

比较文学与世界文学

第二期



总主编 乐黛云 杨慧林

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编者的话

陈跃红 张 辉

转眼半年过去,《比较文学与世界文学》第二期即将付梓。忙碌而紧张的工作之后,终于可以以这篇“编者的话”,表达我们先睹为快的惬意和激动,并借此感谢各位作者的支持和合作。

本期“学术焦点”为口传文学,发表了纳吉和尹虎彬两位学者的文章。尹虎彬教授特别强调口传文学研究需要打破既有的文化和学科界限,而纳吉教授作为这一领域代表性的学者,则以他丰富的人类学、考古学、语文学知识,为我们展示了古希腊诗——抒情诗、史诗——与演述的丰富联系。这篇以“竞赛”为中心的文章,多少会让人联想到28岁的尼采1872年所写的《荷马的竞赛》一文,并因而颖悟到学术史上两种不同的思想范式。但不管怎样,如何研究源远流长的口传文学、如何面对古典传统,在很大程度上与如何面对我们自身、面对我们的时代和学术紧密相关。与本期的焦点文章相呼应和对照,本刊下一期还将继续刊发若干古典研究方面的文章,敬请期待。特别感谢中国社会科学院民族文学研究所巴莫和黄群两位同仁在组稿上给予的帮助。

“批评空间”栏目,与上一期相比,增加了“本刊特稿”。本期发表的是著名比较文学学者严绍璦教授在“比较文学与世界文学学术讲座系列”上的演讲稿。设计这个演讲系列,是希望以之与《比较文学与世界文学》杂志形成合力。这个演讲系列还会长期举办。我们相信,通过邀请海内外优秀比较学者的共同加盟,演讲和杂志的互动将越来越有声有色、越来越多姿多彩。除此之外,这个栏目中的其他文章也都值得一读。尤其是谷裕和张源的两则文章,从思想史的大背景上来讨论具体文学问题和特定作者,从各自的角度拓展了我们的研究视野。

“异邦新声”栏目,这期翻译了两则文章。一则与本刊刊名具有有意味的联系,是两位重要学者——斯皮瓦克和达姆罗什的对谈。有兴趣的读者可将之与本刊第一期“学术焦点”中三位中国学者的文章对读。第二则译文,乃是美国著名翻译理论学者韦努蒂的最新思想成果——据悉他将于2013年首次访问中国。

本期“青年园地”中的两则文章,一篇是一位曾在北京大学进修的意大利博士生的英文文章,关于钱锺书;一篇涉及《庄子》的英译。为了给更多年轻学者提供学术交流的平台,本刊拟适当扩大这个栏目。同时,我们正着手组织“比较文学博士研究生学术论文专号”(具体征文事宜请见“学术动态”栏目),希望得到各位博士生导师和博士生同学的响应和支持。

事实上,《比较文学与世界文学》杂志也很年轻,我们真诚期待得到大家更多的提携、帮助和关爱。惟愿以我们的努力,为中国比较文学事业一尽绵薄。

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Oral Poetics through the Lens of the Panathenaic Festival in Athens

Gregory Nagy

【内容提要】 本文将聚焦于竞赛语境中的抒情诗以及史诗传统的演述,这种竞赛发生于每年一度在雅典举行的季节性节日,即泛雅典娜赛会之中。广为人知的是,作为职业演述人的史诗吟诵人是泛雅典娜赛会中史诗传统的承载者;而主要以职业演述人为载体的抒情诗传统则鲜为人知,其演述人被称为七弦琴歌手和吹箫歌手,分别指的是以七弦琴为伴奏乐器的歌手和以双管箫为伴奏乐器的歌手。与此相关的一个重要信息来自于“乐师之墓”的考古学证据的出版,而“乐师之墓”与泛雅典娜赛会中抒情诗歌的演述问题有一定关联。相关的文章还有 E. Pöhlmann 和 M. L. West 所著《最早的希腊纸莎草纸和书写板:来自阿提卡“乐师之墓”的五世纪文献》。我将对二人在描述该项考古学发现以及与该项发现有关的其他证据时使用的术语提供一种批判性的视角。

【关键词】 泛雅典娜赛会 七弦琴歌手 吹箫歌手 抒情诗演述传统

【Abstract】 This paper will focus on lyric as well as epic traditions of performance in the context of the competitions that took place at the seasonally recurring festival of the Panathenaia in Athens. It is well known that epic traditions at the Panathenaia were mediated by professional performers known as *rhapsōidoi* ‘rhapsodes’. What is less well known is that lyric traditions were mediated primarily by professional performers known as (1) *kitharōidoi* ‘citharodes’ and (2) *aulōidoi* ‘aulodes’, that is, by (1) singers who accompanied themselves on a seven-string instrument known as the *kithara* ‘cithara’ and (2) singers who were accompanied on a double-reed wind instrument known as the *aulos* ‘reed’ respectively. An important piece of relevant information comes from the publication of archaeological evidence found in the “Tomb of the Musician” (Attica, 5th c.), which is relevant to questions about the performance of “lyric poetry” at the Panathenaia. The relevant article is by E. Pöhlmann and M. L. West, “The Oldest Greek Papyrus and Writing Tablets: Fifth-Century Documents from the ‘Tomb of the Musician’ in Attica” (*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 180 [2012] 1–16). I will offer a criticism of the

terms used by Pöhlmann and West in their description of the finds and of other evidence that is relevant to the finds.

【Keywords】 Panathenaia citharodes aulodes lyric traditions of performance

The title of my presentation indicates my focus on oral poetic traditions in the historical context of the festival of the Panathenaia in Athens. In particular, I will be looking at the transmission of epic at that festival during the fifth century BCE. But I will also be looking at the transmission of “lyric,” which is closely connected to epic in that same historical context.

When I speak of the Panathenaic festival of Athens during the fifth century BCE, I have in mind especially the quadrennial Great Panathenaia, which rivaled in importance the quadrennial festival of the Olympics in the Peloponnesus. Within the time frame that I am examining, the Athenian festival of the Panathenaia was imperial in scope. By contrast, the so-called Lesser Panathenaia, held every three years before and after the Great Panathenaia, was a local festival, localized in scope.

I describe the Great Panathenaia as literally “imperial” in scope because it expressed the wealth, power, and prestige of Athens as an imperial city. This imperial status was maintained during most of the fifth century, especially after 480 BCE, the date of the defeat of the invading forces of the Persian Empire at the naval battle of Salamis. I cannot emphasize enough the spectacular scale of poetic performances at the Great Panathenaia. Suffice it here to give just one example. In a Socratic dialogue composed by his student Plato, the *Ion* (535d), we read that as many as 20,000 people were attending the epic performance of the *rhapsōidos* ‘rhapsode’, Ion of Ephesus.

We read further in Plato’s *Ion* that the audience that was listening to the performance of epic, supposedly all 20,000 of them, reacted to climactic moments in the narration of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. At these moments, they would all break down and weep as they visualized the saddest things they were hearing—or feel their hair stand on end as they visualized the most terrifying things:

Socrates is speaking: Hold it right there. Tell me this, Ion —respond to what I ask without concealment. When you say well the epic verses and induce a feeling of bedazzlement [*ekplēxis*] for the spectators [*theōmenoi*] —as you sing of Odysseus leaping onto the threshold and revealing himself to the suitors and pouring out the arrows at his feet, or of Achilles rushing at Hector, or something connected to the pitiful things about Andromache or Hecuba or Priam—are you then in your right mind, or outside yourself? Does your mind [*psūkhē*], possessed by the god

[*enthousiazein*], suppose that you are in the midst of the actions you describe in Ithaca or Troy, or wherever the epic verses have it?^①

Plato *Ion* 535b–c

From the context of such relevant passages, we can see that rhapsodes who competed with each other by performing epic at the Panathenaia were reciting the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey* —but not any other epic. Nor were they performing the poetry of Hesiod, though Hesiodic poetry had in fact been part of the repertoire of rhapsodes before the fifth century BCE, in the era when Athens was ruled by a dynasty known as the Peisistratidai.

I hasten to add, however, that Homeric poetry was already becoming the pre-eminent form of epic already in the era of the Peisistratidai. The basic arrangement for the performances of Homeric poetry was already in place in the late sixth century BCE, toward the end of the régime of the Peisistratidai. The *rhapsōidoi* ‘rhapsodes’ who performed Homeric poetry at the Great Panathenaia were simultaneously competing as well as collaborating with each other in their Homeric performances. I quote here the relevant wording from a work attributed to Plato and named after Hipparkhos, son of Peisistratos. The words I am quoting are spoken by Plato’s Socrates, who is just on the verge of naming Hipparkhos as an Athenian of the past who deserves the admiration of Athenians in the present:

[I am referring to] Hipparkhos, who accomplished many beautiful things in demonstration of his expertise [*sophiā*], especially by being the first to bring over [*komizein*] to this land [= Athens] the verses [*epos* plural] of Homer, and he forced the rhapsodes [*rhapsōidoi*] at the Panathenaia to go through [*diiēnai*] these verses in sequence [*ephexēs*], by relay [*ex hupolēpseōs*], just as they [= the rhapsodes] do even nowadays. And he sent out a state ship to bring over [*komizein*] Anacreon of Teos to the city [= Athens]. He also always kept in his company Simonides of Keos, persuading him by way of huge fees and gifts. And he did all this because he wanted to educate the citizens, so that he might govern the best of all possible citizens. He thought, noble as he was, that he was obliged not to be stinting in the sharing of his expertise [*sophiā*] with anyone.

Plato *Hipparkhos* 228b–c

This story is an aetiology.^② (By aetiology, I mean a myth that motivates an institutional reality, especially a ritual.^③) As I have argued in earlier work, the

① Commentary in HC 3 § § 143–144, 199–200.

② HPC I § 38.

③ BA 16 § 2n2 (= p. 279).

institutional reality described here in the Platonic *Hipparkhos*, where rhapsodes compete with each other as they perform by relay and in sequence the epics of Homer at the festival of the Panathenaia, is a ritual in and of itself.^① Moreover, the principle of equity that is built into this ritual event of rhapsodic competition corresponds to the need for equity in the ritual events of athletic competition. As Richard Martin observes, “The superb management of athletic games to assure equity could easily have been extended by the promoters of the Panathenaic games in this way.”^②

The fact that rhapsodes collaborated as well as competed in the process of performing, by relay, successive parts of integral compositions like the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can be used to explain the unity of these epics as they evolved over time.^③ This evolution can best be understood in the light of Douglas Frame’s argument that the Homeric performance units stemming from this Panathenaic Regulation stem ultimately from earlier Homeric performance units that evolved at the festival of the Panionia as celebrated in the late eighth and early seventh centuries BCE at the Panionion of the Ionian Dodecapolis in Asia Minor: according to Frame’s explanation, the Panionian versions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were divided into six rhapsodic performance units each, adding up to twelve rhapsodic performance units representing each one of the twelve cities of the Ionian Dodecapolis; each one of these twelve rhapsodic performance units corresponds to four *rhapsōidiai* ‘rhapsodies’ or ‘books’ of the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as we know them (‘books’ 1–4, 5–8, 9–12, 13–16, 17–20, 21–24).^④

Hipparkhos was assassinated on the festive quadrennial occasion of the Great Panathenaia held in the year 514 BCE. The older brother of Hipparkhos, Hippias, maintained his family’s political control of Athens until 510 BCE, when he was finally overthrown, and this date marks the end of the *turannis* ‘tyranny’ of the Peisistratidai, which then gave way to the *dēmokratiā* ‘democracy’ initiated in 508 by Kleisthenes, head of the rival lineage of the Alkmaionidai.^⑤

The new regime of the Athenian democracy highlighted not Hipparkhos but the earlier figure of Solon as the culture hero who organized the form for reciting the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*:

He [= Solon as Lawgiver of the Athenians] has written a law that the words of

① PR 42–47. For a comparative perspective on the concept of competition-in-collaboration, see PP 18.

② Martin 2000b:422.

③ PR 42–47; HC 2 § § 297, 304, 325; 3 § § 4, 6, 33.

④ Frame 2009 ch. 11.

⑤ HPC I § 39.

Homer are to be performed rhapsodically [*rhapsōideîn*], by relay [*hupobolē*], so that wherever the first person left off [*lēgein*], from that point the next person should start [*arkhesthai*].

Dieuchidas of Megara *FGH* 485 F 6, via Diogenes Laertius 1.57

As we see from this passage, the régime of the Athenian democracy gave credit to Solon and not to the Peisistratidai for the establishment of the Panathenaic Regulation, since Solon was now imagined as the culture hero of a primal democracy that had preceded the *turannis* ‘tyranny’ of the Peisistratidai in Athens. So the democratic aetiology of the new régime displaced the predemocratic aetiology of the old régime.

Here is another version of the democratic aetiology for the performance of Homeric poetry at the Great Panathenaia. I quote it from a speech delivered by the Athenian statesman Lycurgus in 330 BCE:^①

I wish to adduce for you Homer, quoting [*epaineîn*] him,^② since the reception^③ that he had from your [Athenian] ancestors made him so important a poet that there was a law enacted by them that requires, every fourth year of the Panathenaia,^④ the rhapsodic performing [*rhapsōideîn*] of his verses [*epos* plural] —his alone and no other poet’s. In this way they [= your (Athenian) ancestors] made a demonstration [*epideixis*],^⑤ intended for all Hellenes to see, that they made a conscious choice of the most noble of accomplishments.

This passage makes it explicit that the *epē* ‘verses’ (*epos* plural) performed at the Great Panathenaia belonged to Homer only, to the exclusion of other poets. I argue that the poets to be excluded were other authors, as it were, of epic. These authors, from the standpoint of the Athenian democracy in the fourth as also in the fifth century BCE, were understood to be the poets of the epic Cycle and, secondarily, the poets Hesiod and Orpheus. I concentrate here on the simple fact that these other poets are seen as poets of

① *HPC* I § 43.

② On my reasons for translating *epaineîn* as ‘quote’, see *PR* 27–28. Adducing a Homeric quotation is presented here as if it were a matter of adducing Homer himself. For more on this word *epaineîn*, see now the forthcoming book of David Elmer, *The Poetics of Consent: Collective Decision Making and the Iliad*. Baltimore, 2013.

③ I deliberately translate *hupolambanein* as ‘receive’ (that is, ‘reception’) here in terms of reception theory. In terms of rhapsodic vocabulary, as we saw above in “Plato” *Hipparkhos* 228b–c, *hupolēpsis* is not just ‘reception’ but also ‘continuation’ in the sense reception by way of relay. Further analysis in *PR* 11n8.

④ In the original Greek, the counting is inclusive; every “fifth” year.

⑤ The basic idea behind what is being “demonstrated” is a model for performance. The motivation as described here corresponds closely to the motivation of *Hipparkhos* as described in the first of the three passages that I have been analyzing.

epic, not of other forms of poetry.

Besides the *epē* ‘verses’ (= *epos* plural) to which the Athenian orator is referring in this third passage, which are the dactylic hexameters performed by competing *rhapsōidoi* ‘rhapsodes’, there were also lyric meters performed by competing *kitharōidoi* ‘citharodes’ and *aulōidoi* ‘aulodes’. At the Panathenaia, there were separate competitions of *rhapsōidoi* ‘rhapsodes’, of *kitharōidoi* ‘citharodes’ (= *kithara*-singers), of *aulōidoi* ‘aulodes’ (= *aulos*-singers), of *kitharistai* ‘citharists’ (= *kithara*-players), and of *aulētai* ‘auletes’ (*aulos*-players), as we learn from an Athenian inscription dated at around 380 BCE (IG IIz 2311) that records Panathenaic prizes.^① We learn about these categories of competition also from Plato’s *Laws* (6. 764d – e), where we read of rhapsodes, citharodes, and auletes—and where the wording makes it clear that the point of reference is the Panathenaia.^②

I mention these other categories of competing performers because the festival of the Panathenaia featured citharodic and aulodic competitions in lyric as well as rhapsodic competitions in epic.^③ In the passage I have just quoted from Lycurgus, the use of the word *rhapsōideîn* ‘rhapsodically perform’ makes it clear that the poets who are being excluded from the Panathenaia are not the lyric poets, whose compositions are performed by citharodes and aulodes. In other words, Lycurgus is referring here not to lyric poets like Anacreon and Simonides. Rather, he is referring to epic poets other than the Homer he knows. It is these other epic poets who are being excluded from the Panathenaia. Lycurgus here is referring exclusively to rhapsodic competitions in epic, not to citharodic or aulodic competitions in lyric. When Lycurgus refers to ‘Homer’ in this passage, he means the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.^④

A moment ago, I used the names of Anacreon and Simonides as examples of poets whose lyric compositions could be performed competitively at the Panathenaia. I mentioned their names for a specific reason. In the passage I quoted earlier from the Platonic dialogue named the *Hipparkhos* (228b – c), we saw an association of the tyrant Hipparkhos with Homer at the Panathenaia. But we also saw there a parallel association of the same Hipparkhos with these two contemporary lyric poets, Anacreon and Simonides.^⑤

In the logic of this narrative, Hipparkhos did something far more than simply invite lyric poets for ad hoc occasions of performance at, say, symposia; rather, he

① Further discussion in PR38–39, 42n16, 51. The portion of the inscription that deals with rhapsodes is lost, but it is generally accepted that rhapsodic competitions were mentioned in this missing portion.

② PR 38, 40, 42.

③ HC 3 § 27–33.

④ HC 3 § 33.

⑤ HPC 1 § 47.

institutionalized their performances. Once his initiative succeeded, the Ionian lyric compositions of poets like Anacreon of Teos could be performed in citharodic or aulodic competitions at the Panathenaia in Athens, along with the Dorian lyric compositions of poets like Simonides of Keos. ^①

As I have shown in my recent book *Homer the Classic*, the poetic competitions at the Great Panathenaia in Athens were known as *anagōn* ‘competition’ in *mousikē* (Aristotelian *Constitution of the Athenians* 60.1), and this term *mousikē* included not only the contests of *kitharōidoi* ‘citharodes’ [= *kithara*-singers], of *aulōidoi* ‘aulodes’ [= *aulos*-singers], of *kitharistai* ‘citharists’ [= *kithara*-players], and of *aulētai* ‘auletes’ [= *aulos*-players], but also the contests of *rhapsōidoi* ‘rhapsodes’ in performing the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In other words, *mousikē* included epic, not only lyric. ^② That is why the translation ‘music’ is inadequate, because it is too narrow. And although the competitions in lyric may have varied in content from one season to the next, the overall content of the epic that the *rhapsōidoi* ‘rhapsodes’ had to perform was invariable—at least, it had become an invariable in the fifth century BCE. In terms of my overall argumentation, that invariable was the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, performed season after season at the Panathenaia.

We can learn more about the performance traditions of Homeric poetry at the festival of the Great Panathenaia by studying the parallel performance traditions of lyric poetry. That is because, although there is not much information that has survived about the performances of lyric poetry at the Panathenaia, there is a great deal of corresponding information about the parallel performances of lyric at symposia. And this information about the performance of lyric at symposia can provide important new insights into the rhapsodic traditions of performing epic and of other non-lyric forms of poetry.

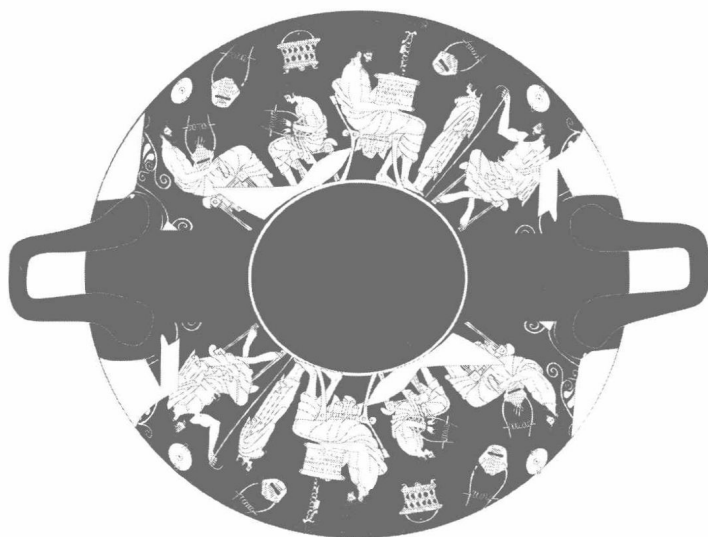
So now I have reached the main point of my argumentation: citharodic and aulodic and even rhapsodic performances at the Panathenaia need to be compared with citharodic and aulodic performances at symposia.

The primary evidence I propose to examine here is a red-figure painting by Douris on a drinking-cup produced between 490 and 480 BCE (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, ARV2431, 48 and 1653; CVA II pp. 29–30, with plates 77 and 78): the painting illustrates in rich detail two scenes, “A” and “B,” where boys are being educated in the learning and the performance of song and musical accompaniment. ^③

① *HPC* I § 51.

② *HC* 3 § 32.

③ What follows is an expanded version of what I first presented in *PP* 163n37.



Douris Cup Reconstructed

I append line drawing of the paintings. The scene labeled “A” is on the top, while the scene labeled “B” is on the bottom.



Douris Cup Scene A



Douris Cup Scene B

On the left in both scenes A and B, a seated ephebe (B) or adult (A) is playing the *aulos* ‘reed’ (B) or the *kitharā* ‘lyre’ (A). On the right in both scenes, a seated pedagogue, with a cane, looks on. In the middle is a young boy standing and facing a

seated ephebe who holds a tablet, on which he is writing (B) and a young boy standing and facing a seated adult who holds a scroll of papyrus, which he is reading (A). The text that he reads is represented as epic in theme but lyric in form: ΜΟΙΣΑΜΟΙ | Α < Μ > ΦΙΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΝ | ΕΤΡΩΝΑΡΧΟΜΑΙ | ΑΕΙ { Ν } ΔΕΝ. Another young boy is standing and facing the seated reed-playing ephebe on the left (B), and a seated lyre-playing ephebe faces the seated lyre-playing adult on the left (A). In scene A, there are musical instruments—both lyres and reeds—represented as levitating above the action, and they are framed on either side by representations of drinking-cups shaped just like the one painted by Douris. The songmaking apprenticeship of the boys, with distinct implications of homoerotic undertones (on both sides, there is an erotic inscription designed to touch the lips of whoever drinks from the cup), is being represented as a prerequisite for the integration of adolescents into the symposia of adult citizens, which is the context for which the drinking-cup of Douris is destined. ^①

These symmetrical scenes of “musical” education refer to whatever the boy learns—by way of songs and the erotic sensibilities conveyed in the songs—as preparation for participation in the symposium. I connect these scenes with what Aristotle says about the preferability of this kind of musical education at private symposia to the kind of musical education that is open to the population at large, on the occasions of public performances at festivals;

It should be ordained that younger men not be the ater-goers [*the atai*] of *iamboi* or of comedy until they reach the age where they have the opportunity to participate in lying down together at table and getting intoxicated [that is, to participate in symposia], at which point their education [*paideia*] will make them altogether immune to the harmful effect of these things.

Aristotle *Politics* 1336b20–22

In general, Aristotle “advises his elite readership to avoid the demotic culture of the *mousikoi agōnes*” (*Politics* 8. 1341a9–13, b10–321342. 16–27). ^②And, as I have noted already, rhapsodic performance belongs to this “demotic culture” of contests in *mousikē*, that is, *mousikoi agōnes*. Granted, in the text I just quoted, Aristotle is not thinking of epic, but at least one of the forms of performance he mentions in this context is rhapsodic, not citharodic or aulodic. Where he mentions *iamboi*, we know for a fact that the performance of this kind of poetry is rhapsodic, not citharodic or aulodic. In Plato’s *Ion*,

^① Calame 1989:53.

^② Power 2010:462–463.

we learn that a rhapsode's repertoire could include not only Homer and Hesiod but also Archilochus (531a, 532a).^① Further, Athenaeus (14. 620b-c) adduces sources from the third century BCE reporting rhapsodic performances of Archilochean poetry in particular (Clearchus) and of 'iambic' poetry in general (Lysanias).^②

The closest thing I can find to sympotic re-enactments of rhapsodic performances is a passage in Plato *Timaeus* 21b1-7, describing how the young Critias took part in playful 'rhapsodic' contests in performing the poetry of Solon.^③

I infer, then, that a symposium could be the context for rhapsodic as well as citharodic and aulodic performances. And when we see in the visual arts any representations of symposia, we may expect to see evidence that bears on the rhapsodic performances of epic, not only on the citharodic or aulodic performances of lyric.

The kind of education that led to proficiency in rhapsodic as well as citharodic and aulodic performances at symposia is exemplified, I argue, in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, with its informative description of old-fashioned Athenian *paideia* 'education' (961). Boys learn selected compositions of old lyric masters in the house of the *kitharistēs* 'master of the *kitharā*' (964), who teaches them to learn by heart (*promatheîn* 966) the performance of famous lyric compositions (967) and who insists on his pupils' adherence to performing these compositions in the proper *harmonia* 'mode' that had been 'inherited from their forefathers' (968; cf. 969-972).^④

I think that it was such *akitharistēs* 'master of the *kitharā*' whose body was found within a tomb excavated in May 1981 at Daphni, Athens, Odos Olgas 53. The basic facts about this excavation have only recently been published.^⑤ The body occupied one of two tombs, and it was buried along with (1) a lyre or "harp," (2) "a writing-case," (3) "an ink-pot," (4) "fragments of a tortoise shell," (5) "a saw," (6) "a set of knuckle-bones," (7) "an *aulos* tube with mouth-piece," (8) "a bundle of writing-tablets," (9) "a papyrus-roll," (10) "a chisel," and (11) "a stylus."^⑥

The similarities with the details represented on the vase painting by Douris are most

① PH 25 = 1 § 16.

② PP 159, 162-163. As I argue here, the references I just cited show a strong emphasis on the theatrical aspects of performance: the rhapsodic performance of Archilochean poetry by Simonides of Zacynthus is said to take place in theaters [*theatra*] (Clearchus), while Mnasion the rhapsode is said to act [*hupo-krinesthai*] in his performances [*deixis* plural] of *iamboi* 'iambos' (Athenaeus 14. 620c).

③ PH 25 = 1 § 16.

④ PH 97-98 = 3 § 31.

⑤ West and Pöhlmann 2012.

⑥ West and Pöhlmann 2012:2. About the lyre or "harp," I add the important information collected by Power 2010: 127, 128, 173, 411 (cf. *barbitos*); Power analyzes the differences between plucking (*psallein*) vs. striking (*krouein*).