινται δὲ στιχηδόν ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλον ἠνωμένος. (*Leucippe et Clitophon* book 8, chapter 6, section 1, line 3)⁵³⁵

The kalamos is thus a type of aulos made of reed, an element that matches the depictions. The literary sources⁵³⁶, and the passage of Lucian speaking about the Isis cult, referred to above, mention this type of aerophone with the general term 'aulos'. This practice is common-place among Roman writers, who do not distinguish between the oboe, clarinet and calamos type but refer to all those organological types by the same term: aulos or tibia.

7.5.3 Suovetaurilia

The ceremony of the public or private sacrifice of a swine (*sus*), of a ram (*ovis*) and a bull (*taurus*) to the deity Mars for blessing and purification is preserved in the work of Cato the Elder *De Re Rustica* ('On Agriculture') and it is known as Suovetaurilia. Roman depictions show an aulos (single or double) player placed nearby, often behind the altar, accompanying the important moment with his music. Other musical instruments depicted accompanying the procession leading to the place of sacrifice are the cornu, the tuba and a type of single aulos, all used within the contemporary depictions, in the musical life of the artist's epoch.

The combination of double aulos and lyre or kithara players, seen placed beside the altar in the two scenes from Rome of the Roman Republic, seems to copy the ancient customs depicted in the two scenes from Bronze age and classical Greece. The presence of only the aulos player in the depictions from the Empire may indicate a change in the musical customs and tastes that influence the ancient practice handed down for centuries. However, the type of short double aulos of the classical epoch, seems to be used unchanged, even if other types, like the one with the long tubes are invented.

A relief from a base or altar (it is not identified by the scholars) dated to the second century B.C. shows a series of scenes, including a sacrificial ceremony where a kithara and a double aulos players participate (**fig. 161**)⁵³⁷. On the left side, two seated men of the town (*Censores*) are making lists (*tabulae census*) in front of two witnesses. Two soldiers with shields and two musicians, a kithara player and a double aulos player follow, marching towards the altar where male figures execute the offering. To the right, male 'offering assistants' (*camilli*) lead the three animals, the bull, the sheep and the swine that will be immolated. A female figure with a flag, two soldiers with shields and another one with a

⁵³⁵ Vilborg 1955.

⁵³⁶ See in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* the entry 'calamus'.

⁵³⁷ Kraus 1967: 221, fig. 173a.

horse, complete the scene. The musicians and the participants in the sacrifice, placed around the altar, as well as the assistants carrying the sacrificial animals, are all wreathed.

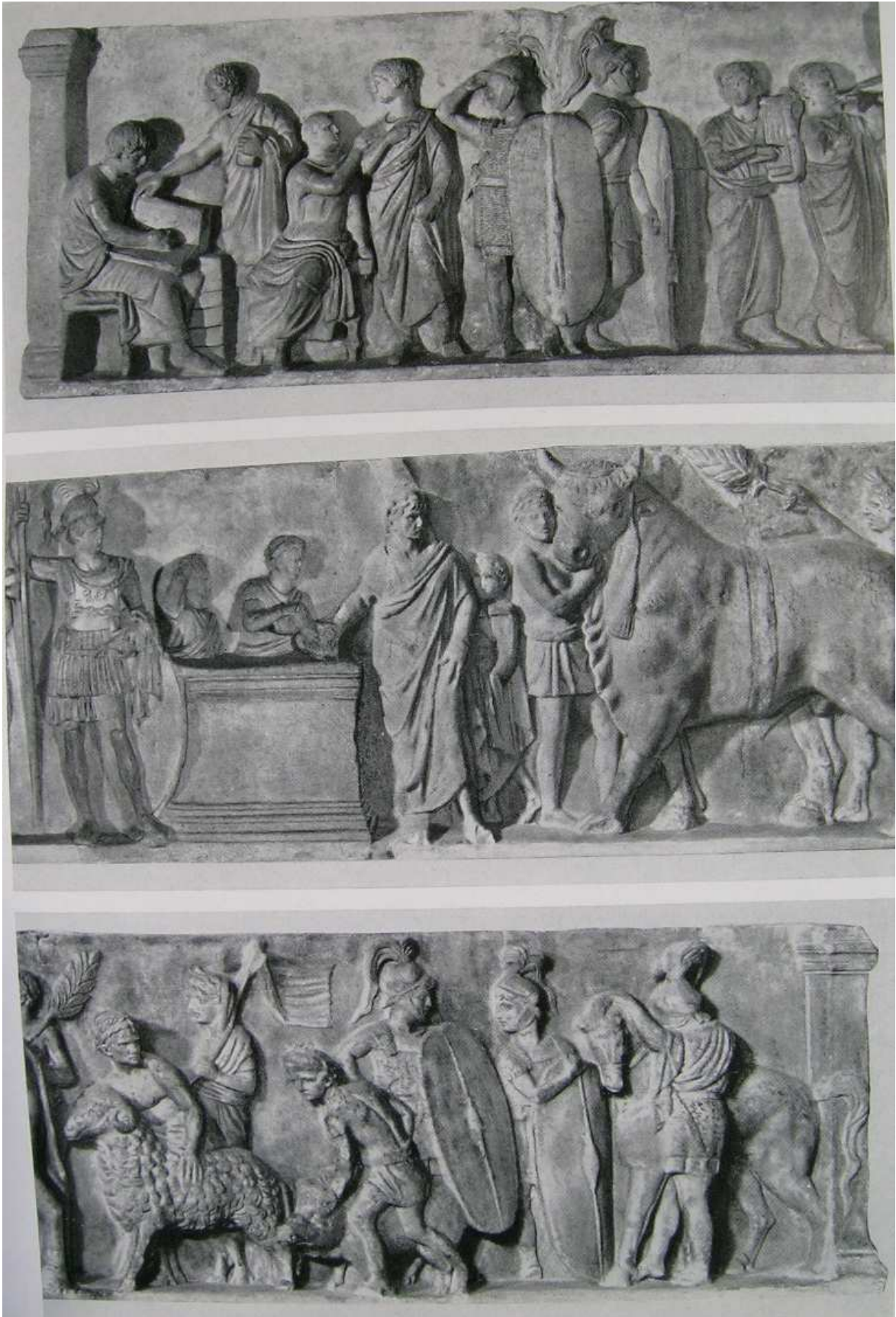


Fig. 161. Rome, relief from Domitius-Ahenobarbus-Ara, 115-100 B.C. (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 975). Foto: Kraus 1967: 221, fig. 173a.



Fig. 162. Rome, second half of the second century B.C., ash urn (London, British Museum). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 51, fig. 23.

A double aulos player and a kithara or lyre player are leading the procession of six riders, two of which are carrying fasces, indicating men of the town (**fig. 162**)⁵³⁸. The image of a temple or tomb is depicted at the right edge, while in front of it, the assistant is leading the sheep that will be sacrificed. All participants are wreathed while some of the riders are carrying palm branches. The stringed musical instrument is too damaged to be exactly identified. Nevertheless, a type of lyre or kithara is, according to the contemporary scenes and literary sources, the most probable⁵³⁹.

A tuba player is leading the sacrificial procession depicted on a temple frieze of first century B.C. Rome (**fig. 163**)⁵⁴⁰. Dressed in a short tunic, he can be seen in front of the three bulls led by the assistants who will execute the animals (*victimarii*) each holding a sacrifice knife (*culter*). On the left part of the scene two prisoners are seated on the *ferculum* possibly representing the trophies of the winner Sosius, to whom the frieze is dedicated.



Fig. 163. Rome, Temple of Apollo close to the Marcellus theatre, frieze, 20 B.C., relief (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 2776). Foto: Kraus 1967: 223, fig. 178d.

⁵³⁸ Fleischhauer 1964: 50, 51, fig. 23.

⁵³⁹ Lyre and double aulos player can be seen also on a relief from an altar that depicts an offering to Hercules Victor (Rome, Museo Borghese) in Fleischhauer 1964: 50.

⁵⁴⁰ Kraus 1967: 223, fig. 178d.



Fig. 163. Detail.

Three tuba players participate in a probable offering ceremony depicted on an altar relief from first century A.D. Rome (**fig. 164**)⁵⁴¹. In the beginning of the procession two male figures in toga (possibly men of the state) are followed by two male figures in short tunics (maybe diners). Behind them three Lictors with fasces can be seen. The three tuba players (*tubicines*) that follow are wreathed, like all the remaining participants, and dressed in togas. The sacrificial bulls, decorated with stripes on the forehead (*infulae*) and the back (*dorsualia*), follow, together with their executers (*victimarii*). One tibia player and a lyre or kithara player follow along with eight men of the state, four of which are carrying statuettes of the Lares. The rest of the participants completing the scene are placed in a line in the background.

The presence of a double aulos player close to the altar where an offering is executed is signified by a fresco of between first and second century A.D. Pompeii (**fig. 165**)⁵⁴². Here the participants are the Lares, seen symmetrically placed to the left and right of the scene, each holding a full horn (*cornucopia*) and a small basket (*situla*) and the personification of *genius familiaris*, who holds a full horn and a vessel (*patera*) for the offering and is placed next to the altar which is decorated with garlands. In the background, two more figures are depicted smaller: the assistants for the sacrifice. One is leading the swine and the other is carrying stripes for the decoration of the animal and a tray with the offerings. The figure of the male musician, who is wreathed like all the other male participants, is placed in the centre of the scene next to the altar, while here, for the first time, in a sacrificial scene, the event is accompanied by the scabellum.

⁵⁴¹ Fleischhauer 1964: 62-63, fig. 30.

⁵⁴² Ibid.: 60, 61, fig. 29.



Fig. 164. Rome, middle of the first century A.D., altarfries (Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 63, fig. 30.



Fig. 165. Pompeii, first to second century A.D. (?), fresco (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 8905). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 61, fig. 29.

This scene is an artistic synthesis where elements from daily life are blended with the divine personifications of the Lares and the genius. As the scabellum is present in Italian contemporary theatrical scenes (fig. 102) and a scene connected with wine drinking (fig. 85) it could be a familiar musical instrument of the artist's epoch. The elymos is, for a third time, depicted among a sacrificial procession. The first can be seen on the painting of the sarcophagus from ca. 1500 B.C. Agia Triada, Greece (fig. 136) and the second is a relief from

first century A.D. Rome (**fig. 166**)⁵⁴³ where an offering possibly to Cybele, is portrayed. Even though both the elymos and tympanon depicted belong to Dionysian cult, the absence of Dionysian personifications or attributes may suggest a procession dedicated to Cybele. The elymos is connected with the cult of Cybele in fig. 115 from second century A.D. Rome, while it is portrayed among theatrical masks in fig. 108a from the first century A.D. (possibly Gallia) revealing a musical instrument of the artist's epoch.



Fig. 166. Rome, first century A.D., relief (Rome, Villa Albani, 149). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 87, fig. 48.

Two tuba players and a cornu player are leading the pompa marching to the place of the sacrifice, as depicted on a relief from the stele of Trajan dated to second century A.D. Rome (**fig. 167**)⁵⁴⁴. The three animals of the Sauvetaurilia sacrifice are seen led by the offering assistants outside the walls of the city. In front of them the musicians are forming the group that will announce them. Inside the walls, the architectural elements indicate the city where the sacrifice will take place.

This last element is more clearly depicted on another relief found on the same stele (**fig. 168**)⁵⁴⁵. Here the sacrifice is depicted in the upper left edge of the scene within the walls of the city, which is represented by the roofs of its houses. The male figure with the veiled head making the offering holds a patera over the garland decorated altar, accompanied by the double aulos player seen beside him to the left holding the musical instrument which is missing. Outside the city walls, the remaining participants lead the pompa, while an aulos

⁵⁴³ *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1992: 115-116, no 292, pl. 78-79 and Fleischhauer 1964: 86, 87, fig. 48.

⁵⁴⁴ Fleischhauer 1964: 64-65, figs. 32.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 64-65, fig. 33.

player and three cornu players follow them. At the end, the offering assistant follows, with the swine for the immolation.



Fig. 167. Rome Trajans forum, stele of Trajan, 113 A.D., relief (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 65, fig. 32.



Fig. 168. Rome Trajans forum, stele of Trajan, 113 A.D., relief (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 65, fig. 33.

The playing position of the aulos player, with the right hand placed in front of the tube's opening at the lower part as if stopping the sound, can be seen in two contemporary sarcophagi from second until early third century A.D. Rome. They both represent victorious figures surrounded by athletes and accompanied by the music of a male aulos player standing next to them, playing with one hand closing the lower opening of the tube. The first relief portrays a victorious boy, youthful athletes and the male aulos player (**fig. 169**)⁵⁴⁶, while the second one depicts a victorious female figure in the same surroundings (**fig. 170**)⁵⁴⁷.



Fig. 169. Rome, Vigna Carpi, late second to early third century A.D., sarcophagus (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 329). Foto: Huskinson 1996: pl. 5 iii.



Fig. 169. Detail.

⁵⁴⁶ Huskinson 1996: 22, no 1.22, pl. 5 iii.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.: 21, no 1.14, pl. 5 ii.



Fig. 170. Rome outside, early third century A.D., sarcophagus (Milan, Torno Collection, 814). Foto: Huskinson 1996: pl. 5 ii.

Statues, contemporary to the three scenes just discussed, all from Rome, show the same type of single aulos, clearly portrayed by means of sculpture. The statues depict satyrs or centaurs and they are dated between the first and the second centuries A.D. (**fig. 171**)⁵⁴⁸ and (**fig. 172**)⁵⁴⁹ and (**fig. 173**)⁵⁵⁰. This type of single aulos survives on a contemporary relief from second century A.D. Rome portraying a sacrificial scene (**fig. 174**)⁵⁵¹. It is clearly depicted with the fingerholes on the upper part of the tube which ends in a slight conical bore, while the mouthpiece resembles that of the recorder or clarinet type. The doubled form of this musical instrument can be seen in a contemporary statue of a satyr from second century A.D. Rome (**fig. 175**)⁵⁵².

As Roman writers use the general term aulos or tibia without distinguishing the clarinet, oboe or recorder type, this musical instrument could be called an aulos or a tibia. This practice is still used in Greece where these three organological types use the word aulos as a basic part of their names. Thus, the clarinet is called *eutheiaulos* (ευθείαυλος), the oboe *oksyaulos* (οξύαυλος) and the recorder type aulos (αυλός).

⁵⁴⁸ *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1989, vol. 1: 93-95, no 21, pl. 34-35.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 130-131, no 37, pl. 65.

⁵⁵⁰ *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1998, vol. 5: 73-74, no 579, pl. 16.

⁵⁵¹ Fleischhauer 1964: 72, 73, fig. 37.

⁵⁵² *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1989, vol. 1: 95-98, no 22, pl. 36. See also fig. 99.



Fig. 171. Rome, first century – second century A.D., statue (Rome, Villa Albani, 908). Foto: *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1989, vol. 1: pl. 34.



Fig. 172. Rome, first –second century A.D., statue (Rome, Villa Albani, 997). Foto: *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1989, vol. 1: pl. 65.



Fig. 173. Rome, first – second century A.D., statue (Rome, Villa Albani, 475). Foto: *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1989, vol. 5: pl. 16.



Fig. 174. Rome, arch of Triumph, second half of the second century A.D., relief (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, destroyed). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 73, fig. 37.



Fig. 175. Rome, second century A.D., statue (Rome, Villa Albani, 913). Foto: *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1989, vol. 1: pl. 36.



Fig. 176. Italy, Amiternum, first century B.C., relief (Aquila, Museo Civico). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 55, fig. 25.

Not only the aulos of fig. 168 but also the cornu depicted seem to be musical instruments of the artist's epoch. Their presence within a procession can be seen on a relief depicting a funeral procession, from first century B.C. Amiternum, Italy (**fig. 176**)⁵⁵³. The cornu players are leading the procession along with a lituus player and double aulos players announcing the transporting of the deceased accompanying the whole procession with their music. Their use during gladiatorial fights can be seen on a relief from first century A.D.

⁵⁵³ Fleischhauer 1964: 54, 55, fig. 25.

Chieti, Italy (fig. 76), while they seem to be present within military scenes, for example on a relief with legionaries at the stele of Trajan from second century A.D. Rome (fig. 177)⁵⁵⁴ and the sarcophagus of Caesar Hostilianus from 251 A.D. Rome (fig. 178)⁵⁵⁵.



Fig. 177. Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan, 113 A.D., relief (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 65, fig. 31.



Fig. 178. Rome, 251 A.D., sarcophagus of the Caesar Hostilianus (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 8574). Foto: Kraus 1967: 241, fig. 244.

The double aulos player placed next to the altar with the offering in order to accompany the whole process with his music (seen on the Greek sarcophagus of Agia Triada, fig. 136 and the Corinthian wooden panel, fig. 138), is portrayed in a number of later scenes all from

⁵⁵⁴ Fleischhauer 1964: 64, 65, fig. 31.

⁵⁵⁵ Bandinelli 1971: 59-60, fig. 54 and Kraus 1967: 241, fig. 244.

Rome. The Domitius Ahenobarbus relief (fig. 161) and the stele of Trajan (fig. 168) have been discussed while further scenes will be added.



Fig. 179. Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan, 113 A.D. (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 57, fig. 27.

The stele of Trajan contains one more scene with a libation offering accompanied by the music of the male double aulos player (**fig. 179**)⁵⁵⁶. Trajan, holding the vessel for the libation, is accompanied by the small figure holding the box for the incense and the double aulos player among the rest of the men of the city. To the left the semi-nude assistant for the sacrifice is holding the ‘taurus’ for the immolation. Unfortunately only the upper part of the double aulos has survived.

Two tuba players and a double aulos player accompany the Suovetaurilia sacrifice with their music in a scene from the bass relief of the Constantine triumph arch in Rome dated to the second century A.D. (**fig. 180**)⁵⁵⁷. Marcus Aurelius, surrounded by officers and soldiers is performing the sacrifice. The three animals that will be sacrificed are held by slaves (*victimarii*). The emperor is ready to scatter incense on the fire, while between him and his ritual assistant (*camillus*), who holds an open box of incense (*accerra*), a double aulos player,

⁵⁵⁶ Kraus 1967: 230-1, fig. 205b and Fleischhauer 1964: 56, 57, fig. 27.

⁵⁵⁷ Fleischhauer 1964: 66, 67, fig. 34.

crowned with a laurel wreath, praises the gods with his music. Unfortunately, only the upper part of the double aulos is depicted.

To the right, two soldiers play tubae representing the musicians of the procession that leads to the sacrifice and which, in other depictions, are portrayed in a separate scene. Here the two actions, the procession and the sacrifice are composed in one scene, an element also declared by the presence of the flags and the standards depicted in the background.



Fig. 180. Rome, Constantine triumph arch, south side, second half of the second century A.D., bass relief (in situ). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 67, fig. 34.

One more double aulos player is carved on a sculpture relief from second century A.D. Ephesos, together with a tuba player placed behind the central figure of the taurus and the

offering assistants at its sides (**fig. 181**)⁵⁵⁸. Although the lower part of the double aulos is hidden behind the figure of the assistant to the right, the upper part depicts the olmos and the mouthpiece of each aulos.

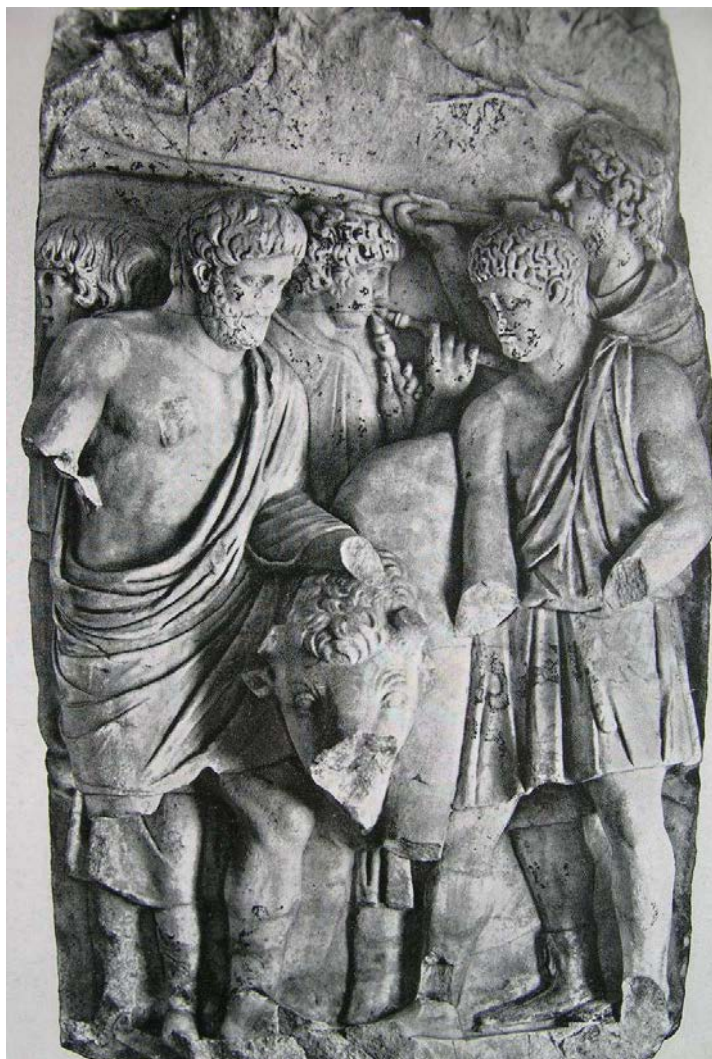


Fig. 181. Asia Minor, Ephesos, 165/70 A.D., relief (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antiken-Sammlung).
Foto: Kraus 1967: 236, fig. 223b.

The wreathed male double aulos player is depicted on a relief from second century A.D. Italy (**fig. 182**)⁵⁵⁹ portraying three unrelated scenes, while here, only two of them can be seen. The scene to the right depicts a wedding, recognizable by the position of *dextrarum iunctio* (*δεξιῶση*) between the bride and the groom. The central scene (here on the left), depicts a libation offered by a male figure dressed in a palium, possibly indicating an officer, accompanied by the offering assistant to the left, the double aulos player behind the altar, the taurus for the immolation and the two offering assistants, one holding the animal by the horn

⁵⁵⁸ Kraus 1967: 236, fig. 223b.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.: 237, fig. 229 and Fleischhauer 1964: 58,59, fig. 28.

and the other giving the death blow with his axe. The scene is located in front of a temple, perhaps the Capitol of Rome.

The double aulos is depicted in detail with the *olmoi*, the mouthpiece and the puffed cheeks of the player suggesting the use of tongues. The lower part of the left tube is missing while the right one looks short but without a bore.



Fig. 182. Italy, 170 A.D., relief (Mantua, Palazzo Ducale). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 59, fig. 28.

The same type of aulos is depicted in a simplified way, without the *olmos*, on the altar relief from second to third century A.D. Rome (**fig. 183**)⁵⁶⁰. The short length of the tube and the absence of the conical bore of the lower part may indicate the short straight type with the *holmos*.

The altar bears the inscription *Laribus Augusti*, while on the front relief, the offering of the *vicomagistri* (men of the state) is portrayed. The *vicomagistri* are standing, two on each side of the altar, making the offering, while in the middle and behind the altar the aulos player is accompanying the ceremony with his music. They all wear *chitons* and *mantles* covering their heads. In front of the altar two male slaves bring the two sacrificial animals: the swine for the *Lares* and a bull for the *genius* of Augustus. The *Lares* are portrayed on the sides of the altar. In their right hands they hold laurel, while their raised left hands, which have been damaged, would have held *cornucopias*.

⁵⁶⁰ Fleischhauer 1964: 56, 57, fig. 26.

The last offering scene is dated to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. and located on the stele of Tetrarchs in Rome (**fig. 184**)⁵⁶¹. A male figure, dressed in a toga, possibly Constantius Chlorus, is offering above the altar flame. Next to him a Nike, holding a palm branch, is honouring him with a wreath. To the left a nude male figure in a helmet and with a mantle on his left arm is identified as the god Mars to whom the offering may be dedicated. A soldier in a helmet and the assistant with the incense box as well as the double aulos player behind the altar complete the scene. To the right the personification of Rome and Helios are added. The type of short double aulos depicted here is possibly the ancient one with the holmoi not portrayed because of a simplified depiction.

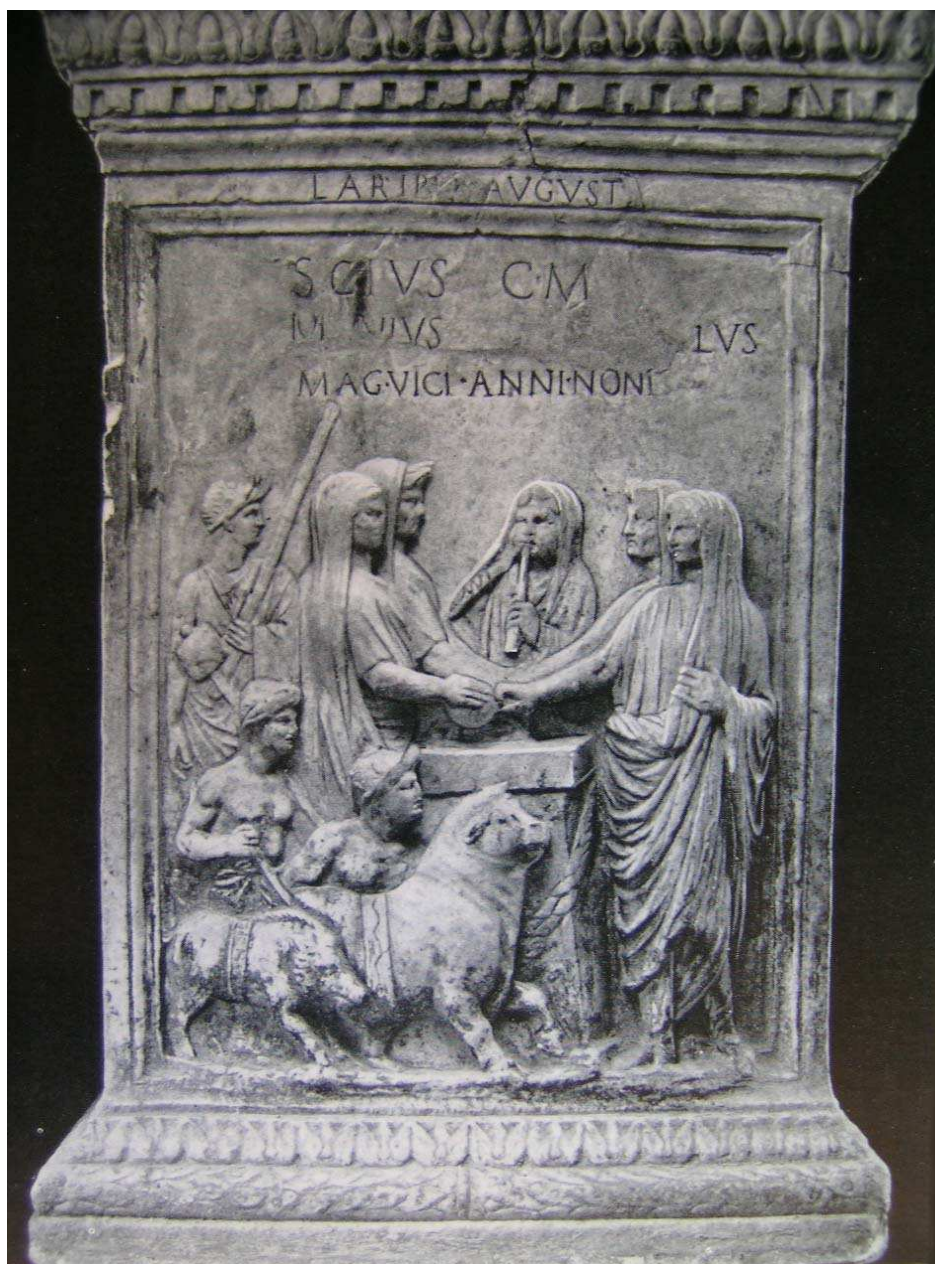


Fig. 183. Rome, second to third centuries A.D., altar (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Moscioni 10 465). Foto: Fleischhauer 1964: 57, fig. 26.

⁵⁶¹ Kraus 1967: 242, fig. 247.



Fig. 184. Rome, stele of the Tetrarchs, 303 A.D. (Rome, Forum romanum). Foto: Kraus 1967: 242, fig. 247.

CHAPTER VIII

Bucolics**8.1 Introduction**

Scenes with pastoral themes, such as animals or plants and flowers, shepherds or hunters were beloved during the Roman Empire. This love of nature can be seen even in Pompeian frescoes and mosaics but no musical element of daily pastoral life is present. Besides these scenes only one motif, that of the shepherd musician among his flock, will be combined with musical practice.

The motif appears in depictions from Hellenistic times on and during the whole Roman Empire, while a number of different instrumental types will be portrayed with it. During the fifth century A.D. two more variations of the beloved motif will be created across North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean. The shepherd who plays music to his dog, which is listening to him, and the shepherd that plays music alone. All motifs are represented with variety on different materials with origins across the whole Empire. A variety of wind instruments and in a few cases of stringed instruments will be present, usually not related to the motifs, but to the place of origin of the art works suggesting an instrumental type used by the contemporary shepherds and thus known and used by the artists.

The shepherd who amuses himself surrounded by his sheeps or goats is a scene of daily bucolic life which still survives in agricultural villages of our epoch. Materials like a piece of wood or cane can be easily found in the places where the shepherds work, while the bones or the horns of the animals belonging to the shepherd's flock are also easily found and carved, producing wind instruments of simple construction. The use of a single or double mouthpiece or even the lack of it gives a variety in the quality of the produced sound and different organological categories.

The earliest depiction with the motif of the shepherd who plays music among his flock is a Hellenistic relief showing a sleeping shepherd among his goats, while beside him lies his syrinx. Later, the motif spreads to the whole Empire. The two variations of the motif, that of the shepherd playing music to his dog or of the shepherd playing music alone, are found later, during the fifth century A.D., and they are located to the area of North Africa, and East Mediterranean: Israel, Jordan and Iran.

The narrative motif of the shepherd and his flock was adopted, after the rise of the new Christian way of living, by the Christians who transformed it into a new symbolical-religious scene, found in the catacombs of Rome, on sarcophagi and small statues. The personification of the Good Shepherd among the sheep is conceived as a representation of Christ among Christian souls (*'I am the Good Shepherd and you are the sheep'*) which will be saved only if they follow the Shepherd. The depiction of the Good Shepherd carrying a sheep on his shoulders has the same allegorical meaning as the soul of the Christian that is carried, in order to be saved, by God. The new motif will co-exist simultaneously with the other bucolic scenes used, probably, by both pagans and Christians. Even if the centralized figure of the Good Shepherd and the place of origin, for example a catacomb, are the only elements that distinguish a Christian symbolical and didactical depiction from a narrative one, one element is common to both. The syrinx accompanies the shepherds in both scenes, revealing a contemporary musical instrument of daily life.

The motif of the shepherd that plays music among his flock was not only transformed into a new symbolical Christian motif but was, according to the depictions, from the seventh century on, adopted without changes and inserted into the scene portraying the birth of Christ. Therefore, the main scene of the cave with the newborn baby is accompanied by the bucolic scene of a shepherd playing music to his flock. The text of the New Testament (Luke, chapter 2, section 8) accompanies the event of Christ's birth with a bucolic scene though without musical practice: 'And in the same region there were shepherds out in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night'⁵⁶². Thus, the scene of a shepherd playing music among his flock is added by the artists, beside the scene with the cave and the birth of Christ, in order to represent the shepherds referred to in the text and give the bucolic dimension of the narration.

A variety of wind instruments, such as the *bycanē* (fig. 195, 209) the *kalamos* (fig. 197) the *plagiaulos* (transverse flute) (fig. 186) the *syrinx* (fig. 185, 187-194) and others of the clarinet or oboe type (fig. 198) are present in the pastoral musical moments of the depictions of this study. Two unidentified stringed musical instruments with possible names *pandoura* (fig. 202) and that of the *cittern* type (fig. 205) are also included. The Greek *aulos*, the *bycanē*, the *salpinx*, the *syrinx* and its Roman counterpart, the *fistula*, are mentioned by the contemporary writers of Rome, Greece, Syria and Alexandria and they are related to bucolic life. On the contrary, no related reference to *plagiaulos*, *pandoura* or *cittern* has been found.

The *bycanē* is, according to its name, made from the horn of an animal. It is described, during the second century A.D., by the Greek Polybios, as being used by the shepherds in

⁵⁶² English Standard Version, 2001.

Italy. Polybios also refers to the salpinx used by the shepherds on an island near Libya. The distinction between the *bycanē* and the salpinx may be used by Polybios to distinguish the longer *salpinx ceratinē* from the shorter *bycanē*. Short animal horns played by shepherds are depicted in two scenes from Syria (fig. 200) and Iran (fig. 209). Two scenes from Jordan (figs. 207, 208) show a longer animal horn with fingerholes on the upper part of the tube and a different coloured lower edge, played by a male figure among scenes with grapes. This, maybe, could be the *salpinx ceratinē*.

The etymology of *kalamos* is reed pipe, while a wind musical instrument made from a piece of cane with holes on the upper part is still in use in Greece nowadays, with the same name ‘κάλामी’⁵⁶³. Depictions from Egypt (fig. 203) and Sinai (fig. 201), as well as a manuscript of unknown origin (figs. 196, 197), show a long tube with no bore that may be identified as a *kalamos*.

Little is known about the type of transverse flute called, in Greek, *plagiaulos*. The earliest depictions are to be found throughout Italy (figs. 20, 24), while the depiction from Corinth (fig. 186) is the only one from Greece. One century later, thus during the third century A.D, this type of aulos will be depicted among sarcophagi from Rome (figs. 25, 26), while the next appearance will not be earlier than the tenth century A.D. where transverse flutes start to be depicted in Dionysian scenes on Constantinopolitan ivory pyxis⁵⁶⁴ and the fresco of the north tower of Santa Sophia in Kiev (fig. 65) showing, according to Grabar, scenes from the Constantinopolitan hippodrome. In the following century, a great number of manuscripts created in Constantinople will depict shepherds playing the *plagiaulos*, as well as women musicians shown in groups⁵⁶⁵. The earliest depiction of the transverse flute within the Etruscan banqueting scene of fig. 20, revealing a Greek custom imported to Italy together with its musical accompaniment, testifies to its Greek origins. During the early Empire a Greek mosaic will connect the transverse flute with bucolic life (fig. 186), while it will be present in contemporary mythological scenes found in Rome consisting Greek imports. The use of the transverse flute in the depictions from tenth and eleventh century A.D. Constantinople unveils copies of Greek artistic models which were never forgotten in the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

⁵⁶³ Anwegeianakēs 1991: 149, 161 footnote 263.

⁵⁶⁴ Constantinople, tenth – eleventh century A.D., centaur with *plagiaulos*, putti and dancing maenads (Veroli casket, London, Victoria and Albert Museum) in Weitzmann 1951: 152ff, 169ff, 177, 180, 184, 191, 202, fig. 232, pl. 57 / Constantinople, tenth century A.D., mythological scenes, pan with syrinx, kithara, cymbals, *plagiaulos*, ivory pyxis (Paris, Louvre, OA 11329 / 11330) in *Byzance* 1992: 242, no 155.

⁵⁶⁵ See for example: Constantinople, eleventh – twelfth century A.D., Miriam, musicians and dancers, vellum (Pergament) (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Barb. Gr. 372, fol. 249r (Barberini psalter)) in *Byzanz* 2001: 170-175.

The Greek *syrix* and Roman *fistula* was, in the beginning, connected with Pan and the Dionysian cult that became known in Italy during the Roman Republic. Shown in the Hellenistic depiction of the sleeping shepherd, it will be present a couple of centuries later, in the Christian motif of the Good Shepherd, as a musical attribute that hangs from a tree or is held by the Good Shepherd, manifesting his identity in his new symbolical context. The motif of the Good Shepherd, intensively located in the area of Italy, is always connected with the *syrix*. The *syrix* is depicted systematically in all works from Italy, realistic and symbolical suggesting a contemporary musical instrument used by the shepherds of the time.

A wind instrument with a narrow tube that opens to a bore at its lower end is found in two mosaics from Israel (figs. 121, 123), a pyxis with unknown origin and a manuscript with its probable origin in Syria (figs. 117). The reference by Libanius of Syria to shepherds playing *aulos* may identify these musical instruments as *auloi* of the clarinet, oboe or recorder type.

The use of stringed musical instruments by shepherds is, up to the present day, an exception. Their more complicated construction and use make them more suitable for educated musicians. Nevertheless, two depictions, one from sixth century Kyrenaica and the second from seventh century Constantinople portray shepherds with stringed instruments of the lute family (figs. 119, 122). No literary sources supply us with information about the use of the stringed instruments by the shepherds, while the two instrumental types portrayed are linked to *pandoura* and *cittern*, not without problems. According to the depictions, only women musicians play the lutes not only in ancient Greek scenes but also in Roman ones.

A lack of depictions with shepherds playing music will follow the seventh century, when the last depiction with a shepherd playing music to his goat is dated. During the Macedonian Renaissance the only motif that combines bucolic elements of the past with musical practice is that of David playing music among the animals. But this motif derived from an antique mythological one, that of Orpheus playing music to the wild animals and its meaning is clearly symbolical and not narrative.

During the eleventh century a number of miniatures found in manuscripts all made in Constantinople portray, besides the motif of David playing music to the animals, scenes with shepherds playing music among their flocks⁵⁶⁶. In almost all scenes the shepherds are playing

⁵⁶⁶ See for example: Constantinople, (Athos, Panteleimonos Cod. 6, fol. 37v) in Weitzmann 1980: II 96, fig. 41 / Constantinople, Monastery of Studiou (probably) (Sinai, Monastery of St. Katherine, Cod. Gr. 3, fol. 8r) in Weitzmann / Galavaris 1990: 99, 101, no 37 / Constantinople (Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Cod. Taphou 14, fol. 33v) in Weitzmann 1951: 9, 143, 154, 201 / Athos, Panteleimonos Cod. 2, fol. 210r in Huber 1969: 187, 190, fig. 100 / Constantinople (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cod. Gr. 533, fol. 31) in *Byzance* 1992: 356, no 267.

the transverse flute, except one where a double aulos is depicted and another where beside the shepherd with the transverse flute another with a syrinx is added. Both the double aulos and the syrinx are unique examples within the works of the period, while the incorrect, left-facing playing position of the transverse flute, in all miniatures except one, indicate copies of the past and a lack of knowledge on the part of the miniaturists. Even though the transverse flute is depicted as being played by a female and male musician in the correct playing position in three manuscripts from Constantinople dated to the eleventh century A.D.⁵⁶⁷ the fact that the scenes with the transverse flute vanish after the eleventh century indicate an artistic trend and not a contemporary musical instrument used in daily life.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that from the fifth century on, in Constantinople, the survival of the classical heritage was strongest⁵⁶⁸, while during the Macedonian Renaissance the classical antique elements are blended with new, Byzantine ones in an eclectic way where all elements have equal importance. Of course after the end of the Macedonian Renaissance in the tenth century, the Constantinopolitan miniaturists will not automatically stop the artistic trend that lasted two centuries. Therefore, the scenes with the shepherds could be an echo of the Macedonian Renaissance in the new period of the Paleologues.

8.2 Philological sources from the Roman Empire

During the second century A.D. Polybios, a Greek traveller in the Eastern Mediterranean, mentions the use of the *salpinx* and the *bycanē* among the Roman shepherds. According to the text the shepherds of an island near Libya use the salpinx when they want to gather their flock: ‘wenn sie sie versammeln wollen, stellen sie sich auf einen geeigneten Platz und rufen die Tiere mit ihrer Salpinx zusammen, und alle laufen mit unfehlbarer Sicherheit auf den bekannten Ton der Salpinx ihres Hirten zusammen.’⁵⁶⁹:

*Ἀλλὰ ὅταν βούλωνται συναθροίσει, κατὰ τοὺς ευκαίρους τόπους ἐφιστάμενοι τῆ σάλπιγγι συγκαλοῦσι τὰ ζῶα. (Historiae xii. 4.2)*⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁷ Constantinople (Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Cod. Taphou 14, fol. 310v) in Weitzmann 1951: 9, 143, 154, 201, fig. 36, pl. 12 / Constantinople (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Gr. 752, fol. 18v) in Seebass 1973: 185, pl. 85 and Constantinople (Athos, Panteleimonos, Cod. 6, fol. 163r) in Weitzmann 1951: 11, 23, 156, fig. 39, pl. 12.

⁵⁶⁸ Weitzmann 1971: 199.

⁵⁶⁹ Polybios 1963, vol. .2: 783. The term ‘Trompete’ of the translator is replaced with the *salpinx* of the original. Translation: ‘When they want to gather the folk, they find an appropriate place and they call the animals by playing the salpinx.’

⁵⁷⁰ Polybios 1961: Livre XII. 4.2. The French translator uses improperly the much later term ‘trompe’ instead of salpinx. Translation: Lorsqu’ils veulent le rassembler, ils se postent aux endroits commodes et appellent les animaux à la trompe.

According to Polybios the shepherds of Italy play the *bycanē* instead of the *salpinx* and their animals follow them: ‘Auch in Italien verfährt man beim Weiden der Schweine ebenso. Die Schweinehirten gehen nicht hinter ihrer Herde her wie in Griechenland, sondern gehen voran und blasen von Zeit zu Zeit in ihr Horn [*βυκάνη*], worauf die Tiere, die hinten nachfolgen, zusammenlaufen.’⁵⁷¹:

και γαρ κατά την Ιταλίαν ου γαρ έπονται κατά πόδας οι συοφορβοί τοις θρέμμασιν, ώσπερ παρά τοις Έλλησιν, αλλά προηγούνται φωνούντες τη βυκάνη κατά διάστημα.
(*Historiae* xii. 4.6)⁵⁷²

It is true that in the Greek language there are two terms during this epoch for the horn: the word *bycanē* and *salpinx ceratinē* (*σάλπιγξ κερατίνη*). The term *salpinx* is very general and for this reason the authors distinguish the different types of *salpinx* with an adjective (*salpinx keratinē* (*κερατίνη*) for the one made from horn *keras*= horn, *salpinx tyrinē* (*τυρινή*) for the metal one and *salpinx tyrsinē* (*τυρσινή*) for the curved one resembling *lituus*). However, when the adjective is not used, as on this occasion, the distinction is not easily made. Shepherds playing a wind instrument, which represent a *bycanē* or *salpinx ceratinē*, thus an animal’s horn, are depicted in works from Syria, Iran and Jordan, while the shepherds of the Italian depictions always play a *syrix*.

During the first century B.C. information about the *syrix* and its use by the shepherds is collected from Virgil (Italy) who declares: ‘Pan it was who first taught man to make many reeds one with wax. Pan cares for the sheep and the shepherds of the sheep. Nor would you be sorry to have chafed your lip with a reed; ... I have a panpipe (*fistula*) formed of seven uneven hemlock stalks’:

Pan primum calamos cera coniungere pluris / instituit, Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros. Nec te paeniteat calamo trivisse labellum /.../ est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis fistula. (*Eclogues* ii. 31-36)⁵⁷³

In this passage, Virgil uses the term ‘*calamos*’ in order to describe the reeds from which the panpipe is made. Thus, the term describes the material from which the tubes are made (Gr.: *kalamos*= cane).

Clement of Alexandria (c.150-c.215) in his *Paedagogus* (Logos 2, chapter 4. 20) assigns the *syrix* to the shepherds and characterizes it as suitable for the beasts that are led by its melody: ‘Let the *syrix* be assigned to shepherds and the *aulos* to superstitious men who are

⁵⁷¹ Polybios 1963, vol. 2: 783. Translation: ‘Also in Italy the shepherds do not follow the swines in the fields, like in Greece, but they walk before them playing the bycane.’

⁵⁷² Polybios 1961: Livre XII. 4.6. Translation: En Italie les porchers ne suivent pas leur bétail pas à pas comme en Grèce; ils marchent en avant en sonnand de la corne de temps en temps.

⁵⁷³ Virgil 1999: 32-33. The term pipe of the translator is replaced with the more suitable panpipe.

obsessed by idolatry. ... For we are told that deer are lured by the syrinx and led by its melody into the traps when stalked by huntsmen.⁵⁷⁴:

Σύριγξ μεν ουν ποιμέσιν απονενημήσθω. αυλός δε ανθρώποις δεισιδαίμοσιν, εις ειδωλολατρείας σπεύδουσι. ... Τας μεν γαρ ελάφους ταις σύριγξι κηλείσθαι παρειλήφαμεν, και επι τας ποδάγρας, προς των κυνηγών θηρευομένας, άγεσθαι τω μέλει.⁵⁷⁵

Lucianus of Samosata (second century A.D.) from Antioch of Syria refers the syrinx and aulos, both used by shepherds. ‘... and their shepherds on guard over the young, some playing the syrinx and others the aulos, as they attend to their different tasks.’:

... και τους νομέας ιστώντος επί φρουρά των θρεμμάτων τους μεν σύριγγι χρωμένους, τους δε αυλούντας άλλον εν άλλοις έργοις. (The dance 116)⁵⁷⁶

John Chrysostom (c.347-407) in his homily *In psalmum* 41 refers to the use of the syrinx by the shepherds who, ‘when the wolves attack the flock, they set aside the syrinx and take the sling in hand.’⁵⁷⁷:

Ωσπερ ουν τότε έλεγον, ότι οι ποιμένες, των λύκων επιόντων τη ποιμήνη, την σύριγγα αφέντες, την σφενδόνην μεταχειρίζονται.⁵⁷⁸

8.3 Pictorial evidence from the Hellenistic epoch to late Antiquity

8.3.1 The shepherd musician among his flock

The earliest representation of the motif with the shepherd musician among his flock is a Hellenistic relief from Italy showing a sleeping shepherd among his goats (fig. 185)⁵⁷⁹. The nude shepherd lays his head on a stone covered with an animal skin. Beside him, on the floor, lies his syrinx. His position resembles that of the Maenad shown on a relief of the second century A.D. with unknown origin (fig. 114). The syrinx consists of six canes of unequal length, tied together with two strips.

A mosaic excavated in a Roman villa in Corinth, Greece, and dated to the second century A.D. (fig. 186)⁵⁸⁰ shows a standing shepherd playing the *plagiaulo* (transverse flute). The nude shepherd is placed to the right leaning against a tree where a piece of animal skin is hung. Next to him, behind the tree his milking pot is placed on the floor. To the left, three cows, his herd, are depicted moving away. Plants and a rocky landscape are added in an

⁵⁷⁴ McKinnon 1987: 32, no 51.

⁵⁷⁵ Clement of Alexandria *PG* 8: 440.

⁵⁷⁶ Lucian 2001: 140, 174-175.

⁵⁷⁷ McKinnon 1987: 79, no 163.

⁵⁷⁸ Chrysostom *PG* 55: 155.

⁵⁷⁹ *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1991: 401.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*: 129, pl. 12.

attempt at three-dimensionality. He is playing the transverse flute to his right in a realistic position.



Fig. 185. Italy, Hellenistic, marble relief (Rome, Musei Vaticani). Foto: *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1991: 401.



Fig. 186. Greece, Corinth, Roman villa, second century A.D., floor mosaic (Corinth, Archaeological Museum).
Foto: *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1991: 129, pl. 12.

The depiction of a transverse flute in the hands of a shepherd reminds us of Byzantine miniatures of Constantinopolitan manuscripts dated to the eleventh century, where shepherds are depicted playing transverse flutes in a rocky landscape. Generally, the Byzantine

miniaturists copy, from the tenth century on, elements from the past, such as Dionysian scenes and elements from Pompeian frescoes⁵⁸¹, which both reveal Greek influence. The presence of a transverse flute within an Etruscan banqueting scene together with musical instruments such as kithara and syrinx imported, together with the banqueting custom from Greece to Italy, underlines a Greek origin. The nudity of the shepherd is one more element indicating a copy from the Hellenistic past.

During the same century, a fresco found in the catacombe of Domitila, Rome depicts a shepherd holding a syrinx among his goats and sheep (**fig. 187**)⁵⁸². Plants and mountains are added in the background in order to give a sense of three-dimensionality, while the shepherd, seated on a rock, instead of being nude is dressed in a long-sleeved chiton. He is not playing the syrinx but is just holding as if he is exhibiting it. The syrinx consists of six canes of unequal length with the longest placed to the right.



Fig. 187. Rome, Domitilla catacomb, second century A.D., fresco (in situ). Foto: Grabar 1966: 89, fig. 84.

This bucolic scene, within the environment of a catacombe where the Christians gathered may not be a simple depiction of a beloved theme but a scene with a symbolic meaning. From the third century A.D. on, a number of frescoes, mosaics, sarcophagi reliefs and statues in the area of Italy start to depict a shepherd carrying a sheep on his shoulders and holding or carrying a syrinx⁵⁸³. The motif is interpreted by the scholars as having a symbolical

⁵⁸¹ See for example the psalter in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Gr. 139 in Weitzmann 1971: 176-223.

⁵⁸² Grabar 1966: 89, fig. 84.

⁵⁸³ For more depictions of sarcophagi and statues see Wilpert 1929-1936.

meaning: that of the Good Shepherd-Christ who carries the soul of the Christian, represented as a lamb on his shoulders. As the gesture of exhibiting the syrinx is found within the motif of the Good Shepherd, the fresco of the Domitilla catacombe could be a first attempt of the Christians to adopt a bucolic motif of the past, in order to serve their religious-symbolical needs.

The frontal presentation of the centralized figure of the Good Shepherd as well as the gesture of exhibiting the syrinx instead of playing it, or just hanging from a nearby tree are the only elements that identify the new Christianized motif and separate it from the narrative one.

Two sarcophagi dated both to the third century A.D. Rome depict, respectively, a shepherd among his goats (**fig. 188**)⁵⁸⁴ and the Good Shepherd among vintaging and milking putti (**fig. 189**)⁵⁸⁵. On the first sarcophagus, which is fragmentary, the seated shepherd holds out a syrinx towards the goat that accompanies him. He is wearing a short chiton exomis and he is holding a crook. The use of the motif by both pagans and Christians is possible as no symbolical elements are directly used but hinted at.



Fig. 188. Rome, Via imperiale, third century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 121666).
Foto: *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1995: 114, no 75.

On the other hand, the second sarcophagus from the catacomb of Praetextatus represents the Christianized motif of the Good Shepherd together with His hanging syrinx in the wine tree beside Him. The transitional phase in the use of the hanging syrinx from Dionysian imagery to the motif of the Good Shepherd can be seen here for the first time. In later works,

⁵⁸⁴ *Museo Nazionale Romano* 1995: 114, no 75.

⁵⁸⁵ Deichmann 1967: 26, no 29,1 and 29,3, pl. 10.

the hanging syrinx will accompany shepherds shown among their flocks, as on a mosaic dated to the fourth century and found in the Via Massimo d' Azeglio, Ravenna (**fig. 190**)⁵⁸⁶ and on a sarcophagus dated one century later found in Arles, France (**fig. 191**)⁵⁸⁷. The figure of the shepherd with his hanging syrinx and pot beside him, seen also in fig. 189, indicate a pastoral custom that the artists adopted together with the motif of the milking shepherd replaced in fig. 189 by a putto.



Fig. 189. Rome, catacomb of Praetextatus, third century A.D., sarcophagus (Rome, Museo Pio Cristiano). Foto: Deichmann 1967: pl. 10.

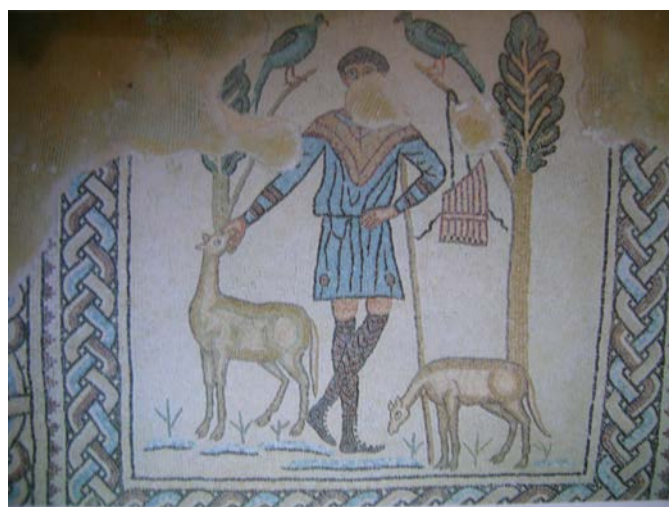


Fig. 190. Ravenna, Via Massimo d' Azeglio, fourth century A.D., floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Bovini 1991: 150, fig. 114.

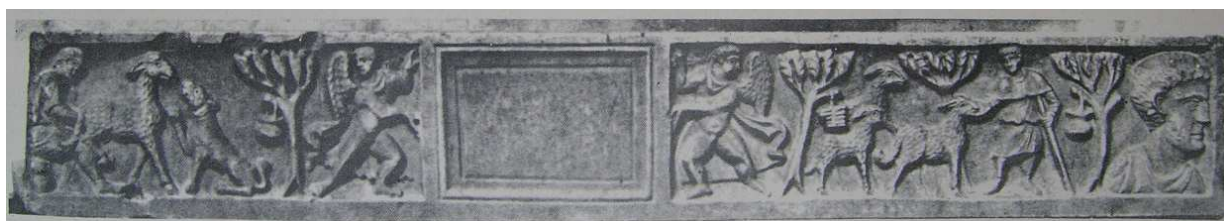


Fig. 191. France, Arles, Saint-Honorat crypte, fifth century A.D., sarcophagus (Arles, Musée d' Arles, 15). Foto: Benoit 1954: pl. 35,1.

⁵⁸⁶ Bovini 1991: 150, fig. 114.

⁵⁸⁷ Benoit 1954: 67, no 96, pl. 35,1.

The syrinx is always present in the bucolic scenes from Italy. The Dionysian motif of the hanging syrinx and that of the syrinx held by the shepherd are used in both narrative and symbolic scenes with no difference, while the gesture of holding the syrinx as if exhibiting it is used with no difference in figures representing shepherds or Good Shepherds. A fourth century mosaic from the church of Bishop Theodorus, Aquileia (**fig. 192**)⁵⁸⁸ shows a Good Shepherd holding a syrinx, consisting of eight pipes with the longest placed to the right, in the same way as the shepherd in the catacomb of Domitilla (fig. 187), while a painting from the Mausoleum of Trebius Justus in Rome dated to the same century (**fig. 193**)⁵⁸⁹ represents a shepherd as in the mosaic from Ravenna (fig. 190) centralized, between two trees and two members of his flock, but instead of the hanging syrinx the shepherd holds it in his outstretched hand.



Fig. 192. Italy, Aquileia, Church of bishop Theodorus, fourth century A.D., floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Grabar 1967: 27, fig. 29.

⁵⁸⁸ Grabar 1967: 27, fig. 29 and Pallas 1968: 1088, fig. 26.

⁵⁸⁹ Grabar 1968: 36, fig. 88.



Fig. 193. Rome, Mausoleum of Trebius Justus, fourth century A.D., painting on the ceiling (in situ). Foto: Grabar 1968: 36, fig. 88.

One more depiction from fourth century Rome represents a shepherd holding a syrx in front of his mouth (**fig. 194**)⁵⁹⁰. The syrx consists of five pipes with the longest placed to the left. The artist depicts the holes of the pipes as if looked at from above and not from the front. The remaining space is filled by three rams, a tree, grass and a milk pail on the ground. The shepherd wears a short, long-sleeved chiton and the usual boots while his pedum is between his legs.

This short, longed-sleeved chiton and the boots are depicted in many scenes representing the Good Shepherd and in almost all scenes with shepherds attributed to Italy, while shepherds with different types of musical instruments are portrayed in works from other parts of the Empire.

A floor mosaic from the Villa Daphne in Antioch, Syria dated between the third and the fourth century A.D. is one example (**fig. 195**)⁵⁹¹. The young wreathed shepherd is depicted with a short, short-sleeved chiton and boots. He is holding a basket while playing a short horn, maybe the *bycanē*. The horn is simply depicted without finger holes but only with a differently coloured rim. Around him are shown his flock, trees, bushes and a house, all placed aiming at three-dimensionality. The panel is a small part of a big floor mosaic

⁵⁹⁰ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 252, no 233.

⁵⁹¹ Levi 1945: 226-256, pl. 52 and pl. 59c and Morey 1938: 37, pls. 16 and 17.

representing the figures of the four seasons and hunting scenes in the centre, while bucolic scenes are added around them.



Fig. 194. Rome, fourth century A.D., gold glass (Corning, New York, The Corning Museum of Glass, 66.1.37).
Foto: *The age of spirituality* 1979: 252, no 233.



Fig. 195. Syria, Antioch, Villa Daphne, room 1, third to fourth century A.D., floor mosaic (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3444). Foto: Morey 1938: pl. 17.

Shepherds playing a long narrow tube, probably a *kalamos*, among their flocks are depicted in two miniatures from a manuscript with unknown origin known as *Virgilius Romanus* (Vatican, cod. Vat. lat. 3867) fol. 1r of *Eclogues* (**fig. 196**)⁵⁹² and fol. 44v of *Georgics* (**fig. 197**)⁵⁹³. The manuscript is dated to the fifth century A.D.

⁵⁹² *The age of spirituality* 1979: 247-248, no 225 and Weitzmann 1977: 52, pl. 11.

⁵⁹³ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 247-248, no 225 and Weitzmann 1977: 55, pl. 12.



Fig. 196. unknown origin, fifth century A.D., manuscript Virgilius Romanus (Vatican, cod. Vat. lat. 3867, fol. 1r of *Eclogues*). Foto: Weitzmann 1977: 52, pl. 11.

In the first miniature a shepherd, clad in *tunica exomis*, sits under a tree playing a wind instrument consisting of a pipe, while the goats of his herd are protruding from behind the tree. The second shepherd, also in *tunica exomis*, is dragging a goat by the horns, while the rest of his flock stands behind a tree. The miniature occupies the upper half of the folio, while underneath are placed the first lines of the first *eclogue*. A dialogue between two shepherds Meliboeus and Tityrus is developed: ‘You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech, wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed (*avena*).’:

Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena. (*Eclogue* i. 1-2)⁵⁹⁴

And Tityrus replies: ‘O Meliboeus, it is a god who gave us this peace.... Of his grace my kine roam, as you see, and I, their master, play what I will on my rustic pipe (*calamos*).’:

O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit. namque erit ille mihi semper deus, ... ut cernis, et ipsum ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti. (*Eclogue* i. 6-10)

The miniaturist, following the text, is depicting Tityrus –his name is written beside him– sitting in the shade of a tree, playing a long, slender, light coloured pipe. Next to him, Meliboeus drags the goat ‘that he scarce can lead’ by the horns. The bucolic environment is

⁵⁹⁴ Virgili 1999: 24-25. Wille translates wrongly *avena* as *syrinx* (Wille 1967: 115).

created with the presence of trees placed symmetrically to the left and right edges, encircling the figures of the shepherds, and some of the goats that are placed in the centre.

In the second miniature the shepherds are also dressed in tunica exomis and boots. On their head they wear wreaths. On the left the shepherd sits on a rock and plays the same type of musical instrument while the second shepherd and some of the animals of the flock turn and look at him as if listening to his music. The miniaturist creates a scene that has no close relation to the text except for the pastoral connection that characterizes the whole work. The two shepherds could be Tityrus and Meliboeus shown again in a bucolic environment with animals, shepherds' hut, trees and flowers. In this way the miniaturist connects the first Eclogue with this folio of the Georgics in the same way that the author unifies the two works as a whole by using an exact phrase from the beginning of the first Eclogue to end his Georgics.



Fig. 197. unknown origin, fifth century A.D., manuscript Virgilius Romanus (Vatican, cod. Vat. lat. 3867, fol. 44v of *Georgics*). Foto: Weitzmann 1977: 55, pl. 12.

In both miniatures the instruments consist of a long, narrow, light-coloured pipe, as if made of reed, with finger holes on the upper part where the fingers of the musicians are characteristically placed, though without realistic details. The musical terms *avena* and

calamos, on which the miniaturist based his pictures, are given in the first ten lines of the *Eclogues*.

The Latin *avena* (oaten straw) is, according to Anderson, a *stipula* with finger-holes added, thus an oat or wheat stalk with one end flattened as an oscillator⁵⁹⁵. The Greek *kalamos* (κάλαμος = cane) refers to a pipe made of cane. This type of musical instrument consisting of a long tube made of reed with holes on the upper part of the tube and no bore, is still well-known in Greece by the same name⁵⁹⁶.

In Greece, nowadays, this type of musical instrument is constructed from a great variety of materials such as wood, ivory and bone, which gives a further great variety of names such as *flogera*, *cavali*, *kalamos* and others⁵⁹⁷. It is popular among the shepherds because of its easy construction, in contrast to the more complicated technique needed for the *aulos*, *monaulos* with the separate reed tongue.

As the meanings of *stipula* and *calamos* indicate similar types of musical instruments of a simple construction, their use by the shepherds of the writer's epoch is possible. The application of both names in the text could be interpreted as artistic influence, which happens frequently among poets. Thus, the writer replaces the Latin 'avena' with the Greek 'calamos' later in the text because he is not interested in being specific with an element that does not have a great importance for him. He seems to understand both Latin and Greek.

As far as the chiton exomis and the bare feet of the shepherds are concerned, this indicate an East Mediterranean origin of the manuscript, because all shepherds portrayed in Italian works wear boots. Moreover, a Pompeian fresco of the first century A.D. (fig. 158) depicting a *kalamos* during a sacrifice to Isis, a custom imported from Egypt where this type of musical instrument is still popular known as the ney, supports the assumption concerning the origin of the manuscript: Egypt or East Mediterranean, and also the assumption for a hellenised artist who understands a Greek musical name.

An ivory pyxis of unknown origin, which is dated between the fourth and the sixth century depicts, on one side a unique scene with two shepherds playing a wind instrument and cymbals and on the other a female figure, a shepherd playing a wind instrument and two sheep between them (fig. 198)⁵⁹⁸. On the first side both shepherds wear short, long-sleeved tunics, have their feet bare and they are seated on cushioned stools. The goat turns to the

⁵⁹⁵ According to Anderson / Mathiesen 2001: 778 this musical instrument is referred in *Ars poetica* of Horace (202-3) but looking to the original text no reference was found: *tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta tubaeque / aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine paucio* (Horatius 1993: 552-553).

⁵⁹⁶ See Anwejianakēs 1991: 147-149.

⁵⁹⁷ See in *ibid.*: 148-149.

⁵⁹⁸ Volbach 1976: 75, no 106, pl. 56.

shepherd as if listening to his music, while one more shepherd playing big cymbals is added, because of symmetry, on the right. An arch probably indicating a hut, occupies the background.



Fig. 198a. unknown origin, fourth – sixth century A.D., ivory pyxis (London, British Museum). Foto: Volbach 1976: pl. 56.



Fig. 198b. Foto: Volbach 1976: pl. 56.

On the second side the female figure is dressed in a long, long-sleeved tunic and holds a stab, which makes her look like a Maenad. The shepherd is also dressed in a long-sleeved dress. On the head he wears a piece of textile forming a headgear. The long narrow tube with the fingerholes suggested by the shepherd's fingers shown in characteristic movement, ends to a bore. The puffed cheeks of the shepherd suggest the existence of a simple or double tongue, thus the clarinet or oboe type.

On the first side the goat turning towards the shepherd who plays music reminds us of the motif of the milking shepherd and the sheep or goat that turns and looks at him, very often found in sarcophagi reliefs from Rome⁵⁹⁹. The short, long-sleeved tunic is often seen in works from late antique Italy and depict bucolic scenes or the motif of the Good Shepherd. The use of shepherds seated on a basket is oft seen in eastern mosaics of sixth century Jordan (fig. 208) and Israel (fig. 206), while the shepherds wear always boots in the depictions from Italy in contrast to the eastern ones shown in works from Israel, Jordan and North Africa, in which they are often represented with bare feet. The wind instruments in both sides have a long narrow tube that ends to a bore like the musical instrument in a mosaic from Israel (figs. 204). The big cymbals are also shown in a textile from Antinoe, Egypt dated between the fourth and the fifth century A.D. (fig. 199)⁶⁰⁰. The scene combines, as the pyxis, the figure of Dionysos with Nilotic scenes where a young nude figure is playing the same type of big cymbals.



Fig. 199. Egypt, Antinoe (Antinoopolis), fourth to fifth century A.D., textile (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes, Section Copte, X 4792). Foto: *The age of spirituality* 1979: 193, no 172.

⁵⁹⁹ See for example the sarcophagus of the third century Rome in *The age of spirituality* 1979: 412, no 370 and Deichmann 1967: 26, no 29,1 and 29,3, pl. 10.

⁶⁰⁰ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 192-193, no 172.

A wind instrument that resembles that on the pyxis referred to above is depicted in the miniature on the fol. 14r of the so-called Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31) (**fig. 200**)⁶⁰¹. The manuscript probably has a Syrian origin and it is dated to the sixth century.

The lower line of the miniature of the fol. 14r begins on the left with 'Israel who loved Joseph more than all his children, because he *was* the son of his old age: and he made him a coat of *many colours*' (*Genesis xxxvii 3*). To the right is depicted Joseph who 'was feeding the flock with his brethren' (*Genesis xxxvii 2*). The shepherds are depicted in different positions, while to the right end a characteristic couple sits on the rocks of the bucolic landscape. One is playing a wind instrument facing left and the other stands with one hand raised as if he is speaking to the former. In front of them their flock is placed. All shepherds wear sleeveless short chitons and boots to the knee. The wind instrument consists of a short, narrow tube with fingerholes, which opens to the lower end forming a small bore. The brown colour with which is depicted may indicate a wooden construction.



Fig. 200. Syria (?), sixth century A.D., manuscript (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 14r). Foto: Library

⁶⁰¹ Gerstinger 1931: 27, 98.

The motif of the shepherd who plays music among his flock was adopted by the Christians, as we can see in works dated to the Byzantine period and later⁶⁰². One of the earliest examples is an icon from the Monastery of Saint Catherine of Sinai dated to the seventh century A.D. (**fig. 201**)⁶⁰³.



Fig. 200. Detail.

The icon belongs to the Coptic Christian art and represents scenes from the birth of Christ. The main theme is that of the Virgin Mary with the newborn baby in the cave, while underneath are added related scenes, like that of Joseph waiting and the bathing of the baby Christ. Between the main scene and the lower ones the figure of a shepherd playing music to his flock is added in order to fill in the free space between the scenes and give the bucolic dimension according to the text of the New Testament referring to the shepherds who become aware of Christ's birth. The shepherd is dressed in a long, white, long-sleeved tunic, while the musical instrument that he plays consists of a long, narrow, red coloured tube with fingerholes on the upper part and no bore. It resembles that depicted in the textile medallion, possibly from Egypt (fig. 203). It could be compared with the present-day Greek *kalamos*, or *flogera*.

⁶⁰² One of the earliest Byzantine examples is the mosaic with Christ's birth in the Catholicon of Saint Loukas in Boiwtia, Greece dated to the eleventh century. A seating shepherd on a rock, dressed in short and long-sleeved tunic and boots is playing *flogera* the wind instrument of the Greek shepherds, famous until nowadays, made of cane (*kalamos*), wood or bone, with fingerholes and without bore. The playing position of *flogera* is the same used from the shepherd in the icon from Sinai.

⁶⁰³ *Iera Monē Sina* 1985: fig. 101.

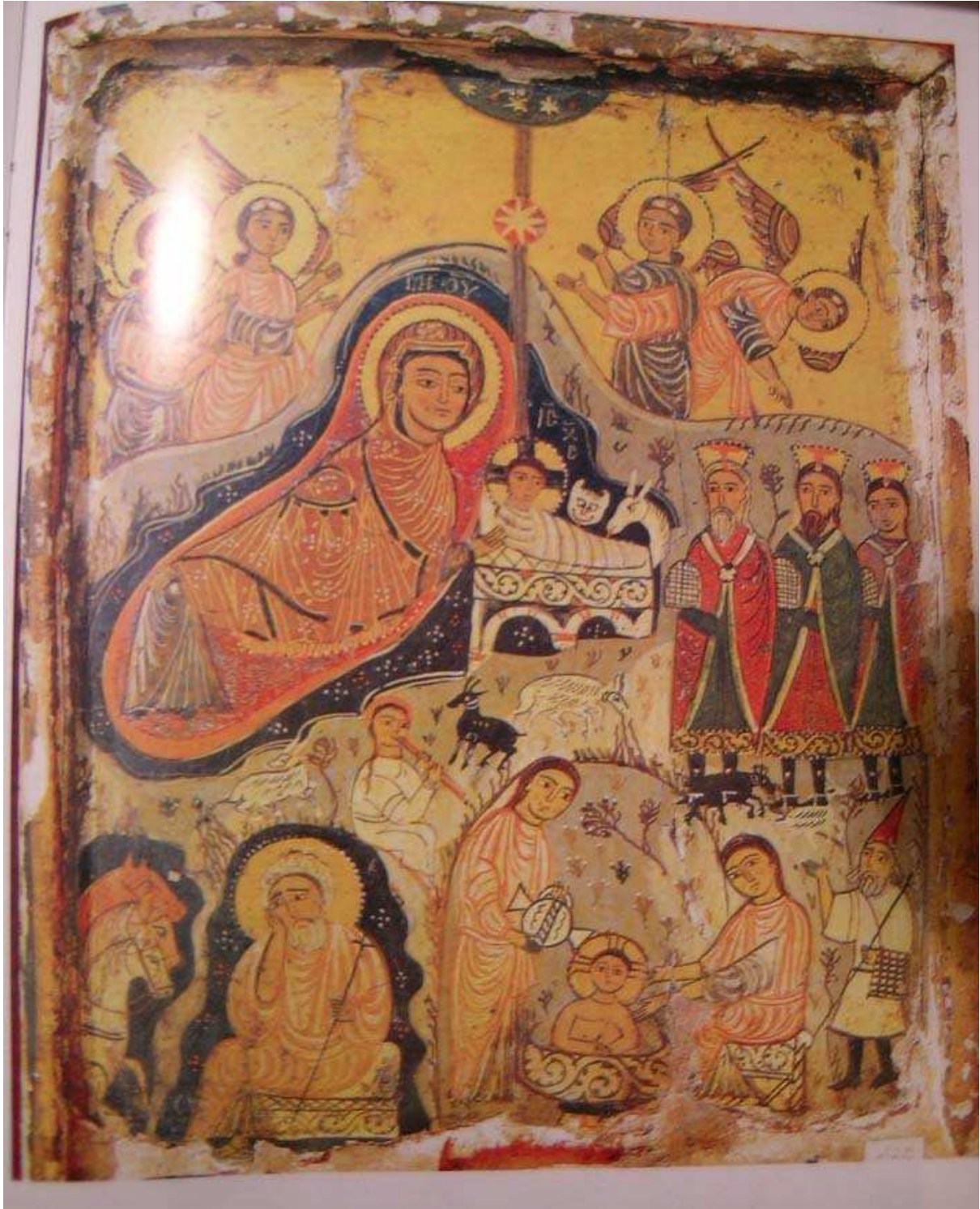


Fig. 201. Sinai, Saint Catherine Monastery, seventh century A.D., icon (in situ). Foto: *Iera Monē Sina* 1985: fig. 101.

The last depiction of the shepherd musician among his flock is to be found in a floor mosaic of great quality representing scenes of human and animal life, excavated in the peristyle of the Imperial Palace in Constantinople (**fig. 202**)⁶⁰⁴. Beside scenes with milking shepherds and horses a shepherd seated on a rock is playing a stringed instrument. At his feet,

⁶⁰⁴ About the mosaic see the article of Trilling 1989 and the book of Brett / Macaulay / Stevenson 1947.

beside him, lies a sheep, partly destroyed, representing his flock. The shepherd wears a short, short-sleeved tunic that is combined with a short robe and short boots. This style of clothing, more Byzantine than Roman, with the *porpe* that fastens the robe to his right shoulder, is distinguished from the other shepherds' clothing within the mosaic.



Fig. 202. Constantinople, Imperial Palace, seventh century A.D., mosaic (in situ). Foto: Kitzinger 1977: fig. 199.

The musical instrument consists of a big tear shaped body distinguished from the short neck where three pegs hold the strings. No sound board hole is depicted. The effort of the artist for a realistic playing position is attested to by the placing of the fingers of the shepherd's left hand on the strings, his right hand which holds the plectrum and plucks the strings, and the lightly turned head which enhances his vivid glance to the strings. As for the name of the musical instrument or its history, nothing is known.

The scenes are like vignettes placed one beside the other, highly naturalistic, but with animal and human figures put without logic one beside the other. A living style, rather than an eclectic repetition of earlier forms, which emerges from the figures' gestures and stances give strong evidence that contemporary workshop model books were not among the designer's main sources. These elements date the mosaic to the seventh century⁶⁰⁵.

⁶⁰⁵ Trilling 1989: 28, 36-54 and Per Jonas 1990: 17-23.



Fig. 202. Detail.

8.3.2 Shepherd playing music accompanied by his dog

Another motif, that of the shepherd playing music to his dog or being accompanied by it as a part of his flock, seems to appear during the fifth and the sixth century in the area of North Africa and Israel. The types of the musical instruments used within the motif will differ between wind instruments and a stringed instrument of the lute family.

One of the first examples of a shepherd playing music to his dog must be the shepherd of a wool medallion (**fig. 203a**)⁶⁰⁶ who plays music stretched out on his stomach in an abnormal position which would not support breath. This position have been used by the artist because of the lack of space and is unique among the works of this study. A long, narrow, light-coloured pipe that curves at the lower end may not be identified as horn but may be from a curved piece of wood. The shepherd does not wear boots while he wears, instead of a tunic, a garment around his waist. His dog is in front of him listening to the music.

In the second medallion (**fig. 203b**)⁶⁰⁷ the shepherd, dressed in a tunica exomis, sits on a rock with crossed feet and holds a wind instrument consisting of a long, narrow, light-coloured pipe that has been woven with the same light-coloured thread as the nude parts of the shepherd. The shepherd holds the pipe in one hand, while no fingerholes or playing gestures could be depicted because of the difficulties of the weaving process. The shepherd is

⁶⁰⁶ *The age of spirituality* 1979: 249-251, no. 228.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*: 249-251, no. 228.

not accompanied by his flock, while he is paratactically placed alone among other bucolic figures that are not related with him.



Fig. 203a. Egypt (?), fifth century A.D., textile (New York, Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 44. 143 A-D). Foto: *The age of spirituality* 1979: 250, no. 229.

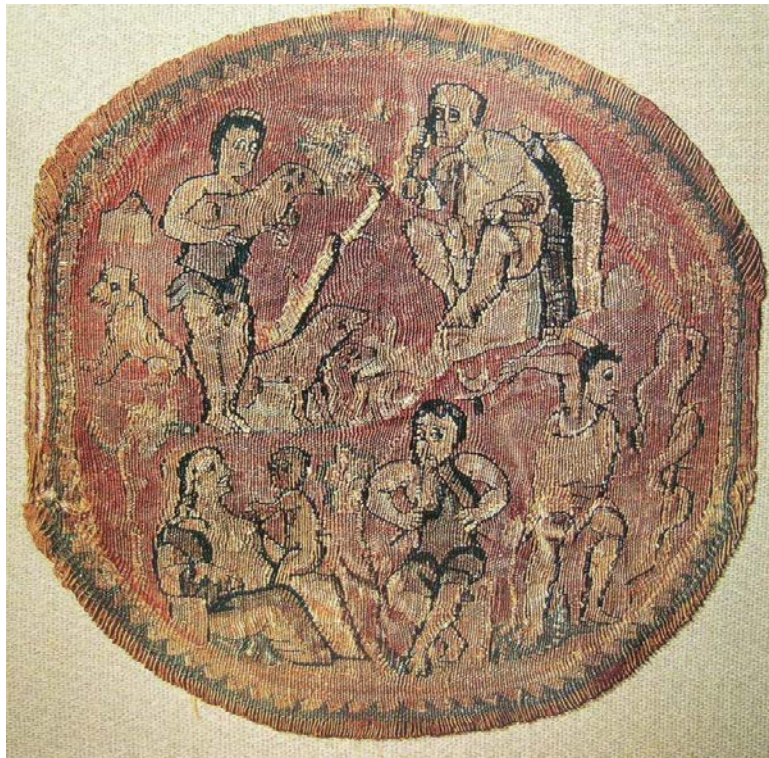


Fig. 203b. Foto: *The age of spirituality* 1979: 250, no. 228.



Fig. 203b. Detail.



Fig. 204. Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean), The Monastery of Lady Mary (room L), sixth century, floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Ovadia 1987: pl. 24.

One more shepherd is depicted on a floor mosaic from the monastery of Lady Mary in sixth century Skythopolis (Beth Shean), Israel, (**fig. 204**)⁶⁰⁸ accompanied by his dog. The shepherd wears a sleeveless short chiton and his feet are bare. He is seated on a cushioned stool

⁶⁰⁸ Ovadia 1987: 29, no 26, pl. 24.

that resembles that in figs. 198 and 32 and indicates a local tradition or a copied element. He is playing a long, narrow wind instrument consisting of a tube that ends in a slight bore suggesting an aulos type known, according to the philological sources, to the shepherds of this area. The dog is turning his head in the opposite direction as if used by the artist in order to identify the musician as a shepherd and not to create the motif, known from other artworks, of the dog listening to the shepherd musician. The shepherd is encircled in a medallion formed from a vine tree, while he is placed among vintage scenes.



Fig. 205. Africa north, Kyrenaica, Qasr-el-Lebia, Dom, H3 / A1, 527-565, floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1980: pl. 11,4 (H3).

The floor mosaic from a church in Oasr-el-Lebia, Kyrenaica (North Africa) is dated in 527 – 565 and represents a shepherd playing music to his dog (**fig. 205**)⁶⁰⁹. The shepherd is seated on a rock in front of a tree where he has hung his pot. He is holding a stringed musical instrument, named, for the first time, by McKinnon, as a cittern⁶¹⁰. The musical instrument consists of a long, narrow arm and a small resonator where a bridge for the strings is placed. The difference between the depicted number of keys (four) and strings (2) may suggest, if not an artist careless or unwilling to attempt realistic depiction, double strings. The musical instrument is played with a plectrum and is tied with a ribbon or strap around the body of the musician. His dog lies at his feet and turns his head towards the shepherd as if listening to his music.

A floor mosaic dated to the middle of the sixth century and found in a grave at El-Hamman, Skythopolis (Beth Shean), Israel, represents a shepherd seated on a basket and

⁶⁰⁹ Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1980: 121, 122, 130, fig. 10, pl. 11,4 (H3).

⁶¹⁰ See McKinnon 1980: 414-421 and Harwood / Tyler 1995: 379-386. As no more pictorial or philological evidence is available about this type of stringed instrument only assumptions can be made about its name and about being a predecessor of the cittern that appeared during the period of Renaissance.

playing a pipe (**fig. 206**)⁶¹¹. The tunica exomis that he wears, as well as the musical instrument and the playing position resemble the miniatures of cod. Virgilius Romanus (figs. 196 and 197). The musician is encircled in a medallion made from a vine tree and is surrounded by scenes depicting a duck (left) and a basket with grapes spilled by a hare (right).



Fig. 206. Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean), El-Hamman, grave, main room, middle of the sixth century, floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Ovadiah 1987: pl. 26.

8.3.3 Male musician

A standing male figure who is playing a wind instrument is portrayed in a medallion from a floor mosaic found in the church of Lot and Prokopios of Mountain Nebo, Jordan (**fig. 207**)⁶¹². The mosaic is dated to 557 and consists of medallions that are formed by a vine tree and depict animals and vintage scenes. The four medallions of the line where the male musician is placed portray, from left to right, a male figure leading a donkey (the scene occupies two medallions), two male figures pressing grapes and in the fourth medallion at the right edge a male figure wearing a short sleeveless tunic, having bare feet and playing a wind instrument is facing them. Even though the musician is placed in a separate meddalion he could be connected with the pressing of the grapes, inasmuch as he turns towards them and as there is a scene on a glass amphora from Pompeii dated to the first century A.D.⁶¹³ where an

⁶¹¹ Ovadiah 1987: 30-31, no 027(1), pl. 26.

⁶¹² Piccirillo 1993: 153-165, figs. 202, 203.

⁶¹³ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 13521 in Fleischhauer 1964: 74, 75, fig. 38.

eros is accompanying, with his double aulos, two erotes pressing the grapes. Despite the depiction of the erotes instead of wine makers a musical praxis of the artist's everyday life could be intended.

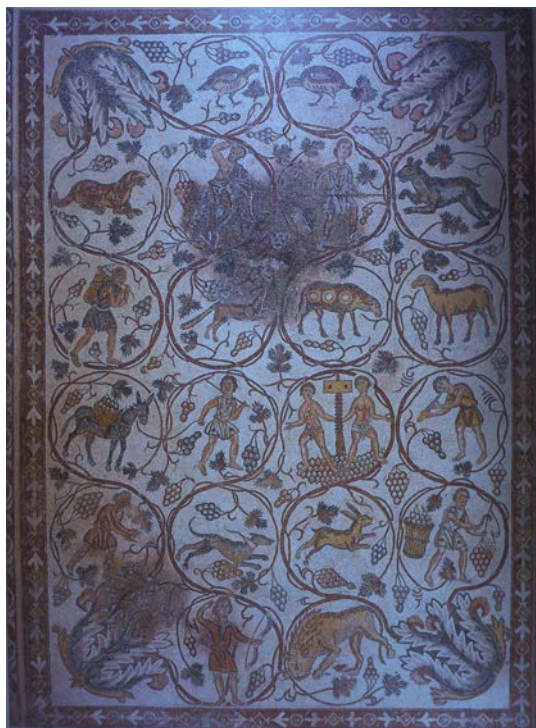


Fig. 207. Jordan, Oros Nebo, Church of martyrs Lot and Prokopios, 557, floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Piccirillo 1993: 153, fig. 202.



Fig. 207. Detail.

The musical instrument consists of a dark-coloured bright tube that ends in a lower yellow coloured part with three finger holes on the top. It must be a type of aulos, familiar, according to the literary sources, to the shepherds of the area.

The mosaic from the chapel of the martyr Theodoros in Jordan, is dated to the middle of the sixth century (**fig. 208**)⁶¹⁴ and depicts a musician seated on a basket and playing a wind

⁶¹⁴ Piccirillo 1993: 117, fig. 109.

instrument. He wears a short chiton without sleeves and no shoes and he sits with his feet crossed one over the other. He resembles the musician of fig. 207. The dark-coloured tube has a narrow upper and a brighter lower part that ends in a yellow bore. No finger holes are represented on the tube but the movement of the musician's fingers indicates them. It could be a horn (bycane) or a type of aulos both known to the shepherds of the area.



Fig. 208. Jordan, chapel of martyr Theodoros, 562, floor mosaic (in situ). Foto: Piccirillo 1993: 117, fig. 109.

A marble frieze found in a church from sixth century Pieria, Iran (**fig. 209**)⁶¹⁵ depicts, besides the central pattern of the meander, a scene with a male figure playing a wind instrument. The musician wears a chiton exomis, and he is placed near a vine tree, while the lower part of the depiction is destroyed. The wind instrument consists of a bore that opens slightly at the lower end as if made from an animal's horn. It resembles the horn played by the shepherd in the mosaic from Syria (fig. 195), called a *bycanē* by the Greek traveller in the Eastern Mediterranean. To the left side of the meander a female figure is added, which is also partly damaged.



Fig. 209. Iran, Seleucia, Pieria, church, sixth century, marble relief (Princeton, The Art Museum, C671 / S691). Foto: Kondoleon 2000: 223, no 110.

⁶¹⁵ Kondoleon 2000: 223, no 110.

Conclusions

Activities accompanied by music, such as banquets, horse races, wedding celebrations, gladiatorial contests, musical competitions, theatrical performances, sacrifices and bucolics are depicted on art works and described in the literary sources of the Roman world extending around the Mediterranean. The colonization of South Italy by the Greeks, the Hellenisation of Eastern Mediterranean, the commercial affairs between Rome and Egypt and the transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople were followed by the importing of cultural traditions and, with them, the related musical praxis and musical instruments.

During the Etruscan era, the custom of reclining to the accompaniment of music is imported into Italy as part of the everyday life of the Greek colonisers. Artists, serving the needs of the newly formed Greek communities and the influenced Etruscans, decorate vases, tomb walls and urn reliefs with the cherished activity. Sometimes they seem to copy the classical Greek prototypes exactly, such as on vases. The musical instruments depicted accompanying the banqueters, are the double aulos, the phorminx, the kithara and krotala, all well known from contemporary Greek banqueting scenes found, mainly, on vases.

The Etruscans for the first time seem to connect the depicted reclining custom accompanied by music with death, as the funerary objects reveal. This tradition will later be abandoned until the appearance of the meal for the deceased, portrayed on sarcophagi from Rome dated to the early Roman Empire. The new motif will be clearly connected with the dead but the musical instrument depicted will be from the lute family as a result of Greek influence, generally present during this period in Rome.

The harp is connected to drinking while banqueting in scenes from Mesopotamia, classical Greece, Hellenistic Apulia and Rome, as well as Antioch during the Empire, following the import of the custom to each area. The Egyptian forked cymbals are later inserted into the banquet as an influence derived from the commercial relationship between Rome and Egypt during the Roman Empire. A large group of depicted female musicians playing double aulos, cymbals, forked cymbals, kithara, organon and oxyvaphi from fourth century A.D. Syria testifies to the powerful social status of the wealthy Syrian women, identifying the scene as a banquet and not as a theatrical scene as formerly believed.

The aulos, lyre, kithara, phorminx and harp are shown accompanying wedding celebrations on creations from archaic and classical Greece. Etruscans continue to depict the aulos in bridal scenes, according to the Greek custom, while they also seem to use the cornu

and lituus of their local musical tradition. From this time on, wedding scenes accompanied by music are abandoned until the end of Antiquity.

The sound of the tuba is connected to chariot races and the announcement of the winner at the end of the race. Its less impressive signaling role is suggested by the few depictions in contrast to the rest portraying the victorious charioteer with his attributes. The important role of music within the Constantinopolitan circus is unveiled in artworks from fourth to sixth century A.D. Constantinople where forked cymbal players, double aulos, organon, syrinx and horn players, as well as a choir, mimes, pantomimes, dancers, ball player and acrobats are depicted praising the emperor. The custom of mimes, pantomimes and dancers causing the laughter of the audience during the Republic will be transferred, together with the capital of the Empire, from Rome to Constantinople. Musical instruments imported into Rome during the Republic from Greece, such as the aulos and syrinx, and from Egypt, such as the hydraulis and forked cymbals, will be also transferred to Constantinople, serving the new imperial political status.

The bloody spectacle of gladiatorial combats, which appeared in the wider area of Pompeii during the Republic, is accompanied by local musical instruments, such as the cornu and tuba. From the first century A.D. the hydraulis is also portrayed as an Egyptian influence. The opening ceremonial procession of the arena participants is underlined by the music of the tuba, aulos and lituus, while signals of music are used to organize and specify the beginning of the race (e.g. simultaneously for all the pairs), the moment of judgment for the dispatch or the murder of the wounded gladiator and the final announcement of the winners' names.

Two scenes with gladiators playing the cornu represent a practical solution. Men sentenced to death, are used by the arena officials as musicians, and taught to play music in the gladiatorial school where they were also taught to fight. Thus, the arena officials wouldn't have to pay professional musicians, at least not all the time, and expose them to danger in the arena.

Metallic, wind instruments, capable of playing loudly, are used within the busy amphitheatre with the fighting warriors and the screaming spectators because they can be heard by both. Their triumphal timbres are suitable for impressive compositions underlying the fighting character of the bloody spectacle intended to be impressive rather than enjoyable.

Scenes of gladiators in public places such as on funerary monuments, rooms in Roman villas with public access, such as the triclinia, or on vases ensure that the status of the deceased could not be forgotten and the honour paid to him with the *munera* still remains

fresh. The depiction of musical practice within the scenes strengthens this honorary character that is underlined by the impressive musical offering to the deceased.

The colonization of South Italy during the Archaic epoch is followed by the importing of theatrical plays that flourished in Athens. Depictions, dated to the fifth century B.C. but also later ones from Pompeii, Rome or Italy, all dated until the first century A.D., give evidence for the presence of the double aulos player within theatrical plays, a presence that is confirmed by the classical Antique writers and the contemporary Roman philological sources until the third century A.D.

Musical instruments such as the lyre, syrinx, cymbals and tympanon, used during the Dionysian mysteries of Greece, are imported to Italy together with the theatrical plays during the fifth century B.C. on, providing evidence for the connection between the god and the actors called *artists of Dionysos*. This connection between Dionysos and the theatre is portrayed later during the first century A.D.

After the second century B.C., when the cult of Cybele came to Rome for the first time, the Dionysian cult and the theatre were blended with the cult of Cybele. The *ludi Megalenses* (the games in honour of Cybele) were accompanied by scenic plays from the second century B.C. onwards, while depictions combine theatrical masks together with Dionysian and Cybelian hanging attributes. The connection between the hanging syrinx and Dionysos vanishes from the fifth century A.D. and the hanging musical instrument is then related to shepherds and bucolic life. In this way the syrinx, related from the Hellenistic epoch onwards with shepherds, is, through a new motif, again connected with them.

The short aulos with the conical bore (a type of clarinet or recorder) is found in depictions that are located to first until third century A.D. Rome and Pompeii. Its presence within scenes relating to banquets, sacrifices and athletic contests, as well as in statuettes of Dionysian personifications, locates the sarcophagus fragment portraying actors (fig. 99) to this area. The general term, aulos / tibia, used for this instrument, describes instruments of simple or double tongue and the recorder type. This practice is, even nowadays, used in Greece where the wind instrument of the clarinet type is named 'straight aulos', the oboe type 'high pitched aulos' and the recorder type 'aulos'. Besides the aulos, the sounds of the syrinx, kithara, cymbals, tympanon, kroupeza / scabellum and singers are depicted or mentioned as accompanying actors, mimes or pantomimes.

An expansion of festivals occurs through the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean from the Hellenistic epoch onwards. Besides the contests in drama (tragedy and comedy), poetry, dance, double aulos and kithara, well known from the past, new ones appear such as those for

players on the salpinx and hydraulis and for mimes and pantomimes. The depictions, which seem to be fragmentary, do not portray scenes with competitions among puppet showmen (*θαυματοποιούς*) or a kind of harp player (*ψάλλτης*) mentioned in the Roman literary sources. The great number of inscriptions referring to contests at different places in the Eastern Mediterranean, indicate a common musical interest fulfilled by the travelling *technites of Dionysos*. No local musical instruments like the cornu and lituus for Italy, or the bycane, tympanon and cymbals for Greece, are ever mentioned or depicted because of their simplicity in playing and the Greek origins of the musical competitions.

The offering scenes can be divided into three groups: offerings of the Dionysian ritual, of the cult of Cybele, and the Suovetaurilia. Variations in the musical instruments used to accompany the sacred moments are depicted as well as the common elements of the altar, the assistants and the offered goods. The double aulos, cymbals, syrinx and tympanon are used during Dionysian ritual, while the sistra and a long narrow cane pipe or aulos are added to the tympanon and cymbals used for the sacrifices honouring Isis.

During the Suovetaurilia a double or single aulos player is depicted almost always standing close to the altar recalling the sarcophagus from Agia Triada, Crete dated to the Bronze Age. Even if the type of aulos used changed from the elymos (the so-called Phrygian aulos) to the aulos, the ancient custom remains unchanged for more than 1500 years. This is the earliest depiction of the elymos, known to the Minoans before its connection to the cult of Isis. Beside the sacrificial scene a procession is added where local, contemporary musical instruments like the tuba, cornu and a short aulos are used.

The motif of the shepherd playing music starts during Hellenistic times and continues, during the Roman Empire, beside the beloved bucolic scenes with the animals, plants and flowers, the shepherds and the hunters. Simple musical instruments such as the *syrinx / fistula*, *calamos* (reed pipe), *bycane* (short horn), *salpinx* and *aulos* are mentioned by Roman writers from Rome, Greece, Syria and Alexandria in a bucolic context, while depictions are in accordance with the literary sources.

The motif of the shepherd among his flock is adopted by the Christians who transform it into a new symbolical-religious scene found in the catacombs of Rome, on sarcophagi and small statues. The new motif co-exists with the other bucolic scenes used by both pagans and Christians, while the syrinx accompanies the shepherds in both scenes revealing a contemporary musical instrument of daily life.

According to the depictions, the motif of the shepherd playing a cane pipe or a recorder is introduced, from the seventh century A.D., to the scene of Christ's birth in the cave, despite

the lack of a relative reference in the text of the New Testament. The famous, realistic, Roman motif is introduced into the divine Christian scene because of a tendency for narration that tolerates the depiction of musical practice within the church where no musical instruments are permitted.

The imported Greek civilization to South Italy influenced the Etruscan art and musical life during the Roman Republic, while, during the beginning of the Hellenistic epoch, the centre of artistic production moved to the powerful Rome. One century later, Rome established its control over a declining Greece, but the Greek musical influence continued to appear in the art and life of the famous capital together with cultural and musical elements imported from Egypt. A flourishing art expanded during the early Roman Empire and musical elements from the past were blended creatively with the new ones of the present within a cultural interchange between east and west Mediterranean. The new Christian way of living did not influence the depiction of musical practice within the scenes. The polemic of the early Church Fathers against theatre, banquets, horse races and sacrifices lasted many centuries until the final domination of the Christian mores. With the end of the ancient world musical activities and musical instruments, favorite for centuries, would be abandoned forever. After the rise of the Arabs the art would be silent until its revival during the Byzantine epoch and the domination of the new Christian style.

Chronological catalogue of the depictions

date	musical element	place of origin	subject	musician	Fig.	medium	place of exhibition
1420-1380 B.C.	<i>elymos harp</i>	Greece, Crete, Agia Triada, necropole, grave 4	sacrifice	male	136a 136b	sarcophagus	Herakleio, Archaeological Museum, M.H. 396
1300 B.C.	<i>harp</i>	Greece, Pylos, palace of Nestor, throne saal (northeast wall)	musician	male	137	wall painting	Messenia, Archaeological Museum, 43H6
7th cent. B.C.	<i>harp</i>	Mesopotamia, Nineveh, palace	banquet	female	1	relief	London, British Museum, BM 124920
6th cent. B.C.	<i>aulos, kithara</i>	Athens	bridal	female	43	fragment	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 2203
6th cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos</i>	Rome, Velletri	banquet	female	14	terracotta plaque	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 21600
540 B.C.	<i>double aulos, lyre</i>	Greece, Corinth, Pitsa	sacrifice	male	138	wooden panel	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 16464
6th cent. B.C. end	<i>double aulos</i>	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba della Cassia e Pesca	banquet	male	15	wall painting	in situ
6th cent. B.C. end	<i>syrinx, harp (?)</i>	Bologna, Certosa	seating musicians	male	23	bronze basket	Bologna, Museo Civico
510 B.C. ca.	<i>double aulos</i>	Greece, Athens	competition	male	126	crater	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 103
510 B.C.	<i>double aulos, phorminx barbitos</i>	Attica	banquet	female	9a 9b	crater	München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 8935, side a 8945, side b
500 B.C.	<i>krotala</i>	Athens, Tanagra	banquet	male	3	kylix	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1357
500 B.C.	<i>double aulos, barbitos, krotala, double aulos, krotala</i>	Attica	banquet	male	7	crater	Arezzo, Museum, 1465

6th-5th cent. B.C.	<i>phorminx</i> <i>phorminx</i>	Italy, Chiusi	funerary procession	male	28a 28b	urn relief	Chiusi, Museo Civico, 2269
6th-5th cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos</i>	Italy	bridal	male	45	ash urn relief	Chiusi, Museo Civico, 2260
500-490 B.C.	<i>double aulos</i> <i>lyre, krotala</i>	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Citaredo	banquet	male female	16a 16b	wall painting	in situ
500-490 B.C.	<i>krotala 2, barbitos</i>	Greece	dionysian	male	140	kylix	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 576
5th cent. B.C.	<i>aulos</i>	Attica	bridal	female	44	lutrophoros	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1453 (CC 1225)
5th cent. B.C.	<i>harp</i>	Attica	bridal	female	42	lebes	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.35
5th cent. B.C.	<i>aulos, phorminx, cornu, lituus</i>	Italy, Caere	bridal	male	46	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, 59
5th cent. B.C.	<i>harp</i>	Athens, theatre of Dionysus	banquet	female	4	vase	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15308
5th cent. B.C.	<i>lyre</i>	Greece	banquet	male	5	relief	Rome, Barracco Museum
5th cent. B.C.	<i>barbitos</i>	Attica	banquet	male	6	skyphos	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 156
5th cent. B.C.	<i>lyre, barbitos</i>	Attica	banquet	male	10	crater	Milan, private collection 'H.A.', C 354
5th cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos, krotala</i>	Attica	banquet	female	13	hydria	Kopenhagen, Nationalmuseum, 1942
5th cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos, lyre</i> <i>double aulos</i>	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba dei Leopardi	banquet	male	18a 18b	wall painting	in situ
5th cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos</i>	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba Bruschi	banquet	female	19	wall painting	Tarquinia, Palazzo Grafen Bruschi
5th cent. B.C.	<i>tympanon</i>	Pireaus (Greece)	actors	destroyed	86	relief	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 610c
5th cent. B.C.	<i>cymbals</i>	Athens	actor	male	87	statuette	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 5060
5th cent. B.C.	<i>kithara of Thamyris (?)</i>	Greece, Athens	competition	male	129	pelike	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 01183

5th cent. B.C.	<i>aulos 4, kithara 4</i>	Athens, Parthenon frieze, north side	sacrificial procession	male	139	frieze	Athens, New Museum of Acropole
490-480 B.C.	<i>double aulos, barbitos, lyre</i>	Attica	banquet	female	8a 8b	kylix	Cambridge, Corpus Christi college, side b side a
480 B.C.	<i>double aulos</i>	Attica	banquet	male	2	drinking cup	München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 2646 (J. 371)
480-470 B.C.	<i>double aulos lyre, krotala, double aulos</i>	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Triclinio	banquet	male male fem-mal	17a 17b 17c	wall painting	in situ
440-430 B.C.	<i>kithara of Thamyris</i>	Greece, Attica	competition	male	131	pelike	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 01469
430 B.C. ca.	<i>double aulos</i>	Greece, Athens	competition	male	127	crater	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1960.1220
430 B.C. ca.	<i>kithara</i>	Greece, Athens	competition	male	128	crater	London, British Museum, E 460
425-420 B.C.	<i>double aulos 2</i>	Greece, Athens	competition	male, female	130	pelike	London, British Museum, 1910.6-15.1
5th-4th cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos 2, lyre 3</i>	South Italy, Pronomos vase	actors	male	88	vase	Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Alinari BEN-F-000180
4th cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos, phorminx, cornu</i>	Italy, Nenfro	bridal	female	47	sarcophagus	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
4th cent. B.C.	<i>kithara</i>	Greece, Thessalonike, Saint Athanasios, facade of grave	banquet	female	12	wall painting	in situ
4th cent. B.C.	<i>syrinx</i>	Greece	musical instrument	-	146	coin	Athens, Nomismatic Museum, 1892/3 KΘ no 720
4th cent. B.C.	<i>tympanon winged, cymbals</i>	Italy, Ruvo	sacrifice (Dionysos)	female	143	vase	Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Alinari BGA-F-005750
4th cent. B.C. middle	<i>double aulos</i>	South Italy	actors	female	91	vase	St. Petersburg, Hermitage
360 B.C.	<i>double aulos 2</i>	Italy, Apoulia	theatre	male	90	crater	Rome, Collection Malaguzzi Valeri
340-330 B.C.	<i>double aulos, lyre</i>	Italy, Cuma	banquet	female	11	crater	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 85873

330 B.C.	<i>tympanon winged</i>	South Italy	actors	male	89	vase	Bari, Archaeological Museum
330-240 B.C.	<i>kithara</i>	Greece, Methymna	musical instrument	--	21	silver coin	Athens, Nomismatic Museum, Collection Empedokleous
4th cent. B.C. late	<i>kithara</i>	South Italy, Campania	the death of Agamemnon	male	22	crater	St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, Pizzati Collection, Italy. 1834
4th cent. B.C. end	<i>double aulos, elymos</i>	Greece, Amphipolis	dionysian	male (?)	148	diadem	Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum, 2909
hellenistic	<i>harp</i>	Italy, Apulia	banquet	female	33	crater	New York, The Jan Mitchell Collection, L63.21.6
hellenistic	<i>syrinx</i>	Italy	shepherd	male	185	relief	Rome, Musei Vaticani
3rd cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos, phorminx</i>	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba degli Scudi	banquet	male	27	wall painting	in situ
3rd cent. B.C.	<i>salpinx</i>	Asia Minor, Tarsos	Nike	female	49	coin	Athens, Nomismatic Museum 1163
3rd cent. B.C.	<i>syrinx</i>	Greece, Samothrake, north nekropole	dionysian	male	147	relief	Komotene, ΑΓΚ 11940
3rd cent. B.C. (?)	<i>syrinx, transverse flute, kithara</i>	Italy, Volterra	banquet	male (?)	20	urn relief	Volterra, Museo Etrusco, 197
2nd cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos, cymbals, tympanon winged</i>	Pompeii, Villa of Cicero	actors	female, male	92	mosaic	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9985
2nd cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos, cymbals, tympanon winged</i>	Italy, Stabiae	actors	female, male	93	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9034
2nd cent. B.C.	<i>syrinx</i>	Greece, Amphipolis	Attis	male	117	statue	Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum, 2748
2nd cent. B.C. middle	<i>kithara</i>	Greece, Pella, grave of the east Nekropole	musician	female	145	statue	Pella, Archaeological Museum, B.E. 1977.230
2nd cent. B.C. second half	<i>double aulos, kithara or lyre</i>	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	162	ash urn	London, British Museum
2nd-1st cent. B.C.	<i>transverse flute</i>	Perugia, tomb of Volumnier	musician	male	24	ash urn relief	in situ

2nd-1st cent. B.C.	<i>harp</i>	Rome	drinking Dionysos	female	29	altar relief	Venice, Museo Archeologico, 263
115-100 B.C.	<i>double aulos, kithara</i>	Rome, Domitius Ahenobarbus-Ara	sacrificial procession	male	161	relief	Paris, Musée du Louvre, 975
1st cent. B.C.	<i>double aulos</i>	Rome	pressing of grapes	male	84	relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 979
1st cent. B.C.	<i>salpinx 2</i>	Rome or around	gladiators	male	73	relief	München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
1st cent. B.C.	<i>salpinx</i>	Pompeii, House of the Sacerdos Amandus, entrance hall I 7,7	gladiators	male	68	wall painting	in situ
1st cent. B.C.	<i>lyre, syrinx, cymbals</i>	Pompeii, Villa of mysteries, room b	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male, female	144	wall painting	in situ
1st cent. B.C.	<i>salpinx</i>	Rome, Temple of Apollo close to the Marcellus theatre	sacrificial procession	male	163	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 2776
1st cent. B.C.	<i>cornu 2, lituus, double aulos 4</i>	Italy, Amiternum	funerary procession	male	176	relief	Aquila, Museo Civico
1st cent. B.C.	<i>cymbals, syrinx, double aulos, tympanon</i>	Italy	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male, female	157	relief	Rome, Museo delle Terme, Alinari ADA-F-002022
25 B.C.	<i>double aulos, kithara with angle</i>	Pompeii, Herculaneum	concert	male, female	133	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9021
1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	<i>cornu</i>	Italy, Isernia, Taverna della Croce	gladiators	male	69	relief	Isernia, Antiquarium comunale (Deutsch Archaeologisches Institut Rome, 1934.958)
1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	<i>cornu</i>	Pompeii, amphitheatre, podium wall	gladiators	male	70	sketch	Archivio Disegni della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli, 79
1st B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos, tympanon winged</i>	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	theatrical	-	105	wall painting	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1231
1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	<i>tympanon, syrinx</i>	Pompeii, House of Fabius Rufus vii, 16, 22, triclinium	mythological	-	110	kamee	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, I 53651 / I 53652
1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	<i>tympanon winged</i>	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	sacrifice (Dionysos)	female	154	relief	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1072

1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male	155	relief	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1037
1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	<i>type of aulos with chain 3</i>	Pompeii, necropolis at the Nucernian gate, tomb 14 EN	gladiators	male	71	sketch	in situ
1st cent. A.D. beginning	<i>elymos 2, tympanon, syrinx, cymbals, lyre</i>	Gallia (?)	theatrical	-	108	cup	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779, 13
1st cent. A.D. beginning	<i>tympanon winged</i>	Gallia (?)	theatrical	-	109	cup	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779.14
10-50 A.D.	<i>syrinx, lyre, cymbals</i>	Minor Asia	theatrical-Dionysian	-	107	cup	Toledo, The Toledo Museum of arts, 1961.9
1st cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Pompeii, Villa of Gaius Vibius, vii, 2, 18	archaeological find	-	96	musical instrument	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 76892, 76893
1st cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	actors	male	97	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6687
1st cent. A.D.	<i>aulos, 2 salpinx, lituus</i>	Pompeii, Stabian gate, funerary monument	procession	male	66	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6704
1st cent. A.D.	<i>salpinx 5, cornu 4</i>	Italy, Chieti, Abruzzan, tomb of C. Lusius Storax	gladiators	male	76	relief	Chieti, Museo Nazionale
1st cent. A.D.	<i>hydraulis, 2 cornu, salpinx</i>	Zliten (Libya), Villa at Dar Buk Ammera	gladiators	female, male	72a 72b	floor mosaic	Tripoli, Archaeological Museum
1st cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx double aulos, lyre double aulos, lyre, syrinx</i>	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack (1766/67)	gladiators-theatre	male	80a 80b 80c	helmet	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 5671
1st cent. A.D.	<i>theatrical masks</i>	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack	gladiators-theatre	male	81	greave	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
1st cent. A.D.	<i>theatrical masks</i>	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack	gladiators	male	82	greave	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
1st cent. A.D.	<i>theatrical masks</i>	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack	gladiators	male	83	greave	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
1st cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos kroupeza, syrinx</i>	Italy, basilica of the Castle of S. Elia near Rome	theatre-horse race	?	102	relief	in situ

1st cent. A.D.	<i>tympanon winged</i>	Pompeii, Casa degli amorini dorati, vi 16, 7	theatrical	-	103	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 20462
1st cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx, lyre</i>	Pompeii, Casa degli amorini dorati, vi 16, 7	theatrical	-	104	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 20463
1st cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean)	musical instrument	-	111	altar relief	Jerusalem, Hebraic University
1st cent. A.D.	<i>cymbals, kithara</i>	Pompeii, Casa dei Vettii, triclinio (c)	dionysian	female, male	150	wall painting	in situ
1st cent. A.D.	<i>sistra 3, aulos, cymbals, tympanon</i>	Pompeii, Herculaneum	sacrifice (Isis)	male	160	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
1st cent. A.D.	<i>elymos, tympanon</i>	Rome	sacrifice (Cybele)	female	166	relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 149
1st cent. A.D.	<i>aulos</i>	Pompeii, Casa della Suonatrice	banquet	winged cupids	30	sketch from the fresco	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
1st cent. A.D. middle	<i>salpinx 3, aulos, lyre or kithara</i>	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	164	altarfries	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
62-79 A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Pompeii, House of the tragic poet, tablinum	actors	male	95	mosaic	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9986
1st cent. A.D. second half	<i>tympanon winged</i>	Italy	actors	male	112	mosaic	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4146, from the collection Santangelo
1st cent. A.D. second half	<i>aulos long, sistra</i>	Pompeii, Herculaneum	sacrifice (Isis)	male, female	158	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 8924
1st cent. A.D. end	<i>double aulos, cymbals</i>	Tunis, Hippo Diarrhytos (Bizerta)	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male	156	jewelry	Tunis, Musee national du Bardo, E3
1st-2nd cent. A.D.	<i>tympanon</i>	Rome, basilica before the Porta Maggiore	actors	female	94	relief	in situ
1st - 2nd cent. A.D.	<i>elymos, syrinx</i>	Rome	dionysian	-	119	relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 370
1st-2nd cent. A.D.	<i>aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	Rome	satyr	male	171	statue	Rome, Villa Albani, 908
1st-2nd cent. A.D.	<i>aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	Rome	Kentaure	male	172	statue	Rome, Villa Albani, 997

1st-2nd cent. A.D.	<i>aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	Rome	young man	male	173	statue	Rome, Villa Albani, 475
1st-2nd cent. A.D.	<i>elymos, cymbals</i>	Rome	dionysian	female	151	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 06684
1st-2nd cent. A.D. (?)	<i>elymos</i>	Italy, Pompeii	sacrifice (genius familiaris)	male	165	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 8905
113 A.D.	<i>salpinx, cornu</i>	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	sacrificial procession	male	167	relief	in situ
113 A.D.	<i>aulos / cornu 3, aulos</i>	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	sacrifice / procession	male	168	relief	in situ
113 A.D.	<i>cornu 2</i>	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	military	male	177	relief	in situ
113 A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	sacrifice	male	179	relief	in situ
165/70 A.D.	<i>double aulos, salpinx</i>	Asia Minor, Ephesos	sacrifice	male	181	relief	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antiken-Sammlung
170 A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Italy	sacrifice	male	182	relief	Manthua, Palazzo Ducale
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>3 aulos</i>	Tossenbergl (Luxenburg)	wild beast hunt	male	67	vase	Luxenburg, Musee de l' Etat
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Rome, Aventine Hill, Villa Andriana, baths of Decious	theatrical	-	106	mosaic	Rome, Musei Capitolini, 392
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	unknown	actors	male	98	camee	Geneva, Musee d' art et d' histoire
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	Rome, Tivoli, Villa Hadriana	mythological	male	113	statue	Rome, Musei Capitolini, 656
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>tympanon</i>	unknown	mythological	female	114	relief	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, lost
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>elymos, tympanon, cymbals</i>	Rome	Kybele	female	115	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>elymos kroupeza, cymbals, tympanon</i>	Rome	dionysian	male, female	118	sarcophagus	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori

2nd cent. A.D.	<i>sistro</i>	Rome	procession (Isis)	female	159	relief	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere, Alinari ACA-F-026981
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	Rome	satyr	male	175	statue	Rome, Villa Albani, 913
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>aulos (transverse flute)</i>	Greece, Corinth, roman villa	shepherd	male	186	mosaic	Corinth, Archaeological Museum
2nd cent. A.D.	<i>syrix</i>	Rome, Domitilla catacomb	shepherd	male	187	wall painting	in situ
2nd cent. A.D. second half	<i>aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	Rome, arch of Triumph	sacrifice	male	174	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, destroyed
2nd cent. A.D. second half	<i>double aulos, salpinx</i>	Rome, Constantine triumph arch, south side	sacrifice	male	180	relief	in situ
2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	<i>hydraulis</i>	Reims (France)	gladiators	male	74	bronze vase	Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, phototèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris
2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	<i>organon</i>	Tatarevo (Bulgaria)	gladiators	male	77	statue	Sofia, Museum
2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	<i>hydraulis or organon</i>	Orange, Lyon	theatre, competition	male	123	medallion	St.-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 31673
2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos, kithara, actors, kithara, chorus</i>	Greece, Patra, Ypsila Alonia	competition	male	132	mosaic	Patra, Archaeological Museum, Psi. Pi. 1
2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	<i>salpinx, cymbals</i>	Cyprus, Nea Pafos, House of Dionysos	dionysian	male, female	152	mosaic	in situ
2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	<i>aulos</i>	Rome	sacrifice	male	183	altar relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Moscioni 10 465
2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	<i>aulos</i>	Rome, Vigna Carpi	athletic competition	male	169	sarcophagus	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 329
2nd-4th cent. A.D.	<i>elymos, harp, forked cymbals, cymbals2, syrix, salpinx or horn, tympanon</i>	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	female, male	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
3rd cent. A.D. early	<i>aulos</i>	Rome outside	athletic competition	male	170	sarcophagus	Milan, Torno Collection, 814

230 A.D.	<i>double aulos, lyre, lyre, double aulos</i>	unknown	mythological	female	51	sarcophagus	New York, Metropolitan Museum of art, 7 10 104
230-240 A.D.	<i>hydraulis, cornu</i>	Trier (Nenning), Germany, roman villa	gladiators	male	75	floor mosaic	in situ
251 A.D.	<i>cornu</i>	Rome	military	male	178	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 8574
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>harp</i>	Antioch (Syria), House of Maenander	banquet	female	32	floor mosaic	in situ
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>aulos, type of lute</i>	Rome	meal for the deceased	female	34	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>type of lute, kithara</i>	Italy	meal for the deceased	female cupid	35	sarcophagus	London, British Museum, GR 1805.7-3.132
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx, kithara, cymbals, transverse flute, cymbals</i>	Rome	erotes	male	25	sarcophagus	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Rome, via Appia	musician	male	101	tomb stone relief	Florence, Galleria degli Uffici
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	unknown	actors	male	99	sarcophagus relief	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 9059
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>kithara, tympano winged</i>	Rome	theatrical funeral	male	120	tomb stone relief	Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>tympanon winged</i>	Italy	actors	male	121	sarcophagus	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3192-3, Collection Campana
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx, aulos, cornu, tympanon</i>	Geneva	theatrical	male	124	medallion	Geneva, Musée d' art et d' histoire, MAHC 1551
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>cymbals, syrinx</i>	Syria, Antioch, House of Dionysos and Ariadne	dionysian	female, male	153	mosaic	in situ
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	Rome, Via imperiale	shepherd	male	188	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 121666
3rd cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	Rome, catacomb of Praetextatus	shepherd	male	189	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Pio Cristiano
3rd cent. A.D. second half	<i>double aulos, transverse flute</i>	Rome	mythological	male	26	drinking cup	Dresden, Skulpturensammlung (Albertinum)

295 A.D.	<i>tympanon 2 syrinx, cymbals</i>	Rome, Via Appia, San Sebastiano	Kybele-Attis	female, male	116a 116b	altar relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 208/215
3rd cent. A.D. end	<i>double aulos, tympanon with stick, forked cymbals, syrinx / double aulos, kithara</i>	Rome	mythological	cupids / muses	50	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 115 172.1934
3rd cent. A.D. end	<i>double aulos 5- kroupeza 2, krotala 2</i>	Italy, Aventin, Temple of Diana	wine drinking	male, female	85	floor mosaic	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cabinetto dell' Ermes
3rd cent. second half-4th cent. first half A.D.	<i>organon</i>	Trier, Pacelliufer	gladiators	male	78	relief	Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, EV 1983.35
3rd-4th cent. A.D.	<i>kithara</i>	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa Heracleia	mythological	male	54	mosaic	in situ
3rd-4th cent. A.D.	<i>bycane</i>	Syria, Antioch, Villa Daphne, room 1	shepherd	male	195	mosaic	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3444
3rd-4th cent. A.D.	<i>salpinx</i>	Antioch (Syria), Villa Daphne, room 4	competition	male	56	floor mosaic	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3444
303 A.D.	<i>double aulos</i>	Rome, stele of the Tetrarchs	sacrifice	male	184	relief	Rome, Forum romanum
310-320 A.D.	<i>salpinx</i>	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, baths	horse race	male	55	floor mosaic	in situ
310-320 A.D.	<i>double aulos, hydraulis or organon, kithara, salpinx</i>	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, south cubiculum in the children villa	competition	male	134	mosaic	in situ
360-370 A.D.	<i>forked cymbals (two pairs)</i>	North Italy (?)	banquet	males	36	ivory casket	Brescia, Civici Musei d' Arte e di Storia
4th cent. A.D.	<i>2 organa, double aulos, keras, syrinx, 4 forked cymbals</i>	Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina, base of the obelisk of Theodosius	emperor in the circus, horse race	males and females	58	relief	in situ
4th cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	Ravenna, Via Massimo d' Azeglio	shepherd	male	190	mosaic	in situ
4th cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	Italy, Aquleia, Church of bishop Theodorus	shepherd	male	192	mosaic	in situ

4th cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	Rome, Mausoleum of Trebius Justus	shepherd	male	193	wall painting	in situ
4th cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	Rome	shepherd	male	194	gold glass	Corning, New York, The Corning Museum of Glass, 66.1.37
4th cent. A.D. (?)	<i>salpinx</i>	unknown	horse race	male	57	mould	London, British Museum, lost
4th cent. A.D. end	<i>syrinx, forked cymbals (two pairs)</i>	Carthage (North Africa), roman house, triclinio	banquet	male females	37	floor mosaic	in situ
4th cent. A.D. end	<i>forked cymbals, organon, double aulos, kithara, cymbals, oxyvaphi</i>	Mariamin (Syria), roman house, rectangular space in front of the triclinio	banquet	female	38	floor mosaic	Hama, Museum of Hama
4th-5th cent. A.D.	<i>cymbals big</i>	Egypt, Antinoopolis (Antinoe)	Dionysos	?	199	textile	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes, Section Copte, X 4792
4th-6th cent. A.D.	<i>cymbals big, aulos (clarinet, oboe or reed)/ aulos (clarinet, oboe or reed)</i>	unknown	shepherd	male	198a 198b	ivory pyxis	London, British Museum
425-55 A.D.	<i>tympanon winged</i>	Rome	amphitheatre, circus or theatre	male	122	medallion	private collection
5th cent. A.D.	<i>syrinx</i>	France, Arles, Saint-Honorat crypte	shepherd	male	191	sarcophagus	Arles, Musée d' Arles, 15
5th cent. A.D.	<i>kalamos (?)</i>	unknown	shepherd	male	196	manuscript	Vatican, cod. Vat. lat. 3867 (Virgilius Romanus), fol. 1r of <i>Eclogues</i>
5th cent. A.D.	<i>kalamos (?)</i>	unknown	shepherd	male	197	manuscript	Vatican, cod. Vat. lat. 3867 (Virgilius Romanus), fol. 44v of <i>Georgics</i>
5th cent. A.D.	<i>kalamos (?)</i> <i>kalamos (?)</i>	Egypt (?)	shepherd	male	203a 203b	textile	New York, Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 44.143 A-D
5th cent. A.D. late	<i>2 auloi</i> <i>2 auloi</i>	Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina	horse race	male	59	marble 'Kugelspiel'	Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für byzantinische Kunst, 1895

5th-7th cent. A.D.	<i>forked cymbals, syrinx</i>	Africa north, Egypt	dionysian	male	142	textile	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Charles Potter Kling Fund, 53.18
6th cent. A.D. early	<i>lyre</i>	Egypt (?)	actor	female	125	ivory plaque	Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, 2497
500 A.D.	<i>3 auloi (?)</i>	Constantinople, new marble base of Porphyrius	horse race	male	60	relief	Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 5560 T
517 A.D.	<i>choir, hydraulis</i>	Constantinople, consular diptych of Anastasius	horse race	male	61	consular diptych	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 19 688
517 A.D.	<i>actors</i>	Constantinople, consular diptych of Anastasius	actors, horse race	male	62	consular diptych	London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 368-1871, now lost
517 A.D.	<i>actors, acrobats</i>	Constantinople, consular diptych of Anastasius	actors, horse race	female, male	63	consular diptych	St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Byz. 925/16,
517 A.D.	<i>actors</i>	Constantinople, consular diptych of Anastasius	actors, horse race	female, male	64	consular diptych	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 40
527-565 A.D.	<i>cittern</i>	Africa north, Kyrenaica, Qasr-el-Lebia, Dom, H3 / A1	shepherd	male	205	mosaic	in situ
6th cent. A.D. middle	<i>aulos</i>	Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean), El-Hamman, grave, main room	shepherd ?	male	206	mosaic	in situ
557 A.D.	<i>aulos</i>	Jordan, Oros Nebo, Church of martyr Lot and Prokopios	musician	male	207	mosaic	in situ
562 A.D.	<i>aulos or bycane</i>	Jordan, chapel of martyr Theodoros	musician	male	208	mosaic	in situ
6th cent. A.D.	<i>double aulos, oxyvaphi</i>	Syria (?)	banquet	female	40	manuscript	Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 17v
6th cent. A.D.	<i>cymbals</i>	Jordan, House of Madaba	mythological	female	41	mosaic	Jordan, Archaeological Museum of Madaba
6th cent. A.D.	<i>aulos</i>	Constantinople	mythological	male (?)	52	silver plate	Washington, The Dumbarton Oaks collection 51.20
6th cent. A.D.	<i>aulos (clarinet, oboe or reed)</i>	Syria (?)	shepherd	male	200	manuscript	Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 14r

6th cent. A.D.	<i>aulos</i>	Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean), the Monastery of Lady Mary (room L)	shepherd	male	204	mosaic	in situ
6th cent. A.D.	<i>bycane ?</i>	Iran, Seleucia, Pieria, church	musician	male	209	relief	Princeton, The Art Museum, C671 / S691
7th cent. A.D.	<i>kithara</i>	Constantinople	christian	male	53	silver plate	Nicosia, Archaeological Museum, J454
7th cent A.D.	<i>aulos 2</i>	Constantinople	bridal	male	48	silver plate	Nicosia, Archaeological Museum, J452
7th cent. A.D.	<i>kalamos (?)</i>	Sinai, Saint Catherine Monastery	shepherd	male	201	icon	in situ
7th cent. A.D.	<i>pandoura (?)</i>	Constantinople, Imperial Palace	shepherd	male	202	mosaic	in situ
11th cent. A.D.	<i>hydraulis or organon, transverse flute, cymbals, double aulos, syrinx</i>	Kiev, Santa Sophia cathedral, north tower, staircases	hippodrome	male	65	wall painting	in situ
late Roman	<i>double aulos, lyre</i>	Italy	actors	female	100	sarcophagus relief	Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi
Roman Empire	<i>organon</i>	unknown	gladiators	male	79	vase	Spier, Musee de Spier
unknown	<i>kithara (?), actors (?), psalterion (?), double aulos, kithara or psalterion, double aulos, choir, kithara</i>	Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave	competition	male	135	sketch of the destroyed wall painting	Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787
unknown	<i>cymbals</i>	Pompeii, II 4, 3	musical instrument	-	149	bronze	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 10159

Catalogue of the musical instruments depicted

<i>musical instrument</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>place of origin</i>	<i>subject</i>	<i>musician</i>	<i>fig.</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>place of exhibition</i>
<i>aulos, kithara</i>	6th cent. B.C.	Athens	bridal	female	43	fragment	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 2203
<i>aulos</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Attica	bridal	female	44	lutrophoros	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1453 (CC 1225)
<i>aulos, phorminx, cornu, lituus</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Italy, Caere	bridal	male	46	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, 59
<i>aulos 4, kithara 4</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Athens, Parthenon frieze, north side	sacrificial procession	male	139	frieze	Athens, New Museum of Acropole
<i>aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Casa della Suonatrice	banquet	winged cupids	30	sketch from the fresco	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
<i>aulos, cymbals, tympanon, sistra 3</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Herculaneum	sacrifice (Isis)	male	160	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
<i>aulos, salpinx 2, lituus</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Stabian gate, funerary monument	procession	male	66	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6704
<i>aulos, lyre or kithara, salpinx 3</i>	1st cent. A.D. middle	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	164	altarfries	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
<i>aulos long, sistra</i>	1st cent. A.D. second half	Pompeii, Herculaneum	sacrifice (Isis)	male, female	158	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 8924
<i>aulos 3</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Tossenbergl (Luxenburg)	wild beast hunt	male	67	vase	Luxenburg, Musee de l' Etat
<i>aulos / cornu 3, aulos</i>	113 A.D.	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	sacrifice / procession	male	168	relief	in situ
<i>aulos</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	sacrifice	male	183	altar relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Moscioni 10 465
<i>aulos</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Rome, Vigna Carpi	athletic competition	male	169	sarcophagus	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 329

<i>aulos, cornu, tympanon, syrinx</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Geneva	theatrical	male	124	medallion	Geneva, Musée d' art et d' histoire, MAHC 1551
<i>aulos, type of lute</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	meal for the deceased	female	34	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano
<i>aulos</i>	3rd cent. A.D. early	Rome outside	athletic competition	male	170	sarcophagus	Milan, Torno Collection, 814
<i>aulos (clarinet, oboe or reed), cymbals big/ aulos (clarinet, oboe or reed)</i>	4th-6th cent. A.D.	unknown	shepherd	male	198a 198b	ivory pyxis	London, British Museum
<i>aulos 2</i> <i>aulos 2</i>	5th cent. A.D. late	Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina	horse race	male	59	marble 'Kugelspiel'	Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für byzantinische Kunst, 1895
<i>aulos (?) 3</i>	500 A.D.	Constantinople, new marble base of Porphyrius	horse race	male	60	relief	Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 5560 T
<i>aulos</i>	557 A.D.	Jordan, Oros Nebo, Church of martyr Lot and Prokopios	musician	male	207	mosaic	in situ
<i>aulos or bycane</i>	562 A.D.	Jordan, chapel of martyr Theodoros	musician	male	208	mosaic	in situ
<i>aulos</i>	6th cent. A.D.	Constantinople	mythological	male (?)	52	silver plate	Washington, The Dumbarton Oaks collection 51.20
<i>aulos</i>	6th cent. A.D.	Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean), the Monastery of Lady Mary (room L)	shepherd	male	204	mosaic	in situ
<i>aulos (clarinet, oboe or reed)</i>	6th cent. A.D.	Syria (?)	shepherd	male	200	manuscript	Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 14r
<i>aulos</i>	6th cent. A.D. middle	Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean), El-Hamman, grave, main room	shepherd ?	male	206	mosaic	in situ
<i>aulos 2</i>	7th cent A.D.	Constantinople	bridal	male	48	silver plate	Nicosia, Archaeological Museum, J452

<i>aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	1st-2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	Kentaure	male	172	statue	Rome, Villa Albani, 997
<i>aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	1st-2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	satyr	male	171	statue	Rome, Villa Albani, 908
<i>aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	1st-2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	young man	male	173	statue	Rome, Villa Albani, 475
<i>aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	2nd cent. A.D. second half	Rome, arch of Triumph	sacrifice	male	174	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, destroyed
<i>aulos type with chain 3</i>	1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, necropolis at the Nuceria gate, tomb 14 EN	gladiators	male	71	sketch	in situ
<i>see also double aulos</i>							
<i>barbitos</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Attica	banquet	male	6	skyphos	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 156
<i>barbitos, lyre</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Attica	banquet	male	10	crater	Milan, private collection 'H.A.', C 354
<i>barbitos / double aulos, phorminx</i>	510 B.C.	Attica	banquet	female	9b 9a	crater	München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 8935, side a / 8945, side b
<i>barbitos, double aulos 2, krotala 2</i>	500 B.C.	Attica	banquet	male	7	crater	Arezzo, Museum, 1465
<i>barbitos, krotala 2</i>	500-490 B.C.	Greece	dionysian	male	140	kylix	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 576
<i>barbitos, double aulos/ lyre</i>	490-480 B.C.	Attica	banquet	female	8b 8a	kylix	Cambridge, Corpus Christi college, side b side a

<i>bycane or salpinx tympanon, elymos, harp, forked cymbals 2, cymbals, syrinx</i>	2nd-4th cent. A.D.	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	male, female, male, female, male, female, -,	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
<i>bycane</i>	3rd-4th cent. A.D.	Syria, Antioch, Villa Daphne, room 1	shepherd	male	195	mosaic	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3444
<i>bycane, syrinx, forked cymbals 4, organon 2, double aulos</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina, base of the obelisk of Theodosius	emperor in the circus, horse race	males and females	58	relief	in situ
<i>bycane ?</i>	6th cent. A.D.	Iran, Seleucia, Pieria, church	musician	male	209	relief	Princeton, The Art Museum, C671 / S691
<i>bycane or aulos</i>	562 A.D.	Jordan, chapel of martyr Theodoros	musician	male	208	mosaic	in situ
<i>choir, double aulos, kithara, actors, kithara</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Greece, Patra, Ypsila Alonia	competition	male	132	mosaic	Patra, Archaeological Museum, Psi. Pi. 1
<i>choir, hydraulis</i>	517 A.D.	Constantinople, consular diptych of Anastasius	horse race	male	61	consular diptych	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 19 688
<i>choir, kithara, kithara (?), actors (?), psalterion (?), double aulos 2, kithara or psalterion</i>	Roman Empire	Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave	competition	male	135	sketch of the destroyed wall painting	Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787

<i>cittern</i>	527-565 A.D.	Africa north, Kyrenaica, Qasr-el-Lebia, Dom, H3 / A1	shepherd	male	205	mosaic	in situ
<i>cornu, lituus, aulos, phorminx</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Italy, Caere	bridal	male	46	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, 59
<i>cornu, double aulos, phorminx</i>	4th cent. B.C.	Italy, Nenfro	bridal	female	47	sarcophagus	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
<i>cornu 2, lituus, double aulos 4</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Italy, Amiternum	funerary procession	male	176	relief	Aquila, Museo Civico
<i>cornu</i>	1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Italy, Isernia, Taverna della Croce	gladiators	male	69	relief	Isernia, Antiquarium comunale (Deutsch Archaeologisches Institut Rome, 1934.958)
<i>cornu</i>	1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, amphitheatre, podium wall	gladiators	male	70	sketch	Archivio Disegni della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli, 79
<i>cornu 2, salpinx, hydraulis</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Zliten (Libya), Villa at Dar Buk Ammera	gladiators	female, male	72a 72b	floor mosaic	Tripoli, Archaeological Museum
<i>cornu 4, salpinx 5</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Italy, Chieti, Abruzzo, tomb of C. Lusius Storax	gladiators	male	76	relief	Chieti, Museo Nazionale
<i>cornu 2</i>	113 A.D.	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	military	male	177	relief	in situ
<i>cornu 3, aulos/ aulos</i>	113 A.D.	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	sacrifice / procession	male	168	relief	in situ
<i>cornu, salpinx</i>	113 A.D.	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	sacrificial procession	male	167	relief	in situ
<i>cornu, hydraulis</i>	230-240 A.D.	Trier (Nenning), Germany, roman villa	gladiators	male	75	floor mosaic	in situ
<i>cornu</i>	251 A.D.	Rome	military	male	178	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 8574
<i>cornu, tympanon, syrinx, aulos</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Geneva	theatrical	male	124	medallion	Geneva, Musée d' art et d' histoire, MAHC 1551

<i>cymbals</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Athens	actor	male	87	statuette	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 5060
<i>cymbals, tympanon winged</i>	4th cent. B.C.	Italy, Ruvo	sacrifice (Dionysos)	female	143	vase	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Alinari BGA-F-005750
<i>cymbals, double aulos, tympanon winged</i>	2nd cent. B.C.	Pompeii, Villa of Cicero	actors	male, female, male	92	mosaic	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9985
<i>cymbals, double aulos, tympanon winged</i>	2nd cent. B.C.	Italy, Stabiae	actors	male, female, male	93	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9034
<i>cymbals, lyre, syrinx</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Pompeii, Villa of mysteries, room b	sacrifice (Dionysos)	female, male, male	144	wall painting	in situ
<i>cymbals, syrinx, double aulos, tympanon</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Italy	sacrifice (Dionysos)	x, x, male, female	157	relief	Rome, Museo delle Terme, Alinari ADA-F-002022
<i>cymbals, lyre, elymos 2, tympanon, syrinx</i>	1st cent. A.D. beginning	Gallia (?)	theatrical	-	108	cup	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779, 13
<i>cymbals, syrinx, lyre</i>	10-50 A.D.	Minor Asia	theatrical-Dionysian	-	107	cup	Toledo, The Toledo Museum of arts, 1961.9
<i>cymbals, tympanon, sistra 3, aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Herculaneum	sacrifice (Isis)	male	160	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
<i>cymbals, kithara</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Casa dei Vettii, triclinio (c)	dionysian	female, male	150	wall painting	in situ
<i>cymbals, double aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D. end	Tunis, Hippo Diarrhytos (Bizerta)	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male	156	jewelry	Tunis, Musee national du Bardo, E3
<i>cymbals, elymos</i>	1st-2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	dionysian	female	151	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 06684
<i>cymbals, elymos, tympanon</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	Kybele	female	115	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori

<i>cymbals, tympanon, elymos-kroupeza</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	dionysian	-, female, male	118	sarcophagus	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
<i>cymbals, salpinx</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Cyprus, Nea Pafos, House of Dionysos	dionysian	female, male	152	mosaic	in situ
<i>cymbals, syrinx, salpinx or bycane, tympanon, elymos, harp, forked cymbals 2</i>	2nd-4th cent. A.D.	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	female, -, male, female, male, female, male	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
<i>cymbals 2, transverse flute, syrinx, kithara</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	erotes	male	25	sarcophagus	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
<i>cymbals, syrinx</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Syria, Antioch, House of Dionysos and Ariadne	dionysian	female, male	153	mosaic	in situ
<i>cymbals, syrinx/ tympanon 2</i>	295 A.D.	Rome, Via Appia, San Sebastiano	Kybele-Attis	x, x/ female, male	116b 116a	altar relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 208/215
<i>cymbals big</i>	4th-5th cent. A.D.	Egypt, Antinoopolis (Antinoe)	Dionysos	?	199	textile	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes, Section Copte, X 4792
<i>cymbals big, aulos(clarinet, oboe or reed)/ aulos (clarinet, oboe or reed)</i>	4th-6th cent. A.D.	unknown	shepherd	male	198a 198b	ivory pyxis	London, British Museum
<i>cymbals, oxyvaphi, forked cymbals, organon, double aulos, kithara</i>	4th cent. A.D end	Mariammin (Syria), roman house, rectangular space in front of the triclinio	banquet	female	38	floor mosaic	Hama, Museum of Hama
<i>cymbals</i>	6th cent. A.D.	Jordan, House of Madaba	mythological	female	41	mosaic	Jordan, Archaeological Museum of Madaba

<i>cymbals, double aulos, syrinx, hydraulis or organon, transverse flute</i>	11th cent. A.D.	Kiev, Santa Sophia cathedral, north tower, staircases	hippodrome	male	65	wall painting	in situ
<i>cymbals</i>	unknown	Pompeii, II 4, 3	musical instrument	-	149	bronze	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 10159
<i>double aulos</i>	6th cent. B.C.	Rome, Velletri	banquet	female	14	terracotta plaque	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 21600
<i>double aulos, lyre</i>	540 B.C.	Greece, Corinth, Pitsa	sacrifice	male	138	wooden panel	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 16464
<i>double aulos</i>	6th cent. B.C. end	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba della Cassia e Pesca	banquet	male	15	wall painting	in situ
<i>double aulos</i>	6th-5th cent. B.C.	Italy	bridal	male	45	ash urn relief	Chiusi, Museo Civico, 2260
<i>double aulos</i>	510 B.C. ca.	Greece, Athens	competition	male	126	crater	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 103
<i>double aulos, phorminx / barbitos</i>	510 B.C.	Attica	banquet	female	9a 9b	crater	München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 8935, side a / 8945, side b
<i>double aulos 2, barbitos, krotala 2</i>	500 B.C.	Attica	banquet	male	7	crater	Arezzo, Museum, 1465
<i>double aulos / lyre, krotala</i>	500-490 B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Citaredo	banquet	male female	16a 16b	wall painting	in situ
<i>double aulos, barbitos / lyre</i>	490-480 B.C.	Attica	banquet	female	8b 8a	kylix	Cambridge, Corpus Christi college, side b side a
<i>double aulos</i>	480 B.C.	Attica	banquet	male	2	drinking cup	München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 2646 (J. 371)
<i>double aulos, krotala / double aulos / lyre</i>	480-470 B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Triclinio	banquet	male/ male / female, male	17c 17a 17b	wall painting	in situ

<i>double aulos/ lyre/ krotala, double aulos</i>	480-470 B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Triclinio	banquet	male/ male / female, male	17a 17b 17c	wall painting	in situ
<i>double aulos</i>	430 B.C. ca.	Greece, Athens	competition	male	127	crater	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1960.1220
<i>double aulos 2</i>	425-420 B.C.	Greece, Athens	competition	male, female	130	pelike	London, British Museum, 1910.6- 15.1
<i>double aulos</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba Bruschi	banquet	female	19	wall painting	Tarquinia, Palazzo Grafen Bruschi
<i>double aulos, krotala</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Attica	banquet	female	13	hydria	Kopenhagen, Nationalmuseum, 1942
<i>double aulos, lyre / double aulos</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba dei Leopardi	banquet	male	18a 18b	wall painting	in situ
<i>double aulos 2, lyre 3</i>	5th-4th cent. B.C.	South Italy, Pronomos vase	actors	male	88	vase	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Alinari BEN-F-000180
<i>double aulos 2</i>	360 B.C.	Italy, Apoulia	theatre	male	90	crater	Rome, Collection Malaguzzi Valeri
<i>double aulos, lyre</i>	340-330 B.C.	Italy, Cuma	banquet	female	11	crater	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 85873
<i>double aulos, phorminx, cornu</i>	4th cent. B.C.	Italy, Nenfro	bridal	female	47	sarcophagus	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
<i>double aulos</i>	4th cent. B.C. middle	South Italy	actors	female	91	vase	St. Petersburg, Hermitage
<i>double aulos, elymos</i>	4th cent. B.C. end	Greece, Amphipolis	dionysian	male (?)	148	diadem	Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum, 2909
<i>double aulos, phorminx</i>	3rd cent. B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba degli Scudi	banquet	male	27	wall painting	in situ
<i>double aulos, cymbals, tympanon winged</i>	2nd cent. B.C.	Pompeii, Villa of Cicero	actors	female, male, male	92	mosaic	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9985
<i>double aulos, cymbals, tympanon winged</i>	2nd cent. B.C.	Italy, Stabiae	actors	female, male, male	93	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9034

<i>double aulos, kithara or lyre</i>	2nd cent. B.C. second half	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	162	ash urn	London, British Museum
<i>double aulos, kithara</i>	115-100 B.C.	Rome, Domitius Ahenobarbus-Ara	sacrificial procession	male	161	relief	Paris, Musée du Louvre, 975
<i>double aulos</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Rome	pressing of grapes	male	84	relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 979
<i>double aulos 4, cornu 2, lituus</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Italy, Amiternum	funerary procession	male	176	relief	Aquila, Museo Civico
<i>double aulos, tympanon, cymbals, syrinx</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Italy	sacrifice (Dionysos)	x, x, male, female	157	relief	Rome, Museo delle Terme, Alinari ADA-F-002022
<i>double aulos, kithara with angle</i>	25 B.C.	Pompeii, Herculaneum	concert	male, female	133	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, 9021
<i>double aulos</i>	1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male	155	relief	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1037
<i>double aulos, tympanon winged</i>	1st B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	theatrical	-	105	wall painting	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1231
<i>double aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Villa of Gaius Vibius, vii, 2, 18	archaeological find	-	96	musical instrument	Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, 76892, 76893
<i>double aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	actors	male	97	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6687
<i>double aulos, kroupeza, syrinx</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Italy, basilica of the Castle of S. Elia near Rome	theatre-horse race	?	102	relief	in situ
<i>double aulos, lyre / double aulos, lyre, syrinx/ syrinx</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack (1766/67)	gladiators-theatre	male	80b 80c 80a	helmet	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 5671
<i>double aulos</i>	62-79 A.D.	Pompeii, House of the tragic poet, tablinum	actors	male	95	mosaic	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9986
<i>double aulos, cymbals</i>	1st cent. A.D. end	Tunis, Hippo Diarrhytos (Bizerta)	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male	156	jewelry	Tunis, Musée national du Bardo, E3

<i>double aulos</i>	113 A.D.	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	sacrifice	male	179	relief	in situ
<i>double aulos, salpinx</i>	165/70 A.D.	Asia Minor, Ephesos	sacrifice	male	181	relief	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antiken-Sammlung
<i>double aulos</i>	170 A.D.	Italy	sacrifice	male	182	relief	Manthua, Palazzo Ducale
<i>double aulos</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome, Aventine Hill, Villa Andriana, baths of Decious	theatrical	-	106	mosaic	Rome, Musei Capitolini, 392
<i>double aulos</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	unknown	actors	male	98	camee	Geneva, Musee d' art et d' histoire
<i>double aulos (recorder or clarinet type)</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	satyr	male	175	statue	Rome, Villa Albani, 913
<i>double aulos, salpinx</i>	2nd cent. A.D. second half	Rome, Constantine triumph arch, south side	sacrifice	male	180	relief	in situ
<i>double aulos, kithara, actors, kithara, chorus</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Greece, Patra, Ypsila Alonia	competition	male	132	mosaic	Patra, Archaeological Museum, Psi. Pi. 1
<i>double aulos</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome, via Appia	musician	male	101	tomb stone relief	Florence, Galleria degli Uffici
<i>double aulos</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	unknown	actors	male	99	sarcophagus relief	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 9059
<i>double aulos 2, lyre 2</i>	230 A.D.	unknown	mythological	female	51	sarcophagus	New York, Metropolitan Museum of art, 7 10 104
<i>double aulos, transverse flute</i>	3rd cent. A.D. second half	Rome	mythological	male	26	drinking cup	Dresden, Skulpturensammlung (Albertinum)
<i>double aulos 5-kroupeza 2, krotala 2</i>	3rd cent. A.D. end	Italy, Aventin, Temple of Diana	wine drinking	male, female	85	floor mosaic	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cabinetto dell' Ermes
<i>double aulos, tympanon with stick, forked cymbals, syrinx / double aulos, kithara</i>	3rd cent. A.D. end	Rome	mythological	cupids / muses	50	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 115 172.1934
<i>double aulos</i>	303 A.D.	Rome, stele of the Tetrarchs	sacrifice	male	184	relief	Rome, Forum romanum

<i>double aulos, hydraulis or organon, kithara, salpinx</i>	310-320 A.D.	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, south cubiculum in the children villa	competition	male	134	mosaic	in situ
<i>double aulos, bycane, syrinx, forked cymbals 4, organon 2</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina, base of the obelisk of Theodosius	emperor in the circus, horse race	males and females	58	relief	in situ
<i>double aulos, kithara, cymbals, oxyvaphi, forked cymbals, organon</i>	4th cent. A.D end	Mariamin (Syria), roman house, rectangular space in front of the triclinio	banquet	female	38	floor mosaic	Hama, Museum of Hama
<i>double aulos, oxyvaphi</i>	6th cent. A.D.	Syria (?)	banquet	female	40	manuscript	Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 17v
<i>double aulos 2, kithara or psalterion, choir, kithara, kithara (?), actors (?), psalterion (?)</i>	Roman Empire	Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave	competition	male	135	sketch of the destroyed wall painting	Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787
<i>double aulos, lyre</i>	late Roman	Italy	actors	female	100	sarcophagus relief	Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi
<i>double aulos, syrinx, hydraulis or organon, transverse flute, cymbals</i>	11th cent. A.D.	Kiev, Santa Sophia cathedral, north tower, staircases	hippodrome	male	65	wall painting	in situ
<i>elymos harp</i>	1420-1380 B.C.	Greece, Crete, Agia Triada, necropole, grave 4	sacrifice	male	136a 136b	sarcophagus	Herakleio, Archaeological Museum, M.H. 396
<i>elymos, double aulos</i>	4th cent. B.C. end	Greece, Amphipolis	dionysian	male (?)	148	diadem	Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum, 2909

<i>elymos 2, tympanon, syrinx, cymbals, lyre</i>	1st cent. A.D. beginning	Gallia (?)	theatrical	-	108	cup	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779, 13
<i>elymos, tympanon</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Rome	sacrifice (Cybele)	female	166	relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 149
<i>elymos</i>	1st-2nd cent. A.D. (?)	Italy, Pompeii	sacrifice (genius familiaris)	male	165	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 8905
<i>elymos, cymbals</i>	1st-2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	dionysian	female	151	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 06684
<i>elymos, syrinx</i>	1st - 2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	dionysian	-	119	relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 370
<i>elymos, tympanon, cymbals</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	Kybele	female	115	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
<i>elymos-kroupeza, cymbals, tympanon</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	dionysian	male, -, female	118	sarcophagus	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
<i>elymos, harp, forked cymbals 2, cymbals, syrinx, salpinx or bycane, tympanon</i>	2nd-4th cent. A.D.	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	male, female, male, female, -, male, female	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
<i>forked cymbals 2, cymbals, syrinx, salpinx or bycane, tympanon, elyimos, harp</i>	2nd-4th cent. A.D.	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	male, female, -, male, female, male, female	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
<i>forked cymbals, syrinx, double aulos, tympanon with stick/ double aulos, kithara</i>	3rd cent. A.D. end	Rome	mythological	cupids / muses	50	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 115 172.1934

<i>forked cymbals (two pairs)</i>	360-370 A.D.	North Italy (?)	banquet	males	36	ivory casket	Brescia, Civici Musei d'Arte e di Storia
<i>forked cymbals 4, organon 2, double aulos, bycane, syrinx</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina, base of the obelisk of Theodosius	emperor in the circus, horse race	males and females	58	relief	in situ
<i>forked cymbals (two pairs), syrinx</i>	4th cent. A.D. end	Carthage (North Africa), roman house, triclinio	banquet	females, male	37	floor mosaic	in situ
<i>forked cymbals, organon, double aulos, kithara, cymbals, oxyvaphi</i>	4th cent. A.D. end	Mariamin (Syria), roman house, rectangular space in front of the triclinio	banquet	female	38	floor mosaic	Hama, Museum of Hama
<i>forked cymbals, syrinx</i>	5th-7th cent. A.D.	Africa north, Egypt	dionysian	male	142	textile	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Charles Potter Kling Fund, 53.18
<i>harp elymos</i>	1420-1380 B.C.	Greece, Crete, Agia Triada, necropole, grave 4	sacrifice	male	136b 136a	sarcophagus	Herakleio, Archaeological Museum, M.H. 396
<i>harp</i>	1300 B.C.	Greece, Pylos, palace of Nestor, throne saal (northeast wall)	musician	male	137	wall painting	Messenia, Archaeological Museum, 43H6
<i>harp</i>	7th cent. B.C.	Mesopotamia, Nineveh, palace	banquet	female	1	relief	London, British Museum, BM 124920
<i>harp (?), syrinx</i>	6th cent. B.C. end	Bologna, Certosa	seating musicians	male	23	bronze basket	Bologna, Museo Civico
<i>harp</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Attica	bridal	female	42	lebes	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.35
<i>harp</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Athens, theatre of Dionysus	banquet	female	4	vase	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 15308
<i>harp</i>	hellenistic	Italy, Apulia	banquet	female	33	crater	New York, The Jan Mitchell Collection, L63.21.6

<i>harp</i>	2nd-1st cent. B.C.	Rome	drinking Dionysos	female	29	altar relief	Venice, Museo Archeologico, 263
<i>harp, forked cymbals 2, cymbals, syrinx, salpinx or bycane tympanon, elymos</i>	2nd-4th cent. A.D.	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	female, male, female, -, male, female, male	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
<i>harp</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Antioch (Syria), House of Maenander	banquet	female	32	floor mosaic	in situ
<i>hydraulis, cornu 2, salpinx</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Zliten (Libya), Villa at Dar Buk Ammera	gladiators	female, male	72a 72b	floor mosaic	Tripoli, Archaeological Museum
<i>hydraulis</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Reims (France)	gladiators	male	74	bronze vase	Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, phototèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris
<i>hydraulis or organon</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Orange, Lyon	theatre, competition	male	123	medallion	St.-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 31673
<i>hydraulis, cornu</i>	230-240 A.D.	Trier (Nenning), Germany, roman villa	gladiators	male	75	floor mosaic	in situ
<i>hydraulis or organon, kithara, salpinx, double aulos</i>	310-320 A.D.	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, south cubiculum in the children villa	competition	male	134	mosaic	in situ
<i>hydraulis, choir</i>	517 A.D.	Constantinople, consular diptych of Anastasius	horse race	male	61	consular diptych	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 19 688
<i>hydraulis or organon, transverse flute, cymbals, double aulos, syrinx</i>	11th cent. A.D.	Kiev, Santa Sophia cathedral, north tower, staircases	hippodrome	male	65	wall painting	in situ

<i>kalamos</i> (?)	5th cent. A.D.	unknown	shepherd	male	196	manuscript	Vatican, cod. Vat. lat. 3867 (Virgilius Romanus), fol. 1r of <i>Eclogues</i>
<i>kalamos</i> (?)	5th cent. A.D.	unknown	shepherd	male	197	manuscript	Vatican, cod. Vat. lat. 3867 (Virgilius Romanus), fol. 44v of <i>Georgics</i>
<i>kalamos</i> (?) <i>kalamos</i> (?)	5th cent. A.D.	Egypt (?)	shepherd	male	203a 203b	textile	New York, Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 44. 143 A-D
<i>kalamos</i> (?)	7th cent. A.D.	Sinai, Saint Catherine Monastery	shepherd	male	201	icon	in situ
<i>kithara, aulos</i>	6th cent. B.C.	Athens	bridal	female	43	fragment	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 2203
<i>kithara of Thamyris</i>	440-430 B.C.	Greece, Attica	competition	male	131	pelike	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 01469
<i>kithara</i>	430 B.C. ca.	Greece, Athens	competition	male	128	crater	London, British Museum, E 460
<i>kithara 4, aulos 4</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Athens, Parthenon frieze, north side	sacrificial procession	male	139	frieze	Athens, New Museum of Acropole
<i>kithara of Thamyris</i> (?)	5th cent. B.C.	Greece, Athens	competition	male	129	pelike	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 01183
<i>kithara</i>	4th cent. B.C.	Greece, Thessalonike, Saint Athanasios, facade of grave	banquet	female	12	wall painting	in situ
<i>kithara</i>	4th cent. B.C. late	South Italy, Campania	the death of Agamemnon	male	22	crater	St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, Pizzati Collection, Italy. 1834
<i>kithara</i>	330-240 B.C.	Greece, Methymna	musical instrument	--	21	silver coin	Athens, Nomismatic Museum, Collection Empedokleous

<i>kithara, syrinx, transverse flute</i>	3rd cent. B.C. (?)	Italy, Voltera	banquet	male (?)	20	urn relief	Volterra, Museo Etrusco, 197
<i>kithara</i>	2nd cent. B.C. middle	Greece, Pella, grave of the east Nekropole	musician	female	145	statue	Pella, Archaeological Museum, B.E. 1977.230
<i>kithara or lyre, double aulos</i>	2nd cent. B.C. second half	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	162	ash urn	London, British Museum
<i>kithara, double aulos</i>	115-100 B.C.	Rome, Domitius Ahenobarbus-Ara	sacrificial procession	male	161	relief	Paris, Musée du Louvre, 975
<i>kithara with angle, double aulos</i>	25 B.C.	Pompeii, Herculaneum	concert	male, female	133	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, 9021
<i>kithara, cymbals</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Casa dei Vettii, triclinio (c)	dionysian	male, female	150	wall painting	in situ
<i>kithara or lyre, salpinx 3, aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D. middle	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	164	altarfries	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
<i>kithara, actors, kithara, chorus, double aulos</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Greece, Patra, Ypsila Alonia	competition	male	132	mosaic	Patra, Archaeological Museum, Psi. Pi. 1
<i>kithara, chorus, double aulos, kithara, actors</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Greece, Patra, Ypsila Alonia	competition	male	132	mosaic	Patra, Archaeological Museum, Psi. Pi. 1
<i>kithara, cymbals 2, transverse flute, syrinx</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	erotes	male	25	sarcophagus	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
<i>kithara, lute type</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Italy	meal for the deceased	female cupid	35	sarcophagus	London, British Museum, GR 1805.7-3.132
<i>kithara, tympanon winged</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	theatrical funeral	male	120	tomb stone relief	Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili
<i>kithara, double aulos/ double aulos, tympanon with stick, forked cymbals, syrinx</i>	3rd cent. A.D. end	Rome	mythological	muses/ cupids	50	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 115 172.1934

<i>kithara</i>	3rd-4th cent. A.D.	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa Heracleia	mythological	male	54	mosaic	in situ
<i>kithara, salpinx, double aulos, hydraulis or organon</i>	310-320 A.D.	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, south cubiculum in the children villa	competition	male	134	mosaic	in situ
<i>kithara, cymbals, oxyvaphi, forked cymbals, organon, double aulos</i>	4th cent. A.D end	Mariamin (Syria), roman house, rectangular space in front of the triclinio	banquet	female	38	floor mosaic	Hama, Museum of Hama
<i>kithara</i>	7th cent. A.D.	Constantinople	christian	male	53	silver plate	Nicosia, Archaeological Museum, J454
<i>kithara (?), actors (?), psalterion (?), double aulos 2, kithara or psalterion, choir, kithara</i>	Roman Empire	Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave	competition	male	135	sketch of the destroyed wall painting	Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787
<i>kithara or psalterion, choir, kithara, kithara (?), actors (?), psalterion (?), double aulos 2</i>	Roman Empire	Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave	competition	male	135	sketch of the destroyed wall painting	Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787
<i>kithara, kithara (?), actors (?), psalterion (?), double aulos 2, kithara or psalterion, choir</i>	Roman Empire	Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave	competition	male	135	sketch of the destroyed wall painting	Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787
<i>krotala 2, double aulos 2, barbitos</i>	500 B.C.	Attica	banquet	male	7	crater	Arezzo, Museum, 1465

<i>krotala</i>	500 B.C.	Athens, Tanagra	banquet	male	3	kylix	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1357
<i>krotala, lyre / double aulos</i>	500-490 B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Citaredo	banquet	male female	16b 16a	wall painting	in situ
<i>krotala 2, barbitos</i>	500-490 B.C.	Greece	dionysian	male	140	kylix	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 576
<i>krotala, double aulos/ double aulos/ lyre</i>	480-470 B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Triclinio	banquet	male/ male / female, male	17c 17a 17b	wall painting	in situ
<i>krotala, double aulos</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Attica	banquet	female	13	hydria	Kopenhagen, Nationalmuseum, 1942
<i>krotala 2, double aulos 5- kroupeza 2</i>	3rd cent. A.D. end	Italy, Aventin, Temple of Diana	wine drinking	female, male	85	floor mosaic	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cabinetto dell' Ermes
<i>kroupeza, syrinx, double aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Italy, basilica of the Castle of S. Elia near Rome	theatre-horse race	?	102	relief	in situ
<i>kroupeza-elymos, cymbals, tympanon</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	dionysian	male, -, female	118	sarcophagus	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
<i>kroupeza 2- double aulos 5, krotala 2</i>	3rd cent. A.D. end	Italy, Aventin, Temple of Diana	wine drinking	male, female	85	floor mosaic	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cabinetto dell' Ermes
<i>lituus, aulos, phorminx, cornu</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Italy, Caere	bridal	male	46	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, 59
<i>lituus, cornu 2, double aulos 4</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Italy, Amiternum	funerary procession	male	176	relief	Aquila, Museo Civico
<i>lituus, aulos, salpinx 2</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Stabian gate, funerary monument	procession	male	66	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6704

<i>lute type, aulos</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	meal for the deceased	female	34	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano
<i>lute type, kithara</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Italy	meal for the deceased	female cupid	35	sarcophagus	London, British Museum, GR 1805.7-3.132
<i>lyre, double aulos</i>	540 B.C.	Greece, Corinth, Pitsa	sacrifice	male	138	wooden panel	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 16464
<i>lyre, krotala / double aulos</i>	500-490 B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Citaredo	banquet	male female	16b 16a	wall painting	in situ
<i>lyre / double aulos, barbitos</i>	490-480 B.C.	Attica	banquet	female	8a 8b	kylix	Cambridge, Corpus Christi college, side b side a
<i>lyre/ double aulos/ krotala, double aulos</i>	480-470 B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba del Triclinio	banquet	male / male/ female, male	17b 17a 17c	wall painting	in situ
<i>lyre</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Greece	banquet	male	5	relief	Rome, Barracco Museum
<i>lyre, barbitos</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Attica	banquet	male	10	crater	Milan, private collection 'H.A.', C 354
<i>lyre, double aulos / double aulos</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba dei Leopardi	banquet	male	18a 18b	wall painting	in situ
<i>lyre 3, double aulos 2</i>	5th-4th cent. B.C.	South Italy, Pronomos vase	actors	male	88	vase	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Alinari BEN-F-000180
<i>lyre, double aulos</i>	340-330 B.C.	Italy, Cuma	banquet	female	11	crater	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 85873
<i>lyre or kithara, double aulos</i>	2nd cent. B.C. second half	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	162	ash urn	London, British Museum

<i>lyre, syrinx, cymbals</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Pompeii, Villa of mysteries, room b	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male, male, female	144	wall painting	in situ
<i>lyre, elymos 2, tympanon, syrinx, cymbals</i>	1st cent. A.D. beginning	Gallia (?)	theatrical	-	108	cup	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779, 13
<i>lyre, double aulos/ double aulos, lyre, syrinx/ syrinx</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack (1766/67)	gladiators-theatre	male	80b 80c 80a	helmet	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 5671
<i>lyre, syrinx</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Casa degli amorini dorati, vi 16, 7	theatrical	-	104	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 20463
<i>lyre, cymbals, syrinx</i>	10-50 A.D.	Minor Asia	theatrical-Dionysian	-	107	cup	Toledo, The Toledo Museum of arts, 1961.9
<i>lyre or kithara, salpinx 3, aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D. middle	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	164	altarfries	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
<i>lyre 2, double aulos 2</i>	230 A.D.	unknown	mythological	female	51	sarcophagus	New York, Metropolitan Museum of art, 7 10 104
<i>lyre</i>	6th cent. A.D. early	Egypt (?)	actor	female	125	ivory plaque	Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, 2497
<i>lyre, double aulos</i>	late Roman	Italy	actors	female	100	sarcophagus relief	Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi
organon	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Tatarevo (Bulgaria)	gladiators	male	77	statue	Sofia, Museum
<i>organon or hydraulis</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Orange, Lyon	theatre, competition	male	123	medallion	St.-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 31673
<i>organon</i>	3rd-4th cent. A.D.	Trier, Pacelliufer	gladiators	male	78	relief	Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, EV 1983.35

<i>organon 2, double aulos, bycane, syrinx, forked cymbals 4</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina, base of the obelisk of Theodosius	emperor in the circus, horse race	males and females	58	relief	in situ
<i>organon or hydraulis, kithara, salpinx, double aulos</i>	310-320 A.D.	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, south cubiculum in the children villa	competition	male	134	mosaic	in situ
<i>organon, double aulos, kithara, cymbals, oxyvaphi, forked cymbals</i>	4th cent. A.D end	Mariamin (Syria), roman house, rectangular space in front of the triclinio	banquet	female	38	floor mosaic	Hama, Museum of Hama
<i>organon</i>	Roman Empire	unknown	gladiators	male	79	vase	Spier, Musee de Spier
<i>organon or hydraulis, transverse flute, cymbals, double aulos, syrinx</i>	11th cent. A.D.	Kiev, Santa Sophia cathedral, north tower, staircases	hippodrome	male	65	wall painting	in situ
<i>oxyvaphi, forked cymbals, organon, double aulos, kithara, cymbals</i>	4th cent. A.D end	Mariamin (Syria), roman house, rectangular space in front of the triclinio	banquet	female	38	floor mosaic	Hama, Museum of Hama
<i>oxyvaphi, double aulos</i>	6th cent. A.D.	Syria (?)	banquet	female	40	manuscript	Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 17v
<i>pandoura (?)</i>	7th cent. A.D.	Constantinople, Imperial Palace	shepherd	male	202	mosaic	in situ

<i>phorminx</i> <i>phorminx</i>	6th-5th cent. B.C.	Italy, Chiusi	funerary procession	male	28a 28b	urn relief	Chiusi, Museo Civico, 2269
<i>phorminx, double aulos / barbitos</i>	510 B.C.	Attica	banquet	female	9a 9b	crater	München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 8935, side a / 8945, side b
<i>phorminx, aulos, cornu, lituus</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Italy, Caere	bridal	male	46	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, 59
<i>phorminx, double aulos, cornu</i>	4th cent. B.C.	Italy, Nenfro	bridal	female	47	sarcophagus	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
<i>phorminx, double aulos</i>	3rd cent. B.C.	Italy, Tarquinia, tomba degli Scudi	banquet	male	27	wall painting	in situ
<i>psalterion</i> (?), <i>double aulos</i> 2, <i>kithara</i> or <i>psalterion, choir,</i> <i>kithara, kithara</i> (?), <i>actors</i> (?)	Roman Empire	Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave	competition	male	135	sketch of the destroyed wall painting	Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787
<i>psalterion</i> or <i>kithara, choir,</i> <i>kithara, kithara</i> (?), <i>actors</i> (?), <i>psalterion</i> (?), <i>double aulos</i> 2	Roman Empire	Cyprus, necropolis of Cyrene, grave	competition	male	135	sketch of the destroyed wall painting	Bieber 1939: 238, fig. 787
<i>salpinx</i>	3rd cent. B.C.	Asia Minor, Tarsos	Nike	female	49	coin	Athens, Numismatic Museum 1163

<i>salpinx</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Pompeii, House of the Sacerdos Amandus, entrance hall I 7,7	gladiators	male	68	wall painting	in situ
<i>salpinx</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Rome, Temple of Apollo close to the Marcellus theatre	sacrificial procession	male	163	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 2776
<i>salpinx 2</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Rome or around	gladiators	male	73	relief	München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
<i>salpinx 2, lituus, aulos</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Stabian gate, funerary monument	procession	male	66	relief	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6704
<i>salpinx 5, cornu 4</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Italy, Chieti, Abruzzan, tomb of C. Lusius Storax	gladiators	male	76	relief	Chieti, Museo Nazionale
<i>salpinx, hydraulis, cornu 2</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Zliten (Libya), Villa at Dar Buk Ammera	gladiators	female, male	72a 72b	floor mosaic	Tripoli, Archaeological Museum
<i>salpinx 3, aulos, lyre or kithara</i>	1st cent. A.D. middle	Rome	sacrificial procession	male	164	altarfries	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
<i>salpinx, cornu</i>	113 A.D.	Rome, Trajans forum, stele of Trajan	sacrificial procession	male	167	relief	in situ
<i>salpinx, double aulos</i>	2nd cent. A.D. second half	Rome, Constantine triumph arch, south side	sacrifice	male	180	relief	in situ
<i>salpinx, double aulos</i>	165/70 A.D.	Asia Minor, Ephesos	sacrifice	male	181	relief	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antiken-Sammlung
<i>salpinx or bycane, tympanon, elymos, harp, forked cymbals 2, cymbals, syrinx</i>	2nd-4th cent. A.D.	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	male, female, male, female, male, female, -,	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
<i>salpinx, cymbals</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Cyprus, Nea Pafos, House of Dionysos	dionysian	male, female	152	mosaic	in situ
<i>salpinx</i>	3rd-4th cent. A.D.	Antioch (Syria), Villa Daphne, room 4	competition	male	56	floor mosaic	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3444

<i>salpinx</i>	310-320 A.D.	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, baths	horse race	male	55	floor mosaic	in situ
<i>salpinx, double aulos, hydraulis or organon, kithara</i>	310-320 A.D.	Sicily, Piazza Armerina, Villa of Maxentius, south cubiculum in the children villa	competition	male	134	mosaic	in situ
<i>salpinx</i>	4th cent. A.D. (?)	unknown	horse race	male	57	mould	London, British Museum, lost
<i>sistra 3, aulos, cymbals, tympanon</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Herculaneum	sacrifice (Isis)	male	160	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
<i>sistra, aulos long</i>	1st cent. A.D. second half	Pompeii, Herculaneum	sacrifice (Isis)	female, male	158	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 8924
<i>sistro</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	procession (Isis)	female	159	relief	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere, Alinari ACA-F-026981
<i>syrinx, harp (?)</i>	6th cent. B.C. end	Bologna, Certosa	seating musicians	male	23	bronze basket	Bologna, Museo Civico
<i>syrinx</i>	4th cent. B.C.	Greece	musical instrument	-	146	coin	Athens, Numismatic Museum, 1892/3 KΘ no 720
<i>syrinx</i>	3rd cent. B.C.	Greece, Samothrake, north nekropole	dionysian	male	147	relief	Komotene, ATK 11940
<i>syrinx, transverse flute, kithara</i>	3rd cent. B.C. (?)	Italy, Volterra	banquet	male (?)	20	urn relief	Volterra, Museo Etrusco, 197
<i>syrinx</i>	2nd cent. B.C.	Greece, Amphipolis	Attis	male	117	statue	Amphipolis, Archaeological Museum, 2748
<i>syrinx</i>	hellenistic	Italy	shepherd	male	185	relief	Rome, Musei Vaticani
<i>syrinx, double aulos, tympanon, cymbals</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Italy	sacrifice (Dionysos)	x, x, male, female	157	relief	Rome, Museo delle Terme, Alinari ADA-F-002022

<i>syrinx, lyre, cymbals</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Pompeii, Villa of mysteries, room b	sacrifice (Dionysos)	male, male, female	144	wall painting	in situ
<i>syrinx, tympanon</i>	1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, House of Fabius Rufus vii, 16, 22, triclinium	mythological	-	110	kamee	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, I 53651 / I 53652
<i>syrinx, cymbals, lyre, elymos 2, tympanon</i>	1st cent. A.D. beginning	Gallia (?)	theatrical	-	108	cup	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779, 13
<i>syrinx, lyre, cymbals</i>	10-50 A.D.	Minor Asia	theatrical-Dionysian	-	107	cup	Toledo, The Toledo Museum of arts, 1961.9
<i>syrinx</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Israel, Skythopolis (Beth Shean)	musical instrument	-	111	altar relief	Jerusalem, Hebraic University
<i>syrinx, double aulos, kroupeza</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Italy, basilica of the Castle of S. Elia near Rome	theatre-horse race	?	102	relief	in situ
<i>syrinx, lyre</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Casa degli amorini dorati, vi 16, 7	theatrical	-	104	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 20463
<i>syrinx/ double aulos, lyre / double aulos, lyre, syrinx</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack (1766/67)	gladiators-theatre	male	80a 80b 80c	helmet	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 5671
<i>syrinx, elymos</i>	1st - 2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	dionysian	-	119	relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 370
<i>syrinx</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome, Tivoli, Villa Hadriana	mythological	male	113	statue	Rome, Musei Capitolini, 656
<i>syrinx</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome, Domitilla catacomb	shepherd	male	187	wall painting	in situ
<i>syrinx, salpinx or bycane, tympanon, elymos, harp, forked cymbals 2, cymbals</i>	2nd-4th cent. A.D.	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	_, male, female, male, female, male, female	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
<i>syrinx</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome, Via imperiale	shepherd	male	188	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 121666
<i>syrinx</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome, catacomb of Praetextatus	shepherd	male	189	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Pio Cristiano

<i>syrinx, aulos, cornu, tympanon</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Geneva	theatrical	male	124	medallion	Geneva, Musée d' art et d' histoire, MAHC 1551
<i>syrinx, cymbals</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Syria, Antioch, House of Dionysos and Ariadne	dionysian	male, female	153	mosaic	in situ
<i>syrinx, kithara, cymbals 2, transverse flute,</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	erotes	male	25	sarcophagus	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
<i>syrinx, cymbals/ tympanon 2</i>	295 A.D.	Rome, Via Appia, San Sebastiano	Kybele-Attis	x, x/ female, male	116b 116a	altar relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 208/215
<i>syrinx, double aulos, tympanon with stick, forked cymbals / double aulos, kithara</i>	3rd cent. A.D. end	Rome	mythological	cupids / muses	50	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 115 172.1934
<i>syrinx</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Ravenna, Via Massimo d' Azeglio	shepherd	male	190	mosaic	in situ
<i>syrinx</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Italy, Aquileia, Church of bishop Theodorus	shepherd	male	192	mosaic	in situ
<i>syrinx</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Rome, Mausoleum of Trebius Justus	shepherd	male	193	wall painting	in situ
<i>syrinx</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Rome	shepherd	male	194	gold glass	Corning, New York, The Corning Museum of Glass, 66.1.37
<i>syrinx, forked cymbals 4, organon 2, double aulos, bycane</i>	4th cent. A.D.	Constantinople, Hippodrome, spina, base of the obelisk of Theodosius	emperor in the circus, horse race	males and females	58	relief	in situ
<i>syrinx, forked cymbals (two pairs)</i>	4th cent. A.D. end	Carthage (North Africa), roman house, triclinio	banquet	male, females	37	floor mosaic	in situ
<i>syrinx</i>	5th cent. A.D.	France, Arles, Saint-Honorat crypte	shepherd	male	191	sarcophagus	Arles, Musée d' Arles, 15
<i>syrinx, forked cymbals</i>	5th-7th cent. A.D.	Africa north, Egypt	dionysian	male	142	textile	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Charles Potter Kling Fund, 53.18

<i>syrinx, hydraulis or organon, transverse flute, cymbals, double aulos</i>	11th cent. A.D.	Kiev, Santa Sophia cathedral, north tower, staircases	hippodrome	male	65	wall painting	in situ
<i>theatrical masks</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack	gladiators-theatre	male	81	greave	Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale
<i>theatrical masks</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack	gladiators	male	82	greave	Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale
<i>theatrical masks</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Gladiators barrack	gladiators	male	83	greave	Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale
<i>transverse flute, syrx, kithara</i>	3rd cent. B.C. (?)	Italy, Voltera	banquet	male (?)	20	urn relief	Volterra, Museo Etrusco, 197
<i>transverse flute</i>	2nd-1st cent. B.C.	Perugia, tomb of Volumnier	musician	male	24	ash urn relief	in situ
<i>transverse flute</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Greece, Corinth, Roman villa	shepherd	male	186	mosaic	Corinth, Archaeological Museum
<i>transverse flute, double aulos</i>	3rd cent. A.D. second half	Rome	mythological	male	26	drinking cup	Dresden, Skulpturensammlung (Albertinum)
<i>transverse flute, syrx, kithara, cymbals 2</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	erotes	male	25	sarcophagus	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere
<i>transverse flute, cymbals, double aulos, syrx, hydraulis or organon</i>	11th cent. A.D.	Kiev, Santa Sophia cathedral, north tower, staircases	hippodrome	male	65	wall painting	in situ

<i>tympanon</i>	5th cent. B.C.	Pireaus (Greece)	actors	destroyed	86	relief	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 610c
<i>tympanon winged</i>	330 B.C.	South Italy	actors	male	89	vase	Bari, Archaeological Museum
<i>tympanon winged, cymbals</i>	4th cent. B.C.	Italy, Ruvo	sacrifice (Dionysos)	female	143	vase	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Alinari BGA-F-005750
<i>tympanon winged, double aulos, cymbals</i>	2nd cent. B.C.	Pompeii, Villa of Cicero	actors	male, female, male	92	mosaic	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9985
<i>tympanon winged, double aulos, cymbals</i>	2nd cent. B.C.	Italy, Stabiae	actors	male, female, male	93	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 9034
<i>tympanon, cymbals, syrinx, double aulos</i>	1st cent. B.C.	Italy	sacrifice (Dionysos)	x, x, male, female	157	relief	Rome, Museo delle Terme, Alinari ADA-F-002022
<i>tympanon winged</i>	1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	sacrifice (Dionysos)	female	154	relief	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1072
<i>tympanon winged, double aulos</i>	1st B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Rome, Villa della Farnesina	theatrical	-	105	wall painting	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 1231
<i>tympanon, syrinx</i>	1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, House of Fabius Rufus vii, 16, 22, triclinium	mythological	-	110	kamee	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, I 53651 / I 53652
<i>tympanon winged</i>	1st cent. A.D. beginning	Gallia (?)	theatrical	-	109	cup	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779.14
<i>tympanon, elymos 2, syrinx, cymbals, lyre</i>	1st cent. A.D. beginning	Gallia (?)	theatrical	-	108	cup	Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, 3779, 13
<i>tympanon winged</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Casa degli amorini dorati, vi 16, 7	theatrical	-	103	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 20462
<i>tympanon, elymos</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Rome	sacrifice (Cybele)	female	166	relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 149
<i>tympanon, sistra 3, aulos, cymbals</i>	1st cent. A.D.	Pompeii, Herculaneum	sacrifice (Isis)	male	160	wall painting	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
<i>tympanon winged</i>	1st cent. A.D. second half	Italy	actors	male	112	mosaic	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4146, from the collection Santangelo

<i>tympanon</i>	1st-2nd cent. A.D.	Rome, basilica before the Porta Maggiore	actors	female	94	relief	in situ
<i>tympanon</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	unknown	mythological	female	114	relief	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, lost
<i>tympanon, elymos-kroupeza, cymbals</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	dionysian	female, male, -	118	sarcophagus	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
<i>tympanon, cymbals, elymos</i>	2nd cent. A.D.	Rome	Kybele	female	115	relief	Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
<i>tympanon, elymos, harp, forked cymbals 2, cymbals, syrinx, salpinx or bycane</i>	2nd-4th cent. A.D.	Israel, Gaza, Cheikh Zouède, triclinium	dionysian procession	female, male, female, male, female, -, male	141	mosaic	Egypt, Historical Museum Ismailia
<i>tympanon 2/ syrinx, cymbals</i>	295 A.D.	Rome, Via Appia, San Sebastiano	Kybele-Attis	female, male/ x, x	116a 116b	altar relief	Rome, Villa Albani, 208/215
<i>tympanon winged</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Italy	actors	male	121	sarcophagus	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ma 3192-3, Collection Campana
<i>tympanon winged, kithara</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Rome	theatrical funeral	male	120	tomb stone relief	Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili
<i>tympanon, syrinx, aulos, cornu</i>	3rd cent. A.D.	Geneva	theatrical	male	124	medallion	Geneva, Musée d' art et d' histoire, MAHC 1551
<i>tympanon with stick, forked cymbals, syrinx, double aulos / double aulos, kithara</i>	3rd cent. A.D. end	Rome	mythological	cupids / muses	50	sarcophagus	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 115 172.1934
<i>tympanon winged</i>	425-55 A.D.	Rome	amphitheatre, circus or theatre	male	122	medallion	private collection

<i>actors, kithara, chorus, double aulos, kithara</i>	2nd-3rd cent. A.D.	Greece, Patra, Ypsila Alonia	competition	male	132	mosaic	Patra, Archaeological Museum, Psi. Pi. 1
<i>actors</i>	517 A.D.	Constantinople, consular diptych of Anastasius	actors, horse race	male	62	consular diptych	London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 368-1871, now lost
<i>actors</i>	517 A.D.	Constantinople, consular diptych of Anastasius	actors, horse race	female, male	64	consular diptych	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 40
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CURICULUM VITAE

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Abstract

Die Zielsetzung der vorliegenden Arbeit besteht in der Annäherung an ein neues Verständnis und Bewertung des Musiklebens der wichtigen und interessanten Ära der Römer aufgrund archäologischer Funde von Musikinstrumenten und Musikszenen auf Werken der darstellenden Kunst einerseits, sowie in Noten aufgezeichneter musikalischer Kompositionen und musiktheoretischer Traktate andererseits. Funde von Musikinstrumenten und Kompositionen sind selten, und die musiktheoretischen Traktate sind durchwegs Abschriften älterer Texte. Hierbei lassen sich die bildlichen Darstellungen gut durch die literarischen Quellen, die oft mehr Informationen zur musikalischen Darbietung bergen, ergänzen.

Die auf musikalische Darbietungen bezogenen Alltagszenen der 209 römischen Kunstwerke wurden, stets unter Heranziehung der einschlägigen literarischen Quellen, gemäß der Disziplinen der Archäologie, Kunstgeschichte, Philologie, Musikgeschichte, Musikikonographie und Instrumentenkunde analysiert. Die besprochenen Themen sind die Musikbegleitung bei Gastmählern und Hochzeiten, die Rolle der Musik im Zirkus während der Pferderennen und bei kaiserlichen Festen, der Signalcharakter der Musik bei Gladiatorenspielen, sowie die Musik im Theater, musikalische Conteste, Opfern und im pastoralen Leben.

Die Kolonialisierung Süditaliens durch die Griechen, die Hellenisierung des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes, die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Rom und Ägypten und die Verlagerung der Hauptstadt von Rom nach Konstantinopel hatten den Import von Traditionen verschiedener Kulturen zur Folge, welche auch musikalische Praxis und Musikinstrumente umfassten.

Die nach Süditalien importierte griechische Zivilisation beeinflusste die etruskische Kunst und das musikalische Leben der römischen Republik, während zu Beginn der hellenistischen Epoche das Zentrum der Kunstproduktion dem mächtigen Rom zufiel. Ein Jahrhundert später gewann Rom seine Kontrolle über das verfallende Griechenland, aber der griechische musikalische Einfluss war in der Kunst und dem Leben der berühmten Hauptstadt zusammen mit aus Ägypten importierten kulturellen und musikalischen Elementen weiterhin erkennbar. Am Anfang des römischen Kaiserreiches stand die Kunst in hoher Blüte, wobei innerhalb eines kulturellen Austausches zwischen dem östlichen und dem westlichen Mittelmeerraum in kreativer Form frühere musikalische Elemente mit neuen vermischt

wurden. Die neue christliche Lebensweise beeinflusste nicht die Darstellung musikalischer Praxis. Die Polemik der Kirchenväter gegen das Theater, die Bankette, die Pferderennen und die heidnischen Opferriten hielt viele Jahrhunderte an, bis sich schließlich die christlichen Sitten durchsetzten. Mit dem Ende der Antike gingen einige musikalische Aktivitäten und Musikinstrumente, die mehrere Jahrhunderte lang beliebt waren, für immer verloren. Nach der arabischen Eroberung versiegte die Kunst, bis sie in byzantinischer Zeit und unter der Vorherrschaft der christlichen Lebensform wiederbelebt wurde.

The aim of this study is to approach the musical reality of the important and interesting period of the Romans through the remains of their musical activity, that is the archaeological findings of musical instruments and artworks with musical scenes as well as the notated musical compositions and the treatises on music theory. The extremely rare Roman samples of musical instruments and notated musical compositions push the small amount of treatises on music theory, which copy the writers of the past, to the margin. Even if most times the Roman literary sources salvage more musical information than the more fragmentary depictions, nevertheless a comparable study of common themes exhibited in both media seems more fruitful.

A number of 209 Roman artworks depicting musical scenes from daily life are studied in comparison to the contemporary related literary references that are analyzed according to the disciplines of archaeology, history of art, philology, history of music, iconography of music and organology. The themes discussed are the musical accompaniment during banquets and weddings, the role of music within the circus during the horse races and the celebrations for the emperor, the signaling character of the music within the gladiatorial contests, as well as the music in the theatre, during musical contests, sacrifices and the bucolic life.

The colonization of South Italy by the Greeks, the Hellenisation of Eastern Mediterranean, the commercial affairs between Rome and Egypt and the transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople were followed by the importing of cultural traditions and, with them, the related musical praxis and musical instruments.

The imported Greek civilization to South Italy influenced the Etruscan art and musical life during the Roman Republic, while, during the beginning of the Hellenistic epoch, the centre of artistic production moved to the powerful Rome. One century later, Rome established its control over a declining Greece, but the Greek musical influence continued to appear in the art and life of the famous capital together with cultural and musical elements imported from Egypt. A flourishing art expanded during the early Roman Empire and musical

elements from the past were blended creatively with the new ones of the present within a cultural interchange between east and west Mediterranean. The new Christian way of living did not influenced the depiction of musical practice within the scenes. The polemic of the early Church Fathers against theatre, banquets, horse races and sacrifices lasted many centuries until the final domination of the Christian mores. With the end of the ancient world some of the musical activities and musical instruments, favorite for centuries, would be abandoned forever. After the rise of the Arabs the art would be silent until its revival during the Byzantine epoch and the domination of the new Christian style.