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Talking Vases: The Relationship between the Homeric Poems and Archaic Representations of Epic Myth*

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In memory of Heinz A. Lowenstam, and his enthusiasm

The essential question in investigating the relationship between the Homeric poems and the epic stories painted on Archaic Greek vases is whether the painters were depicting, with characteristic artistic license, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the form in which we have inherited them.[1] For instance, when

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[1]Our texts of the Homeric poems stem from the Alexandrian vulgate edition, which the painters of the sixth and fifth centuries did not know (an obvious point, but one that cannot be stressed enough). Morris 1986: 85 avers: "It seems likely, then, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were constantly changing poems until the moment when each was fossilized in writing. In one sense, it could be said that neither existed as texts until that moment came along." How much sixth and fifth century versions or "texts" differed from the vulgate is unknown. Stephanie West (in Heubeck *et al.* 36 and 44) asserts that the city-editions that were collected from all over the Greek world by the Alexandrians in the third and second centuries were "despite a vast range of trivial variants substantially the same." Similarly, she asserts that papyrus fragments before 150 B.C.E., the approximate date when the Alexandrian text became canonical, contain only "trivial variants" (40). Sealey 1990: 128 presents a less sanguine view: "in the third and second centuries B.C. there were *Iliad*s and *Odyssey*s which were a good deal longer than the Byzantine *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; the long texts may well have exceeded the later text by a quarter of its length or even more"; the sixth and fifth century texts would differ

Kleitias portrays Patroklos' funeral games on the François Vase and shows five labeled charioteers, only one of whom participates in the Homeric account, one must ask whether the painter has invented his own version of the event, followed a popular variation of the myth unknown to us, portrayed a loose, possibly oral story ultimately derived from the same tradition as our *Iliad*, or simply made a mistake.

In the nineteenth century, the prevalent view, as articulated by Luckenbach, was that the Homeric subjects on Archaic Greek vases were in fact drawn directly from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[2] In this century Friis Johansen accepted this viewpoint and went to great lengths to substantiate it further.[3] Nevertheless, the interpretation that Homer is essentially the sole influence on Archaic representations of epic has been challenged in two important ways. First, although Greek tragedy was already in the nineteenth century posited to have exercised an influence on vase representations, this view has received its most cogent demonstrations in the last twenty years.[4] Second, the influence of folktales, which was always considered a factor in vase-painting, has drawn more attention, as seen, for instance, in Touchefeu-Meynier's examination of artworks pertaining to the *Odyssey*;[5] and Cook (1983), while recognizing the difficulty of the subject, has energetically argued that folktales and stories told to painters in childhood were probably the primary source for epic subjects on vases before 530 B.C.E.

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from our received versions to an even greater extent. Nevertheless, the transmission of the text has drawn critical attention in the last fifty years not in regard to different general treatments of the same episode but to the possibility of later accretions to the poem (e.g., *Iliad* 10 and *Odyssey* 23.297–24.548). Scholars date the original transcription of the Homeric poems from the early eighth century (Powell) to the late sixth or fifth (Jensen and Sealey), a subject that will be discussed at the end of this work.

[2]Critics like Carl Robert (e.g., 1881a: 151) recognized other sources but thought Homer the only poetic influence.

[3]In addition to Luckenbach and Friis Johansen, authors sympathetic to this view are Müller, Bulas, and Brommer. A good example of the approach is the judgment that on the François Vase Kleitias depicts the funeral games described in Book 23 of the *Iliad*: Luckenbach 495–99, Bulas 47–48, Friis Johansen 86–92. Again (see above, n. 1) the assumption is that the sixth and fifth century painters knew a text essentially identical to the Alexandrian vulgate text.

[4]Some bibliography on the influence of tragedy on vase-painting is listed in Lowenstam 1992: 179–81.

[5]Touchefeu-Meynier 1968: 283. The idea had been suggested in the nineteenth century, for instance by Carl Robert, but never delineated at length.

Snodgrass has further questioned painters' dependence on poetic sources, even though he still sees the early influence of our Homeric poems.[6]

The question of vase-painters' sources is indeed difficult to answer, because, as is well recognized, a great number of reasons have been advanced to explain why painted and literary versions of a myth might not correspond. In fact, seven reasons can be briefly stated:[7]

1. in some cases the very difference of media might have prevented a painter from representing a verbal description;
2. painters may not have known or may have forgotten a Homeric or traditional story;
3. use of traditional iconography led to apparent departures from Homer;
4. when painters added labels to a genre scene in order to translate it into an individualized picture, details appropriate to the generic scene clashed with the new context;
5. painters were not mere illustrators of Homer but artists who presented their own versions of myths;
6. artists created a synopsis or emplotment by combining sequential scenes of a story;
7. a different text or version of a myth was followed, either a) another oral or epic story, b) a tragedy, satyr play, or lyric poem, or c) a combination of oral or literary sources.

Accordingly, when a picture on a vase does not correspond with the story we know from Homer, six other explanations for divergences allow critics to avoid the simplistic interpretation that the artist merely erred or had forgotten the "correct" account—the second of the hypotheses listed above.

Although all seven reasons can adequately explain differences between paintings and poems with epic subjects, it is important to recognize that such explanations were devised under the assumption that the paintings were created after the epoch when our Homeric poems had been composed and gained

[6]Snodgrass 1979 and 1987. In his forthcoming work (*The "Homer Effect"*) he argues that, in the period down to 550 B.C.E., "of those artists who choose a subject from the Homeric epics, perhaps one in twelve or fifteen shows signs of having actually used Homer as his source."

[7]These reasons are reviewed at greater length and with relevant bibliography in Lowenstam 1992: 167–82.

currency. Hence, if the details of a painting diverge from what might have been expected from the Homeric narrative, the most common explanation is that the artists disregarded literary sources and painted scenes as they imagined them. Art historians especially champion the independence and creativity of artists in regard to myth. But, if, as will be argued below, our Homeric poems had not become canonical in the seventh, sixth, or even early fifth centuries B.C.E., this confidence in artistic inventiveness should be reconsidered, because other causes, and in particular the influence of other poetic works, may have played a greater role than is presently accepted.

Although it is undoubtedly difficult—and often impossible—to pinpoint precisely why some literary and artistic depictions of epic scenes do not correspond, attempts to determine the reasons for specific differences can be valuable, especially when such endeavors lead to principles that will facilitate future inquiries of this sort. The aim of the present work is to further the investigation of the relationship between poetic and artistic versions of Iliadic and Odyssean epic from the seventh to the fifth centuries, with special attention paid to the role of artistic traditions and alternative poetic sources.[8] In Parts I–III, I inspect seven vases from the sixth and fifth centuries whose representations of Iliadic and Odyssean myth noticeably differ from versions of the stories in our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* or otherwise appear to reflect non-Homeric sources. In Part IV, I examine scrolls and other writing painted on vases and find that, although some of these inscriptions deal with epic material, including the story of Troy, none alludes directly to our Homeric poems. This conclusion would be surprising if our Homeric poems were authoritative in the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.E. In Part V, I consider and reject the view of some recent critics that several Archaic artworks reveal a definite knowledge of our Homeric poems. In Part VI, the differences between painted and sung versions of Iliadic and Odyssean myth are examined in terms of artistic inventiveness, local folklore, and alternate poetic traditions, with the latter given priority as the source of the material treated here. Nevertheless, if oral poets were still composing songs about Achilleus and Odysseus in the sixth and fifth centuries, as reflected in Greek paintings, one might wonder how early or authoritative

[8]I use the terms "Iliadic" and "Odyssean" not to refer to our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* but to denote the stories and myths told in our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* respectively. Further, my designation of some Iliadic and Odyssean stories as "variant" or "alternate" indicates only that they are different from those found in our Homeric poems. As Lord 1960: 101 states, "we cannot correctly speak of a 'variant,' since there is no 'original' to be varied!" Others use the term "multiform" for "variant."

our Homeric poems were. Therefore, I examine the compositional date of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in Part VII and conclude that the evidence for composition in the eighth or early seventh century is extremely tenuous. Finally, the argument in Part VIII is that, even if our Homeric poems were composed in the eighth or seventh century B.C.E., they were not authoritative in the Archaic period when the vases considered here were produced. Hence, although this article primarily focuses on evidence that paintings with Iliadic and Odyssean material were influenced by poems and stories other than those of our Homeric poems (with the result that the vases sometimes reflect the tradition from which our Homeric poems were created), such an analysis requires that we also ask when the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed, what influence Homer had in the Archaic period, and when our versions of the Homeric poems became authoritative.

I.

It is well known that the artists who turned to the Trojan story were often intrigued by episodes that did not occur in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: for example, the judgment of Paris, Cheiron's custodianship of Achilleus, the ambush and slaughter of Troilos, the game of draughts between Achilleus and Aias, the battle between Memnon and Achilleus, and the Ilioupersis. These episodes, with the exception of the draughts game, belonged to the Cyclic poems, whose dates of composition could not have been much earlier, if at all, than the earliest instances of their materialization in painting. Since the Cyclic tradition was as old as the Homeric, it is entirely possible that a Protoattic representation of the entrusting of the infant Achilleus to Cheiron predates an actual written source and relates to oral versions of the myth circulating at that time.[9] The ivory gem showing the suicide of Aias (late eighth or seventh century) is certainly earlier than the *Little Iliad* ascribed variously to Lesches, Cinaethon, Thestorides, and Diodorus; a Protoattic representation of Achilleus' attack on Troilos also predates extant written narratives of that episode.[10]

[9]Berlin 31573 (A 9); cf. Kossatz-Deissmann 45 and 53 and Ahlberg-Cornell 51–52.

[10]Perachora A23 and London 1969.12–15.1. The dates of the Epic Cycle are uncertain. Griffin 1977: 39 n. 9 places the poems at the end of the seventh century B.C.E., while Davies (1989a and 1989b: 3–5), cautiously following Wackernagel, dates the *final* version of the *Cypria* and probably the other major cyclic epics to the end of the sixth century. Lesches is the best attested author of the *Little Iliad*, but there may have been different versions of the poem; cf. Davies 1989b: 62–63. On the independence of the *Cypria* from the *Iliad*, see now Burgess and in particular his comments on the relation between the Cyclic epics and Homer (78).

Again, as R. M. Cook points out, the existence in art of two different versions of a myth may indicate that both cannot derive from the same literary source:

> The Judgment of Paris, which was included in the *Cypria*, appears in art in two versions, in one of which Paris welcomes his visitors and in the other runs away to avoid them; and both versions cannot have occurred in the *Cypria*. Either then two epics with the Judgment were known concurrently, and that well into the sixth century; or one version at least (and more probably the comic flight of Paris) came from some other source—folk tale or the inventiveness of an artist who made free with orthodoxy.[11]

By "folk tale" Cook appears to mean non-professional story-telling: the folktale of the shepherd who must choose between imperial authority, martial dominance, and sexual gratification may have evolved into the specific myth of the judgment of Paris, but they are not the same.[12] But non-professional story-telling and artistic inventiveness, Cook's two alternatives, raise the question of source. We would expect customers of vases picturing Paris' flight to recognize the story, if this variation of the myth were told by professional bards or if it were popularly related in less formal settings.[13] But how would the customer (or other artists) have identified the myth if the painter invented a variation so different from the popular story? Cook wants to distinguish between epic poems and non-professional retellings of myth,[14] but at this point of our investigation it does not matter if the sources were established poems or popular oral versions, for in either case the stories would have had to circulate extensively enough to have been recognizable to the people who made, viewed, and bought these vases.

The thesis that the inventiveness of artists must have been limited by the knowledge and expectations of the audience should be compared to Charles

[11]R. M. Cook 1983: 5.

[12]Although this point is seemingly ignored in much of his article, R. M. Cook 1983: 5 does recognize it. And see below, p. 55 and n. 103. For antecedents to the judgment of Paris myth, see Dumézil 1953: 27–28, expanded in Dumézil 1968: 580–86.

[13]Charles Dugas 59–65 takes a different approach to this question by arguing that the differing representations of the judgment result from the artists' desire to bring out two distinct aspects of the story (see below). The flight of Paris shows an expected response to divine apparition (Dugas cites *Il.* 20.131).

[14]R. M. Cook 1983: 6: "...the verdict of Carl Robert, the greatest interpreter of the subjects of Greek art, [was] 'So wird der Künstler in vielen Fallen nicht direkt aus dem Gedicht, sondern aus der von diesem befruchteten Volksvorstellung schöpfen'—only I cannot see why he needed epic at all."

Dugas's conclusion in his essay "Tradition littéraire et tradition graphique dans l'Antiquité grecque":

> Le plus souvent la tradition graphique est parallèle à la tradition littéraire, elle la double, la complète, en dérivant évidemment de la même forme poétique des thèmes. Mais, en d'autres cas, elle n'est pas seulement indépendante de la tradition littéraire, elle y est opposée, et elle nous donne une variante de la légende incompatible avec la variante conservée par les textes.[15]

Contrary to what Cook proposes, Dugas argues that the artists painting the judgment of Paris were attempting in separate representations to emphasize different aspects of the description in the *Cypria*, and in that sense they were paralleling the poets. Those who painted the Ilioupersis, on the other hand, drew a visual parallel between the deaths of Astyanax and Troilos with the result that representations of the sack of Troy seem to diverge from what we know of the *Little Iliad*.[16] The particulars of Dugas's argument are, for the present purposes, less important than his general conclusion that the artists tended to be "faithful" to popularly circulating stories, unless there was an artistic reason to diverge. By demonstrating the similarities between the deaths of Troilos and Astyanax, Dugas can show a specific reason for the "indépendance de la tradition littéraire," not merely some idiosyncratic desire for inventiveness.

To be sure, it was traditional for painters to vary, rearrange, and pursue their own versions of a myth. Further, because the mythic tradition was the common inheritance of poets and painters, both groups of artisans explored these seminal stories through their own interpretations. Nevertheless, the medium of painting imposes certain inherent limits on the inventiveness of artists, as we will see below, and their depictions, for the most part, depend on the knowledge and expectations of their customers and fellow painters.

To turn from paintings connected with the Epic Cycle, where we lack texts (except for unsatisfactory fragments), to artistic depictions that we can correlate with the Homeric poems, we might consider first what I have mentioned earlier as perhaps the most famous representation that might be assumed to illustrate a variant epic tradition: the François Vase's depiction of Patroklos' funeral

[15]Dugas 57 (= 1937: 5).

[16]Most recently Childs 34–36 has discussed the similar depictions of the deaths of Astyanax and Troilos. See further von Steuben 70–71 and 88–89, who discusses, among other things, the different treatments of Astyanax' death in the *Ilioupersis* and the *Little Iliad*.

games, all of whose competitors are labeled. As in Homer, five charioteers are shown contending, but only one of them, Diomedes, appears in the Homeric account; and while Diomedes wins the race in Homer, he is put in third place by Kleitias.[17] By themselves, differences between the sung and painted versions can be ascribed to mistaken memory or ignorance of the Homeric version, to the painter's inventiveness, or to reliance on an independent tradition, but none of these interpretations can be demonstrated with any certainty in regard to this one vase. Nevertheless, there is another piece of well-known evidence that has an important bearing on Kleitias' representation of the funeral games.

Shortly before Kleitias painted his version of the games on the François Vase, Sophilos had also depicted the funeral games, even going to the rare expedient of labeling the scene (Πατροϙλυς ατλα). The extant sherd shows the horses of the winning chariot team and part of the winning charioteer's name, ending -ΙΟΣ (to follow Immerwahr).[18] This label, which corresponds neither to Homer's Diomedes nor to Kleitias' Odysseus, indicates that Sophilos was not following the Homeric version we know and further suggests that the myth was still in flux in the first quarter of the sixth century. In other words, painters and poets were relating the story of Patroklos' funeral games, but a series of variants depicted different winners and participants. The painters assured the identification of the competitors by inscribing their names;[19] and, in so doing, the artists recorded the specific story they were depicting.

Hence, the fact that the two painted versions of Patroklos' funeral games differ from the Homeric narrative suggests the currency and influence of variant epic or lyric traditions in the early sixth century.[20] Sometimes there is even

[17]Like all other critics, I assume that the charioteer shown in the leading position on the vase was the eventual winner of the race. But see below, n. 94.

[18]In the original publication, Bequignon 50 suggested [Σθένελ]ος, while Simon 1981: 69 proposes [Εὔμηλ]ος or [Ἀντίλοχ]ος. Immerwahr 1990: 21 reads -ιος. The name could begin ΣΟΙ-, but no likely possibility suggests itself. Beazley (*ABV* 40) read Σόφ[ιλος μὲποίεσεν], which seems unlikely because of the proximity of the other signature. Further, his phi is not really legible.

[19]Another perspective upon this point is supplied by Svenbro 65 (= 1988: 75): "The primary interest of writing in an oral culture might boil down to the fact that names could be attached to objects in a material and durable fashion, so that they could then be read aloud." That is, the painters delighted in having the audience "read" their stories, the talking vases of my title.

[20]Two other interpretations—that the labels were meaningless or that the painters freely invented stories with Homeric characters that were otherwise unknown to the public—are considered below.

textual evidence to demonstrate such traditions. For instance, on Euphronios' Sarpedon krater at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sleep and Death are flanked by Leodamas and Hippolytos, the latter of whom is unknown to the Homeric poems.[21] While the *Iliad* mentions a Laodamas (an epic name corresponding to Attic Leodamas) as a son of Antenor (15.516–17), more striking is Quintus Smyrnaeus' allusion to a Lycian named Laodamas.[22] It seems beyond chance that this late author knows the name of one of Sarpedon's fellow Lycians, who also appears by name on the sixth-century vase showing the death of the Lycian Sarpedon. Hence, Euphronios has resorted to traditional information outside of our Homeric poems.

Textual evidence, however, always requires caution, and perhaps the most vexing case occurs on another vase, where an inscription identifies a character who is also possibly mentioned in Quintus Smyrnaeus. The vase in question, a "Chalcidian" psykter in Melbourne painted by the Inscriptions Painter and dated to about 540 B.C.E.,[23] presents problems of considerable interest. On one side, the vase features Achilleus' killing of a warrior named Eurymachos with Automedon and his chariot shown on the left (Fig. 1). While the *Iliad* never refers to anyone named Eurymachos, Quintus Smyrnaeus devotes forty verses to the *aristeia* of a Trojan son of Antenor by this name.[24] Such a hero is exactly the type that the Inscriptions Painter would choose, because his painting shows Achilleus on the left proving his status as hero while Asteropaios, whom Achilleus will kill later, is shown on the right in his own *aristeia*.[25] Eurymachos, the son of Antenor, also appears on the Astarita Krater in the presence of his mother and brother.[26] Further, a warrior on several other Corinthian vases is labeled Eurymachos; and although it is not clear on these vases whether the name is chosen because of its significance ("fighting over a wide area") or because it

[21]New York 1972.11.10 (*Addenda*[2] 404). Hippolytos may be the son of Antenor known from Lysimachos' *Nostoi* (*FHG* II 337.9).

[22]Bothmer 1976: 493 in regard to *Posthomerica* 11.20–21.

[23]National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 1643–D4. The origin of "Chalcidian" ware is disputed, but it seems unlikely that it was produced in Chalkis or Euboia. See Rumpf 43–46 (who thought the source was Chalkis), Smith 112–25, and R. M. Cook 1972: 158.

[24]Eurymachos' *aristeia* shared with Aeneas in the battle around the walls is described in *Posthomerica* 11.129–69. Trendall 1958: 5–6 says that Quintus Smyrnaeus "presumably would have had earlier epic authority for [Eurymachos'] part in the Trojan War." Cf. Hampe 518.

[25]Cf. Kossatz–Deissmann 132, who suggests that the painter has combined the two combats to show how strong Achilleus is, because he beats the other victor. Cf. Schefold 1990: 231 (= 1978: 210).

[26]Vatican (ex-Naples), Astarita Coll. A 565 (Amyx 264.1 [middle] and 576, #74).

belongs to a particular hero, the combined evidence suggests that a warrior called Eurymachos did play a role in the epic tradition.[27]

The important question here is whether the Eurymachos on the Melbourne psykter can be identified with Antenor's son. Pausanias, in his description of Polygnotos' *Ilioupersis* in the Lesche in Delphi, confirms Quintus Smyrnaeus' representation of Eurymachos as outliving Achilleus when he identifies Eurymachos as the figure sitting beside his father, mother, brother and sister, whom the victorious Greeks had spared.[28] If the presence of Eurymachos at the sack of Troy is an integral element of the myth, the Eurymachos on the Melbourne psykter, who appears to be meeting his death at the hands of Achilleus, cannot be the same person.[29] Hence, the evidence of Polygnotus, Quintus Smyrnaeus, and Strabo indicates that the Eurymachos represented on the Melbourne psykter cannot be the son of Antenor. But, as often in such situations, we must not reject the possibility that we are dealing with two different traditions about the same mythic figure.[30] An excellent parallel instance of two conflicting traditions is provided by the story of Helikaon, another son of Antenor, who, as shown on Basel BS 498, was killed by Neoptolemos in the famous battle in which Achilleus' son dispatched Eurypylos, although Pausanias tells us that this same Helikaon survived the Trojan War.[31]

In order to determine whether the Eurymachos on the Melbourne psykter is the son of Antenor, it is helpful to observe the technique that the Inscriptions Painter uses in naming the figures on this vase. For instance, as Achilleus is slaying Eurymachos, the Trojan Asteropaios is killing Periphetes (ΠΕΡΙΦΑΤΑΣ), a character known to us from the *Iliad*. Killed by Hektor in Book 15, Periphetes receives one of those memorable obituaries that have the effect of ennobling

[27]Paris, Bib. Nat. (Amyx 568, #46); Brussels A 1011 (Amyx 248.A–1, 569, #53). Schefold 1990: 231 (= 1978: 210) argues that Eurymachos appears on the Melbourne psykter because of the meaning of his name, as I also suggested for the name on the Brussels kotyle (1992: 171–72), but I now believe that the collected evidence points to a specific epic hero.

[28]10.27.3. Compare Str. 13.1.53, who tells a series of conflicting stories, in one of which Antenor and his children first escaped to Thrace.

[29]Beazley 1957: 239 n. 1: "not our man then." One other possibility is that Achilleus is shown on the psykter only wounding Eurymachos, but that seems very unlikely. Cf. Davies 1977: 75 n. 12, who states that it would be "tempting" to suggest that Helikaon (a similar case discussed immediately below) was saved or spared, but vase-painting appears to show him dead.

[30]So Gisler 104.

[31]Besides Paus. 10.26.7, authors who speak of Helikaon surviving the war are Mart. 10.93 and 14.152, Ath. 6.232c, and Serv. ad *A.* 1.242. For Basel BS 498 (*Paralipomena* 119.35*bis*, *Addenda*[2] 70), see Beazley's remarks in *Paralipomena* 119 and Shapiro (1990).

Hektor because of the quality of warrior he has vanquished.[32] Hence, anticipating the great battle between Asteropaios and Achilleus (as we know it from Book 21 of the *Iliad*), the Inscriptions Painter has represented a battle in which both antagonists are shown victorious over another warrior, while each of the respective victims is familiar to us from a different context.

Therefore, the Inscriptions Painter appears to be delving into the epic tradition in creating his representations, but it is unclear whether he is extracting, for his own ends, the figures Achilleus, Asteropaios, and Periphetes from the *Iliad* or from other associated traditions known at that time. To pursue this question further, we should examine the other side of the Melbourne psykter, which presents another epic scene that deserves attention because of its uniqueness (Fig. 2). Three combats are depicted: on the left Diomedes is shown striking down Charops as Hippolochos tries to defend his fellow Trojan; in the center Glaukos fights the Athenian hero Menesth[eus]; and on the right [O]dy[s]seu[s] is shown killing a figure whose incomplete label reads Me-.[33] Although the presence of Menestheus, the Athenian hero, on a non-Attic vase is surprising,[34] the psykter's pairing of Menestheus and Glaukos in battle provides the only scene of the three that may correspond to a story told in Homer. In the *Iliad*, after Sarpedon's famous speech to Glaukos on the rationale for heroism, the two Lycians enter the battle, and, upon sighting them, Menestheus shivers and looks about for help. Finally Telamonian Aias and Teuker come to his assistance and the latter shoots Glaukos with an arrow (12.310–93).[35]

The most striking aspect of the psykter's depiction of Glaukos and Menestheus is the unusual frontal view of Glaukos' head. Trendall's

[32]*Il.* 15.638–52. See Muellner 85, Janko 1992: 298–99, Lowenstam 1993a: 134 and n. 174, and in general Griffin 1980: 103–43.

[33]Beazley thought the last three letters of the name might be -πος and suggested Melanippos or, with the uncertainty of the last letters, possibly Melanion; cf. Trendall 1958: 7, who supplies the name Melanippos (the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, kindly furnished me with a copy of Beazley's original transcription of the inscriptions). Other possibilities for the name are Megades, Medon, Melanthios, Mentes, Menon, Mermeros, and Mesthles (all from the *Iliad*).

[34]Schefold 1990: 233 (= 1978: 210), who seems to believe that "Chalcidian" vases were made in Chalkis, wonders whether the geographical closeness between Athens and Chalkis is the explanation. S. West (in Heubeck *et al.* 38 n. 15) ascribes the attention that the obscure Menestheus receives in the *Iliad* to the Athenian role in the textual history of the epic.

[35]Simon 1992 believes there is no connection between the *Iliad* passage and the painting. Daumas is more interested in the connection between Diomedes and Glaukos than between the latter and Menestheus.

interpretation is that "the artist by showing Glaucus in full face and by giving him such a dominant position has perhaps wished to emphasize his prowess upon an occasion when, according to Homer..., Menestheus shuddered at the mere sight of him."[36] Nevertheless, Menestheus is depicted by the Inscriptions Painter with as stalwart a pose as Diomedes and Odysseus, and there is no hint of "shuddering." In fact, Schefold points out that the painter equates Diomedes and Menestheus by depicting them in the same posture with their shields facing the viewer at the same angle.[37] Glaukos' frontal view in fact suggests that it is Glaukos, not Menestheus as in Homer, who is looking around for help (πάπτηνεν, *Il.* 12.333) as his allies are being beaten back by Diomedes and Odysseus.[38] Hence, even this scene, which comes closest to the Homeric description, still differs from it significantly.

Unfortunately, the name of Odysseus' victim (Me-) on the same side is not fully preserved, but Diomedes' antagonists are clear: Charops and Hippolochos. First of all, who is Hippolochos? Is he possibly Glaukos' father, as A. D. Trendall and Roland Hampe suggest? And for that matter, can we be sure that Glaukos is the famous Lycian and not Antenor's son, the brother of the Eurymachos possibly pictured on the other side of the vase? On this question, laments John Boardman, "the possibilities for confusion are infinite."[39] Nevertheless, the pairing of Menestheus and Glaukos, especially with the frontal representation of the latter's face, suggests through its correspondences to Homer that the Lycian Glaukos is intended. Charops and Hippolochos also have a Homeric connection, one that requires investigation.

In Book 11 of the *Iliad* Odysseus kills Charops as follows (11.426–28):

> ...ὁ δ' ἄρ' Ἱππασίδην Χάροπ' οὔτασε δουρί,
> αὐτοκασίγνητον εὐηφενέος Σώκοιο.
> τῷ δ' ἐπαλεξήσων Σῶκος κίεν, ἰσόθεος φώς.

[36]Trendall 1978: 4 (cf. Trendall 1956: 2 and 1958: 7), also articulated by Schefold 1990: 231 (= 1978: 210).

[37]Schefold 1990: 233 (= 1978: 210) with this conclusion: "The artist obviously thinks of the Athenian Menestheus as a warrior in the same class as Achilles, Diomedes and Odysseus, the first division of Greek heroes."

[38]The verb παπταίνειν always suggests fear; see Snell 2–3 and Janko 1992: 355.

[39]Trendall 1958: 7, Hampe 518, Boardman 1988: 444.

Charops is introduced here both with a "horsey" patronymic, as Amyx calls such names,[40] and, in a very rare three-word line that draws attention, as the brother of Sokos, who then immediately attempts to avenge his brother's death. Sokos tells Odysseus that the Achaean will either boast that day that he has killed both sons of Hippasos (δοιοῖσιν ἐπεύξεαι Ἱπασίδῃσι, again stating the patronymic, 11.431) or die himself at Sokos' hands; but after Odysseus slays Sokos, he addresses him as Ἱππάσου υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο (11.450), stressing the equine name of the father with an equestrian epithet.[41] Once the brothers are killed, the Trojans in anger rush at Odysseus, whose call for help is answered by the greater Aias.

Two points in this Homeric description deserve our attention. First, the end of the scene is reminiscent of the episode in Book 12 where Menestheus calls for aid, also answered by Aias. The second is that, once Charops is slain, his brother immediately comes to avenge him and the two brothers have a stressed horsey patronymic. On our psykter we find Charops again defended, not by Sokos but by a warrior with the equine name of Hippolochos. Therefore, despite the differences (Diomedes instead of Odysseus and Hippolochos in place of Sokos), a thematic connection binds the Homeric and "Chalcidian" versions of the story. But who is Hippolochos?

A warrior named Hippolochos is killed in a Homeric passage where pairs of warriors are killed. In his *aristeia* in Book 11 Agamemnon first kills Bienor and Oïleus (11.91–100) and then Isos and Antiphos (11.101–21). The description of the slaughter of the second pair is marked by a simile about a doe unable to save her fawns, who have been seized by a lion (again the motif of coming to the defense). Then Agamemnon, like a lion (11.148), confronts Peisander and Hippolochos, the sons of Antimachos (υἱέας Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, 11.123),[42] and, after a lengthy scene including several speeches, dispatches first Peisander and then Hippolochos.

[40]Amyx 553–54.

[41]While fixed epithets are often thought to be little more than ornaments, the Homeric poems regularly avoid a *figura etymologica* involving a fixed epithet (in this case, Ἱππάσου...ἱπποδάμοιο); see Lowenstam 1993a: 33–35. The inference then is that the retention of the figure in this passage has meaning and indicates emphasis. Martin 123 considers the repetition of horse words in the collocation to be a pun made by Odysseus, who "[sees] linguistic possibilities coexisting."

[42]Cf. Ἱππάσου υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο of Sokos. The epithet δαΐφρων is not very common: with names of fathers, it is applied four times to Tydeus, thrice to Antimachos and Aiakides, twice to Atreus and Priam, and once to Peleus and Hippasos.

Hence, we see three links between this side of the psykter and stories in the *Iliad* involving warriors who come to the aid of an ally in difficulty.[43] Further, Diomedes is shown in combat with Charops and Hippolochos, both of whom are killed in the *Iliad* along with their brothers. These correlations most likely show that the inscribed names are not chosen randomly but are selected because of the myths associated with them. The question is again whether we are seeing connections made by the Inscriptions Painter from his knowledge of the *Iliad* or associations already delineated in traditional myths that the painter knew. For although none of the five duels taking place on the psykter corresponds to the Homeric version (one does faintly), the motifs suggested by these battles are found in the *Iliad*. It seems likely that very few people would have learned or known all the minor warriors whom Homer introduces in the *Iliad* immediately before their deaths. Nevertheless, the pairing of Charops and Hippolochos and the companion scene with Glaukos and Menestheus suggests an understanding of myths that we can barely glimpse from the *Iliad*. Other works by the Inscriptions Painter, far from corroborating the possibility that he improvised entirely new contexts for traditional figures, indicate that he made traditional use of the common mythology.[44] I think it unlikely that the Inscriptions Painter directly responded to motifs and characters in our *Iliad* but then inexplicably changed names in four of the five combats he portrayed. Moreover, his awareness of Homeric motifs and names makes it improbable that the divergences can be ascribed to a faulty memory. Rather, there was still great fluidity in the myths, even though the Iliadic tradition had already associated certain motifs with particular characters. The Inscriptions Painter may well be showing us a version of a given myth before it had become solidified in a canonical form.

II.

In looking at divergences between paintings and our literary sources, one must always consider how significant the differences are. For instance, when Euphronios shows Hermes overseeing the removal of Sarpedon by Sleep and Death, while Homer places Apollo in that role, this inconsistency does not immediately suggest that the painter had a different source. Even if Euphronios

[43]The three Homeric passages that tie in with the psykter are those of Aias coming to assist Menestheus as he confronts Glaukos, Sokos attempting to avenge his brother Charops, and the brothers Peisander and Hippolochos dying together in an episode where a simile describes a doe who cannot protect her fawns.

[44]For the figures labeled by the Inscriptions Painter, see Rumpf 1–15, 17, 46–53.

knew our Homeric version, he probably thought that Hermes was a more likely overseer because of his role as psychopomp.[45] But there are variations that do not admit of such a simple explanation. For instance, painters liked to represent the duel between Achilleus and Memnon, often with the body of Antilochos lying between them; but on two occasions the fallen warrior between the two fighters is not Antilochos but someone else, as specified by the labels. Thus the Tyszkiewicz Painter shows the hero Melanippos, a name unknown to us in this context.[46] Even more interesting is a depiction by the O.L.L. Group (570/560 B.C.E.) with Phokos as the corpse, an intriguing substitution because later sources tell us that Phokos was a relative of Achilleus.[47] Nevertheless, the use of mythology on this vase must be questioned, both because Memnon is seconded by Hektor and because the position of Phokos' body does not follow Lung's Rule that the head of a fallen warrior should point to his faction.[48] Hence, while it is possible that the painter is imparting an echo of some unknown story, it is equally, or even more, likely that in this rare case the painter is confused, oblivious to stories presently circulating, or making up labels to appear knowledgeable. It is worth noting how rarely one comes upon such instances when examining depictions of stories related to the Iliadic and Odyssean myths.

In contrast, sometimes the very complexity of a painting suggests that its differences from the poetic texts should be ascribed to variant stories. A good example is Vatican 35617, a Corinthian hydria dated to the decade 560/550,[49] which, despite its fragmentary state, can help us to define the relationship between the Homeric poems and vases with epic subjects. Because the vase is

[45]Bothmer 1976: 485. The real question, as my student Patrick Wade pointed out to me in a seminar, is not why Hermes oversees the action in the painting but why Apollo participates in the Homeric version. Wade suggests that the poem narrows the focus to Apollo's Lycian connections (Burkert 1985: 144), while the painting broadens the emphasis to Hermes' funereal duties.

[46]Boston 97.368 (*ARV*[2] 290.1), dated to 470 B.C.E.

[47]Vase in a private German collection (unlisted in Beazley): Bothmer 1977. None of the extant stories about Phokos, a half brother of Peleus and son of Thetis' sister, mentions his presence at Troy (Eitem 498–99).

[48]Lung 38–40. As far as I know, the rule is first enunciated eponymously by Beazley in Caskey-Beazley (1954) 14.

[49]The vase is listed in Amyx on 579.82, where the readings of the labels are based on Arena and do not take into account two sherds acquired and joined in 1970, for which see Roncalli 68–69 and fig. 12. In addition to four new figures, three inscribed (Πολυδάμας, [Π]άρι, and Αἴϝας), the new join shows that the two labels that Arena thought distinct (his [---]δρος [?] and [Δαΐ]πυλος [?]) belong to the same name.

not well known in its present state and the recent picture in *LIMC* (7.2.520, no. 2) is not wholly satisfactory, I shall describe it more fully.

On the left are three warriors, two standing and one, the archer, crouching (Fig. 3). The labels tell us that one of the standing men is Po[u]lydamas, and the archer is Paris ([Π]ΑΡΙ). Behind a beautiful white horse two warriors are fighting, the one on the left labeled Aias and the one on the right identified with an inscription that is uncertain, in part because a mended break in the fabric runs through the beginning of the name, and one side of the label is at the edge of the broken section (Fig. 4). I read something like ΛΟ[?]ΒΟΥΛΟΣ. Bothmer identifies the figure as Kleoboulos ([Κ]Λ(Ε)ΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ), with "the first letters perhaps somewhat garbled."[50] We also see a chariot with its charioteer Alkimos identified by inscription. Next we have an unlabeled figure leaping upon a crouching warrior inscribed Pyraichmes, while a dead man labeled Sarpedon lies on the ground between them (Fig. 5). Finally, there is another standing warrior, labeled Glau[kos].

Clearly the painting depicts a battle scene that roughly corresponds to Book 16 of the *Iliad*, which describes Patroklos' entry into the fight and subsequent killing of Pyraichmes and Sarpedon, the latter of whom calls upon Glaukos to save his body. Hence, the leaping figure shown on the vase behind Alkimos must be Patroklos, whose name was probably inscribed in the missing area near his head. Also recounted in Book 16 are the battle between the Locrian Aias and Kleoboulos, the service of Alkimos as charioteer, and the participation of Poulydamas, while Paris is mentioned fighting in Book 15.

However, from our knowledge of Homer, it is problematical that Patroklos is battling Pyraichmes over the corpse of Sarpedon, while in the *Iliad* both Pyraichmes (16.287) and Kleoboulos (16.330) are killed before Sarpedon begins battle with Patroklos (16.462). In addition, Pyraichmes and Sarpedon are not interchangeable. Patroklos is first sent out to prevent the burning of more ships, and, as soon as he meets and kills Pyraichmes (whose name "Firebrand" indicates that he represents the threat to the ships), the Trojans flee. The victory over Sarpedon, the son of Zeus, on the other hand, is the climax of Patroklos' *aristeia* in our *Iliad*.

[50]Letter to me dated 13 August 1992. Prof. Bothmer has also shared with me his letter to Darrell Amyx dated 25 March 1992 (which he has allowed me to quote), in which he says that "the first four letters are garbled."

How do we explain these discrepancies? Bothmer in a private correspondence handles the problem in a traditional way: "this slight anachronism is not quite so serious [seeing] as [Kleoboulos and Pyraichmes] died in the same battle, and the vase-painter may merely have remembered that they became casualties the same day as Sarpedon."[51] This explanation might be more cogent for simple vases, but our painter shows a remarkable knowledge of the myths associated with our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Kleoboulos is shown in no other painting, and his pairing with Aias in the company of the seven other heroes shows a much greater attention to details of the myth than is typically found in paintings of Homeric battles. One would think that if the painter remembered the names of Pyraichmes and (perhaps in a garbled form) Kleoboulos, the latter of which appears just once in the extant Homeric corpus, he would remember that Sarpedon had been killed after those warriors. While those of us moderns who repeatedly reread the Homeric poems might be uncertain whether Kleoboulos was killed before or after Sarpedon in our *Iliad*, it is a mistake to assume the case was similar in the middle of the sixth century B.C.E.: the power of memory in an essentially illiterate culture is well known.

Again, if we think of Cook's notion of folk transmission—that is, the type of description one of us might furnish in relating a movie plot to a friend—we recall that such non-professional story-telling tends to simplify tales rather than reveal the unusual amount of detail that we find in this depiction. So the very complexity of this painting indicates that its differences from the Homeric narrative should not be attributed to the painter's ignorance, to his mistakes, or to reliance on a source other than a bard.

It is well known that painters did not see themselves as illustrators of poems; therefore we might do well to focus on the painter *qua* painter. We could say that our artist was inspired by the picture on another vase when he drew his own image, but then we are led back to the question of how the earlier painter came up with the particular iconography and names we have.[52] There are painters who seem to use other depictions as a source for their own, but

[51]Letter dated 25 March 1992 (see above, n. 50). Bothmer 1994: 698 ascribes the differences between the hydria and *Iliad* as follows: "the painter may not have felt obliged to follow the exact sequence of events, but was more interested in including as many of the participants as he could remember."

[52]Cf. Ahlberg-Cornell 184: "The first iconographic example must of course have been inspired by a written or oral source" and Robert 1881b: 1: "nur wenn die Abhängigkeit der Kunst von der Poesie klar erkannt ist, kann eine methodische Interpretation der Denkmäler gelingen." Cf. von Steuben 90, who stresses the painters' role.

when they do not understand the pictures, as happens for example on Louvre G 264 involving the elements of a typical embassy scene,[53] the result clearly shows the painter's ignorance. That is not the case with Vatican 35617. Although it is well known that artists traditionally explored epic stories with great inventiveness, the medium of painting nevertheless imposes certain inherent limits, as I have pointed out earlier.[54] While poets retelling stories are able to say that in this version, as you listen, you will hear that Patroklos killed Sarpedon *before* dispatching Pyraichmes, it is more difficult for a painter to do so. If the stories we have heard tell us that Pyraichmes was killed first, we will be baffled or censorious if we see a vase showing him killed afterward. In short, it is difficult for a painter to develop a complicated new plot line on a vase.

The emphasis here is on a *complicated* new plot line. For instance, when Menelaos is shown arming with Thetis beside him on a Leipzig amphora, it is possible either that the painter is referring to some story we do not know or that the inscription naming Me[ne]laos is a mistake for Achilleus, as is commonly insisted.[55] The vase does not provide enough information for us to judge. But when the painter of Vatican 35617 betrays a detailed knowledge of the mythological battle around the ships but makes what appears to be a couple of elementary mistakes from the literary perspective, the case is much stronger for an alternate version of a myth.

Because the present study relies so heavily on the painted inscriptions to identify the figures, we should ask how seriously we may take these labels. For instance, the painters' aim might have been mere ornamentation, or displaying their command of the relatively unknown medium of writing, or competition with other vase-painters who excelled in inscriptions.[56] In the case of Vatican 35617, one would like to think that the painter was attempting to identify the

[53]*ARV*[2] 869.54, which Beazley describes as "enigmatic scenes recalling the mission to Achilles."

[54]I find it interesting that von Steuben stresses the independence from texts that artists enjoyed (e.g., 89–90), but his examples come almost exclusively from material where we lack complete texts. As noted by Lessing 40, the inventiveness displayed by painters in representations of Homeric myth is primarily seen in how they translate from one medium to another, not in wholly recasting the stories.

[55]Leipzig 3327 (not listed in Beazley), Tyrrhenian Group (attributed to the Archippe Group by Bothmer), dated to 540 by Kossatz-Deissmann (70, #196), or a little earlier by Paul (*CVA*, Leipzig II, pl. 21). Both Kossatz-Deissmann and Paul assert that the inscription is a mistake.

[56]The most recent discussion of the use of labels is found in Ahlberg-Cornell 42 and 176–78; reasons given for the ceramic use of inscriptions are ornamentation, display of painter's knowledge of stories and writing, identification of figures, differentiation between similar scenes, desire to gain epic stature, and customers' requests.

warriors he was depicting, especially if he was choosing between several variants that were current. For without inscriptions this picture would immediately become one of those generic battle scenes that might or might not be mythic. More to the point, even if identifying the painted figures was not the artist's primary motivation, it would not follow that the labels were haphazard or erroneous.[57] The exception, of course, might be the illiterate painter who, for whatever reason, scribbled nonsense, but such pretenses to writing are self-evident.[58] It clearly would be more reasonable (and easier) for a literate painter or an artist whose primary aim was decoration to make correct labels than to call Achilleus Menelaos or Pyraichmes Sarpedon. Mistakes are a different matter; but from the epic viewpoint it is surprising how few mistakes can be identified. Hence, while there is no decisive evidence to demonstrate that the Corinthian hydria in the Vatican is following a tradition that differs from our *Iliad*, this interpretation seems more likely than attempts to explain differences between the poetic and painted versions as the results of mistakes, ignorance, or indifference to the customers' bewilderment. As in the case of the Melbourne psykter, we appear to be witnessing a form of the myth in circulation before the *Iliad*'s version had attained canonical status.

III.

The relationship between painted and poetic traditions can be difficult to interpret even in the fifth century. A good example is a painting by Makron (Fig. 6), on which Agamemnon, who is labeled, is shown personally removing Briseis from Achilleus' tent (Talthybios, the herald, is also labeled).[59] Three

[57]Austin 19–20 discusses the fallacy of making a "dichotomy between aesthetics and utility." Cf. Kilmer 181: "Exekias also uses the bidirectionality of the Attic script to considerable advantage: not only decoratively...but to add to the clarity of the content...." Lissarrague 1990: 136, on the other hand, speaks of a case where the "style of writing does not have readability as its chief goal...but strives for ornamental effect." Cf. Lissarrague 1985: 81–82 and 87–88. For more on the decorative aspect of labels, see Hurwit 190–91 and 194 and Lissarrague 1985: 75–76, 1994: 15.

[58]Another exception to the aim of identification is the use of onomatopoeic inscriptions to represent the sound of music or the appearance of singing; examples are Munich 2416 (*ARV*[2] 385.228), Berlin 1966.19 (*Paralipomena* 323: 20.3*bis*) and Eleusis 907 (*ABL* 228.54). Lissarrague 1990: 125–28, who discusses such cases, believes the Eleusis epinetron may be showing genuine musical notation. In another work (1985: 82) Lissarrague has shown that nonsense inscriptions are not necessarily attempts by illiterate painters to make their customers believe they know how to write but a means to heroize a painting by showing that the figures have specific names and are not generic characters.

[59]Louvre G 146 (*ARV*[2] 458.2), skyphos dated to first quarter of fifth century.

other painters (the Brygos Painter, a painter in the manner of the Foundry Painter, and an early Mannerist) follow the same schema by depicting a man leading away a woman by the wrist, but in none of these other cases do inscriptions identify the couple.[60]

These representations, and especially Makron's version in which labels assure a proper identification of the scene, are important to an analysis of the relationship between representations of myth in art and poetry, since in the *Iliad* it is not Agamemnon himself but Eurybates and Talthybios who remove Briseis from Achilleus' compound (1.318–48). One can argue, as will be done below, that Makron's depiction of Agamemnon's personal involvement in taking Briseis reflects a version of the epic story distinct from the *Iliad*'s and in fact earlier. Before making such an assertion, however, one must avoid several pitfalls. To begin with, the interpretation of the Homeric text presents problems that should be examined.

When Agamemnon first threatens to take a prize belonging to another warrior, he says (1.137–39):

> ...ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕλωμαι
> ἢ τεὸν ἢ Αἴαντος ἰὼν γέρας, ἢ Ὀδυσῆος
> ἄξω ἑλών·

As the quarrel heats up, Agamemnon issues a more explicit warning to Achilleus (1.184–85):

> ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρῃον
> αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε....

Nevertheless, he sends Talthybios and Eurybates in his place to take Briseis, asserting that should Achilleus resist handing her over, he himself will proceed to seize her (1.324–25):

> εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώῃσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕλωμαι
> ἐλθὼν σὺν πλεόνεσσι·

[60]Brygos Painter: London E 69 (*ARV*2 369.2), Manner of Foundry Painter: Tarquinia 5291 (*ARV*2 405.1: "hero leading a woman [Agamemnon and Briseis?]"), Early Mannerist: once Göttingen, Lullies (*ARV*2 588.80, *Paralipomena* 393).

After Achilleus accedes to Briseis' removal, the Phthian hero informs Thetis that Agamemnon had dishonored him (1.356): ἐλὼν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας, αὐτὸς ἀπούρας, a clause that is repeated by Thetis to Zeus (1.507), by Thersites (2.240), and, with slight variations, both by Nestor (ἔβης κλισίηθεν ἀπούρας, 9.107) and by Agamemnon himself (γέρας αὐτὸς ἀπηύρων, 19.89).

The exposition is strange: despite the fact that Agamemnon never takes an active part in the physical seizure of Briseis, the characters speak of him as though he had. G. S. Kirk struggles with the evidence as follows:

> The possibility begins to present itself that what began as a mere threat is becoming established in the minds of some of the characters—and, at odd moments, of the poet himself?—as what actually happened. There is still no compelling need to presuppose two clearly distinct versions, in one of which the king removed the girl in person, in the other of which he did not; but by now one may be more inclined to accept, as well as the certainty of much psychological insight, the possibility of a degree of oral inconsistency and imprecision.[61]

One of the problems in interpreting these passages from the *Iliad* is the meaning of the words αὐτός and ἰών. Annette Teffeteller, in a model examination of the use of the word "go" in combination with other verbs (called "go-and-V" constructions) concludes about the Agamemnon passages:

> The expression of defiance and the marking of action as extraordinary is, I suggest, the semantic weight carried by the participle ἰών in Agamemnon's first, general threat at *Il.* 1.137. He says in effect, "If I don't get what I want, by God, I'll go and take somebody else's prize!" αὐτός here reinforces the verb ἕλωμαι, marking the arbitrary "taking," not the "going" of ἰών. At 184 he shifts from a general to a specific threat and from a false to a genuine co-ordination, in which "go" carries its full force as a verb of motion: "I'll go myself to your hut and I'll take your prize!"[62]

Teffeteller further explains the use of αὐτός in αὐτὸς ἀπούρας as marking an intensive rather than a strictly personal usage:

> For Achilles, as for Nestor, the issue is clear-cut: Agamemnon's flouting of accepted conventions of justice; the personal agency of the girl's removal is irrelevant. Nestor recognizes, and Achilles emphasizes

[61]Kirk 1985: 72.
[62]Teffeteller 19.

> repeatedly, that the seizure of Briseis constitutes an arbitrary act of authority on the part of Agamemnon, wholly inappropriate and unjustified, as Agamemnon himself eventually concedes when he agrees to the "Reconciliation" of Book 19 (85ff.) , and it is this aspect of the injury that is referred to in the phrase αὐτὸς ἀπούρας.[63]

Hence, we can distinguish between Agamemnon's two threats of physically taking Briseis himself (1.184–85, 324–25) and a series of passages where Agamemnon's responsibility for removing Briseis is stressed, even though the commander's personal agency in seizing her is not being denoted. Further, we do not have to resort to interpretations of "oral inconsistency and imprecision" or, in these unitarian times, to later intrusions that some late redactor was too stupid or lazy to reconcile. Nevertheless, when we consider the ceramic material, especially Makron's skyphos, we have an important piece of evidence that was not mentioned by either Kirk or Teffeteller.

First, let us observe how the discrepancy between Homer and Makron is explained by Knud Friis Johansen, whose *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* aimed to demonstrate the artists' dependence on the Homeric poem:

> That the king in person takes part in the abduction, contrary to what is the case in the Iliad, is most likely occasioned by the threat he rapped out beforehand about coming in person to take the girl by force if Achilles were to prove unwilling to let her go;[64] or by Achilles' later accusation that Agamemnon had carried her off personally. But it may of course merely be due to his dominant part in the story.[65]

It seems unlikely that painters ever depicted what mythic characters had imagined or threatened to do in poems; at least no other examples have been identified. And, as Teffeteller has shown, Achilleus did not say that

[63]Ibid. 17–18. Kirk 1985: 72 anticipates this claim when he asserts "[the contradiction] cannot be explained away by arguing that αὐτὸς ἀπούρας implies no more than that it was Agamemnon's willful decision; αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε here makes that virtually impossible." Nevertheless, this last quoted phrase comes from the height of the quarrel and is never acted upon. Therefore, it seems questionable whether the repetition of αὐτὸς in αὐτὸς ἀπούρας and αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε makes the meaning of the phrases equivalent.

[64]Here, in a note, Friis Johansen cites 1.184–85 and 324–25, a striking confirmation of his skill in literary ability. For, although I believe that the interpretation of the Homeric citations about Briseis' abduction has progressed since his time, Friis Johansen had already focused on the essential passages and did not pay attention to lines like 1.137–39 that have beguiled some subsequent philologists.

[65]Friis Johansen 157 and 160 (interrupted by illustrations).

Agamemnon had personally removed Briseis. But Friis Johansen's final explanation, based upon Agamemnon's dominant role in the episode, may help to explain the difference between the vase and the poem—and in that case the variance would be ascribed to the painter's inventiveness.

Another consideration is the possible influence of tragedy. Because the embassy to Achilleus shown on the other side of Makron's vase probably depends on Aeschylus' *Myrmidons*,[66] it is possible that the representation of Agamemnon's personal role in removing Briseis is due to that play, although no other evidence supporting such a possibility has been adduced. Further, London E 76, another important vase showing the abduction of Briseis, is also dependent on Aeschylus' *Myrmidons* but clearly shows two unnamed heralds performing the function.[67]

One final consideration, akin to Friis Johansen's point, is that Makron, and possibly the other vase-painters who show a man removing a woman, was misled by the ambiguity of phrases like αὐτὸς ἀπούρας, an understandable confusion considering the debate the phrase has aroused among philologists today. Nevertheless, any painter who had heard a version of the *Iliad* similar to ours would have known that, regardless of this phrasing, Agamemnon had not personally taken Briseis but had sent two heralds in his place. And perhaps here is the crux of the matter: either these painters did not know our *Iliad*, which may sound unlikely for artists living in the first quarter of the fifth century, or they knew other versions of the tale as well.

While it is entirely possible that Makron improvised Agamemnon's personal role in taking Briseis, one wonders why he would create such a story. What would the prospective customer think of such an innovation? The invention would be understandable from the context but does not even add to the drama of the scene, for on his skyphos Makron emphasizes not Briseis' removal but the embassy scene on the obverse (as is indicated by the fact that Diomedes, who is shown beside Briseis' abduction on the reverse, belongs to the embassy scene). If inventiveness does not appear to be a likely factor, the remaining possibility, then, is that Makron depicted another known version of the removal; and, if so, our analysis of the passages from the *Iliad* reveals an

[66]Döhle 99 (Group I, #1); for the relation between fifth-century representations of the Embassy and Aeschylus' *Myrmidons*, see Döhle 95–125.

[67]This point is not decisive, however, because Döhle 125 has demonstrated the use of multiple influences in vase-representations, including tragic and epic sources. The London vase (E 76) is the work of the Briseis Painter (*ARV*^{2} 406.1).

interesting trace of this other story. For if the poet of the *Iliad* knew a version of the myth in which Agamemnon personally seized Briseis, and if the poet further emphasized that other account by alluding to it twice when he had Agamemnon threaten to take Briseis himself (*Il.* 1.184–85, 324–25), he showed his mastery of narrative by ultimately bypassing that other version and instead characterizing Agamemnon as a leader who avoids personal participation in diplomatic or even military difficulties, exactly what Achilleus had accused him of doing during the quarrel (οὐδ' ἂν ἐμοί γε / τετλαίη κύνεός περ ἐὼν εἰς ὧπα ἰδέσθαι).[68] Hence, the interpretation that makes the most sense of all the evidence is that in one variation of the Iliadic story Agamemnon personally abducted Briseis, that Makron depicted this version, and that our *Iliad* rejects this story but nevertheless alludes to it in the wording of Agamemnon's threats.

This type of variant epic tradition may also be glimpsed in vase-paintings when more than one vase refers to a story that we do not know from Homer. For instance, on the Boston pyxis Nausikaa's companions are labeled Phylonoe, Leukippe, and Kleopatra, although Homer provides no specific names for her attendants (the companion who appears to Nausikaa in the dream is identified only as the daughter of Dymas, *Od.* 6.22). A cup by another painter provides the names Phylonoe and "Kleotra," the latter clearly a miswriting of Kleopatra.[69] The name Hippotion also appears on several vases; and although it may be merely another horsey name, it may refer to a mythic figure known to the painters from oral performances (the name would scan in a hexameter).[70]

The naming of Nausikaa's companions on the Boston pyxis may demonstrate one aspect of how the epic tradition developed, viz. by filling out details of traditional stories. For instance, Homer identifies only fifteen of the suitors, but [Apollodoros] provides the names of 136 suitors (7.26–30), a number that is especially surprising because Homer states that there were only 108 (*Od.* 16.246–53). Similarly, Homer furnishes specific names for only five

[68]*Il.* 9.372–73. Cf. 1.158–68 and Lowenstam 1993a: 104–5. For simplified stories on vases, see Lowenstam 1992: 187.

[69]Hauser 23. The vases are Boston 04.18 (*ARV*[2] 1177.48) and Boston 99.539 (*ARV*[2] 1142.1). For Phylonoe and Kleopatra, see Schöne 167. Shapiro 1995: 159 suggests that the three names of Nausikaa's companions on Boston 04.18 may be derived from Sophocles' *Nausikaa* or *Plyntriai*, Polygnotus' pinax in the Pinakotheke, or "real people, friends of an Athenian girl who received this pyxis as a wedding gift."

[70]Amyx 554 believes that the names of Hippotion and Hippichos are "unheroic intruders into the heroic setting in which they are portrayed."

of Odysseus' companions, but later authors supply twenty additional names.[71] Hence, the epic and mythic traditions continued to fill in the details of the stories and especially the names of the characters in the earlier poems, a tendency that can also be seen on the vases. For example, a number of Attic and Corinthian vases label the hunters in the Calydonian boar hunt, but the lists rarely correspond.[72] In addition, a book scroll painted on a cup with the text hοι hάμ' 'Ερακλέει· 'Ιόλεο[ς] may show the suppletive process in action, a roster of the companions of Herakles listed in a school commentary for some unidentified poem.[73]

IV.

The identifying labels on vases have proven important to this analysis so far; but, in addition to these examples of writing, the artists sometimes inscribed actual verses on vases. These poetic lines furnish another opportunity to determine the painters' sources and to test the degree to which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* influenced Greek painting. The legible scrolls depicted on Greek vases, almost all of which contain poetry,[74] inform us about the fifth century only. There are four instances that especially deserve our attention, the most famous of which is Berlin 2285, on which a bearded man holds a scroll before a young boy that reads

ΜΟΙΣΑΜΟΙ/ΑΦΙΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΝ/ΕΥΡΩΝΑΡΧΟΜΑΙ/ΑΕΙΝΔΕΝ,

that is,

Μοῖσα μοι—ἀ‹μ›φὶ Σκάμανδρον εὐρ‹ρ›οον ἄρχομ' ἀεί[ν]δε‹ι›ν—.

The line is a perfect hexameter, although it seems uncertain whether the two parts of the line are to be construed together.[75] Havelock has suggested that "the

[71]The names are listed in Lowenstam 1995: 205 n. 28.

[72]Lowenstam 1992: 186 n. 72 provides a bibliography on the Calydonian boar hunt in art.

[73]Immerwahr 1973: 143. Beazley *ARV*[2] 1670 calls the work depicted on the cup "a forerunner of 'Hyginus.'" The vase is Getty 86.AE.324 (once Bareiss 63; *ARV*[2] 1670.781.4*bis*, *Paralipomena* 417, *Addenda*[2] 288), dated to 460 B.C.E.

[74]The one apparent exception of a poetic text is the cup mentioned in the previous note. The essential works on the texts of the scrolls are Beazley 1948 and Immerwahr 1964 and 1973. Other useful references for writing on vases include Birt, Ferrari, Lissarrague 1990: 123–39, Immerwahr 1990: 99 n. 5, Hurwit, Csapo and Miller, and Keuls.

[75]Berlin 2285 (*ARV*[2] 431.48). Immerwahr 1964: 19: "[it] conflates two ideas: 'Muse, to me...' and 'I begin to sing of wide-flowing Skamandros.'" Keuls calls the line "garbled." Edmonds 5 disagrees: "In spite of their difficulties, the words...Μοῖσα μοι—ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον

artist tells the viewer of the vase by a rather cute device the passages which the pupil is supposed to be reciting. Or else, there is indicated a procedure whereby the pupil is given a cue in the opening line and is expected to go on from there."[76]

What is interesting from our perspective is that, although the verse reveals Iliadic subject matter, neither the actual line nor either of its two components is known to us from our *Iliad*. Nevertheless, the line is as traditional as any line in Homer with three Homeric formulae (μοῦσα μοι, ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον εὔροον, ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν), Homeric correption, and the strange but usual Homeric scansion of the second syllable of ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον as a short.[77] While we might expect a line from our *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, Douris has chosen a line—or two pieces of lines—from other Iliadic poetry.

Our expectations for finding recognizable Homeric poetry are further frustrated by the other lines found on scrolls painted on vases. On a vase in the manner of Douris, we see a papyrus-roll that reads Ἑρμῆ‹ν› ἀείδω, which is how *Homeric Hymn* 18 begins. On another with the title ἔπεα πτερόεντα, the partially unrolled scroll reads θεοὶ ἠερίων/ἐπέων/ἄρχομαι αιναττιν.[78] Again we hear Homeric echoes but not our Homer, which may be explained by the scene painted: the scroll is held by Sappho, whose name is inscribed, and the meter confirms the lyric context.[79] Another instance is the inscription HOΣΔE/MOIKA/IMAIO/NEΠΠEΣ for which Beazley suggested something

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κτλ. are undoubtedly intended for the first lines of an epic poem." Lissarrague 1990: 137–38 also appears to accept the line. Chamoux implausibly emends EYPΩN to ‹ἔφ›ευρ' ὧν.

[76]Havelock 203. Cf. Thomas 21. In contrast, Lissarrague 1990: 138–39 sees the scenes "not [as] a simple transcription of everyday life," but "the prominence of the poetic text foreshadows the delights of the symposia to come."

[77]μοῦσα μοι: *h. Ven.* 1; cf. *Il.* 2.761. ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον εὔρροον: cf. εὔρροον ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον, *Il.* 7.329 (on such modifications in word order, see Hainsworth 1968: 38, group a; the epithet εὔρροος is again applied to the Skamandros at *Il.* 21.130). ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν: *h.Cer.* 1, *h.Hom.* 13.1, 9.8, 11.1, 16.1, 22.1, 26.1, 28.2. On the metrics, see Chamoux 7–8 (with bibliography at 8 n. 1) and Hainsworth 1993: 319.

[78]Immerwahr 1964: 26. Beazley 1928: 9–10 n. 2 reads "θεοι ηεριων επεων αρχομα.ατ..ν.τ.ν," where the periods "represent misshapen and uncertain letters." He continues, "The last part, where the roll narrows, is evidently meaningless."

[79]Cf. Turner 14: "The poetess is reminding herself of the words she is to sing." On Louvre G 457 (*ARV*[2] 1254.80) a man labeled Linos unrolls a scroll that reads VNEN/ΘEONAI, which Beazley reconstructs as ‹σωφροσ›ύνην / θεῶν αἰ‹ειγενετάων›. Even if these supplements with their Homeric formulae are correct, nothing in our texts corresponds to it, and the names Linos and Musaeus (the figure shown next to Linos) suggest a lyric source. Similarly the inscriptions on Oxford G 138 (*ARV*[2] 326.93) and Berlin 2388 (not listed in Beazley) appear to be related to lyric.

like ὡς δή μοι καὶ μᾶλ‹λ›ον ἐπέσ‹συτο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ›, while Immerwahr sees a didactic text of the sort ὃς δή μοι καὶ μᾶλ‹λ›ον ἐπέσχ‹ε νόον καὶ λῆμα›. The collocation δή μοι καί, or δέ μοι καί, does not occur in Homer, but μοι καὶ μᾶλλον appears twice.[80] Finally, mention should be made of Berlin 2322 (not listed in Beazley), on which a volume is entitled Χιρώνεια, a pseudo-Hesiodic title.

Hence none of the verses inscribed on fifth-century vases relates to our Homeric poems. The situation is similar on those sixth- and fifth-century vases on which painters inscribed the words spoken by painted figures. As is appropriate for vases depicting symposium scenes, most spoken lines belong to skolia and lyric poems.[81] But, on the famous amphora by the Kleophrades painter, we do have an epic bard singing a song that begins ὦδέ πότ' ἐν Τύρινθι, an epic hemistich from a poem unknown to us.[82] The hemistich, like almost all poetic lines on vases, suggests the beginning of a poem.[83]

Of the approximately two dozen poetic lines painted on vases in the sixth and fifth centuries, consequently, not one corresponds to any passage in our poems, although one does pertain to Iliadic subject matter and four probably relate to epic. This fact suggests an ignorance of the Homeric poems as we have

[80]*Od.* 8.154 and 18.22, the latter with ἐμοὶ.

[81]E.g., skolia are quoted on the tripod pyxis by the Amasis painter (Temple of Aphaia, Aegina), Munich 8935 (*ARV*^{2} 1619: 14.3*bis*, *Paralipomena* 322), Cab. méd. 546 (*ARV*^{2} 372.26), and calyx-krater fragments by Euphronios in a private collection (*ARV*^{2} 1619.3*bis*); garbled Sappho on Louvre G 30 (*ARV*^{2} 15.9); Praxilla on London 95.10–27.2 (unlisted by Beazley); possible Theognis on Munich 2646 (*ARV*^{2} 437.128) and Copenhagen 13365 (*ARV*^{2} 185.32); Theognis on Athens NM 1357 (unlisted by Beazley); possible Theognis or Mimnermus on Villa Giulia 50329 (*ARV*^{2} 872.26); probably Hipponax on Berlin, Mus. für Völkerkunde 10984 (not in Beazley); other possible lyric on Compiègne 1106 (unlisted in Beazley), Munich 2636 (*ARV*^{2} 317.16), Erlangen 454 (*ARV*^{2} 339.49), and Boston 10.193 (*ARV*^{2} 1567.12). As Keuls points out, "most of the relevant scenes are applied to symposium ware." For the role of lyric at the symposium, see Rösler, Lissarrague 1990: 123–39, Siedentopf, and Hurwit 194–96.

[82]London E 270 (*ARV*^{2} 183.15). For the hemistich, compare *Il.* 2.559. Shapiro 1993: 105 n. 17 suggests that the line may come from a poem about Herakles (cf. Powell 1997: 190), which, if true, would then indicate the lateness of the poem (because there are no early poems dedicated to Herakles: see Burkert 1987: 47—but cf. Brommer 1986: 55–67 and especially 77–78 n. 82, and Huxley 99–112). Herington 225 n. 21, asks, "do we have here the traces of a lost epic account of the deeds of Tydeus or Diomede, the lords of Tiryns?"

[83]Edmonds 5, Immerwahr (1964) 47. An exception to the rule that beginnings of poems are shown may occur on the pyxis on loan to the Antikenmuseum in Basel, on which, according to Immerwahr 1973: 145, a woman is looking at the end of a text.

them, an intentional avoidance, or a lesser authority than we would usually assign to the Homeric poems.

If we look at earlier metrical inscriptions from the eighth and seventh centuries found on stelae and statues and as graffiti on vases, the same disregard or ignorance of the Homeric poems can be observed. Although the formulaic language of epic is employed in the earliest recorded Greek inscriptions, no verse indicates a knowledge of the Homeric poems as we have them nor provides any clear evidence that they depend on our poems rather than on the tradition of myth and poetry that also created our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[84] The one moot instance is the Nestor Cup inscription (ca. 735–720 B.C.E.), which many commentators believe embodies an allusion to *Il.* 11. 632–37 and which has even been used as a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the *Iliad*.[85] Despite such claims, unique possessions such as Achilleus' spear, Agamemnon's scepter, and Odysseus' bow form a well-known *topos* of Archaic epic and must be traditional,[86] and there is nothing about the Nestor Cup inscription that indicates any knowledge of the particular Homeric context in Book 11 in which the cup is described. For instance, the cup's heaviness, elaborate supports (πυθμένες), particular ornamentation with doves, and medicinal use are ignored in the inscription.[87] As one critic comments, the Homeric passage in no way suggests

[84]The most important inscriptions in this respect are the grave-stele of Deinias (*IG* IV.358), the Dipylon jug (Athens NM 192), the Pithekoussai skyphos (Ischia Mus.), the Mantiklos statuette (Boston 03.977), and the Nikandre statue (Athens NM 1, *IG* XII.5.2), all discussed in Powell 1991: 158–71, although with conclusions differing from those of the present investigation.

[85]Powell 1991: 208–9. Stanley 403 n. 48 finds it unreasonable to use the inscription as a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the poem.

[86]It seems possible that references on vases to Nestor's cup might also have been a *topos*. For a cup from Eretria that possibly reads ---]νος τὸ ποτ[έριον and another from Pithekoussai that reads εὔποταν (ν uncertain), see Johnston and Andriomenou. Silk 4 admits that "the cup might have well been well known independently [of the *Iliad*]," and Burkert 1976: 20 also accepts the possibility that the cup is responding to an oral tradition. S. West 1994: 14 asserts: "A tradition about [Nestor's] wonderful cup belonged, I believe, to the poetry, less sophisticated than the Iliad, which celebrated the exploits of his youth."

[87]Powell 1991: 167 n. 124 and 208 argues against the general view expressed here but provides no evidence to refute it. I find nothing to support Powell's own interpretation of the Homeric passage (1991: 163–67 and 208–9): the assertions of Homer's "subtle humor," "wry..., mock-heroic style," and "old Nestor's love of tippling" are neither plausible nor substantiated in our Homeric poems. Stephanie West 1994: 11 also argues against such interpretations: "We are not meant to see humour in the contrast between the class vessel and elaborate artifact suited to an epic hero; the inscription expresses a supernatural reality lying beneath an unassuming surface." Faraone, especially 84–97, examines the incantatory aspects of the Nestor Cup inscription, rejects the suggestion that there is an allusion to our *Iliad*, and

that Nestor's cup is a good or convenient cup from which to drink, as it is described in the inscription (εὔποτος).[88] Further, it is a mistake to speak of Nestor as a character limited to the Homeric poems, because he appeared in many other epics, in any of which his cup could have played a greater role than in the *Iliad*.[89] Another consideration, though less decisive and perhaps circular in argument, is that, if no other verse inscribed on vases makes a direct literary allusion to our Homeric poems from the eighth to the fifth centuries, how likely is it that the one instance that does would date to the third quarter of the eighth century? Nevertheless, as mentioned, the Nestor Cup inscription indicates knowledge only of a cup belonging to a Nestor, not the cup described in Homer. Hence, we conclude that vases from the eighth century through the fifth reveal a curious ignorance or avoidance of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. While the intentional shunning of Homeric verses is possible (Monro's Law comes to mind),[90] there are other and probably better interpretations of the fact that vase-painters show no certain knowledge of our Homeric poems.

V.

Before drawing conclusions from the body of material investigated here, we should first articulate the principles we have employed in trying to identify the most likely reasons for divergences between painted and sung versions of epic myths.

1) Although the painters' impetus for providing labels might not have been primarily to assist in the interpretation of a scene—that is, inscriptions could have been attractive for their ornamental value, or as a means of competing with other, literate, artists—there is no reason to believe that, as an outcome

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suggests that the borrowing may be the other way around: the *Iliad* may have borrowed "hymnic, oracular, and incantatory" language "for some particular poetic emphasis or dramatic impact."

[88]Hansen 42.

[89]M. L. West 1995: 205 says "There is no reason to think that [Nestor's cup] was an invention of the Iliad poet...." Those who demand a direct poetic allusion might consider Kirk's suggestion that, if the Nestor Cup inscription does not refer to our *Iliad*, it alludes to "a separate Pylian poem perhaps used by the main composer of the Iliad" (1962: 283–84). Nestor was a character in the *Cypria*, *Aithiopis*, *Little Iliad*, and *Nostoi*, not to speak of Pylian epics indicated, for instance, by Nestor's story about the battle with the Epeioi (*Il.* 11.671–761). Bölte, especially 343–46, and Mühlestein, especially 163–64, argue that a Pylian epic with Nestor would have reflected historical events, while Frame traces the myth of Nestor to Indo-European motifs. For different sources on the same point, see S. West 1994: 14 n. 24.

[90]Monro 325 observed that the *Odyssey* never alludes to any incident occurring in the *Iliad* (recent bibliography in Nagy 1978: 20–21 and Davies 1989b: 9–10).

of this supposed primary motivation, the vase-painters identified figures with meaningless or mistaken labels. The obvious exception to this rule, nonsense inscriptions, are almost always easily discernible.[91] The number of certain mistakes is very small.

2) The inventiveness of painters is limited by the knowledge of the audience and its ability to make sense of unexpected departures from commonly known stories. As Ahlberg-Cornell has recently observed, "a basic prerequisite of a discussion of mythic/epic representations in early Greek art—and this [is] true of Greek art as a whole—is that the artists always wished to represent motifs which could be understood by the contemporary spectator."[92] Hence, one is not likely to see an Archaic picture of Hektor standing over the body of Achilleus. While Italic art, with its representations of comic plays, might show Aias instead of Kassandra grabbing onto the altar of Athene,[93] there is nothing comparable in Archaic Attic or Corinthian art. And even though Kabiric art, like Italic art, might parody the myths, it does not seem to have changed the main lines of the stories.

3) The more elaborate the depiction of a mythic episode, the less likely it is that its wealth of details has been fabricated by the painter, for it is especially difficult for artists to develop a complicated new plot line on a vase. Again, painters displayed their creativity in how they told their stories, not in recasting mythic narratives into completely new scenes that would not be understood by the viewers.

4) Examples of inventiveness by painters, which we are attempting to differentiate here from depictions of variant stories circulating at the time of ceramic production, are likely to have had artistic explanations. I am referring to the principle enunciated by Dugas when he argued that representations of the sack of Troy seem to diverge from what we know of the poetic narrative because painters drew a visual parallel between the deaths of Astyanax and Troilos.

[91]I say "*almost* always easily discernible," because there are cases like Vienna 3607 (*ABV* 319.10) where the fragmentary label for Achilleus is correct, while Aias, who is shown carrying Achilleus, is identified by a nonsense inscription, which may indicate, as Kossatz-Deissmann 190 says, that Achilleus' name has been copied from somewhere else by an illiterate painter.

[92]Ahlberg-Cornell 10 (also 41, 178, 185). Cf. Chamoux 7: "[Le] propos [de l'art grec] est avant tout d'être intelligible." The same principle is used in Taplin's *Comic Angels*, as has been pointed out by Slater.

[93]Villa Giulia 50279 (*RVP* no. 2/130).

With the aid of these four principles, we have examined a series of visual representations of epic events, largely in order to distinguish between instances of artistic inventiveness and reliance on variant epic stories. In summarizing the evidence presented above, we will classify our results in terms of the relative certainty that they adhere to variant traditions, placing the paintings discussed into the categories "most likely," "likely," and "difficult to determine."

The first of the three most likely instances of an alternate tradition reflected on vases is Vatican 35617, which shows a detailed knowledge of epic traditions but does not agree with the chronological sequence of our Homeric narrative. Because the painter has such extensive familiarity with epic traditions, which we can recognize from our knowledge of the *Iliad*, it seems unlikely that he would make two elementary errors in chronology. The second example of a very likely use of a variant story occurs in Euphronios' painting of the removal of Sarpedon, where a framing figure is labeled as Leodamas. The fact that a Laodamas is identified as a fellow Lycian by Quintus Smyrnaeus but is not so known in our *Iliad* seems beyond coincidence and is best ascribed to variant traditions known to Euphronios. Third, the names of Phylonoe and Kleopatra as companions of Nausikaa are very likely derived from another tradition, because they appear on two vases by different painters but are not mentioned in the *Odyssey*.

Turning to "likely" cases, we can list two groups of scenes. The first is that of Patroklos' funeral games. Four of Kleitias' charioteers differ in name, and Homer's winner is shown in third place on that vase. The independence from our Iliadic version is probably confirmed by Sophilos' version of the games, in which the winner of the race is most likely named [---]ios, but because it is not certain that this inscription identifies the charioteer, this case cannot be considered more than likely. Further, we cannot be certain that the figure shown in the foremost position on either vase is meant to be considered the winner.[94] The second instance of a likely dependence on variant traditions occurs on the skyphos by Makron on which Agamemnon is shown personally seizing Briseis. As I have argued above, probably in one variation of the Iliadic story Agamemnon personally removed Briseis, Makron depicted this version, and our *Iliad* alludes to it through Agamemnon's threats.

[94]Although Diomedes is shown behind Odysseus and Automedon on the François Vase, the artist may have intended him to be the center of attention by placing him in the middle of the panel. I owe this observation to Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell.

There are four instances of vase-representations considered above whose relation to variant epic traditions is too difficult to determine. The most interesting is Melbourne 1643/D4, which depicts a series of combats with heroes known from the *Iliad* (with one exception, Eurymachos) participating in battles that do not occur in our poem (again with one exception, Menestheus confronting Glaukos). The analysis above indicates that motifs known to us from the passages in the *Iliad* in which these heroes appear (e.g., coming to aid a fellow warrior in distress, or brothers dying together) seem to occur in the painting too; but it is virtually impossible to tell whether the Inscriptions Painter employed the *Iliad* as a source and embellished it in his painting or whether both the painter and poet were independently drawing material from the same tradition. The principle that it is difficult for a painter to develop a complicated new plot line on a vase receives its most severe test in this case; and although this principle leads me to believe that the psykter is associated with alternate traditions and not with our *Iliad*, I do not think that any certainty in this judgment is possible.

The other examples for which a decision cannot be made about the choice between artistic inventiveness and alternate traditions are the representations of the battle between Achilleus and Memnon as painted by the Tyszkiewicz Painter and by the O.L.L. Group, respectively, where one shows Melanippos and the other Phokos fallen between the fighting heroes. Phokos, a relative of Achilleus, is especially intriguing, but there is no real evidence to determine why the painter showed this figure. Finally, the repetition of Hippotion on vases suggests that he might belong to some myth unknown to us, but such horsey names are too common to place much trust in them.

The tentative conclusion here, then, is that some Greek vases furnish evidence of epic stories that, though related to the Iliadic and Odyssean traditions from which the Homeric poems themselves descend, do not depend on our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. If we now take up the converse of the above conclusion, inquiring whether or not there is evidence that any artists exhibit definite knowledge of our Homeric poems during this same period, we might consider the verdict pronounced by R.M. Cook in his article "Art and Epic in Archaic Greece":

> So it seems that there is little or no evidence that artists in this period [675–530 B.C.E.] knew the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* themselves or, if one

> or two knew them, that all the others did. Conversely, there is no evidence that they did not know those poems.[95]

This statement requires elaboration.

First, Cook wisely refuses to ascribe representations like those portraying the blinding of Polyphemos to our Homeric poems.[96] Although such depictions demonstrate the currency in the seventh century, and later, of a story about a giant, most likely Polyphemos, blinded by humans, there is no evidence to demonstrate that these paintings were inspired by our *Odyssey* and not by other poems or popular stories. On the other hand, Cook's comment that there is "little or no evidence" that painters knew our poems is based on his finding that only two works of all the material he surveyed "[show] knowledge of an epic poem." These pictures deserve attention. The first is the battle between Agamemnon and Koon over the body of the latter's brother, which was one of over thirty scenes that were depicted on the Chest of Kypselos. Cook argues that "Koon is unknown outside this action in the *Iliad* and so one may reasonably regard him as the poet's invention." This argument is questionable (Homer and the artist could have been influenced by the same source or different sources about the same story), as is Cook's willingness to attribute originality to Homer in respect to anything unknown from any other source.[97] The hexameters that Pausanias reports were inscribed on this scene of the chest (5.19.4), though epic in nature, are not taken from the *Iliad.* Furthermore, because of the brevity of Pausanias' description, which consists of only two sentences, we must be even more cautious than usual in arriving at judgments about a lost artwork purely on the basis of a literary report.

The second work that Cook believes to be dependent on Homer is the plaque from Penteskouphia depicting Di[omedes] fighting over the body of

[95]R. M. Cook 1983: 5. Snodgrass in his forthcoming work (*The "Homer Effect"*) uses Cook's statistics (along with those of Fittchen, Kannicht, and Ahlberg-Cornell) and comes to the same conclusion, namely that our Homeric poems were known but not widely used (see above, n. 6).

[96]The earliest examples are Argos C 149, the Eleusis Amphora (no inv. number), and Rome Mus. Conserv. 172. Janko's assumption that the *Odyssey* must be earlier than these representations of Polyphemos is one of what Van Wees 1994: 146 calls the "rather arbitrary assumptions" Janko uses to determine his absolute chronology for the dates of the Homeric poems.

[97]Combellack's 1950 article is still a valuable antidote to critics' eagerness to find aspects of Homer's originality; Nagy 1992: 30 has dealt with the subject more recently. Snodgrass in his forthcoming work also puts great stock in the Chest of Kypselos and argues that Koon is original to Homer.

[Panda]ros, while Athene acts as charioteer, [Sth]enelos stands behind her, and Teu[kros] crouches to shoot an arrow.[98] Although this important work does not correspond exactly with the Homeric narrative at *Iliad* 5.166–346 (e.g., Athene becomes Diomedes' charioteer later in the poem, and Teukros does not appear in Book 5),[99] it is the most detailed work of art that appears to agree with Homer. Nevertheless, such correspondence does not necessarily imply the artist's knowledge of our *Iliad*, for the story could have been told not only in our *Iliad* but also in other accounts, one or more of which were known to the painter.[100] Yet postulating ignorance of the Homeric poems works conversely too, as Cook asserts: there is no evidence that the painters did not know our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, nor is it possible to imagine what sort of evidence one might adduce in order to demonstrate that. Nevertheless, the present analysis of poetic lines quoted by the vase-painters and used by other artisans from the eighth to the fifth centuries does suggest an intriguing conclusion: although painters were quoting lines from epic, including one pertaining to Iliadic subject matter, for some reason or other they never cite or allude to our Homeric poems.

VI.

Thus far, we have identified a number of vase-representations containing Iliadic and Odyssean subject matter that do not correspond with our Homeric poems. In addition to the influence of other poems and stories, there are three other possible explanations for this discrepancy.

The first justification is that the painters forgot the Homeric versions or made mistakes in their own works; the second is that the traditional independence of artists was even greater than is usually assumed. While it is possible that one or more of the differences between the painted and sung versions of the Homeric stories can be attributed to mistakes or ignorance of poems in wide circulation, it is unlikely that the majority of the cases can be ascribed to this cause, and, as mentioned above, the number of obvious mistakes is very small. In addition, it has been argued above that the painters were probably not indifferent to the labels they painted, even if, as is sometimes alleged,[101] the primary impetus for painting them was ornamentation. The second explanation, the conventional thesis of artists' inventiveness, has been

[98]Berlin F764 (Amyx 604), R. M. Cook 1983: 3 and 5.

[99]See Friis Johansen 57–61 and R. M. Cook 1983: 3, who mention attempts to obviate these discrepancies by arguing that the two pieces of the relief do not belong together.

[100]Cf. Ahlberg-Cornell 186 for the principle.

[101]See above, nn. 56–57.

treated above, where we have arrived at the conclusion that the types of differences found (e.g., different chronologies in complex story lines, different identifications for traditional figures) are not the kind of departures that painters would make if they wanted their audience to understand the epic stories they were identifying with labels.

A third possible explanation is that vase depictions that do not correspond with our Homeric poems were inspired by "non-professional" narration of epic stories. Cook, who dismisses dependence on either Homeric or lost non-Homeric poems, argues as follows:

> It is easier to look for an alternate source of the legends illustrated by artists; and by elimination there remain only folk tales. These must have been much more prevalent than is often comprehended and there is evidence for their survival long after the Archaic period and for the persistence of local variations. Such tales, to judge by recorded folk tales elsewhere, may be well supplied with details that are not strictly necessary to the action....Greek artists did not regularly or often make deliberate use of epic poetry for their subjects, but preferred the folk tales they knew, probably from childhood.[102]

It should be noted again that Cook is referring to local traditions and indigenous folklore with his term "folk tales" and not to folktales in the technical sense.[103] More recently, Snodgrass has made the same point in regard to some Geometric pottery:

> The legends will have included a substantial body of primarily local traditions, of the kind that often surfaces in later classical literature, sometimes to the embarrassment of the writers who retail it, because of its predictable inconsistency with the (by then) more widely accepted versions. It is no wonder, then, that the attempt to match the pictures on their vases with the episodes known from epic has been a failure: no wonder, but also no reflection on the likelihood of legendary subjects having been portrayed.[104]

[102]R. M. Cook 1983: 5–6.

[103]Cook's use of the term "folk tales" is problematic, as is made clear in Kirk's distinction between folktales and myths (1974: 33–34): "Folktales are concerned essentially with the life, problems, and aspirations of ordinary people, the folk. They are not aristocratic in tone. Greek myths, on the other hand, when they are not about gods, are about 'heroes,' aristocratic figures far removed by birth and context from the ordinary people." Patroklos' funeral games belong to myth, not folktales.

[104]Snodgrass 1987: 164.

The use of local traditions that were outgrowths of the epic myths cannot be doubted, and it seems possible that some of the stories treated above (e.g., those of Eurymachos and Melanippos) belong to such local lore, as is suggested by the fact that these stories were not widely known. Nevertheless, tales of this sort about which we have information (for instance, numerous stories recorded by Pausanias) tend to anchor a panhellenic myth to a particular locale. For instance, the Spartans could show not only the very place in the agora where Ikarios held the competition for the hand of Penelope but also, outside of Sparta, the statue of Aidos, which was erected to mark the spot where Penelope indicated to her father that her first duty was to her husband. According to Pausanias, the story goes that after Odysseus had won Penelope's hand and was taking her back to Ithaka, Ikarios had followed and tried to convince her to stay in Sparta.[105] This tale, known only to the Spartans, is clearly a local story, because the *Odyssey* does not even tell us Ikarios' homeland. A more pertinent example of local lore in regard to Attic vase-painting is the role Menestheus plays in Athenian painting, one that is greater than one would expect from the Homeric poems.[106]

Hence, while local traditions should not be discounted, one wonders why the Athenians would have local myths about Patroklos' funeral games, in which Odysseus won in one version and [---]ios in another. Similarly, what connection can one imagine between Corinthian folktales and the depiction of the battle between Patroklos, Sarpedon, and Pyraichmes painted on Vatican 35617?

When Cook asserts that the painters "preferred the folk tales they knew, probably from childhood," he raises another issue. Would the stories learned during childhood about the myths of Achilleus and Odysseus be as detailed as the long poems we have inherited? One would think that non-professional story-telling would tend to simplify stories, not to make them more or equally complex. So again, it is hard to imagine that the painter of Vatican 35617 remembered from childhood the story he depicted on that vase.[107]

[105]Paus. 3.12.1, 3.20.10–11. The story is known from no other source. [Apollod.] 3.10.9 presents a different story.

[106]For a brief outline, see Simon 1992. Boardman 1978: 21–24 argues that representations of the game of draughts between Aias and Achilleus have local significance in Athens.

[107]Lenny Muellner points out to me that the idea that children were told epic tales is ethnocentric: do we in fact know that Iliadic and Odyssean stories were told to Greek children? There is evidence for the practice in the fourth century (Pl. *R.* 377a–79e) but not in the earlier period we are discussing.

If we have found Iliadic and Odyssean vase-representations that do not correspond with our Homeric poems and whose differences we cannot ascribe to painters' mistakes, artistic inventiveness, or local folklore, the remaining explanation is that the paintings were inspired in the sixth century by variants in the Iliadic and Odyssean traditions, by lost epic or lyric songs, most or all of which may never have been written down, and in the fifth century by similar poems or tragedies. The depiction of Patroklos' funeral games known to us in three versions (two painted) with three different victors suggests that, while the games were an essential part of the Achilleus-story in circulation, there was great flexibility in the actual details. A singer on three different occasions may have related three different versions, or three different singers may have sung their own versions. Similar variability is suggested for the details of how Briseis was taken from Achilleus' tent. As Stephanie West says, "fluidity and constant reconstitution of its material are characteristic of oral heroic poetry."[108] In the interactive Greek culture of the sixth and early fifth centuries, that process may have been reflected by the painters, whose craft also enjoyed a certain freedom in its artistic fluctuation.

The conclusion that lost epic, and probably lyric poetry,[109] influenced vase-painters in the Archaic period in turn has far-reaching implications, because one must ask how these variant accounts could not only circulate but even win the favor of painters at the expense of the prestigious Homeric poems. In fact, the thesis that lost poems with Iliadic and Odyssean material influenced vase-painters in the sixth century suggests that either 1) it was not until the sixth century or later that our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed in the approximate form in which we have inherited them, or 2) our Homeric poems took their general form at the presently accepted date, the eighth or early seventh centuries B.C.E., but their proliferation was somehow delayed. As a result, they did not become authoritative, at least in Athens and Corinth—the production sites of most of the vases discussed here—until the last third of the sixth century or even later.

[108]West in Heubeck *et al.* 33. Cf. Lord 1960: 100–101. For the parallelism between the processes of Greek oral poetry and vase-painting, see Lowenstam 1992: 189–91.

[109]Lyric poetry must be considered a possibility, both because we know of lyric with Trojan stories (e.g., Sapph. 44 LP) and because at least one vase, the Menelas stand, appears to show a performance of a lyric chorus singing about Menelaos (see Ferrari 181–82). In addition, as mentioned above, many of the vases that depict the stories in question serve as symposium ware, which has obvious connections to lyric (see above, n. 81).

Conversely, the main arguments against the hypothesis that lost epics influenced vase-painters in the Archaic period depend on the assumptions that 1) the Homeric poems were composed in the eighth or early seventh centuries, and 2) the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had achieved canonical authority before painters began to diverge from these stories in the early seventh century.[110] In order to defend the hypothesis that painters were influenced by poems that no longer exist, some attention will therefore have to be paid to two further questions: the date when the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* acquired the form in which we have inherited them and the subsequent date when those poems acquired the status of being the authoritative versions of their myths.

VII.

A full consideration of the date of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is beyond the scope of this work, but the relevant evidence may be outlined so that, if no other conclusion is reached, the tenuous criteria for judging the date of Homer may be emphasized. The early date of the Homeric poems has been determined from literary allusions to the Homeric poems, statements of ancient commentators, and cultural phenomena that in some way indicate the eighth century.[111]

Burkert has placed the *terminus ante quem* "for the text of Homer as we know it" at 556 B.C.E., the date of Stesichorus' death, because Stesichorus "reproduces almost word for word" and "transcribes almost verbatim" two Homeric passages.[112] Even if one ignores the fact that Burkert's argument turns out to be somewhat circular[113] and that, in addition, not even the supplemented text of Stesichorus repeats Sarpedon's speech in the *Iliad* "almost verbatim," the point is questionable because no one doubts that there were links between Stesichorus and epic poetry or that the lyric poet used traditional language and

[110]E.g., R. M. Cook 1983: 5.

[111]Cf. Kirk 1962: 282–87.

[112]Burkert 1987: 51. The present refutation was first presented in Lowenstam 1993b: 216 n. 88. In contrast to Burkert's concern here with the date of *our* Homeric poems, he has argued in an earlier work (1976) that the destruction of Egyptian Thebes in 668 provides "ein sehr präzises Datum" for the *Iliad* poet and a *terminus post quem* for the *Odyssey* poet.

[113]That is, after editors had determined that the *Geryoneis* speech was articulating a thought related to the one expressed in Sarpedon's famous statement in the *Iliad*, they supplemented the gaps to bring the passage as close to the Homeric wording as the fragments allowed. Subsequently Burkert says that the scenes are so similar that one must have copied the other.

thoughts on which the Homeric poems themselves depended.[114] But there is no real evidence to demonstrate that Stesichorus' use of the *topos* was borrowed from our *Iliad.*

In an argument similar to Burkert's, M. L. West asserts that Alc. 44.6–8 LP "clearly attests knowledge of our *Iliad*," because Alcaeus' passage "implies the whole framework of the epic."[115] Although the supplements to Alcaeus in this passage are far from certain, it is quite possible that the lyric poem does refer to that part of the Achilleus-story that corresponds with the end of the first book of the *Iliad.* Nevertheless, the assumption that the poet of our *Iliad* was the first and only poet to have portrayed both Achilleus' summoning of his mother and also his request that she procure Zeus' help in regaining his honor is questionable.[116] And, as so often in these cases, it is possible that both Alcaeus and Homer used the same story that they had independently heard elsewhere.

The Homeric epithets and formulas found in Archilochus, Alcman, Callinus, and Tyrtaeus attest only to a common store of traditional language, not to direct influences.[117] Other possible references to the Homeric poems are late or difficult to date. Simonides' apparent reference to Homer and to Glaukos' speech in the *Iliad* is late (end of sixth or fifth century), but even the comparison between leaves and the generations of mortals is probably a traditional thought in epic poetry and lyric, as indicated not only by its repetition in the *Iliad* (the second time at 21.464–66) but also by its appearance in Mimnermus (2.1–4 W) and Aristophanes (*Av.* 685).[118] Further, because many quotations ascribed to "the man of Chios" or "Homer" are not found in our *Iliad*

[114]In this context, one should also consider Nagy's thesis that cognate traditional language was inherited by both lyric and epic and hence lyric did not necessarily rob the epic store (1974, especially 118–39); also Nagy 1990: 3 and passim.

[115]West 1988: 151 and n. 5, repeated in West 1995: 206–7.

[116]Again, Combellack 1950 serves as a good antidote to ascribing to "Homer" sole responsibility for details of plot and characterization that might well be traditional.

[117]Bowra 256–59 lists the common epithets and formulas. For the independent use in lyric of material common to epic, see again Nagy 1974, especially 118–39. M. L. West 1995: 204 points out that "only in exceptional cases can phraseology known to us from Homer be assumed to have been unique to Homer."

[118]Simon. 8.1–2 W. *POxy.* 3965 fr. 26 now assures us that the author is Simonides, as stated by Stobaeus, not Semonides, as first suggested by Wilamowitz (M. L. West 1993: 10–11). West 1995: 206 further remarks that the comparison of leaves to the generations of mortals is a "poignant piece of popular philosophy" that was not "invented" for the *Iliad*, as seen by the fact that it does not fit its present context there.

or *Odyssey*, it is clear that "Homer" in the sixth and fifth centuries normally refers to epic poetry.[119]

Critics using the statements of ancient commentators, the second body of material to present a date for Homer, must be very selective because, as is well known, these writers are highly unreliable. The ancients date Homer anywhere over a time span of 400 years, assign him to twenty different homelands, provide eight different names for his father and ten for his mother, and inform us that the poet was blind or a hostage, none of which information can be confirmed in any way.[120] Until the fourth century, furthermore, the ancients, as I have just mentioned, conceived of "Homer" as the creator of most or all of the Trojan epics.[121] Although there is little doubt that the *tradition* of the Trojan stories goes back at least to the eighth century and quite possibly to the earlier period specified by ancient critics, this information does not help to date our actual poems. While Herodotus may be more trustworthy than most of these commentators, even his statement that Homer and Hesiod lived four hundred years earlier (a suspiciously round number) is expressed with no certainty but as a belief (δοκέω, 2.53.2).[122] The material about Homer handed down to us from antiquity, far from providing trustworthy information on this subject, is more useful as an indicator of how little the ancients knew about him.[123]

The third category for determining a chronology for Homer or the Homeric poems relies on datable cultural evidence and artifacts. For instance, a portrayal of Gorgons on Agamemnon's shield suggests a date no earlier than the seventh century.[124] Barry Powell expounds a detailed case for placing the *Iliad*

[119]This point is eloquently established by Murray 228–29, who says that references to Homer do not exclusively mean the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* until about 350 B.C.E., although even after that date other poems of the Cycle may still be meant. "Homer" is a generic name for "poet," the one who fits together (ὁμο- and the root of ἀραρίσκω: Chantraine, s.v. ὅμηρος, and among others Nagy 1978: 297–98).

[120]The *Vitae* compose the main evidence (Allen 1912: 192–268) reviewed by Allen 1924: 11–41 and Lefkowitz 12–24.

[121]Again, Murray 228–29; cf. Nagy 1992: 36–37.

[122]Bowra 255: "the significant word δοκέω shows that he is quoting not established authority but his own opinion."

[123]At this point one might mention a criterion often used in dating Homer, namely that Homer must precede Hesiod (Kirk 1962: 283, Lesky 693, Janko 1982: 93, Powell 1991: 219), but we meet the same difficulties in trying to date Hesiod ("Hesiod's date is not objectively determinable," Kirk 1962: 283); and, as M. L. West 1966: 40–48 has shown in his arguments for the priority of the *Theogony*, the absolute dating of Hesiod and Homer is uncertain.

[124]Lorimer 190–91, Sealey 1957: 341 (second half of the sixth century), Burkert in Haag 82, M. L. West 1995: 210; Powell 1991: 202–4 insists on an earlier date.

in the first quarter of the eighth century, but the evidence is far from conclusive.[125] He argues, for instance, that the fact that Homer does not mention hoplite tactics, inhumation, or literacy (the latter point is moot but, I think, correct) indicates a date in the eighth century. Even if Homer were silent about such practices (for recent critics have cogently argued that the *Iliad* does display hoplite fighting),[126] such arguments from silence are dangerous.[127] For example, the fact that Homer almost entirely disregards the Dorians and prizes iron as a rare metal does not necessarily establish an origin in the eleventh century B.C.E. The archaizing and eclectic nature of Greek epic makes it difficult to arrive at a date with confidence.

Thus the cogency of the usual processes and criteria for dating can be called into question. It is also worth noting that investigations into the date of Homer usually ignore the evidence presented by vases or make the painted versions of epic a *terminus ante quem*,[128] a conclusion that most studies of this material by art historians should call into question. That is, if the vases do not agree with our Homeric poems, there is no intrinsic reason to conclude that the poems precede the vases.

Although, as stated above, a full investigation of the dating of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is not possible here, some response should be made to those who argue that the Homeric poems cannot be as late as the sixth century B.C.E. Ian Morris expounds what he terms two serious objections to such a hypothesis: 1) we would know more about "Homer" if he were so late, and 2) there are no sixth-century anachronisms.[129] The first point is based on the following assumptions: a poet named Homer used traditional material to create one or two

[125]Powell 1991. Sealey (see below, n. 131) forcefully argues for a later date from essentially the same evidence.

[126]That the *Iliad* not only knows hoplite weaponry but also the massed infantry formation and discipline of hoplite warfare has received support in recent years from Sealey 1957: 340–41 and 1990: 183–84 n. 30, Snodgrass 1964: 176–79, Latacz 45–67, Pritchett 7–15 and 21–33, Morris 1987: 196–201, Hanson 64–67, and, to a degree, Van Wees. Inhumation is suggested at *Il.* 4.174–77, for which see Kirk 1985: 349–50. Writing may be indicated at *Il.* 6.168–70 and 7.175; Morris 1986: 93 considers it certain, as does Crielaard 210–14.

[127]Ray 119 makes this criticism of Powell.

[128]Among those who use the vase-paintings of Iliadic and Odyssean material as a *terminus ante quem* are Janko 1982: 230 and Powell 1991: 219. Cf. Bowra 259–60 and Kirk 1962: 285. Morris 1986: 91 admits that epic paintings should not be used to support an eighth-century date for Homer.

[129]Morris 1986: 92. Sealey 1990: 183 n. 21, calls "amazing" Morris' statement that there are no hints of the sixth century.

highly original poems, so extraordinary that audiences were eager to learn as much as possible about the poet. The originality, immediate and sensational response, and eagerness for biographical information should be questioned. The reason we believe we know something about some of the lyric poets is that it is inherent to the lyric genre to reveal true or fictive information about their lives, whereas epic poets traditionally efface autobiographical details. Genre can also explain the lack of anachronisms: the poems portray the distant past, and the medium has handed down material that was archaistic at the time of performance.[130] Anachronisms might slip in and may still be present,[131] but their overall absence tells us more about the genre of Archaic epic than it informs us about the date of the poems. Further, to strike a polemical note, it is questionable methodology to search for anachronisms only to reject them as late intrusions. So, for example, a reference (*Il.* 7.333–35) to the bringing home of warriors' ashes (whatever this passage means and to whatever date it should be assigned—probably the fifth century B.C.E.) and all the Atticisms may well be evidence of the poems' late date of composition.[132]

VIII.

It is obvious that versions of Greek epic depicted on vases cannot by themselves determine the compositional period of our Homeric poems,[133] but the evidence

[130]Cf. Geddes, especially 36. Stanley 279 attributes the lack of anachronisms to "a bard of unusual skill and imagination." Morris argues in his 1986 article that the social order of the Homeric poems must reflect the poet's own time, but Rose 56 compares the world of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to that of the films of the wild West, where "an essential ingredient [is] that gratification derives from the illusion that the subject of the films is a different society from that of the audience—thus the vast expenditures in the interest of verisimilitude," but "the ideological function of these films requires that the difference of the society they portray not be absolute: the viewing audience must find in them an image of its own past—a warrant and a 'charter'...for contemporary institutions, values, and patterns of behavior."

[131]Sealey 1957: 341; cf. 1990: 133), reinterpreting evidence first presented by Lorimer, lists the following objects in Homer as datable to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E.: Odysseus' brooch, Agamemnon's Gorgon shield, the seated statue of Athene in the temple in Troy, Athenians in the Catalogue, Odysseus' stringing of his bow (Sealey dates the last three to the sixth century).

[132]The report that Kynaithos of Chios performed Homeric poetry for the Syracusans (Σ ad Pi., *N.* 2.1) is consistent with a late date of composition or authority (for the most recent treatment of the vexed question of Kynaithos, with bibliography, see Stanley 422 n. 159). On the return of ashes to Attica, see Jacoby, Page 1959: 323, Kirk 1962: 180 and 282, Powell 1991: 205. For different views on the Atticisms, see Sealey 1957: 346–48 and S. West (in Heubeck *et al.* 38 n. 15).

[133]R. M. Cook 1983: 6: "it seems to me doubly dangerous to infer from art the date at which any particular epic was composed or widely circulated...."

from vases cannot be ignored either. The dating of our Homeric poems rests on extremely tenuous evidence, and divergent versions of epic stories represented on vases draw greater attention to the problem. Nevertheless, as pointed out earlier, the traditional eighth- or seventh-century dating may be correct, but for whatever reasons—illiteracy, difficulty of transcribing the poems, lack of opportunity to perform the canonical versions until the revised Panathenaea—it took a protracted period of time for our versions of the poems to become authoritative. Most specialists would choose the earlier date of composition; but, as M. L. West wryly comments, "I suspect that most of those who subscribe to an eighth-century dating do so because most *other* people do."[134] From the evidence presented here, it is impossible to determine which one of these two viable conclusions—early composition but late authority, or late composition—is correct. Evidence of other sorts does not seem conclusive either.

The possibility that the Homeric poems did not gain canonical status for at least two hundred years after their composition conforms to some degree with the evolutionary model proposed by Raphael Sealey in 1957 and recently revitalized in a much more sophisticated schema by Gregory Nagy in 1992. In fact, it is striking that several scholars, using different evidence from that presented here, have recently argued for a late date for the fixation of our Homeric poems.[135] Particularly interesting is Nagy, who focuses on performance criteria. Picturing a slow process of diffusion "framed by a relatively *formative stage* in the later part of the eighth century and an increasingly *definitive* stage in the middle of the sixth," he asserts that from the eighth century "the Homeric tradition of epic became increasingly less fluid and more stable in its patterns of recomposition, moving slowly ahead in time until it reached a relatively static phase" in the middle of the sixth century, when the poems were first transcribed.[136] The crucial date of about 550 B.C.E. for transcription of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is determined as follows:

> [T]he language of the earliest inscribed utterances makes it clear that writing was being used as an *equivalent* to performance, not as a *means* for performance. It is evident from the language of the earliest inscriptions from the eighth century and thereafter, and the pattern holds all the way till 550 B.C. or so, that the speech-act of performance was thought to be inherent in the given inscription itself, which

[134]West 1995: 203 (his italics).
[135]Sealey 1957 and 1990, Jensen, Nagy 1992 and 1996, Stanley, E. F. Cook.
[136]Nagy 1992: 52 (his italics). Cf. Nagy 1996: 107–14.

> normally communicates in the first person, as if it were a talking object (Svenbro 1988.33–52).[137]

After about 550, Nagy continues (again citing Svenbro), inscriptions became transcripts of speech-acts instead of actual performances.[138]

Svenbro, in fact, shows that, although *some* inscriptions after 550 no longer function as egocentric *sêmata*, examples of such "talking objects" continued to be produced into the fifth century.[139] Hence, while the transcription of the Homeric poems *may* have occurred as early as about 550 B.C.E. with these criteria, that date is not necessarily required as a *terminus ante quem*, because the process or concept of writing as performance continued. Further, if the poems were indeed transcribed in the middle of the sixth century, the persistence of "speaking" inscriptions suggests that the oral processes that are fundamental to Archaic epic poetry continued into the fifth century and may have influenced painters at that late date.

The idea that there might have been some form of Homeric text in the sixth century while oral poets continued to sing traditional songs interested Albert Lord, who saw a range of responses to this type of situation in South Slavic song:

> At one end of the scale, at its highest point, comes the song that is independent of the published text. At its best this song represents a pure oral tradition....At the other end are the songs memorized from the published fixed text.[140]

In this context we should consider the paradigm recently presented by Thérèse de Vet, as observed in Bali, where "performers improvise in performance, but use written (and oral) texts as a basis" (65):

[137]Nagy 1992: 35, citing Svenbro 1993: 26–43 (Nagy's italics).

[138]Nagy 1992: 35, citing Svenbro 39–40 (= 1988: 48).

[139]Svenbro 37–40 (= 1988: 45–49), concluding "From 550 on votive inscriptions may thus be differentiated as to their speech-act situation, although possibly less frequently than funerary inscriptions. Nevertheless, the egocentric inscription remains fundamental, constituting in its explicit form 20 percent of the entire body of funerary and votive inscriptions."

[140]Lord 1991: 185.

> The fluidity of written texts which I am advocating here would remove this possibility of a one-time cohesive picture, and replace it with the possibility of endless variation.[141]

The question, again, is not only when the Homeric poems were transcribed but also when these versions of the Homeric myths acquired canonical status. The fact that vase-representations of epic reveal fluidity, not only in the first half of the sixth century, but all the way into the fifth century, suggests that diffusion of the Homeric poems may have required additional time after the middle of the sixth century.[142] When we consider what mechanism could have led to this popularity, we come back to one well-known reason, as articulated by Gilbert Murray:

> What force was working between, say, the years 500 and 400 B.C. to put the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in a separate and privileged position, as the only true work of "Homer," and thus far greater and better known than the rest of the epic traditional poetry? One cause suggests itself at once: the public Recitation at the Panathenaea.[143]

Sealey, on the other hand, believes that the Panathenaic Rule did not necessarily require any more than that the Iliadic and Odyssean stories had to be sung in a set order of episodes (with flexibility granted to the actual performances). Our particular poems, he continues, could have attained their canonical stature only after they were written down: "Written publication began to safeguard texts in the period c. 550–c. 450 B.C. So that is when the Homeric poems were first written down."[144]

Conclusion

The number of variants in the vase-paintings of Iliadic and Odyssean myths may help us to trace the standardization and canonization of the Homeric

[141]de Vet 70.

[142]Although Friis Johansen 225–26, Jensen 106, and Stanley 267 assert that vase-paintings begin to reflect our *Iliad* from ca. 520 B.C.E., I fail to find the evidence to support that statement. Contrary to Friis Johansen 226, I do not believe that Oltos, for example, "illustrates" the *Iliad*.

[143]Murray 299. Cf. Stanley 280 and 414–15 n. 116, who sees a major "reshaping" of the *Iliad* in the decade 530–20 on the occasion of the revised Panathenaea.

[144]Sealey 1957: 349. For the general idea (but not the dates), cf. Morris 1986: 85, quoted above, n. 1. Cf. also Nagy 1996: 111 with nn. 23–24, who emphasizes not only the reforms involving the Feast of the Panathenaea but those initiated by Pericles in the fifth century.

poems. This study suggests that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* either were not composed in a form recognizable to us before the end of the sixth century B.C.E. or, if earlier, did not gain authority until that date or slightly later.

The main conclusion of this work, however, is that, with regard to Iliadic and Odyssean myth, the versions of the epic tradition preserved in our inherited, written texts do not have authoritative status for the vase-painters of the sixth and early fifth centuries.[145] While this conclusion may not be startling to those who champion the artists' originality in treating myth, its demonstration here is meant to counteract that very view that painters ubiquitously invented new stories and disregarded sung traditions. It may appear that I am replacing one type of subservience to a poetic authority (Homer) with another (divergent oral songs), but I find that the views presented here provide a better picture of the variety of sources that the painters were responding to and interpreting. Indeed, to appraise every evidence of variation from Homer's text as stemming from creative license undervalues the painters' knowledge and range of choices and denies their involvement in an interactive culture where they would be hearing, selecting, and retelling a great number of stories from many sources and different genres. The painters were greatly influenced in their use of epic subjects during the later sixth and early fifth centuries not only by epic poetry but also by lyric versions of epic stories (as indicated by the quotations on the vases cited above),[146] tragedy (as demonstrated by Döhle and others), and local traditions. The assertion that the painted variations are often based on competing versions of myths does not deny personal creativity. Rather, it offers us a glimpse into a culture where the painters had a great knowledge of lore, sought fresh versions of traditional myth, and worked for a public that was eager to buy and display the newest story or version of a traditional tale.[147] The myths found shape in several genres; the artists chose from a very large menu what they wanted to portray for their aesthetic and thematic purposes. Hence, if

[145]Vase-paintings that reflect fluidity of myth and epic tradition in the fifth century include those of the personal abduction of Briseis by Agamemnon himself and the school scene with a scroll showing an Iliadic line missing from our *Iliad*. Among other examples, some of the most interesting are the Attic paintings of the Embassy to Achilleus, which, though dependent on Aeschylus' *Myrmidons*, show other influences including that of epic (Döhle 125). The role of Diomedes in such scenes probably reflects another epic version or a tragedy (Lowenstam 1992: 169 and 180–81).

[146]The earliest ceramic example showing an epic story stemming from lyric or drama is the Menelas stand (see above, n. 109), dated to just before the middle of the seventh century.

[147]Telemachos says τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, / ἥ τις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται (*Od.* 1.351–52).

we look at the paintings from the viewpoint of their sources, we have the unique opportunity of observing the genres of epic, lyric, and, in the last stages, tragedy competing in their exposition of heroic myths.

The implications of this study for Homeric studies are also important. It is possible that some Greek vases feature oral traditions that competed in popularity with the versions preserved in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; and, if our Homeric poems were indeed composed later than is generally accepted, those other stories may have influenced our own poems. Homer's predecessors, whose loss we so often deplore, may well be reflected in Greek painting. The vases, then, grant us an opportunity to observe Homer's allusive style. For example, when Agamemnon threatens to take Briseis personally but instead sends heralds to do the job, we notice a more sophisticated characterization of Agamemnon than the competing version does.[148] Homer, then, like the painters, culled the traditions he knew and interpreted those myths in the process of selection. The more we know about the choices available to the poet, the better we can interpret the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

[148]For another example of how vase paintings help us to interpret a Homeric scene, see Lowenstam 1992: 185–86.

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Fig. 1. Battle of Greeks and Trojans, with (left to right) Automedon, Achilleus, Asteropaios, and Periphatas (Melbourne 1643-D4). Photo courtesy of the National Museum of Victoria, Melbourne.

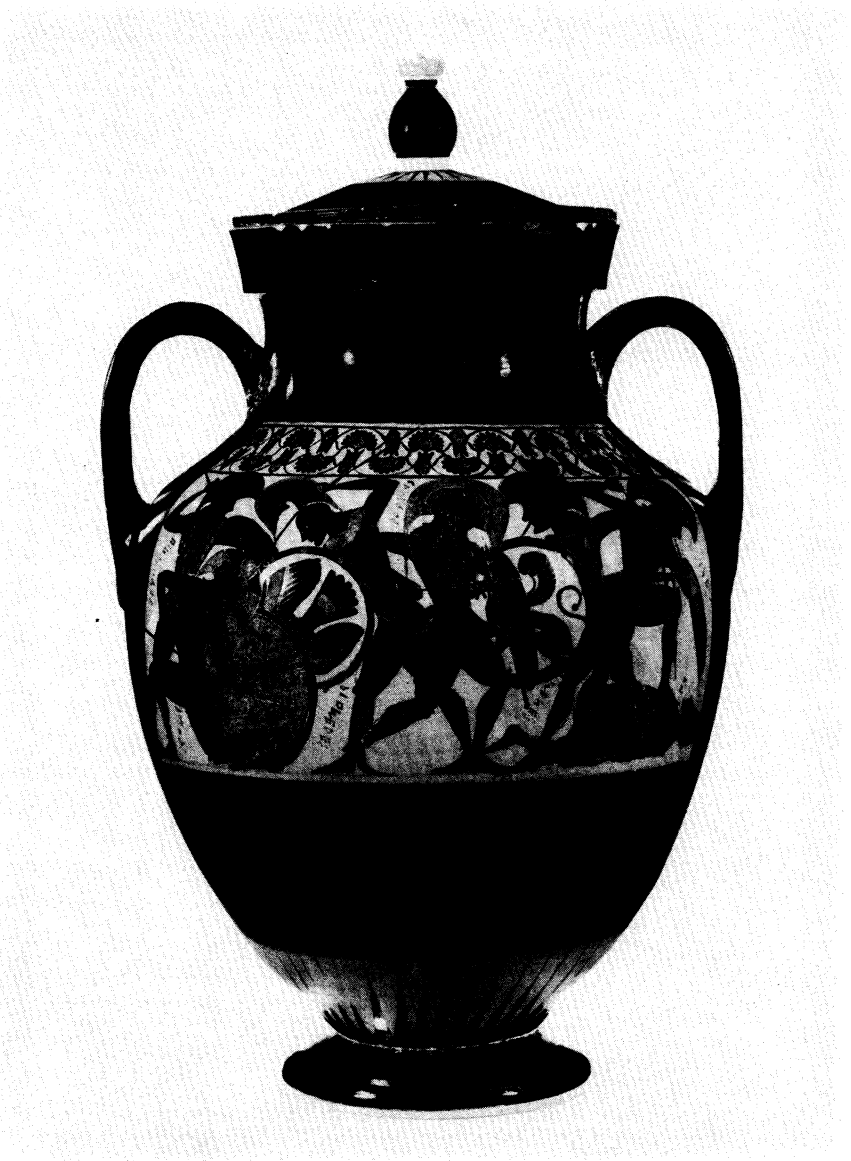

Fig. 2. Battle of Greeks and Trojans, with Hippolochos attacking Diomedes, Charapos on his knee, Glaukos fighting Menestheus, and Odysseus vanquishing Me- (Melbourne 1643-D4). Photo courtesy of the National Museum of Victoria, Melbourne.

Fig. 3. Battle, with Pouldamas, Paris, and Locrian Aias (Vatican 35617). Photo by the author, by permission of the Vatican Museums.

Fig. 4. Battle, with Locrian Aias, Kleoboulos, Alkimos, and Patroklos (Vatican 35617). Photo by the author, by permission of the Vatican Museums.

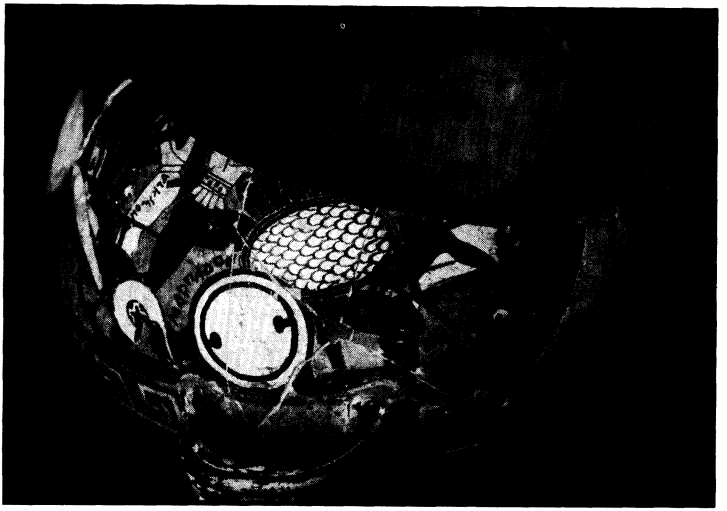

Fig. 5. Battle, with Alkimos, Patroklos, Sarpedon, Pyraichmes, and Glaukos (Vatican 35617). Photo by the author, by permission of the Vatican Museums.

Fig. 6. Agamemnon abducting Briseis (Louvre G 146). Photo courtesy of the Louvre.